The stylistic sources, dating and development of the Bohun workshop, ca 1340-1400
Dennison, Lynda Eileen

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THE STYLISTIC SOURCES,

DATING AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE

BOHUN WORKSHOP,

ca 1340-1400

by

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ABSTRACT

The important group of books illuminated for the Bohun family, ca 1340-1400, has not received the close study it warrants. Certain misconceptions have arisen about the dating, localisation and ownership of these manuscripts. By a detailed codicological and stylistic examination of each book, illuminators are characterised, their artistic development traced and a chronology postulated. This analytical method reveals that each manuscript is not necessarily the product of a single campaign, but may have been worked on for successive members of the family. It is only after the various campaigns have thus been determined and a sequence of production formulated that conclusions can be drawn for dating and ownership from documentary evidence.

Bohun patronage falls into three distinct phases. The first, in which the English sources of the Bohun style lie, is that of the 1340s, a decade more productive than formerly realised. The activity of these probably Cambridge-based illuminators, however, was curtailed by the Black Death. During the second, more homogeneous phase (ca 1350-55 to ca 1385) two illuminators, the 'English Artist' and 'Flemish Hand' (and later a third) worked at Pleshey Castle, Essex, where they produced manuscripts exclusively for the Bohun family. The interaction of the artists of the 'central' workshop is charted; two of these can be identified as Austin friars.

The origins of the Flemish Hand are localised in Tourma and Ghent illumination of ca 1330-1350; the 'Louis de Male' manuscripts, which have a direct bearing on his work are here redated. The Italian influence often discerned in the work of the English Bohun illuminator is identified as principally that of Niccolò da Bologna and his school.

With the demise or departure of their resident miniaturists the Bohuns ordered their manuscripts in London where illumination was becoming more commercial. The complex interrelationships between the Lytlington Missal workshop and others with which the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist can be associated, covering the third phase of Bohun patronage (ca 1385-1400), are examined.
CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................................. 8

ABBREVIATIONS .................................................. 10

LIST OF FIGURES .................................................. 11

INTRODUCTION ..................................................... 36

CHAPTER 1 THE ENGLISH ORIGINS OF THE BOHUN STYLE I ............. 40
Vienna, National Library, Cod.1826* (ff.7-49v) .................. 40
(i) Definition of style ........................................ 41
(ii) Sources of style ........................................... 43
(iii) Chronology of works by Vienna Hand A ................. 51
(iv) Localisation of Vienna Hand A's style .................... 52
(v) Dating ...................................................... 54
(vi) Relationship to other works of the period ............... 57

CHAPTER 2 THE ENGLISH ORIGINS OF THE BOHUN STYLE II ............ 59
Vienna, National Library, Cod.1826* (ff.50 and 57) .......... 59
(i) Identification of Vienna Hand B in other manuscripts .. 59
(ii) Chronology of manuscripts by Vienna Hand B .......... 60
(iii) Dating and localisation of Vienna Hand B's activity .. 64
(iv) Dating and localisation: Vienna Hand B in the context of Vienna Hand A and related material .............. 67
(v) Dating and localisation: relationship to other manuscripts of the 1340s ............................................. 69
(vi) Conclusion .................................................. 78

CHAPTER 3 THE ENGLISH BOHUN STYLE AND FLEMISH INFLUENCES .... 80
Vienna, National Library, Cod.1826* (the remaining folios) .. 80
(i) Vienna Hand C: the Salvum and Cantate folios .......... 80
(ii) Vienna Hand D: the Dixit dominus and Domine ne in furore folios: definition of style ........................................... 83
(iii) The minor psalm initials: definition of style .......... 85
(iv) The border decoration ..................................... 86
(v) The transitional gatherings between the first and second campaigns ......................................................... 87
(vi) The dating of the work by Hand C ....................... 91
(vii) The stylistic context of Hand D ......................... 92

Flemish influence: ca 1335-50 .................................... 93
CHAPTER 4 THE FORMATION OF THE BOHUN WORKSHOP: COLLABORATION OF THE ENGLISH AND FLEMISH ARTISTS


Oxford, Exeter College, MS.47 (the first campaign) 101

(i) The major psalm initials and borders 101
(ii) Relationship to the British Library and Vienna Psalters 102
(iii) The minor psalm initials and borders 103
(iv) The minor border decoration 105


(i) The origins of the style (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Lat.liiturg. f.3) 108
(ii) The origins of the style (Brussels, Royal Library, MS.6426) 110
(iii) The second illuminator in Exeter College, MS. 47 (the first campaign) and a chronology for the Vienna, Royal and Exeter Psalters. 113

CHAPTER 5 THE ORIGINS OF THE FLEMISH BOHUN HAND I


(i) The Brussels Antiphonary, Liturgical Psalter and Missal: division of hands and definition of style 115
(ii) The Missal in the Hague: division of hands and definition of style 117

Dating

(i) The second colophon 121
(ii) Hypothesis one 122
(iii) Hypothesis two 123
(iv) Hypothesis three 124

The ownership of the Missal in Brussels 127

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Lat.liiturg. f.3 and its relationship to other manuscripts 129

Other Flemish works of the period 131

Suggested date for the foundation of the central Bohun workshop 133

CHAPTER 6 THE ORIGINS OF THE FLEMISH BOHUN HAND II

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS.38-1950: definition of style 135
The Flemish Hand: the ultimate origins of his style 139
(i) The Bodleian Alexander and related manuscripts 140
(ii) Gilles Li Muisis and Pierart dou Tielt 143
(iii) The style of Pierart and the Flemish Hand 145
(iv) The Glazier Voeux du Paon 146
(v) The relationship with Flemish brasses 147
(vi) The influence of Paris 149

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Auct.D.4.4 151

The influence of the English Artist on the Flemish Hand 154
Chronology 156

CHAPTER 7 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOHUN WORKSHOP 157

The remaining illumination in Fitzwilliam MS.38-1950 and Bodleian MS.Auct.D.4.4 157
(i) The Beatus pages in the two manuscripts 157
Oxford, Exeter College, MS.47, ff.9-19v (the second campaign) 161
Copenhagen, Royal Library, MSS Thott 547 4° and 517 4°, and Schloss Pommersfelden, Collection of Graf von Schönborn MS.2934 (348) 165
(i) Stylistic analysis and relative chronology of the three manuscripts 168
(ii) Codicological and palaeographical considerations 173
Assessment of Chronology 174

CHAPTER 8 DERIVATIVES OF THE BOHUN STYLES 176

Oxford, Exeter College, MS.47, ff.1-6, 78-126 (the third campaign) 176
(i) Analysis of gatherings in the third campaign 177
(ii) Division of hands (Exeter Hands A, B, C) 179
(iii) Assessment of the third campaign 183
(iv) Related works (Laud Misc.165 and Hatfield 290) 184
(v) Chronology of works by Exeter Hands A, B and C 187
London, British Library, Egerton MS.3277 188
(i) The major decoration: a close follower of the English Artist 189
(ii) Assessment of the major decoration 192
(iii) The minor decoration: the Flemish Hand 193
(iv) The minor decoration: evidence of interaction between the Flemish Hand and English Artist 194
(v) Egerton 3277: position in the chronology 195
CHAPTER 9 RELATIVES OF THE BOHUN MANUSCRIPTS

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc.188
(i) Omne Bonum Hand D

The Lytlington Missal
(i) Lytlington Missal Hand B
(ii) Lytlington Missal Hand A
(iii) Further works by Lytlington Hand A

The Artist of the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours
(i) Further works by the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist

The Holkham Psalter Artist and related manuscripts

Dating and the ultimate sources of the Lytlington style

Workshop location and conclusions to be drawn from the association of these artists

The Vernon Manuscript

CHAPTER 10 ITALIAN INFLUENCES

(i) Italian influence on the English Artist
(ii) Italian influence on other manuscripts ca 1340-1400
(iii) The question of Bohemian influence
(iv) Italian influences: conclusion

CHAPTER 11 THE ARTISTS AND THEIR PATRONS

Dating, Chronology and Ownership of the Bohun Manuscripts

(i) The Bohun workshop and patronage up to 1372/3
(ii) The Bohun workshop after 1372/3
(iii) Patronage of the Bohun workshop after 1372/3
(iv) The books and their owners after 1372/3
(v) The Bohun family and the Austin friars

CONCLUSION
APPENDICES I: CODICIOLOGY 278
II: CALENDARS 286
III: OBITS 307
IV: LITANIES 309
V: THE TEXTUAL CONTENTS OF SCHLOSS POMMERSFELDEN MS.2934(348) 312
VI: LIST OF SUBJECTS 315
VII: DIVISION OF HANDS, CHRONOLOGY AND DATING 339
   (i) Suggested dating for the manuscripts discussed in Chapters I and 2 339
   (ii) Attributions to Vienna Hands A and B (arranged chronologically for each artist) 339
   (iii) Division of hands and suggested dating for the Bohun manuscripts 341
   (iv) Oxford, Exeter College MS.47, ff. 78-126 (the third campaign), Exeter Hands A, B and C (division of hands) 344
VIII: THE ASTOR PSALTER-HOURS 351
IX: THE EDINBURGH PSALTER-HOURS 355
X: HERALDRY 362
   (i) Armorial 362
   (ii) Armorial arranged according to manuscript 368
   (iii) Bohun Genealogy 371
XI: THE LIBRARY OF THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK 372
   (i) Books in the possession of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, at Pleshey in 1397 372
   (ii) Books in the London house of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, in 1397 376
XII: LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS 377

BIBLIOGRAPHY 384

FIGURES 1-700
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ABBREVIATIONS

AJ. Archaeological Journal
B.L. British Library
B.N. Bibliothèque Nationale
B.N.B. Biographie Nationale de Belgique
Bod. Lib. Bodleian Library
B.R. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier
C.C.R. Calendar of Close Rolls
C.F.R. Calendar of Fine Rolls
C.I.M. Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous
C.I.P.M. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
C.P.R. Calendar of Patent Rolls
D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography
J.W.C.I. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
T.M.B.S. Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society
V.C.H. Victoria County History

In the footnotes to this dissertation the cited works are abbreviated to the author, year and page numbers. Full details of these references are available in the bibliography following the thesis.
LIST OF FIGURES

1. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 7.
2. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 25v.
4. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 20v.
5. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 25 (detail).
6. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 45 (detail).
22. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 171, f. 7 (detail).
27. Cambridge, St John's College, MS. D.30, f. 7.
28. Ginge Manor, Oxfordshire, Astor Psalter-Hours, f. 53.
29. Ginge Manor, Oxfordshire, Astor Psalter-Hours, f. 115.
30. Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS. A.V.17, f. 52.
34. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 9v (detail).
35. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 11.
37. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 7 (detail).
40. Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS. A.V.17, f. 36v (detail).
41. Ginge Manor, Oxfordshire, Astor Psalter-Hours, f. 6.
42. Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS. A.V.17, f. 7 (detail).
43. Cambridge, University Archives, Luard *33a, charter (detail).
44. Ely Cathedral, Lady Chapel, stained glass fragment, now in Cathedral Museum.
45. Ely Cathedral, Lady Chapel, stained glass fragment, now in Cathedral Museum.
46. Ely Cathedral, Lady Chapel, stained glass fragment, now in Cathedral Museum.
47. Elsing Church, Norfolk, the brass to Sir Hugh Hastings (detail).
48. Elsing Church, Norfolk, the brass to Sir Hugh Hastings (detail).
49. Wimbish Church, Essex, the brass to Sir John and Helen Wantone (detail).
50. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 50.
56. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 50 (detail).
57. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 25v (detail).
64. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e. 41, f. 7 (detail).
65. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e. 41, f. 59 (detail).
68. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e. 41, f. 44 (detail).
69. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e. 41, f. 57 (detail).
70. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e. 41, f. 44v (detail).
72. Weston Longville Church, Norfolk, wall painting.
74. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. M. 741, single leaf, foliated 1a v.
75. Philadelphia, Free Library, MS. M66. 3a, single leaf, foliated 182.
76. Philadelphia, Free Library, MS. M66. 3a, single leaf, foliated 182 (detail).
77. Bloomington, Indiana, Indiana University, Lilly Library, Ricketts MS. DeR 15, single leaf, foliated 261.
87. Dublin, Trinity College, MS. F.5.21, f. 8.
88. Dublin, Trinity College, MS. F.5.21, f. 47 (detail).
89. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. 105, f. 7v.
90. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. 105, f. 41v.
91. Dublin, Trinity College, MS. F.5.21, f. 22v (detail).
94. Dublin, Trinity College, MS. F.5.21, f. 109v.
106. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 20, f. 68.
108. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 20, f. 40v (detail).
126. Dublin, Trinity College, MS. F.5.21, f. 55v (detail).
129. Ginge Manor, Oxfordshire, Astor Psalter-Hours, f. 101v.
130. Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS. A.V.17, f. 46v (detail).
133. Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS. A.V.17, f. 85v (detail).
134. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, Muniments 77, charter (detail).
135. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, Muniments 77, charter (detail).
136. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 58v.
139. London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS. 14, f. 120.
140. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 58v (detail).
142. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 58v (detail).
144. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 85v.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 85v (details).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 58v (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 100.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 141.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 151.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 151v.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 152.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 153v.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 154 (details).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 154v.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 157 (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 158 (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 158v (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 159 (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 159v (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 160 (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 65.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 67.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 52.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 61.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 66.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 63v (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 71v (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 143.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 85v (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 85v (details).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 85v (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 58v (detail).
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 144 (detail).
174. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 54 (detail).
175. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 148 (detail).
176. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 149 (detail).
177. Bloomington, Indiana, University of Indiana, Lilly Library, Ricketts MS. DeR 15, leaf 339 (detail).
178. Bloomington, Indiana, University of Indiana, Lilly Library, Ricketts MS. DeR 15, leaf 380 (detail).
194. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 155 (detail).
214. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826*, f. 5v.
235. Leça do Balio, Portugal, brass to Frei Estêvão Vasques Pimentel (details).
236. Newark Church, Notts., brass to Alan Fleming (detail).
238. Leça do Balio, Portugal, brass to Frei Estêvão Vasques Pimentel (detail).
245. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 6426, f. 2.
246. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 6426, f. 2 (detail).
252. Lübeck Cathedral, Germany, brass to Bishops Burchard von Serken and Johann von Mul (details).
253. Leça do Balio, Portugal, brass to Frei Estêvão Vasques Pimentel (details).
254. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 6426, f. 100 (detail).
255. Altenberg Cathedral, Germany, brass to Bishop Wycbold von Culm (now destroyed).
256. Newark Church, Notts., brass to Alan Fleming.
257. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 6426, f. 117v.
262. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9427, f. 43.
266. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9427, f. 145v.
268. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9217, f. 11v.
269. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9217, f. 33.
270. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9217, f. 41v.
278. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9217, f. 115v.
296. Liège, University Library, MS. 57E, f. 4 (detail).
297. Liège, University Library, MS. 58E, f. 2.
300. Susa Cathedral, Italy, brass triptych to Bonifacio Rotario of Asti.
304. Bruges, St Walburga's Church, brass to Jan and Margaret van Zynghene (now destroyed).
306. Bruges, St Walburga's Church, brass to Michiel van Assenede and wives (now destroyed).
308. Schwerin Cathedral, Germany, brass to Gottfried and Friedrich von Bülow (detail).
309. Winestead church, Yorks., palimpsest fragment of a brass.
312. Ghent, University Library MS. 3381, f. 207v.
316. Lübeck Cathedral, Germany, brass to Burchard von Serken and Johann von Mul (detail).
318. Ghent, University Library, MS. 3381, f. 240v (detail).
319. Bruges, the Potterie, charter (detail).
320. Sotheby's Sale, 4 June 1974, lot 2918, f. 1.
321. Sotheby's Sale, 4 June 1974, lot 2918, f. 172v.
326. Sotheby's Sale, 3 December 1968, lot 21, ff. 59v-60.
334. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 38-1950, f. 120.
343. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 6426, f. 28v (detail).
352. Tournaï, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 101, f. 5.
353. Tournaï, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 101, f. 12v.
367. Tournaï, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 101, f. 137 (detail).
372. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier MS. 24, f. 44.
373. Liège, University Library, MS. 57, 58E (detail of folio unknown).
375. Wensley Church, Yorks., brass to Simon de Wensley (detail).
376. Liège, University Library, MS. 57, 58E (detail of folio unknown).
377. Newark Church, Notts., brass to Alan Fleming (detail).
378. King's Lynn, Norfolk, St Margaret's Church, brass to Robert Braunche and wives (detail).
380. King's Lynn, Norfolk, St Margaret's Church, brass to Robert Braunche and wives (detail).
381. King's Lynn, Norfolk, St Margaret's Church, brass to Robert Braunche and wives (details).
382. Lübeck Cathedral, Germany, brass to Bishops Burchard von Serken and Johann von Mül (details).
383. King's Lynn, Norfolk, St Margaret's Church, brass to Robert Braunche and wives (detail).
392. Leça do Balio, Portugal, brass to Frei Estâvão Vasques Pimentel (detail).
413. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 1.
415. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 6v.
416. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 6v (detail).
419. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 18.
420. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 18 (detail).
421. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 20.
422. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 20 (detail).
423. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 22v.
424. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 22v (detail).
427. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 28v.
428. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4*, f. 28v (detail).
429. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4°, f. 32v.
430. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4°, f. 32v (detail).
431. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4°, f. 43.
432. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4°, f. 43 (detail).
433. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 517 4°, f. 1.
434. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 517 4°, f. 1 (detail).
435. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 517 4°, f. 10v.
436. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 517 4°, f. 10v (detail).
437. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 517 4°, f. 22v.
438. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 517 4°, f. 22v (detail).
439. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), f. 1.
441. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), ff. 2v-3.
442. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), ff. 3v-4.
443. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), ff. 4v-5.
444. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), ff. 5v-6.
446. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), ff. 7v-8.
447. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), ff. 8v-9.
448. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), f. 9v.
449. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), f. 10.
450. Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348), ff. 10v-11.
510. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 43v.
511. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 43v (detail).
512. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 138v.
513. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 138v (detail).
514. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 145v (detail).
515. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 163 (detail).
516. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 150.
517. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 155.
518. Hatfield House, MS. 290, f. 80 (detail).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<td>f. 13</td>
<td></td>
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<td>f. 13 (detail)</td>
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<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 259</td>
<td>f. 14v</td>
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<tr>
<td>549</td>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 259</td>
<td>f. 10v</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>550</td>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 259</td>
<td>f. 32v</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.10.15</td>
<td>f. 32v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.10.15</td>
<td>f. 33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>554</td>
<td>London, British Library, Royal MS. 13.D.i*</td>
<td>f. 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>f. 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>f. 41</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. Misc. 188</td>
<td>f. 143v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>561</td>
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<td>f. 247v</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
</tr>
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<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 312</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. Misc. 188</td>
<td>f. 73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>564</td>
<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>565</td>
<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 9</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>566</td>
<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 26</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
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<td>567</td>
<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 121</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
</tr>
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<td>568</td>
<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 20</td>
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<td>f. 22</td>
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<td>570</td>
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<td>f. 120</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
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<td>571</td>
<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 106v</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
</tr>
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<td>572</td>
<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 11v</td>
<td></td>
<td>(detail)</td>
</tr>
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<td>573</td>
<td>London, Westminster Abbey, MS. 37</td>
<td>f. 157v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
586. Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS. 4086, f. 9.
587. Sotheby's Sale, 1 December 1970, lot 2869, f. 44v.
590. Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS. 4086, f. 49.
593. Sotheby's Sale, 1 December 1970, lot 2869, f. 51v.
594. Sotheby's Sale, 6 December 1983, lot 31 (single leaf).
595. Sotheby's Sale, 9 July 1969, lot 10 (single leaf).
596. Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS. 4500, f. 364v.

31
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
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<td>Dublin, Trinity College, MS. B.3.2, f. 12.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Dublin, Trinity College, MS. B.3.2, f. 23v.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Dublin, Trinity College, MS. B.3.2, f. 80v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>622</td>
<td>Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS. 26, f. 27v.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>623</td>
<td>Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS. 26, f. 28.</td>
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<td>624</td>
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<td></td>
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632. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS. 26 (folio unknown).
634. Sotheby's Sale, 3 July 1984, lot 51 (folio unknown).
641. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS. 26, f. 22 (detail).
644. Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS. 26, f. 7 (detail).
645. Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS. 17, f. 1 (detail).
650. London, London University Library, MS. 1, f. 3v.
655. Pamplona, Archivo Real y General de Navarra, MS. 197, f. 22v.
658. Pamplona, Archivo Real y General de Navarra, MS. 197, f. 3.
659. Ipswich, Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office, charter (detail).
660. Bristol, Record Office, charter of 8 August 1373 (detail).

33
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>661.</td>
<td>Bristol, Record Office, charter of 30 October 1373 (detail).</td>
</tr>
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<td>662.</td>
<td>Bristol, Record Office, charter of 20 December 1373 (detail).</td>
</tr>
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<td>663.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>675.</td>
<td>Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Lat. III, 97 (2115), f. 81v (detail).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>676.</td>
<td>Kremsmünster, Benedictine Abbey, MS. cim. 4, f. 40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>677.</td>
<td>Kremsmünster, Benedictine Abbey, MS. cim. 4, f. 44v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>678.</td>
<td>Kremsmünster, Benedictine Abbey, MS. cim. 4, f. 53v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>681.</td>
<td>Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Lat. III, 97 (2115), f. 106 (detail).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682.</td>
<td>Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Lat. III, 97 (2115), f. 133v (detail).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 10072, f. 161v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>684.</td>
<td>Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 10072, f. 162.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>685.</td>
<td>Bologna, Archiginnasio, Fondo Ospedali, nr. 72, f. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>687.</td>
<td>Cambridge, Trinity Hall, Muniments 77, charter (detail).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>688.</td>
<td>Avignon, Palais des Papes, wall-painting by Simone Martini.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
691. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 10527, f.3v.
699. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2352, f. 92v (detail).
700. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2352, f. 94v (detail).
INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the problems of style in the period of Bohun patronage between ca 1340 and 1400. Although there is also scope for a detailed iconographic examination of the Bohun manuscripts it soon became clear that the stylistic questions they posed were sufficiently complex to warrant an independent enquiry. Furthermore, concentrated iconographic discussion, though intrinsically valuable, would not have yielded the answers I was seeking, namely where, at what dates and for whom were the various Bohun manuscripts produced, how many illuminators participated, what were their specific origins and how might their development be defined?

Writers in the past have acknowledged the importance of this group of manuscripts, but no clear chronology, based on a detailed examination of each book, has yet emerged. Dating, the localisation of artistic centres and the sources of these styles are issues which require further investigation. Although invaluable, the monograph by James is principally concerned with identifying and describing the subject-matter and deals with only five of the Bohun manuscripts; others have come to light since this publication. Millar, who wrote the introduction to this volume, suggested a date of around 1370 for their manufacture, and that four out of the five were probably executed for a single member of the Bohun family, Humphrey de Bohun, seventh earl of Hereford, a fifth, for Mary de Bohun, his daughter. Despite the importance of these manuscripts, Rickert's discussion of them is surprisingly cursory. Simpson's study, though useful for charting general trends of development, does not address the problems in sufficient depth: no clear chronology emerges or new conclusions derived for dating, no account is given of the number of artists who participated and the complexity of the Bohun manuscripts is considerably

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1 I have found no visual precedents for the extensive narrative cycles from the Old Testament; for these the artists appear to have been directly inspired by the Vulgate text and invented their compositions accordingly, a view expressed by James (see James and Millar (1936), p.8). The fact that the iconography often terminates at no fixed point in the scriptural sequence supports this view.

2 James and Millar (1936). Those known by this date were: Oxford, Exeter College, MS. 47; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D.A.4; Vienna, National Library, Cod. 1826; Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS. Thott 547 4; and the T.H. Riches Psalter, now Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 38-1950. Those which have since been added to the group are: London, British Library, Egerton MS. 3277; Copenhagen Royal Library, Thott 517 4; Schloss Pommersfelden, MS. 2934 (348); and ff. 1. 102v, 295v and 301 in London, British Library, MS. Royal 20.D.iv.

3 James and Millar (1936), pp. 1-2. See also Millar (1928), pp. 25-27, 62-67, 86. A further book, Edinburgh, National Library, Advs MS.18.5.5, having a connection with the Bohun family, is mentioned by Millar (see Millar (1928), p.27; James and Millar (1936), p.3), but he realises that it stands somewhat apart from the others.

4 Rickert (1965), pp. 149-50, 243-44.

underplayed. Both Simpson and Sandler view each manuscript as complete stylistic entities. Closer codicological examination, however, would have revealed the breaks in campaign in three of the major Bohun psalters, which is essential to realise before any conclusions can be derived for dating on grounds of style. It is only after the various campaigns have been determined that surviving documentary and historical evidence (ascertained from wills, inventories, coats of arms or inscriptions) can have their use. Furthermore, only an awareness of these breaks in artistic activity can offer more precise information concerning the initial, or eventual, owner of each manuscript since it is clear that in some cases a single book was worked on for successive generations of the same family.

Simpson has divided the Bohun manuscripts into two groups on the basis of the two styles, the Italianate and Flemish, which she defines; but this classification is misleading as the same two styles appear in all of these books. A division of hands, which she does not attempt, would have revealed that the illuminators worked largely in collaboration, suggesting therefore that the Bohun manuscripts are more homogeneous than her categories imply. She deduces that "no conclusions can be drawn with regard to the workshops employed on the Bohun manuscripts," but this study hopes to show that this is not the case.

English illuminated manuscripts of the fourteenth century rarely contain internal evidence for dating, and the liturgy is often not very informative, with the result that there is usually no definite geographical location from which to establish a centre of production or destination of patron. Although in the first ten years covered by this study (ca 1340-50) calendars may still yield this sort of information, those in the Bohun manuscripts are markedly standardised; such conformity is especially prevalent in the

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6 The research for this dissertation was completed before the appearance of Professor Sandler's Survey volume which includes discussion of the Bohun manuscripts (Lucy Freeman Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385 (London, 1986)) and has therefore not been taken into account here. However, her note which appeared in Speculum (Sandler (1985), 364-72) a year before the publication of her book crystallizes her conclusions on these manuscripts.

7 Vienna, National Library, Cod. 1826*, Oxford, Exeter College, MS. 47 and London, British Library, Egerton MS. 3277. The termination of campaigns occurred in other important illuminated books of the fourteenth century. The Ormesby Psalter, begun in the late thirteenth century, was subject to at least three separate campaigns extending over a quarter of a century; the St Omer Psalter, started around 1340, was not completed until the next century; the psalter of Simon de Montacute of ca 1345 suffered a similar fate; and work on the Luttrell Psalter was carried out in two stylistic phases, probably of ca 1340 and ca 1345. These manuscripts are discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.


9 Simpson (1984), pp.143-44.

10 Whereas it is quite common to find dated colophons in manuscripts produced in Flanders, France and Italy during this period, English books are largely devoid of such information.

11 From the mid thirteenth century, with the growing conformity towards a standard calendar of Salisbury (Sarum) use, local saints were increasingly omitted. For examples of thirteenth century Sarum calendars see Wickham Legg (1916), pp. xxi-xxii, 499-518. For an example of a Sarum calendar of ca 1340 see Magrath (1910).

12 Where a calendar is extant it is either not contemporary with the style of the entire manuscript, or was affixed to the book at a later date, probably in the place of the original, not necessarily more informative one.
second half of the fourteenth century, after the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348-49.

With these facts in mind it is obviously necessary to resort to other methods of analysis to solve these enigmatic problems. Linking manuscripts together on grounds of style, but especially by the precise identification of individual illuminators with a view to charting their development, is probably the most reliable means available for placing undated works in a chronological sequence when evidence of ownership and liturgy cannot fully provide these answers.\(^\text{13}\) Analogous to this, is the need for a close examination of every aspect of a book’s decoration, structure and history, of the type which Delaissé has termed ‘the archaeology of the book’.\(^\text{14}\) This method is of particular value when there has been more than one campaign in a manuscript. As Delaissé has noted: ‘many mediaeval books had a complicated and even sometimes a disturbed life: their execution was shared by different craftsmen, or was even interrupted and their content altered’.\(^\text{15}\)

This dissertation also hopes to show the individuality of artists at this time and thus a need to be aware of the various painting techniques and stylistic modifications which might be employed by a single miniaturist at different stages in his career. From an examination of English manuscripts in this period it soon becomes clear that illuminators were highly eclectic and thus keen to experiment with technique and form. They assimilated ideas not only from sources external to their tradition but also from the artists alongside whom they worked, some perhaps from neighbouring shops, others itinerant, even foreign. Experimentation of this kind therefore had a constantly modifying, sometimes transforming effect on their style.

There is, moreover, scope for a redefinition of the sources of the Bohun styles. Millar, who notes that the style is ‘a peculiar one’, suggests that the origins may lie in the East Anglian school of manuscripts and sees ‘no reason on stylistic grounds for supposing that they are not entirely the work of English artists’.\(^\text{16}\) Simpson has compared the Italianate style with that of Lombard painting, specifically that of the de Grassi.\(^\text{17}\) She readily concedes, however, that this material post-dates the appearance of this style in the Bohun manuscripts. In her discussion of Flemish influence she rightly acknowledges the importance of the so-called Louis de Male books, but fails to identify a Flemish illuminator as working in the Bohun manuscripts.\(^\text{18}\) She finally concludes that ‘there is no clear stylistic evidence of foreign illuminators working in England’, until the end of the

\(^\text{13}\) I have employed this approach, probably first devised by Wormald (see Wormald (1943), 71-79), elsewhere (see Dennison (1986a), 287-314).
\(^\text{14}\) Delaissé (1967), 9 ff., advocates applying the archaeological method (observing and analysing all material data in order to determine the time and place of production) for the medieval book.
\(^\text{15}\) Ibid., 8.
\(^\text{16}\) James and Millar (1936), pp.2-3; see also Millar (1928), p.27 and Pächt (1943), 57.
\(^\text{17}\) Simpson (1984), p.123. Rickert (1965), p.149, also considers this style to be Lombard in origin. For discussion of Italian influences, see Chapter 10 in this study.
Furthermore, there is confusion amongst scholars as to the 'more important of the Bohun styles'; whereas Simpson considers this to be the more Italianate of the two,20 Sandler, by contrast, considers the other [the Flemish style as defined by Simpson] to be the 'leading' style.21 It is the intention of this study to demonstrate that the two styles have equal significance in determining workshop practices at this date.

Millar has remarked that 'immediately after the production of the well-known Luttrell Psalter in about 1340, the output of illuminated manuscripts in England seems to have come to a sudden stop.'22 My research has shown that the dearth of high quality illumination in the 1340s, implied in this statement, has been much exaggerated. Firstly, there exist a number of manuscripts, assignable to this decade, which have received little or no attention from Millar, Rickert and more recently Simpson. These works, which are of vital importance for the understanding of the development of English miniature painting in the middle years of the fourteenth century, counteract the claim that this art was in absolute decline in these years. Secondly, a chronological realignment places certain manuscripts in the 1340s which have hitherto been dated after 1350. But what has not been exaggerated, it would appear, is the extent to which the Black Death curtailed the production of illuminated manuscripts in England.23 Both of these questions will be examined in chapters one and two. Sadly, few examples survive of monumental painting of this period which would have provided a greater insight into the dating and localisation of the respective workshops, further highlighting the need to resort to a detailed study of all available illumination.

19 Ibid., p.147.
20 Ibid., p.124.
21 Sandler (1985), 367.
23 Simpson (1984), p.113 claims the contrary but with no supporting evidence.
CHAPTER ONE

THE ENGLISH ORIGINS OF THE BOHUN STYLE I

Vienna, National Library, Cod. 1826* (ff. 7-49v)

The Vienna Psalter is a manuscript of 160 folios, comprising twenty-two gatherings, mostly of eight leaves, but some of the pages containing major illumination have been excised. It has been noted by various writers that ff. 7 to 49v, under discussion here, differ in style from the rest, and there has been a tendency to dismiss this portion as a rather unfortunate occurrence in an otherwise fine psalter. Rickert, for example, unjustly characterises it as a 'poor East Anglian style', the figures being 'feebly drawn', but she fails to define it further or provide a satisfactory source. However, it will be important to study this material in some detail for the illumination is of high quality and its presence in the Vienna folios can be shown to be of primary importance in establishing the origin of one of the workshops associated with the Bohun group of manuscripts. This chapter is concerned with tracing the career of a single illuminator: a chronology will be advanced for the works in which he participated, and a date and localisation proposed.

Folios 7 to 49v comprise six gatherings, four of eight leaves, one of seven and another of four, and contain psalms 1 to 57. The frontispieces to two of the major psalms, which would have occurred in this section – those for psalm 38, Dixi custodiam, and psalm 52, Dixit insipiens – have been excised leaving only two major folios of illumination, the Beatus page on f. 7 (Fig. 1) and that for psalm 26, Dominus illuminatio mea, on f. 25v (Fig. 2). There are three-line historiated initials for the minor psalms (Figs 4,5,6): these are accompanied by a border in the left-hand margin which usually extends beyond the first and last row of text. The shafts then terminate mostly in short foliage flourishes. There are numerous highly decorative verse initials and line-fillers.

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1 Millar (1928), pp.27, 67, 86 (no.264), pl.70; Hermann (1936), pp.17-38, pls iv-ix; James and Millar (1936), pp.33-46, pls xxxix-lvi; Rickert (1952), pp.73, 74-75, pls xla, b; Unzicker (1957), i, 51; Rickert (1961), 20, pl.v (later work); Rickert (1965), pp.149, 243-44, nn.10, 11, 14; Unzicker (1967), pp.176-79, pl.41 (later work); Simpson (1980), p.141; Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.22-23, 35, 85, pl.23; Simpson (1984), pp.120, 121-23, 128, 143, pls 164-67. For a discussion of Bohun patronage, see Chapter 11 of this study.

2 For details of the excised leaves, see Appendix 1.


5 See Appendix 1.
(i) Definition of style

Before suggesting possible precedents the style of Vienna ff. 7-49 will be defined. The *Beatus* page (Fig. 1) has borders composed in a rectilinear structure, with slender and continuous cusped shafts, broken at five points by foliage medallions containing heraldic devices. There is a large historiated initial in the top left-hand corner, occupying nine lines of the twenty-three line text, and a small scene above the lower marginal bar. The cusped borders yield at intervals to symmetrical foliage flourishes and are inhabited with climbing men and grotesques.

The historiated initial for psalm 26 occupies lines twelve to twenty of the text (Fig. 2). There are full borders on three sides while foliage extensions occupy the outer margin. The decoration is less formally disposed on this folio, although rectilinear shafts are still visible at the extremity of the upper and lower marginal bars. A notable feature is the increased width of the cusping, compared with that on the *Beatus* folio; it becomes more fluid and contains a rich variety of foliage, five climbing men and two grotesques.

Although the underlying technique is basically linear there are clear painterly tendencies; thick washes of colour are employed for the flesh and the draperies and as a result of the glair or gum arabic blended with the pigments certain colours appear glazed. This technique is especially effectively employed in the painting of the draperies, for delineating the folds and for highlighting the flesh when pure white is used. The facial features are skilfully etched in black, brown or orange pen lines.

The seated David on the *Beatus* page (Fig. 1) is a fairly monumental figure with draperies of fine material which cascade from his knees in gentle gathers. The effect of finely spun cloth has been achieved by a water-colour technique, but along the length of the folds, where the paint is darker, the effect is mildly glazed. Drapery of this type is also employed for the capes of the young men below David, the two figures in the left-hand stave of the initial and the cape-like garments worn by the climbing men and grotesques in the adjoining border. The figures do not display any marked mannerisms; they are small and slender in build with well-articulated limbs and expressive gestures. The faces of the younger beardless men conform to a single prototype: the chins are rounded, the mouths small and the noses tend to be a little rounded at the tip and of the same width from one extremity to the other; shoulder-length, bobbed hair covers the ears. The middle-aged men, such as the falling figure in the *Beatus* initial, closely resemble the younger ones but for the addition of a beard, whereas the older males are distinguished by a pronounced, mildly bearded chin and a more prominent nose. The older men are further characterised by a rather square-shaped hood and adjoining cape, each delineated in a distinctive white line. God and the enthroned figure of David have more carefully rendered features than the rest.

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6 Glair and gum arabic were used as binding agents in illumination: see Thompson (1936), pp.55-57.
Some of the men wear knee-length, fashionable tunics, with tight-fitting sleeves and bodices. In isolated cases, such as in the initial to the second psalm on the Beatus page, the artist has taken care to show the tunic buttoned down the centre, otherwise very little elaboration occurs; from the belt, just below the waist, the tunic splays out into loose gathers. As well as contemporary garments, full and three quarter-length ones are worn, some tightly fitted to the waist and mildly flared, giving a slightly blocky effect to the figures.

The faces of the grotesques on the Beatus page bear close comparison with the human faces, showing only a mild exaggeration of their features. However, whereas in the Dominus illuminatio initial the faces are more vehement, the grotesques and climbing men in the adjoining border also show these characteristics (Fig. 2). Although these heads contrast with the more refined types on the Beatus page the same hand can be assigned to each, since the remaining figures in the initial are exact prototypes of those which appear elsewhere in those folios; an explanation for these intensified expressions probably lies in the violent nature of the subject-matter of this initial. The climbing men, particularly the two who stand in the left-hand border, one immediately above, the other just below the historiated initial, are skilfully drawn anatomically, in contrast to the somewhat wooden figures to the left of the scene in the initial itself. The lower figure is especially well rendered in its muscle structure and skilled foreshortening of the limbs (Fig. 2).

For the majority of folios containing three-line psalm initials there is a vertical stem of foliage enclosed within a slender, cusped shaft of delicately pounced burnished gold, or of alternate painted and gold segments, the painted areas enlivened with liquid gold, some with short, paired flourishes which grow organically from the inner stem and terminate in the margin (Fig. 4). In instances where the single thread is used the marginal bars are decorated with a series of mostly single gold leaves, spaced at intervals, in the form of decorative appendages (Fig. 34). This is the basic arrangement, but the cusping sometimes widens to accommodate longer leaves, foliage coils, climbing men and grotesques (Figs 4,5,6). The repertoire of leaf and flower forms is fairly extensive, consisting of a number of variations on certain basic types.7

The palette in these folios is vibrant and pristine with subtle colour combinations. The juxtaposition of certain intensified colours does not create a strident or garish effect but one which is rich and harmonious. The marginal decoration is given a jewel-like appearance by the use of bright pigments in conjunction with white highlighting and gold pouncing.

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7 The ivy leaf takes a number of forms: it appears in an elongated, wavy version and in a variety of profile shapes; other recognisable types include sycamore, oak, holly, beech and strawberry flowers, as well as marigold, daisy and cornflower buds; non-naturalistic foliage forms include rounded trefoils (perhaps clover), kidney, heart and spear-shaped leaves, and variants of the serrated whole and half cabbage leaf.
(ii) Sources of the style

A manuscript whose principal folios of illumination combine, as here, both fluid and rectilinear elements, is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 366, the Ormesby Psalter. If comparison is made between the Dominus illuminatio page (Fig. 2) from the Vienna Psalter and f. 71 in Douce 366, illustrating psalm 51 (Fig. 3), it can be seen that apart from the obvious simplification of the decorative elements in the Vienna folio, the two pages agree in the disposition of their forms: there are wide, cusped elements in the left-hand margin, two narrow foliage extensions on the right, and a combination of wide and narrow cusped shapes in the upper and lower borders. Climbing men inhabit the leaf-filled cusping in the Vienna folio; these semi-nude figures probably derive ultimately from related types in the Ormesby Psalter which contains probably the earliest examples of these forms to occur in English art.

That the Ormesby Psalter lies in the background of the Vienna style becomes all the more plausible when a further manuscript is considered, which more readily forms a transition from the Ormesby to Vienna folios: a Psalter, Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 131. Two artists work in this manuscript but the hand of immediate concern illuminated the historiated initials and borders at the divisions of psalms 1, 109, 121 and Confitebor (the opening to the canticles), the full page miniature prefacing psalm 109 and the historiated initials (but not the borders) to psalms 97 and 101. Although Douce 131 was a more modest production and does not compare with the Ormesby Psalter in scale and profusion of ornament, examination of the Ormesby Jesse folio (Fig. 7) and the Beatus page in Douce 131 (Fig. 8) demonstrates clearly the debt owed to the Ormesby Psalter by the Douce 131 artist. If attention is focused on the woody stems arising from the reclining Jesse in the lower border, woven into medallions in the right and left margins, they can be seen to agree in both structure and subject-matter. The foliage compartments contain scroll-carrying prophets and apostles and the cusped ornament surrounding them has mostly single leaf terminations. The Douce 131 artist has achieved something of the contrapposto poses of the Ormesby figures, which in certain cases are almost identical. The prophet positioned in the top right-hand medallion in each is remarkably similar, and the lower right-hand prophet in Douce 131 appears to be a translation of the one standing second from the bottom in the right-hand border of the Ormesby page. Comparison can also be made between the two prophets in the lower left-hand corner of the Ormesby

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8 See principally Cockerell and James (1926); Millar (1928), pp.2-3, 44-45, 79 (no.207), pls 1-5; Pächt and Alexander (1973), nos 499, 536, 581 where detailed bibliography is given. See also Lasko and Morgan (1973), no. 21.

9 The campaign of illumination in which this type of decoration features (the historiated initials to psalms 38, 51, 52, 68, 80, 97 and 109) is datable on stylistic grounds to ca 1315-20. See Pächt (1943), 54-57 and Lasko and Morgan (1973), no.21.

10 Millar (1928), pp.23, 60, 85 (no.253), pl.54; Wormald (1943), 72; Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.590, pls liii-lixiv, with bibliography; Alexander (1983), p.142, pl.2.

11 For discussion of the other illuminator, see Chapter 2.
folio and the two selected by the Douce 131 hand for the left-hand border. It is conceivable that his solution for the design of the Beatus page resulted from a selection of iconography and decorative forms from the Ormesby Jesse page and its adjacent Beatus folio depicting the harping David (Fig. 10).

On most of the remaining major folios of decoration in Douce 131 the artist surrounds the text with an organic leafy stem which blossoms at intervals into cusped forms containing grotesques (Figs 11,14). Similar forms, but on an enlarged scale, occur in the Ormesby Psalter, as in the top right-hand corner of the Dominus illuminatio folio (Fig. 12) where a grotesque with human head and dragon's body is neatly encased within the ornamental cusping. The border on f. 71v in Douce 366 is composed of both wide areas of cusped ornament and slender stems with leafy terminations (Fig. 3); a similar structure occurs on the Ad Dominum and Confitebor folios in Douce 131 (Figs 11,15), where the narrow cusping of the border broadens out to accommodate the historiated initial. Furthermore, a remarkably close iconographic relationship exists between the respective Trinity miniatures on the Dixit Dominus folios (Figs 13,14), where God the Father and God the Son adopt severely frontal, majestic poses, each with outward-facing palms and hands raised to shoulder height in blessing.

It is well known that the Ormesby Psalter contains experimentation in the technique of modelling flesh and draperies. On f. 71v in the main campaign (Fig. 3) there is a determined modelling of the flesh so as to emphasise the muscle and bone structure of the semi-nude figure in the border (the figure is modelled in subtle tones of brown and pink), but on close examination this form of modelling proves to be basically water-colour in application. In the later campaign, however, comprising the added donors in the Jesse miniature and the harping David on the Beatus page (Figs 7,10) the technique constitutes a new departure in English illumination. There is extremely subtle modelling of the faces; the base of the flesh consists of thick white pigment, lightly modelled in pale pink and brown, and overlaid with white highlights. Vigorous white highlights, especially evident on the garments of the harping David and the kneeling bishop, are liberally applied, and greatly enhance the corporeality of the figure, while thick white pigment is skilfully used to emphasise the individual strands of hair and beard in order to create a textured effect. The Douce 131 hand is similarly preoccupied with a painterly rendering of form, particularly for the faces, where there is a generous application of thick white pigment for the base of the flesh and distinctive green modelling for the facial features. There is, moreover, a skilful depiction of a nude foreshortened figure in the stave of the Cantate initial (Fig. 9), recalling the related types (some still fully clad) in the Vienna and Ormesby Psalters (Figs 2,3). Pächt in his discussion of the semi-naked figures in the borders of the Ormesby Psalter notes that special care is taken to stress their anatomical structure, whereas the draped figures within the accompanying initial show no sign that
the basic Gothic conception of the human body had been abandoned; he concludes that there is a slight discrepancy between the conservative treatment of the central themes and the freer handling of the marginal decoration. This is precisely what has occurred in both the Douce initial (Fig. 9) and the Dominus illuminatio folio in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 2). Although the figures within the initial — the central theme — are rather wooden (note the falling figure in the lower part of the initial), the climbing men outside, immediately above and below the initial, show considerable plasticity. As aptly noted by Pächt in his discussion of the Ormesby Psalter, it is in the accessories and themes of minor rank that these progressive tendencies usually manifest themselves for 'the censorship to which new ideas are subjected by forces exterior to the artist and within him is less severe where the issues seem less important'.

The artist of the added donors and harping David in the Ormesby Psalter also illuminated the fourteenth-century portion of the St Omer Psalter, British Library, Yates Thompson MS. 14. It is therefore not surprising to find parallels between Douce 131 and the St Omer Psalter. The thickly painted white faces with staring, beady eyes compare with those in the St Omer Beatus initial (Fig. 16) where the contorted figures of the type noted in the Ormesby and Douce Jesse pages also occur (Figs 7,8); and there is a marked affinity between the angular, rather mannered pose of the Virgin with the standing Child which occur in both manuscripts (Figs 15,16).

Two principal artists participated in the group of manuscripts associated with the so-called English-Italianate phase in illumination. The artist of the final campaign in the Ormesby Psalter appears to have illuminated the first campaign in the St Omer Psalter, while the other artist can be assigned the added page of the Crucifixion in the Gorleston Psalter and the ill-fated Psalter in Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 171. It would appear that this illuminator was also responsible for the decoration in a little known manuscript of Bede's Historia ecclesiastica in Cambridge, Trinity College R.7.3, a work by which it is possible to catch a glimpse of the original splendour of the Douai Psalter.

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12 Pächt (1943), 56.
13 Ibid.
14 Lasko and Morgan (1973), with bibliography. See also Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.19, 80, pl.21; Simpson (1984), pp.114, 118, 122, 123, 125, 131, 143, pl. 163, 171.
15 This comprises the Douai Psalter, Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS.171; the Crucifixion miniature added to the Gorleston Psalter, London, B.L., Add. MS.49622; the added donors (f.9v) and Beatus page in the Ormesby Psalter, Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS. Douce 366; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS.R.7.3, Bede, Historia ecclesiastica; and the St Omer Psalter, London, B.L., Yates Thompson MS.14. For further details and bibliography, see Lasko and Morgan (1973), nos 20, 21, 27, 28. For bibliography relating to the Bede, see n.17 below.
16 This manuscript was virtually destroyed by damp in the First World War. Although it is still in a poor state of preservation, restoration work has been carried out on the psalter. There is a useful set of photographs in the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute of Art, taken after restoration. See also pls xvi-xvii in Cockerell (1907).
17 For a description of this manuscript see James (1901), pp.217-18. See also Henderson (1985), p.67 pl.4.
The main differences between the two artists can be briefly characterised. The St Omer-Ormesby hand is distinguished by two marked characteristics. Firstly, he has a tendency to outline the figures which can give them an insubstantial, rather flat appearance. This is well illustrated in the Ormesby Psalter by the added donors (note especially the head of the cleric on the right) (Fig. 7) and in the St Omer Psalter by the small figures, particularly the nude ones, which inhabit the borders on the Beatus page (Fig. 137). Secondly, as noted, his figures can appear angular with spiky, mannered limbs, as in the harping David in the Ormesby Beatus and certain seated figures in the St Omer Beatus (Figs 10,16). The Douai-Gorleston artist’s figures are more monumental in form and there are indications of greater characterisation in the faces (Figs 17,18,19). There can be little doubt that the hand of the Gorleston Crucifixion also illuminated the Bede; this is clear alone from the heads (Figs 17,19,20). Moreover, the faces of the small figures in the Bede (Fig. 21) compare closely with those in Douce 131 (Fig. 9), a correspondence which is further underlined when comparison is made between the Douce and Douai heads (Figs 9,22). Again (as with the parallels which can be drawn between Douce 131 and the Ormesby Psalter) there is not sufficient agreement to make a hand attribution, but the origins of the Douce 131 artist’s style seem to lie in the manuscripts of the Italianate phase in English illumination.

The Judgement of Solomon miniature in Douce 131 contains an elaborate architectural structure quite unlike anything hitherto observed in extant English illumination (Fig. 23). Highly ingenious structures of this sort, in reduced form, also occur in the historiated initials Ad dominum cum tribularer and Confitebor in this Psalter (Figs 9,15). The artists of the Italianate phase were also interested in rendering space three-dimensionally, but the result was less pretentious; they created small box-like interiors which give a fairly convincing appearance of depth (Fig. 16). Closer observation of the Douce structures, however, discloses that unlike those in the St Omer Psalter they are essentially two-dimensional, the effects of solidity and recession having been achieved largely by modelling techniques and not from a knowledge of perspective. This may suggest that the Douce structure derived from a different source, not directly Italian, but possibly Flemish in origin. The architectural canopy is remarkably similar to those which surround the full page miniatures in the Bodleian Romance of Alexander, Oxford, Bodley MS. 264,18 produced between 1338 and 1344 (Figs 23,24). Moreover, the rather angular quality noted in connection with the St Omer hand and certain figures in Douce 131 is a feature of style shared by one of the artists in the Bodleian Alexander (Figs 16,24,345).

A further manuscript which can be seen to form a transition from the Italianate phase to the Vienna folios is an English Psalter in Brescia, Queriniana Library, MS. A.V.17.19

18 James (1933). For further bibliography, see Pächt and Alexander (1973) no.297. This manuscript will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.
19 Guerrini (1926), 287-96.
It is a manuscript which holds much in common with Douce 131. The Beatus page of the Brescia Psalter has a miniature containing an architectural structure as bizarre as that in the Solomon miniature in Douce 131 (Figs 23,25). In this work, however, these devices are confined to the opening miniature. The roof tops and domed turrets in each scene are of blue highlighted in white, and a thick application of white and grey pigment in tonal modelling characterises the architecture as a whole. The palette in both works is subtle and fairly limited in range, incorporating various tones of grey, blue, green and orange. The decorative campaign as a whole can be assigned to two artists. The illuminator under discussion was responsible for the historiated initials and borders to psalms 1, 26, 38 and 52, and the remaining border decoration in the calendar and main text, as well as the borders to the initials by the other hand.20

The affinity between Douce 131 and the Brescia Psalter extends to the figures: the representation of David in the Brescia miniature corresponds closely to that of Solomon in the Judgement scene (Figs 23,25), while the elegant seated figure of Saul in the Brescia Dixit insipiens initial (Fig. 38), with delicately fashioned hands and heavy cascading drapery can be compared with the figure of the Virgin in the Douce manuscript (Fig. 15). The gently waving outlines of many of the garments are given greater emphasis by a pattern of dots; comparison can be made between Saul’s gown in the Dixit insipiens initial in the Brescia Psalter and David’s in the Beatus initial in Douce 131 (Figs 8,38).

In both psalters the compositions are placed against exquisitely pounced gold backgrounds. The motif chosen for the Beatus initial in Douce 131 and the Dixi custodiam initial in the Brescia Psalter is based on an identical scroll and leaf pattern (Figs 8,40). Although the iconography of the Beatus pages differs in each, the basic elements of design are in agreement: a rectangular miniature with an historiated initial beneath and border decoration on all sides (Figs 8,25).

Further comparison, however, highlights certain anomalies in style. Whereas Douce 131 is still strongly affected by the Italianate tradition, the Brescia Psalter, although remaining painterly, is apparently moving towards a more linear style. Without exception, the faces in Douce 131 are characterised by luminous green shading on a thick white base, a technique not found in the Brescia Psalter. Similarly, there is not the degree of applied ornament on the architectural structure; mannered figure types, of which the Douce Virgin is an example, are no longer evident, and the facial features have also softened (Fig. 25). The introduction of small figures, more rounded in form, of the type found in the Beatus miniature, has created greater movement and liveliness; compared with these supple figures those in Douce 131 appear almost static, even when movement is suggested. This is fully illustrated by the awkward gesture and stiff stance of the soldier brandishing a sword in the Judgement of Solomon scene (Fig. 23).

20 This artist is discussed in the following chapter.
Despite these discrepancies, however, the illumination appears to be by the same hand. Other similarly enigmatic manuscripts of the period support the suggestion that where there are close correspondences in style but differences in technique and the rendering of form, it will often be a single artist undergoing development. Unless it is acknowledged that illuminators at this date were especially keen to experiment, even to the point where their styles become transformed, vital links between manuscripts, and indeed workshops, might be overlooked. This is especially critical when correspondences between manuscripts seem on the surface to be tenuous. These artists appear to have been more than usually receptive to influences whether from their native contemporaries or foreign sources; but that their interest was short-lived is reflected in the way in which they appropriated these forms and techniques. That this motivating force was largely alien to their understanding is shown by the transitory appearance of these new forms and techniques. For example, the elaborate façade of the building in the Judgement of Solomon miniature (Fig. 23) was probably appropriated in the form in which it hitherto existed as an architectural canopy resembling a stage-set of the type used throughout the Romance of Alexander, Oxford, Bodley 264. As a result the building is not spatially three-dimensional but is essentially decorative in form. Similarly, the skilfully rendered nude figure in the letter form of the Cantate initial in Douce 131 (Fig. 9) was probably borrowed, as in the Omnesby Psalter (Fig. 3), from Bolognese Decretal manuscripts, as no doubt was this illuminator's passing interest in green facial modelling. Innovatory forms and techniques of this type were not sustained or consistently applied to the central themes. It was Pächt who suggested that this was probably due to conservatism and convention. Although experimentation of this kind affected the artist's development it is clear that he had a better understanding of the sources and influences which stemmed from his native background.

Having absorbed certain lessons, the artist appears to have been reverting to something more like the norm in the Brescia Psalter, a manuscript which exemplifies movement towards a more linear technique, although the thick application of pigment is not entirely abandoned. This progression is reinforced by the border decoration: the cusped forms containing grotesques at focal positions, as in Douce 131, are preserved, as are the single leaf terminals, but the Brescia borders, although still mildly cusped, have become more slender, rectilinear and consistent throughout. On the folios illustrating the main psalms, straight borders fill three of the margins while the fourth is occupied by two curling tendrils which issue from each vertical bar (Figs 25, 26, 30, 33). There is a single exception to this arrangement on the Dominus illuminatio page where the borders are unbroken (Fig.

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21 See the following chapter for further discussion of this question.
22 See n. 18 above.
23 See Chapter 10 for further discussion.
24 Pächt (1943), 56.
It is possible that this transformation in style came about as a direct result of the artist's contact with another workshop, the workshop which produced the Astor Psalter-Hours and the Psalter of Simon de Montacute, Cambridge, St John's College, MS. D.30. The same artist was responsible for the border decoration in the two works (Figs 27,28). Since more of the original campaign survives in the Astor manuscript, comparisons will be made on the basis of that work. The borders at the main Psalter and Hours divisions are homogeneous in design. The majority have continuous unbroken borders, composed of fairly wide rectilinear bars, formalised tracery and barbed quatrefoils containing heraldic shields. This formal disposition of the decorative elements never surrenders in favour of a cusped bar, and the cusping at focal points on the borders does not surround the amoeba-like grotesques, as in the Douce or Brescia Psalters, but delineates the foliage roundels. A fresh repertoire of leaves appears in the Brescia Psalter, some of which find a parallel in the Astor manuscript. However, the single most significant factor in determining the existence of parallel types arises from a study of the structures themselves. If comparison is made between the Exultate folio in the Astor Psalter-Hours (Fig. 29) and the Salvum me fac page (Fig. 30) in the Brescia Psalter it can be seen that each has an identical arrangement of the border elements: there are rectilinear bars on three sides, the upper margin contains two curling foliage tendrils, and further flourishes, usually in pairs, issue from the right-hand stem; the lower border is given central emphasis by two symmetrically placed foliage leaf terminals. Further evidence that contact had been made with this workshop is shown by the Brescia artist's collaborator, whose stylised eccentric draperies have a parallel in those of the Astor illuminator (Figs 31,32).

There is a close correspondence between the border forms in the Brescia Psalter and those in the Vienna campaign. If the left-hand border on the Dixit Dominus folio (Fig. 33) is compared with f. 9v in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 34), they agree in the employment of a slender, mildly cusped stem in burnished gold which encloses an inner thread of foliage; the stem is further ornamented with a paired foliage coil and single burnished gold ivy leaves which decorate the outer bar of gold cusping. Striking comparison can also be made between the border on f. 11 in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 35), in which rectilinear...
elements extend into the upper and lower margins, and the *Dominus illuminatio* page in the Brescia Psalter (Fig. 36). The amoeba-like cusping is maintained in the Vienna Psalter, where it not only encloses dragons and grotesques but the repertoire is enlarged to include climbing men and a richer variety of leaves (Figs 1,2,4,5,6,39). A number of leaf forms find a precise parallel although the range is wider in the Vienna Psalter.

In the case of the figures the affinity is so striking that there can be little doubt that the Brescia and Vienna artists are one and the same: they do not display any marked mannerisms; in each they are small and slender, with supple, well-articulated limbs, delicately formed hands and waving arms, with which they produce expressive eloquent gestures. Comparison can be made between the group of figures in the bottom left-hand corner of each *Beatus* scene (Figs 25,37) and between the seated David in the Vienna *Beatus* and the Saul in the Brescia initial (Figs 37,38 ), where the drapery cascades down from the knees and forms into soft gathers. The drapery of David's garment, however, is of a finer material than Saul's. The difference between them highlights a slight modification in the application of the colour which has occurred in the Vienna manuscript; this technique, which gives a semi-diaphanous, glazed appearance to the draperies, characterises the garments worn by some of the climbing figures and grotesques in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 1,2,37,39). Moreover, there is a single occurrence of this technique in the Astor Psalter-Hours where it is used by the artist of the Annunciation initial on f. 6 (Fig. 41), who appears only once. A further technique used by the Brescia artist in the Vienna Psalter consists of a drier application of white pigment, usually on blue draperies. Both techniques occur in the manuscripts of the Italianate workshop. An essential link, therefore, is preserved between the products of the Italianate phase and the Vienna Psalter, with the Astor Psalter-Hours acting as one possible intermediary.

On the *Beatus* folio in the Vienna manuscript (Fig. 37) a small oak tree is painted in a distinctive wash of viridian pigment agreeing exactly with the one in the initial to psalm 38 in the Brescia Psalter (Fig. 40). Further securing the close relationship between these books is the pounced motif which was noted to correspond in Douce 131 and the Brescia Psalter; it also occurs in the Vienna Psalter and in the Annunciation initial in the Astor Psalter-Hours (Figs 2,41), and other pounced motifs agree in the three Psalters.

That contact had been made with the Astor-Montacute workshop is demonstrated by the *Beatus* page in the Vienna and Montacute Psalters which agree in figure style, iconography (comprising David harping in the historiated initial and David stoning Goliath in the lower border) and a formal symmetrical arrangement of the decorative elements (Figs 1,27). The format of the Vienna Psalter similarly evokes the *Beatus* page in the St Omer Psalter (Figs 1,137). The St Omer folio, without question, outmatches the two other examples in its lavish display of ornament and painstaking attention to detail, but this approach has been largely governed by the need to house additional subject-
matter in the borders. Although sharing a basic rectilinearity with the Montacute design, both the St Omer and Vienna artists develop in varying degrees a border structure based on cusped forms (Figs 1,137). The Vienna borders are a diluted and modified version of the ornately cusped structure of the St Omer page: the three shields which appear in the right-hand border of the Vienna folio are contained within cusped elements, connected one to the other by means of foliage interface, as are the foliage roundels in the St Omer Psalter. The structure of the Beatus initial offers further parallels: the left-hand section of the letter form in both is divided at the top, bottom and in the centre by a knot of interface which creates two oblong chambers for the accommodation of subject-matter, while the rounded element of the initial contains foliage knots and further compartments for the ornament – grotesques in the Vienna and musicians in the St Omer Psalter. The climbing men in the upper border of the St Omer page grow from the foliage tendrils in the same organic manner, as do the two grotesques in the upper border on the Vienna page.

The marginal bars to the minor psalms in the St Omer Psalter are analogous in structure to those in the Brescia and Vienna folios; they consist of a stem of foliage which emanates from the psalm initial, is gently cusped along its length and terminates just above and below the first and last line of text in short, leafy extensions which occupy the lower margin. The St Omer borders, however, lack the amoeba-like forms containing hybrids, characteristic of the Vienna artist, and which appear to derive from the Ormesby Psalter.

(iii) Chronology of works by Vienna Hand A

This illuminator, who has been identified in three manuscripts (the Douce, Brescia and Vienna Psalters), will be named Vienna Hand A. A degree of refinement and homogeneity suggests that the Vienna folios are later in date; the unifying process which was underway in the Brescia Psalter advances in the Vienna folios to the point where the various stylistic and technical anomalies are overcome. Despite the innovatory nature of Douce 131 it is clearly this artist’s earliest extant work, pre-dating his contact with the Astor-Montacute workshop. This is evidenced in the more elegant border style of the Brescia Psalter, a feature which is carried over to the Vienna manuscript where, moreover, there is a wider range of ornament in the borders, line-fillers and verse initials. This progression is supported by the palette: that in the Brescia Psalter might be described as standing midway between the rather limited range in Douce 131 and the more extensive one in the Vienna Psalter. Also indicating a later date is the introduction of the tight-waisted, fashionable tunics which do not occur in either the Douce or Brescia Psalters (Fig. 1).
The Ormesby and St Omer Psalter workshops clearly lie at the root of the Vienna A Hand's style. Elements of iconography, ornament and technique testify to his intimate knowledge of these manuscripts. Douce 131 could well have been executed when the artist was still in close contact with those illuminators; judging from extant books, however, he does not appear to have collaborated with any of them, although his style is very close to that in the Douai Psalter and the Bede.

(iv) Localisation of Vienna Hand A's style

It has been shown that the style of ff. 7-49v ultimately derives from the manuscripts of the Italianate phase in English painting for which there is strong documentary and liturgical evidence in favour of Norwich as a centre of production. Unfortunately, both the calendar and litany of Douce 131 are no longer extant and those in the Vienna Psalter do not belong to the campaign in question; even so, the latter are of Sarum use and nothing can be gleaned from them concerning a provenance. The Brescia Psalter, however, is more informative, having such saints as Ermenilda on 13 February, Withburga on 17 March, with her deposition on 8 July, and the translation of St Etheldreda on 17 October, which clearly localises it to the diocese of Ely. Later obits in the calendar indicate that the Brescia Psalter may have been commissioned by a member of the Willoughby family of Lincolnshire.

Next to be considered for liturgical evidence are the manuscripts closely associated with Vienna Hand A, namely the Astor Psalter-Hours and the Psalter of Simon de Montacute. The Montacute Psalter, like the Brescia manuscript, has strong Ely associations. Not only does the calendar contain the same notable feasts (it is almost identical), but it was commissioned by Simon de Montacute, Bishop of Ely from 1337 until his death in 1345. His arms occur in the lower border on the Beatus page (Fig. 27). The Astor Psalter-Hours is of Dominican use, and although it contains the dedication of the Dominican church at Shrewsbury on 13 July it was commissioned by

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29 For discussion of this see Lasko and Morgan (1973), nos 20, 21, 26, 27 and 28 where further bibliography is cited. The style of the successive campaigns in both the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters is related and indicates an origin in the Norwich area.
31 For the obits see Guerrini (1926), 291, 295.
32 See n.26 above. Although it is generally thought that the calendar was produced when the manuscript was completed (see bibliography cited in n.26) the script and vellum appear to match the earlier campaign; it would seem that only the decoration - including the painted initials - was added around 1400.
33 D.N.B., s.v
34 Argent three lozenges in fess gules, within a bordure bendy or and azure.
35 For a transcription of the calendar (the months of January, February, November and December are lacking), see Appendix VIII. It is erroneously stated in the Brussels exhibition catalogue (see Alexander and Kauffmann, 1973, no.67) that the dedication of the Dominicans of Shrewsbury occurs on 13 October.
Elizabeth de Bohun, daughter of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, wife of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton. Her arms are to be found on the Beatus page, alongside those of her first husband, Edmund Mortimer, and those of William de Bohun (Fig. 28). Elizabeth evidently patronised the Dominicans for on her death she donated the large sum of £50 to the Cambridge Blackfriars. Although the text was probably prepared for her by the Dominicans it was clearly illuminated in close proximity to the Brescia and Montacute Psalters.

As stated, nothing can be derived concerning provenance from the liturgy in the Vienna Bohun Psalter, but there are clear indications of ownership: five shields of arms are contained within the borders on the Beatus page (Fig. 1): top left, the quartered arms of England and France; top right and bottom left, Bohun; middle right, Butler; bottom right, Courtenay. Moreover, the partially erased name of Humphrey occurs five times in the collects of the memoriae, suggesting a connection with one of the Bohun earls of Hereford and Essex. The stylistic connection noted between the Astor and Vienna manuscripts is therefore supported by family ties of ownership.

The Bohun earls of Hereford and Essex had a concentration of lands in Essex, centred on their castle at Pleshey, where the successive earls enjoyed the hereditary constableship of England. Three at least of the Bohun wills, and other evidence, indicate that this branch of the family principally resided at Pleshey Castle in Essex. Although attention is always concentrated on the homogeneous group of Bohun manuscripts discussed by Millar and James in the Roxburghe edition, it appears that the fourth earl, who was killed at Boroughbridge in 1322 and was father of William de Bohun, was also a patron of manuscripts. The Alfonso Psalter, begun around 1284 for the proposed marriage of Edward I’s son, Alfonso, to the daughter of the Count of Holland, was not completed until the fourteenth century when it passed into the hands of the fourth earl Humphrey and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. The calendar contains various obits closely associated with Humphrey and Elizabeth and the Bohun arms also occur. Furthermore, the calendar has an East Anglian flavour and the decoration of this second campaign relates closely to the Hours of Alice de Reydon, a manuscript which can be

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37 Barry of six or and azure on a chief or two pallets between the base esquires azure, over all an inescutcheon argent (Mortimer); azure on a bend argent between the cotises and six lions rampant or three mullets gules (Bohun, earl of Northampton).
38 Palmer (1884-5), 206.
39 On ff.151v (twice), 152v, 153, 155.
41 Nichols (1780), pp.44-56, 57-58, 177-86; G.E.C., vi (1926), 472, 474, 475. For further discussion, see Chapter 11.
42 For the fourth earl, see G.E.C., vi (1926), 467-70; and for discussion of the Alfonso Psalter, London, B.L., Add. MS. 24686, in the context of the Bohun family, see Bond (1863), 79, 80, 84, 85, 79-80, 84-85.
43 Ibid., 79, 80.
localised on liturgical grounds and evidence of ownership to the Fenland region of East Anglia. Secondly, the fourth earl commissioned a Breviary, now MS. 10 in the Library of the Marquess of Bath in Longleat, which was for use at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire. Moreover, Humphrey owned a set of service books for use in the chapel of Denney, Cambridgeshire. The purpose for this digression is not to suggest that the fourth earl, who died as stated in 1322, is the Humphrey de Bohun mentioned in the Vienna memoriae, but to demonstrate that it was not unusual for this Essex-based family to commission books for use in the Fenlands and the Ely diocese rather than, as one might argue, in the diocese of London.

The evidence gathered so far points in the direction of Cambridgeshire for the localisation of the workshop of Vienna Hand A and related manuscripts. Cambridge, rather than Ely itself, would be the more likely centre of this activity. However, the strong stylistic connection of Hand A with the Ormesby-St Omer group suggests that he originated in the Norwich area, possibly Norwich itself, and that his migration to Cambridge took place at the time he made contact with the Astor-Montacute workshop which, as shown, added a further ingredient to his style.

(v) Dating

The products of the Italianate workshop, from which the Vienna style ultimately derives, appear to have been dated too early. It is stated in the literature that this style was current as early as 1322. A date of 1322 is derived for the Douai Psalter on account of a set of historical notes contained in the original text which record events connected with Norwich to that year. An identical set of notes is found in British Library, Stowe MS. 12, a Breviary. Although the border decoration in the Douai Psalter unquestionably derives from the Breviary its figure style belongs to a totally different milieu. Although painterly tendencies are mildly detectable in the Stowe figures they are essentially linear, showing only marginal development on the style of the first and main campaign of the Gorleston Psalter which would appear to be an earlier work of his hand. It is highly unlikely that two such diverse styles as these could have existed side by side in the same workshop. But how can the historical notes in Douai be explained? A likely explanation is that the scribe of the Douai Psalter used the textual exemplar of Stowe MS. 12 (they were clearly produced in the same workshop, albeit at different dates) without updating it.

44 Cambridge, University Library, Dd.4.17 (the Reydon Hours) has a calendar and litany which suggest an origin in the region of Cambridge.
45 Sandler (1976), 1-20, especially 1-3.
46 Ibid., 1.
47 See Millar (1928), p.7; Plicht (1943), 53, who refers in n.2 to Cockerell's dating; Lasko and Morgan (1973), discussion under entries for nos 20, 21, 27 and 28; Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.18-19, 78.
48 Lasko and Morgan (1973), no.26, with bibliography; Sandler (1976), 4,5,9,14-15, pl.2e.
If this were the case then it is possible to place a realistically later date on the Douai Psalter and other works to which its style relates. A later date for the Italianate artist’s partnership not only makes better sense in relation to the style of the Stowe Breviary but places these manuscripts in closer line with developments which occurred between 1330 and 1350, and in the second half of the fourteenth century. Narrower dating of the other works cannot be sought on the basis of any internal evidence; the burden therefore rests on any conclusions which might be drawn from their style. It is argued, probably on account of the historical notes in the Douai Psalter, that it is John Salmon, bishop of Norwich from 1299 to 1325, to whom Robert of Ormesby is presenting the Psalter in Douce 366 (Fig. 7),49 but in the light of its style a date of between 1325 and 1336, the bishopric of William de Ayermin, is more acceptable.50 The Crucifixion in the Gorleston Psalter was also added later, the Bede is not datable internally and the St Omer Psalter, commissioned by the St Omers of Mulbarton, could date to any time between 1340 and 1348-49.51 It would appear that the Italianate phase of illumination extended from ca 1330 to ca 1340. The Douai Psalter, by the Gorleston hand, is probably the earliest product of this phase while the St Omer Psalter, by the illuminator of the Ormesby additions, the latest.

Moving now to the Vienna Artist, stylistic analysis has suggested the following sequence of production for the manuscripts in which he participated: Douce, Brescia and Vienna, in that progression. Does this chronology accord with the available dating evidence? Douce 131 has a donor figure on f. 110 (Fig. 15); although damaged his surcoat apparently bears the quartered arms of England and France and might be identifiable as Edward III.52 This quartering also occurs in the cusping. Whether or not this identification can be accepted, its importance lies in the quartered arms, which give a date of after 1339-40.53

There is no internal evidence for dating the Brescia Psalter, but it may be possible to arrive at an approximate date by reference to the closely related Astor and Montacute books. (As noted, there is a strong case for suggesting that at the point the Brescia Psalter was illuminated the Vienna artist was in close contact with that workshop and may, indeed, have formed part of it.) The Astor Psalter-Hours must date to after 1335 when

49 Cockerell and James (1926), p.15; Lasko and Morgan (1973), no.21. The donation of the book to Norwich Cathedral by the monk Robert of Ormesby is recorded by a contemporary inscription on f.1v For details, see Cockerell and James (1926), pp.36-37, n.1.
50 Cockerell (ibid. p.15) concedes that it could be Salmon’s successor.
51 Sir William de St Omer died between 1347 and 1349, possibly of the Black Death, and this might account for the break in campaign; but on stylistic grounds a date ca 1340 is suggested, pointing to the Psalter having been commissioned by his son, Thomas de St Omer, and first wife, Pernel Malemayns, who were married ca 1338. If they were the original patrons, however, the reason for the termination of the campaign around 1340 cannot be determined from existing evidence. For the St Omer family see Blomefield, vii (1809), p.218; C.F.R., vi (1347-1356), 4,5; and C.C.R., xii (1364-1369), 221,410.
53 Edward III quartered his arms with those of France in 1339-40. For a discussion of this quartering see Pinches (1974), pp.50-51.
Elizabeth married William de Bohun, but to before 1356, the year she died. Work on the Psalter of Simon de Montacute was interrupted (the Beatus page and only some of the border decoration belong to the fourteenth-century campaign) and there is a strong case for suggesting that the break in artistic activity was occasioned by the death of Montacute in 1345. In the light of this evidence and the close stylistic affinity of the three books (the Montacute and Brescia Psalters and the Astor Psalter-Hours), it seems reasonable to suggest that they are all datable to the mid 1340s.

A date after 1340 is guaranteed for ff. 7-49v in the Vienna Psalter by the presence of the quartered arms on the Beatus page (Fig. 1). The stylistic chronology places this portion after the Brescia Psalter of ca 1345, and a more precise date might be forwarded if the cause of the breakdown of the campaign could be established. One proposal might be the death of the patron, the obvious candidate in the light of the dating proposed being the sixth earl who inherited the title in 1336. Although he appears to have initiated the work he did not die until 1361, which is clearly too late on stylistic grounds for the Vienna folios in question. Nor can the break in activity be accounted for by a change in ownership, since stylistic and heraldic evidence show that the manuscript was completed for a member of the Bohun family. The most probable explanation is the death of the illuminator, and that he died at the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348-49 is likely, given that Ely and Cambridge were particularly badly affected by the Pestilence. Although the estimated rate of mortality has often been exaggerated there is a general consensus of opinion that Ziegler's study of the subject is objective. He relates certain facts which are of particular interest in view of the location proposed for this workshop. He has estimated that the death rate in East Anglia was well above the national average. In the Ely diocese there were eighteen times as many institutions as in a normal year. An idea of the devastation in Cambridge is given in a letter from the Bishop of Ely written in 1366 which suggested the amalgamation of two of the city parishes, on the grounds that there were not enough people left to fill even one of the churches. Practically all of the town on the castle side of the river, 'the ward beyond the bridge', seems to have been wiped out.

A charter in Cambridge, University Archives, Luard *33a is of considerable value in securing the proposed dating and provenance (Fig. 43), for although in a poor state of
preservation it can be seen to relate to the style of both the Vienna A Hand and the artist of the Psalter of Simon de Montacute (Figs 27,37,42). The drapery and certain minor details of style, such as the delicately fashioned hands, secure beyond doubt that it is by Hand A, as comparison with the Vienna Beatus initial demonstrates, but at a stage in his development when he was profoundly under the influence of the Montacute illuminator (this is evident from the painting of the faces), precisely midway it would appear between his execution of Douce 131 (Figs 9,14,15,23) and the Brescia Psalter (Figs 25,38,40,42). Since the charter is of 1343 it secures the point by which contact had been made with the Montacute workshop, thus reinforcing a date of ca 1340-43 for Douce 131 and 1345 for the Brescia Psalter. Moreover, the contents of the charter relate to the chancellor of the University, and therefore support the hypothesis proposed that Cambridge was probably an important centre of artistic activity in the 1340s. Although the charter was issued at Westminster the weight of stylistic evidence forcibly indicates that in this instance it was illuminated locally.

(vi) Relationship to other works of the period

Support for this dating is given by other monuments of the period. Although most of the Douce figures can be seen to have moved away from the pointed, mannered forms of the slightly earlier phase of the St Omer Psalter, there is a general affinity between the Douce types and those of the alabaster weepers on the tomb of John of Eltham, of ca 1340.62 On the basis of these observations, a date of 1340 seems likely for both the St Omer Psalter and the King's Lynn Cup.63 They possess the spiky, rather angular figure types which the Douce artist was on the point of abandoning. In the Brescia and Vienna Psalters it is possible to discern a definite development away from the exaggerated poses of the earlier works, but a slightly mannered sway is retained in certain figures; this is particularly apparent in those wearing tight-fitting garments (Fig. 37). This softer, yet mildly mannered, style is reflected in the now dismantled glass of the Ely Lady Chapel, dated by both King and Lindley to 1348-49.64 The peasant figures in the Brescia Psalter (Fig. 42) and those in the Ely glass (Figs 44,45) are so intimately related that one could almost imagine they were designed by the same hand. King in his discussion of this glass notes that when John of Wisbech, the glazier, died of the Black Death in 1349, two windows on each side of the chapel had been beautifully adorned with glass. If, as he suggests, the normal practice of an east to west glazing campaign was followed, this would date the glass in the two eastern windows to before, but not long before, John's

62 For an illustration, see Stone (1972), pl.123.
63 Lasko and Morgan (1973), no.35 (see also frontispiece) where further bibliography is cited.
64 King in Lasko and Morgan (1973), no.33; Lindley (1985), pp.223-25, Appendix A.
death. Lindley has derived the same conclusion from the existing accounts. Comparison can also be made between this phase of Hand A's style, the Ely glass (Fig. 46) and the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings in Elsing church, Norfolk (Fig. 47) of ca 1347 and the closely related brass at Wimbish, Essex (Fig. 49), of the same date. The déhanchement posture of some of the Hastings knights (Fig. 47) compares well with the S-curved body of the falling figure in the lower area of the Vienna Beatus initial (Fig. 37) and the small figure of David in the three-line initial to the second psalm (Fig. 1); while the cascading draperies of the Virgin in the brass, seated in her perspectival throne (Fig. 48) has a parallel in the harping David in the Vienna Beatus whose throne is strikingly three-dimensional (Fig. 37). This elaborate recessional treatment is also found on the seal of John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, dated 1346.

The ca 1350-55 paintings in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, are often cited as an objection to the massive extinction of artists at the Black Death. However, an important distinction has to be made between illuminators and painters on walls whose working methods were vastly different. Furthermore, owing to the paucity of painters in London on account of the Black Death, artists were called to the project from various parts of the country. It is likely that painters, perhaps in any case more numerous, survived in greater numbers because their art was not so geographically centralised as that of illuminators at this date. Although it has not been popular to blame the diminishing production and general dearth of manuscripts in the period 1350-60 on the ravages of the Black Death, close analysis of the style in the Vienna Bohun Psalter and further material which will be the subject of later discussion suggests that a disruption of some magnitude in the art of illumination almost certainly occurred around 1350.

The chronology and dating forwarded on stylistic grounds: Douce 131, 1340-45, the Brescia Psalter, ca 1345, and the first campaign in the Vienna Psalter, 1348-49, can be supported, as shown, by existing documentary evidence. Where dating evidence exists in other works of art it gives general affirmation to this sequence of production and dating.

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65 Stephenson (1926), pp.141-42, 331-32.
66 Ellis (1978), i, 70 (P846), pl.23.
67 These objections have been oral.
68 See Knowles (1922), 343 who relates that the king ordered John Athelard and John Geddyng to ride far and wide to obtain workers and discusses (343-52) the effects of the Black Death on stained glass painting. Christie (1938), pp.27-28, refers to the effects of the Plague on the production of opus Anglicanum.
CHAPTER TWO

THE ENGLISH ORIGINS OF THE BOHUN STYLE II

Vienna, National Library, Cod 1826* (ff. 50 and 57)

The style of ff. 7-49v of the Vienna Psalter, discussed in the last chapter, abruptly changes at the end of the seventh gathering. Although a cursory examination might suggest that the style of f. 50 recto is consistent with that of the succeeding and remaining folios (i.e. ff. 51-160), closer investigation reveals that the hand of the three-line initial and single border to psalm 58 on f. 50 (Fig. 50), at the beginning of the eighth gathering of the Psalter, and the verse initials and line-fillers on this page can also be detected on the verso of this leaf as well as on f. 57 recto and verso, but not elsewhere in this manuscript. Visualisation of this quire of eight leaves in an unbound state reveals that his contribution was confined to a single bifolium on the outside of the gathering (leaves one and eight).¹

The scene within the initial on f. 50 (Fig. 56) illustrates the content of the psalm: 'They lie waiting for my soul'. Christ bends out of a cloud and touches the hand of a nimbed bearded man on the left, while to the right two men threaten him with a sword and battle-axe. The two fighting men wear short, low-belted tunics and hoods, the capes of which surround their shoulders; each belt has a leather sheath attached to it. The older, bearded man wears a full-length gown, with outer robe gathered in bold curves around the arm and lower part of the body, with one end folded over his right arm. Recognition of this artist on ff. 50v, 57r and 57v, where there are no psalm openings and thus no figural illumination, is made possible by the one-line verse initials and line-fillers which are composed of various decorative elements, some identical to those in the single border.

(i) Identification of Vienna Hand B in other manuscripts

Although this illuminator, who will be named Vienna Hand B, appears only briefly there is sufficient stylistic evidence to enable this material to be attributed to the Fitzwarin Artist, whose hand has been identified by Wormald in three manuscripts: a psalter in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Liturg. 198,² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS.

¹ The text to psalm 58 begins 'Eripe me de inimicis meis'; f. 50v contains the continuation of this psalm, while f. 57 (recto and verso) comprises two pages from psalm 67 which begins on f. 56.
² Wormald (1943), 71-79, pl.26a,b, in particular his description of the contents of the manuscript on 78-79; for further bibliography, see Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.651, pl.lxiv; Simpson (1984), pp.116, 117.
lat. 765, the Fitzwarin Psalter,3 and f. 12v in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 48, the Carew-Poyntz Hours.4 That it is the work of the Fitzwarin Artist is confirmed by comparison of the Vienna initial (Fig. 56) with that for Quid gloriaris (Fig. 51) in Liturg. 198. The climbing man in the left-hand margin in the Bodleian initial relates to the climbing figure in the Vienna border; they both wear a tight-fitting, hip-belted tunic with a hood having a liripipe falling from the back of the head, and they wear the same type of long, pointed black shoes. There is a clear relationship in the manner in which they cling tightly to the stem of the plant; the drawing of the hands and their position on the stem are identical. These climbing men in turn relate to the figure of the young David in the Quid gloriaris initial and the fighting men in the Vienna initial. The two figures in the latter wear little pouches attached to their belts which are of the exact type worn by the two fighting men in the Vienna initial; and the small, round shield carried by the figure who holds his sword aloft bears an identical pattern to that on the shield carried by Goliath in the Bodleian initial. The faces of the two hooded men are of the same type as those of the David and two climbing men on the Quid gloriaris folio. Moreover, the rather limited palette, in which a particularly distinctive orange is employed, corresponds in each manuscript: the technique gives a dry and brittle effect.

The border on the Quid gloriaris page completely surrounds the text (Fig. 51): that on the right consists of a wide rectilinear element which extends almost the full length of the text, but is interrupted near the top by the climbing figure of a smartly dressed young man, while at the bottom it broadens out into a cusped shape. The foliage stem resembling sea-kale which is contained within this border is identical to that in the Vienna border (Fig. 50); in each, the central vein of the leaf and the stem are delineated by a white line and the leaves, where the lobes of the three segments divide, are decorated with the same pattern. The lower border contains two fine lion masks and interlace within a wide, slightly cusped area, and there are two examples of the oval leaf mask containing a head fixed in an expression of horror as in the Vienna border.

(ii) Chronology of manuscripts by Vienna Hand B

In the absence of any internal evidence for dating, Wormald devised a chronology by assessing the degree of Italian influence apparent in the portions of the three manuscripts which he attributed to the Fitzwarin Artist. He suggested, moreover, that these Italianisms

3 Delisle (1893), 280-81; Lauer (1939) i, 266; Leroquais (1940-41), pp.45-46 (no.289), pls.cv-cx; Wormald (1943), 71-79, pls 22a, c, d, 23a, b, 24a, 25a, b, with description of contents on 74-78; Rickert (1965), pp.148, 243 n.6; Alexander and Kaufmann (1973), no.69; Simpson (1980), p.140, pls 8, 9; Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.20, 22, fig. xv; Simpson (1984), pp.115, 116, 117, 118, 124, 129, pls 152, 153, 155, 156.

4 James (1895), pp.100-20; Wormald (1943), passim, pl.25c; Rickert (1965), pp.148, 243 n.7; Wormald and Giles (1966), no.37, with further bibliography; Backhouse (1975), p.19; Simpson (1984), p.118 n.1, pl.157 (she rejects Wormald's attribution).
resulted from the illuminator’s contact with the Egerton Genesis Master who can be identified in manuscripts datable to the third quarter of the fourteenth century. By this method he placed the Bodleian Psalter (Figs 51, 52, 59, 62) first in the group where ‘no influence of the Egerton Master is apparent’, second, the Fitzwarin Psalter (Figs 53, 60, 61) in which the illuminator ‘has absorbed many lessons taught presumably through his association with the Genesis painter’, and the miniature in the Carew-Poyntz Hours (Fig. 55) last in the sequence, where the Fitzwarin Artist ‘is advancing still further in the direction of the Genesis miniaturist’. He notes how the illuminator ‘has endowed his figure of Eve with a corporeality which shows how far he has travelled from the thin, almost spidery, figures of the Bodleian Psalter’.

As well as the miniature in the lower margin on f. 12v in the Hours, noted by Wormald as being by the Fitzwarin Artist (Vienna Hand B), it would appear that this illuminator sketched out one or more of the remaining bas-de-page scenes in this gathering. Although extensive overpainting by a later artist has resulted in the near obliteration of the original work on f. 12 (Fig. 54) it is possible to discern from the drawing of the head and hand of God an origin in the Fitzwarin style (Figs 55, 56). Similarly, the head of the angel with curly hair can be paralleled in the St John and the two thieves in the Crucifixion miniature in the Fitzwarin Psalter (Figs 54, 60). After this point his hand does not recur in this highly problematical manuscript which shows evidence of at least four separate campaigns, possibly spanning sixty to eighty years (i.e. ca 1340-1420).

Apart from the folio in the Vienna Psalter and the further material in the Carew-Poyntz Hours now attributed to the Fitzwarin Artist, a portion of another manuscript can also be added to this illuminator’s oeuvre. In this book, a psalter, British Library, Harley

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5 Wormald (1943), 73, 74.
6 The manuscripts which have been attributed to this artist are London, B.L., Egerton MS. 1894 (the Genesis), see James (1921); Pächt (1943), 57-70, pls. 16a, 17a, 18a, c, a, 19a, b, 20c; Wormald (1943), 71, 73, 74, 79; Rickert (1965), p.243 no.8, 9; Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.21, 22; Simpson (1980), p.139; Simpson (1984), p.115, pl.148; B.L., Add. MS. 44949 (the M.R. James Memorial Psalter), see Millar (1938), 1-5; Rickert (1965), pp.148-49, pl.154a; Simpson (1980), pp.139-40; Simpson (1984), pp.115, 116, pl.149); Oxford, Bodl.Lib., MS. Rawlinson G. 185 (the Derby Psalter), see Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.653, pl. lxvii, with bibliography; Alexander and Kauffmann (1973), no.68; Simpson (1980), p.139, fig.7; Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.21-22, fig.xiv; Simpson (1984), pp.115, 116, 118, 142-43, pls 150, 151, 258, 263). The two leaves by this artist in the Fitzwarin Psalter are discussed briefly in Chapter 9.
7 Wormald (1943), 74.
8 Ibid., 73.
9 This is the second gathering (ff. 9-16v), containing the beginning of the main textual material and the two miniatures in question; ff. 3-8 comprise the calendar.
10 One campaign, possibly the second, suggests that French artists were at work, since the border decoration throughout the book consists of slender marginal bars, adorned with sycamore and ivy leaf extensions typical of Parisian manuscripts, and some of the miniatures and bas-de-page scenes are painted in grisaille, apparently by a Parisian artist. There is some similarity to the illuminator of the Bible Historiale, London, B.L. Royal, MS. 17.E.vii, for which see Warner and Gilson (1921), ii, 260-61, iv, pl.102.
MS. 2888 (Fig. 58), which might be seen as standing at the beginning of the chronology, he illuminated only three historiated initials and borders. An early position in the sequence, pre-dating the Bodleian Psalter, seems likely owing to the absence of the solidly three-dimensional structures of the other two psalters, most of the grounds being of plain gold, the borders which are of simpler construction than those in the Oxford and Paris Psalters which are composed of elaborate interlace, leaf masks, lion heads and figures of climbing men, some playing musical instruments, and from the fact that the figures are mostly less substantial and the draperies less modelled.

Where, however, do the Vienna folios stand in the artistic evolution of this illuminator? It is perhaps significant that Hand B’s appearance in the Vienna Psalter is as transitory as that in the Carew-Poyntz Hours with which close comparison can be made (Figs 55, 56). The drawing of the hands, delineated as are the facial features in a brownish-orange line, compares closely in the two works; in each the arm and hand of God sharply pivots at right angles. The heads are also closely similar: the long square-ended nose, formed in a continuous line with the eyebrows, and the slightly down-turned mouth, the long centrally parted hair and rough beards characterise the heads of the older men, while the rather negroid profile of Eve relates to that of the climbing figure in the Vienna border. These parallels are fully apparent despite the difference in technique, the Vienna initial being fully painted, the Hours lightly washed with colour.

The drawing of the facial features is firmer and stronger in the Fitzwarin Psalter than in Liturg. 198, and it is precisely this strength of line which is reflected in the drawing of the faces, both in the Vienna Psalter and Carew-Poyntz Hours. In this context, the Vienna initial approaches more closely the heads in the Ascension folio in the Fitzwarin Psalter (Figs 56, 61) than the rather weaker types, such as the Dixit dominus initial in Liturg. 198 (Fig. 59). All four heads in the Vienna initial are given greater definition by virtue of the application of white pigment to certain areas of the faces, notably around the forehead, cheek, mouth and line of the nose, which the Bodleian Psalter lacks. Parallels exist between any number of the heads in the scene of the Ascension in the Fitzwarin Psalter (Fig. 61) and the head of Christ and the nimbed man in the Vienna initial (Fig. 56). They have, as does the head of God in the Carew-Poyntz miniature on f. 12v, their closest counterparts in the head of the apostle immediately left of the centre, adjacent to the foot of the ascending Christ, while the head of Adam in the Carew-Poyntz miniature has its closest parallel in the dark-haired apostles on the far left and right of the Ascension scene. The bow-shaped lips of the nimbed man in the Vienna initial are of the type found

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11 London (1808), ii, 718. The folios in question are 68, 84 and 98v. My attention was first drawn to the existence of this manuscript in a paper given to the British Archaeological Association by M. Michael who discussed it in a different context.
on the face of the Virgin in the Ascension.\textsuperscript{12}

On balance, however, the Vienna initial has a closer overall correspondence with the Carew-Poyntz miniature, since it lacks the linearity of the Bodleian miniatures and certain mannerisms which are evident in the Paris manuscript. Such types exist in the contorted figure of St John in the Crucifixion (Fig. 60) and that of the apostle who stands on the far right of the scene of the Ascension (Fig. 61). Something of this contrapposto jerkiness of form is emerging in the posture of the seated David in the \textit{Exultate} initial in Liturg. 198 (Fig. 62). Moreover, the Fitzwarin Psalter is unique in one feature: for this it is necessary to return to the apostle in the Ascension miniature (Fig. 61) whose draperies surround the lower part of his body in a series of horizontal, sculptural folds. There is no sign of these schematic drapery forms and mannered poses in either the Carew-Poyntz miniature or Vienna initial. A direct correlation can be seen between the evolution of these mannerisms and the growing corporeality of form evident in these works; the motivating force underlying each would appear to be the artist's striving towards naturalism. This suggests that the Vienna initial, like the Carew-Poyntz miniature, is a later work by the Fitzwarin Artist.

It may be possible to strengthen this chronology, which in turn supports that made by Wormald, by reference to the border decoration.\textsuperscript{13}

In Liturg. 198 the most prevalent leaf is a sharply-pointed version of the type which encircles the oval faces in the borders (Figs 59,62); leaves of this kind permeate all the major borders in the Bodleian manuscript. They are, however, completely replaced in the Fitzwarin Psalter by the softer, more fluid version of this leaf (Fig. 53), found in a single instance in Liturg. 198, in the right-hand border on the \textit{Quid gloriariis} folio (Fig. 51). This form, which is commonly grouped in trilobed segments, is of the type found in the Vienna folio (Fig. 56). The border decoration in the Fitzwarin Psalter is more restrained than that in Liturg. 198:\textsuperscript{14} there is a significant move away from the exuberant forms (i.e. daisy, marigold and strawberry flowers and kidney leaves) of the Bodleian manuscript. The artist refrains, moreover, from the use of tracery in the Fitzwarin Psalter, which constitutes so important an element of the border decoration in Liturg. 198; and whereas the climbing figures appear as free-standing, conspicuous elements in the latter, in the Paris manuscript a female equivalent of this type is well camouflaged within the stave of the initial (Fig. 53), as is the climbing man in the cusping of the Vienna border (Fig. 56). Furthermore, in both the Fitzwarin Psalter and Vienna folio the marginal bar itself has become more slender (Figs 50,53); in Liturg. 198, even where narrow and rectilinear, the

\textsuperscript{12} This feature is also evident in the head of the Virgin in the scene of Pentecost. See Wormald (1943), pl.25a.

\textsuperscript{13} There is no contemporary border decoration in the Carew-Poyntz Hours (see n.10 above) with which to make an assessment.

\textsuperscript{14} There is a single exception to the conservative pattern established; this occurs on f.113v (psalm 80), where two lively dragon forms occupy the lower border.
bar is considerably broader and is divided into a series of oblong segments (Figs 51, 52, 59, 62). Added to this, there is a certain roughness of execution in the Bodleian borders which is not evident in either the Fitzwarin or Vienna psalters. The Fitzwarin Psalter appears to stand midway between the Bodleian and Vienna manuscripts in that it shows a certain economy of forms in relation to the Bodleian Psalter, but does not display the degree of refinement evident in the Vienna border.

Although there is only a single folio from which to judge, the Vienna border witnesses to a studied selection of motifs from the other two psalters. This progression is further attested by the use of gold: that employed in both Liturg. 198 and lat. 765 (a rather dull yellow unpounced type) is identical, whereas the gold in the Vienna bifolium is more highly burnished and delicately pounced, the latter decorating not only the broader areas of gold but also the small leaf sprays (Figs 50, 56). Both the verse initials and line-fillers further support this chronology. Liturg. 198 and lat. 765 have wash-coloured initials, surrounded by pen flourishing, and the line-fillers are painted in coloured washes, with a fairly close agreement between the abstract types chosen. However, gold is used for the verse initials and line-fillers in lat. 765, but not in Liturg. 198; the slight element of roughness, noted in the execution of the borders in the latter, extends to these decorative details. The Vienna bifolium is even more elegant: both the verse initials and line-fillers are in full colour on a highly burnished ground and semi-naturalistic, rather than abstract, forms are utilised; the artist as it were transfers the decorative forms of the borders into the verse initials and line-fillers.

The material by the Fitzwarin Artist in the Vienna Psalter indicates, unquestionably, that it belongs to the later phase of his development; this is evident not only from the refinement of certain techniques, but from the adoption of an economical, more elegant, formula for the design of the borders.

(iii) Dating and localisation of Vienna Hand B’s activity

Although the activity of the Fitzwarin Artist is generally assigned to the third quarter of the fourteenth century it is noticeable that Wormald’s stylistic comparisons, apart from those he made with the Egerton Genesis Master, are with manuscripts which are generally thought to date to before 1350. He mentions three important examples, a Book of Hours, B.L., Egerton 2781, the Luttrell Psalter (B.L., Add. MS. 42130) and the Psalter of Simon de Montacute, Cambridge, St John’s College, MS. D.30. The dating of the Fitzwarin

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13 In the Fitzwarin Psalter the pen flourishing can become quite elaborate, since it is employed for the opening initials to the minor psalms.
14 Those in Liturg. 198 may not have been executed by the illuminator but by the scribe.
15 This is also evident in the case of Harley MS. 2888.
16 Wormald (1943), 73, 74, 79, pls 22b, 25d, 26c. Further bibliography for Egerton 2781 and Add. 42130 will be given below. For St John's College, MS. D.30, see Chapter 1, n.26.
Psalter and its Allies is of pivotal importance, since on this alone Wormald advanced the theory that there was no break in English manuscript production at the Black Death of 1348-49.19 The activity of the Egerton Genesis Master, however, clearly post-dates the Black Death; this illuminator cannot be identified in any work of before 1350, although his hand can be traced in a number of manuscripts datable to between ca 1360 and ca 1400. These will be the subject of later discussion.20

It is necessary to stress that no documentary evidence exists which enables the Fitzwarin Psalter and its Allies to be dated securely to the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Wormald arrived at this dating on the basis of the more reliably charted career of the Egerton Genesis Master with whom he suggests there was collaboration.21 But what evidence is there, if any, in support of the collaboration of the two illuminators? He assumed that they worked contemporaneously because the Fitzwarin Psalter contains two full-page miniatures by the Egerton Genesis Master, those of Christ in Majesty on f. 21v and the Crucifixion on f. 22 (Fig. 637); and that the Fitzwarin Artist’s development might be accounted for by his association with the Egerton Genesis Master. If it can be shown, therefore, that they did not collaborate, and that the Fitzwarin Artist was active before the Black Death, this then allows for an earlier dating for the Fitzwarin Psalter and its allies should other factors support it.

Three factors can be forwarded to argue that the two miniatures are additions. Firstly, they occur in a bifolium, separated from the other fourteen illuminated by the Fitzwarin Artist, which are gathered in two quires of six and eight leaves. Secondly, unlike the other miniatures which are painted on the recto of each leaf, those in question are arranged in diptych form; and thirdly the Crucifixion occurs twice over in the series, once on f. 14 and again on f. 22. Wormald was well aware of these codicological and iconographic peculiarities and admits that the bifolium could have been added later.22 Therefore, it would appear that these two miniatures were not conceived as part of the original series but were bound in for a later owner.23 Wormald’s collaboration theory is thus weakened, especially when it has to be acknowledged that there are no other instances in which illumination by the two artists is found in the same manuscript. Examination of the extant works by the two illuminators indicates that they functioned largely independently of other artists, but that they were not unaffected by their contemporaries raises the next point – that of the Fitzwarin Artist’s development.

19 Wormald (1943), 74.
20 See Chapter 9.
21 Wormald (1943), passim.
22 Ibid., 75-76.
23 Heraldic evidence suggests that the Psalter was originally intended for members of the Clevedon and Fitzwarin families (Wormald, op.cit., 75) but there is no record of a marriage between them. It is rather puzzling why the arms were not altered in favour of the later owner, for obits in the calendar (printed in Wormald, op.cit., 75) indicate that the Psalter was in the hands of the Cokayn family by the early fifteenth century.
Although difficult to define, owing to their transitory and fragmentary application, it is clear that illuminators, as well as wall and panel painters, were interested in Italianisms. This embodied a general trend and was not the preserve of a single artist such as the Egerton Genesis Master. A closely related development to that of Vienna Hand B can be discerned in the careers of other illuminators and it is fully possible that his style evolved quite independently from the influence of the Egerton Master.

It is clear that there was much experimentation at this time; motifs borrowed from Italian art were often applied without a true understanding of form. The result was certain distinctive mannerisms which, if isolated in time, might be used to shed fresh light on the dating of the Fitzwarin Psalter and its allies. Contorted figure poses, such as that of the apostle on the right of the Virgin in the Ascension miniature in the Fitzwarin Psalter (Fig. 61), seem to be a misconception of certain contrapposto figure types of Bolognese origin.24

If any stylistic transmission took place between the two illuminators it is worth considering that it was communicated from the Fitzwarin Artist to the Egerton Genesis Master, the alternative hypothesis proposed by Wormald but not favoured;25 and that this resulted not from personal contact, but by observation of the already completed Fitzwarin Psalter when the two miniatures were added, presumably at the direction of the later owner. They show that the Genesis artist was anxious to preserve a continuity of style by closely copying the elaborate architectural structures of the Fitzwarin Artist (Fig. 637), forms which are not repeated in his other works.26 It is clear that the Egerton Genesis Master continued to assimilate elements of iconography, figure style and technique from north Italian models. His figure types, especially in later works, hold much in common with the main hand of the Ormesby Psalter whom Pächt has shown was under Bolognese influence.27

Little can be learned of a workshop location for the Fitzwarin Psalter and its allies from the evidence of liturgy and ownership. The calendars in both the Vienna Psalter and Carew-Poyntz Hours have to be discounted in the present context since they belong to later campaigns.28 The Bodleian Psalter lacks a calendar but its litany may indicate a destination in the north-east of England.29 Whereas the double invocation of St Augustine of Hippo might suggest that the book was written for an Augustinian house, a lay patron

24 For further discussion of this phenomenon in English manuscript painting of ca 1340 to 1400, see Chapter 10 and also Pächt (1943), passim.
25 Wormald (1943), 73.
26 The manuscripts attributed to this artist (see n.6 above and Chapter 9) are conspicuous by their lack of these structures. For example, see Rickert (1965), pl.154a.
27 Pächt (1943), 54-57.
28 The calendar in the Vienna Psalter is Sarum with no local indications of provenance. That in the Carew-Poyntz Hours is on different parchment and was clearly not added until early in the fifteenth century.
29 St Ebba of Coldingham appears in the litany.
with Augustinian connections is indicated by the presence of a kneeling female in secular
dress in the donor initial (Ps. 101) on f. 93v. In contrast, the Fitzwarin Psalter may have a
more central destination on account of the feast of the translation of St Hugh of Lincoln
on 6 October.\textsuperscript{30} A destination in the diocese of Lincoln also seems likely for Harley 2888,
in which the feast of St Hugh’s translation occurs.

However, in considering a centre of production it has to be remembered that the
 eventual destination of a manuscript and its place of manufacture will not necessarily
 coincide. Conversely, where there is a fair degree of liturgical conformity among
 stylistically compatible manuscripts it may be possible to cite a place of origin in the
diocese featured. The Fitzwarin Artist could have been itinerant, the various centres
 corresponding to the proximity of the patron in each instance, or his activity may have
 been confined to a single centre, serving a wide geographical area; but on the evidence
 provided alone from the Fitzwarin Psalter and its allies it is not possible to propose a
 location. One fact does emerge: with the sometimes conflicting liturgical information the
 burden on stylistic analysis for the grouping of manuscripts with a view to locating them
 is increased.

(iv) Dating and localisation: Vienna Hand B in the context of Vienna Hand A and related
material

The next avenue of investigation seems clear: in order to arrive at a dating and
provenance it might be profitable to look again at the manuscripts connected with Hand A
of the Vienna Psalter (ff. 7-49v), discussed in the last chapter, for it would appear that it
is in this artistic \textit{milieu} that the Fitzwarin Artist (now named Vienna Hand B) might be
placed. The stylistic development of both Hands A and B holds much in common and
their period of activity might be approximately parallel.

Wormald, in his description of the scene of the Creation in the Carew-Poyntz Hours
(Fig. 55) asserts that ‘this robust treatment is well accounted for if one recognises that it
is due to the influence of the style of the Egerton Genesis, with its sturdy figures and
plastic drapery’.\textsuperscript{31} However, it can be shown that corporeal figures of this type appear in
manuscripts datable to the 1340s, as the skilful rendering of a nude man with
foreshortened leg in the letter form of the Douce initial (Fig. 9) and the climbing men in
the borders of the Vienna folios (Fig. 57) demonstrate. Contorted figure poses, such as
that of the apostle on the right of the Virgin in the Ascension miniature in the Fitzwarin
Psalter (Fig. 61) occur in the \textit{Beatus} initial of the St Omer Psalter (Fig. 16). The

\textsuperscript{30} This feast is clearly significant, unlike his deposition on 17 November, which is common in English
calendars of this period. For further speculation on the liturgy of this manuscript, see Wormald (1943),
75.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Ibid.}, 79.
horizontal, sculptural folds of the apostle in question (Fig. 61) compare with those in the Brescia Psalter (Fig. 32) and the Astor Psalter-Hours (Fig. 31) of ca 1345.

Certain other mannerisms in the Fitzwarin Psalter have a direct parallel in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e.41, the Zouche Hours,22 for which the same date might be forwarded. The foot of the same Fitzwarin apostle is twisted into a curious position, in which its underside is fully exposed (Fig. 61), like that of the seated soldier in the Zouche miniature of the Betrayal (Fig. 66). A number of historiated initials in the Hours show the leg poised diagonally, with the foot fully exposed from the front (Figs 65,70), a mannerism which is also found in the Fitzwarin Psalter, as the apostle on the left of the Virgin illustrates (Fig. 61). The St John of the Crucifixion in the Fitzwarin Psalter, with twisting upper torso and jerky lower limbs (Fig. 60), although more exaggerated in form, can be compared with the seated Virgin of the Annunciation in the Zouche Hours (Fig. 64); in each, the artist has attempted a perspectival foreshortening of the lower area of the body.

These manneristic tendencies are latent within Liturg. 198. The figure of David in the Dixit insipiens initial (Fig. 63), for instance, compares in its posture, gesture of arms and hands, as well as slight contortion of form, with many of the figures in seated positions in the Zouche Hours (Figs 64,65,70). It has been stated that two artists (one for the historiated initials, the other for the miniatures) can be identified in this manuscript.23 However, minor discrepancies in style appear to have resulted from the restrictions imposed by the smaller size of the initials, rather than from the presence of a further hand.24 His compositions (they appear more static in the initials) are generally lively; this is fully apparent from the scenes in rectangular miniatures (Figs 66-69). The calendar of the Zouche Hours is that of the diocese of Ely,25 having the same characteristic feasts as the Brescia and Montacute Psalters. Moreover, the border decoration in the Zouche Hours (Fig. 71) can be seen to be a diluted version of the Astor/Montacute type (Figs 27,28), a factor which further reinforces a centre of activity in the Ely diocese.

Wormald has noted that the Fitzwarin Psalter is ‘quite peculiar’ on account of its architecture:26 these bizarre structures are composed mainly of round, four or six-sided blocky towers with pointed or crenellated turrets, usually enclosing a complex of flatter roofed buildings; many are supported by single or double arches on colonnades, displaying inner vaulting (Figs 60,61,79,82). The Crucifixion miniature has a triple-arch scheme. The various elements are painted in striking contrasts of light and dark tones.

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24 The writer of the Sotheby entry (lot 42, p.34) is of the opinion that it is the work of a single illuminator.
25 Ibid., p. 33
26 Wormald (1943), 72.
endowing them with three-dimensional solidity. Wormald concluded that although 'this elaborate architectural treatment' is reminiscent of that in the Judgement miniature in Douce 131 'the style is quite different'. However, had he known of the existence of the Brescia Psalter perhaps he would have seen a marked similarity in treatment (Fig. 25), with their domed turrets and people peering out of the windows and between the crenellations (Figs 60,79,82). Comparison can also be made with the identical, but smaller-scale versions in Liturg. 198 (Figs 25,51,52,59,62,63). Wormald was puzzled by the direct source of their inspiration, but they appear to have their origin in Flemish manuscripts, such as Bodley 264, the Romance of Alexander, executed between 1338 and 1344, which has angled roofs of this type (Fig. 72). That this style was current in East Anglia is supported by wall-paintings such as that at Weston Longville, Norfolk, in which the monumental figure types and three-dimensional modelling of the architecture closely approach those of Hand B (Figs 60,73).

Three Ely diocese manuscripts of ca 1345 - the Brescia Psalter, Psalter of Simon de Montacute and Zouche Hours - can be shown in varying degrees to display expressionistic elements of figure and drapery style which characterise Hand B's early and middle phases of development. The Fitzwarin Psalter and its allies appear also to date to the 1340s and may have been produced in Cambridge. It would seem that Hand B suffered a similar fate to Hand A at the Black Death. The cursory appearance of this illuminator in both the Carew-Poyntz Hours and the Vienna Psalter at a final point in his career is not easily explained except by sudden death. Although Hands A and B clearly originated from different geographical locations, by ca 1340-45 their work speaks for some contact, their presence in adjacent gatherings of the Vienna Psalter providing the confirmation required.

(v) Dating and localisation: relationship to other manuscripts of the 1340s

Further affirmation of Hand B's activity in the 1340s is given by the Luttrell Psalter, datable to ca 1340 or 1345. The initial campaign appears to have terminated around the death of Agnes Sutton, Luttrell's wife, in 1340, and the work either completed for Sir

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37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 For bibliography, see Chapter 1, n.18.
40 I am grateful to Paul Binski and David Park for drawing my attention to this painting and other related examples. For further details on Weston Longville, see Tristram (1955), pp.24, 75-77, pls 22-24.
41 For a discussion of this, see Chapter 1.
42 What can be seen of Vienna Hand B in the Carew-Poyntz Hours represents the summary attempts at a first campaign.
Geoffrey Luttrell between 1340 and 1345, or after his death in 1345 for a different client.44 The second hypothesis seems more likely on account of the non-figural material of the later campaign (ff. 215v to end) which has been completed in a debased version of the Simon de Montacute border style. Given that the Montacute Psalter can be fairly securely dated to 1345, a date some time after seems likely for the added Luttrell material. Although the calendar of the Luttrell Psalter is broadly Lincoln diocese in flavour it too is illuminated in this later style which relates to Cambridge work.

This then raises the question of the date and provenance of a large lectern Bible, now mutilated and widely dispersed.45 The Pentateuch portion comprises London, B.L., Royal MS. 1.E.iv,46 which is illuminated in an early version of the Montacute artist’s style (Figs 27,74), the borders though finer, recalling those of the later Luttrell campaign.47 Certain other leaves from this dismembered Bible, such as those in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 75), the Philadelphia Free Library (Figs 76,77) and the Lilly Library (Fig. 78),48 are painted in a more modelled style which seems to develop from the more painterly hands of the earlier Luttrell material (Figs 80,81,83,85) and which in turn relates to Hand B’s style in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 56). This stylistic evidence may therefore suggest that one, or both, of the Luttrell campaigns and the lectern Bible have a Cambridge provenance. It is possible that the latter may have been executed over a period of years from ca 1343 to 1348-49. If the Montacute Psalter dates, as suggested, to 1345, then the Pentateuch section, being an early work by this artist, has to pre-date 1345, but the Lilly leaves could be contemporary with f. 50 in the Vienna Psalter.

Wormald has already shown that one of the Luttrell artists bears more than a ‘superficial likeness to the Fitzwarin style’.49 Another, the principal Luttrell hand, who was responsible for gatherings 13-18 (ff. 145-214v) is equally close, as comparison of one of the grotesque heads (Fig. 80) and two male heads in the upper portion of f. 9 in the Fitzwarin Psalter illustrates (Fig. 79). Although the Luttrell artist’s interpretation is more

44 Millar (1932), pp.2-3, 5. Later obits, and the fact that the Psalter is not mentioned in Luttrell’s will (Millar, op.cit., pp.4, 5 (Appendix I), 5-6 (Appendix II)) indicate that he may never have taken possession of it.
45 See principally Sotheby’s catalogue, 10 December 1980, lot 3, where an extensive bibliography is given. For a full list of leaves and their current location to date, see de Hamel (forthcoming). Of the dismembered volume (it once had over 400 leaves), some 126 pages can be accounted for today (the number of extant leaves is increasing) and of these the openings to some of the books survive: that to Jeremiah in the Philadelphia Free Library, that to Lamentations in the Bodleian Library (the initial to this leaf has been excised) those to Baruch, Daniel and Amos in the Lilly Library, Bloomington, Indiana, that to Hosea in the Chicago Art Institute, that to Nahum in private hands and those to the Prologue of Micah and Habakkuk in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.
46 In the Sotheby catalogue of December, 1980, where three leaves were sold as lots 3 and 4, the suggestion was made by Michael Michael that volume one of this Bible exists in the British Library as Royal 1.E.i. (this portion in addition to the pentateuch contains the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth). See Warner and Gilson (1921), i, 19.
47 Folios 215v to the end, as well as the calendar on ff.1-12.
48 For Bloomington, University of Indiana, Lilly Library, de Ricci Ricketts 15, leaves 261, 339 and 380, see de Ricci and Wilson (1935-37), p.620, no.15.
49 Wormald (1943), 73, pl.26c.
vigorous (see also Fig. 81), with heavy shading around the eye sockets and mouth, both illuminators were concerned with a painterly rendition of form. Comparison can also be made with the heads in the Trinity initial in the Luttrell Psalter (Fig. 83) and the head of Joachim in the Fitzwarin Psalter (Fig. 82). Particularly characteristic is the application of thick white pigment to simulate the texture of hair. A further Luttrell illuminator specialised in angular, mannered poses (Fig. 84) of the type which characterise the Virgin in the donor initial in Douce 131 (Fig. 15), and the Beatus initial in the St Omer Psalter (Fig. 16), both datable to ca 1340.

The Luttrell Psalter, a manuscript much underrated artistically,50 is a key work, since its illuminators can be shown to bear an important stylistic relationship to a number of other manuscripts which on the basis of the Luttrell dating might also be assigned to the 1340s. One of these is Dublin, Trinity College, MS. F.5.21, the Dublin Hours.51 Comparison can be made between the opening page to the Hours (Fig. 87) and the small scene of the Annunciation in the Luttrell Psalter (Fig. 85) with which there is a remarkable similarity. An equally striking affinity exists between the Dublin and Fitzwarin artists in their use of architecturally framed miniatures, borders composed of climbing figures and ovoid leaf clusters, and the technique for highlighting the drapery in white pigment (Figs 86,87). In certain miniatures in the Dublin Hours (Fig. 88) it is possible to discern a progression towards the horizontal folds of the Fitzwarin Apostle (Fig. 61), a feature also apparent in the closely related book of hours in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. 10552 (Fig. 89) which can be assigned to the Dublin illuminator.52 A particularly close relationship exists between the two scenes of the Annunciation (Figs 87,89) in the use of expansive, horizontally gathered draperies, highlighted in thickish white pigment, and well-defined facial features. There is an equally striking correspondence between each scene of the Visitation (Figs 90,91), where the heads of the Virgin and St Elizabeth meet in mutual greeting, while their bodies are parted by an exaggerated controposto.53 The marginal decoration in the Baltimore Hours (Figs 90,92) recalls on the one hand the structure and motifs of Vienna Hand B (Figs 53,86), while on the other hand there is some influence from the Psalter of Simon de Montacute and Astor Psalter-Hours (Figs 77,78). Further reminiscent of Vienna Hand B is the method by which

51 Abbott (1900), p.12 (no.94).
53 Sandler (1970), 371-72, fig.24, recognises a further hand but it is likely to be only one illuminator varying his style. Unlike the Dublin Hours which has miniatures, small historiated initials and partial borders on each major page within the text, reminiscent in design of London, B.L., Royal MS.2.B.vii (see Warner (1912)), the Walters Hours has a fairly lengthy cycle of miniatures, as in the Fitzwarin Psalter, and in the main text only historiated initials.
54 These figures are strongly reminiscent of similar types in the wall-paintings at Brent Eleigh and Chalgrove. For an illustration of the Brent Eleigh painting see Cautley (1982), p.207, and for Chalgrove see Tristram (1955), pls 30-40, especially pl.34, the Ascension.
the stave of the historiated initial is decorated; comparison can be made between the
initial 'D' of 'Deus' on f. 41v (Fig. 90) and that to 'Domine' at the opening to the Hours
of the Virgin (Fig. 87) and any number of initials in Liturg. 198 (Figs 51,59,86). The
Dublin/Walters illuminator was also responsible for the illumination (ff. 1 and 186v) in
London, B.L., Royal MS. 10.E.vii (Figs 93,95) and B.L., Add. MS. 47170 (Fig. 96). This
is fully apparent from a comparison of the heads in each (Figs 92-95) and there is a
particularly close analogy between the border decoration at the opening to the hours in
the Dublin manuscript and f. 1 in Royal MS. 10.E.vii (Figs 87,93). The text of the
opening folio in Royal 10.E.vii is surrounded by a border on all sides, which recalls
certain features of Hand B's work; this is particularly evident in the appearance of the
climbing figure in the lower border and the employment of ovoid leaf clusters, composed
of serrated half cabbage leaves (Figs 86,93). Moreover, the pen initial which occurs
alongside the illuminated initial on ff. 1 and 186v (Figs 93,95) is of the same type as
those in the Walters Hours (Fig. 92) and Fitzwarin Psalter (Fig. 53). The well-defined
facial features of the Dublin/Walters illuminator (Figs 88,89), as well as mannerisms of
pose and gesture, are strongly reminiscent of the Montacute and Fitzwarin styles (Figs
27,61).

London, British Library, Egerton MS. 2781, a book of hours, should also be placed in
this context, since it relates to both the Walters and Fitzwarin styles. Wormald has
already noted parallels between the Fitzwarin Psalter and the Egerton Hours in both
iconography and ornament, but there are also strong stylistic correspondences. A close
relationship between the facial types, figure style and palette of the main Egerton hand
and the Fitzwarin Artist is evident from comparison of the Annunciation in Egerton 2781
and the Crucifixion in the Fitzwarin Psalter (Figs 60,98); also to be noted is the use of
vair which is applied to the perimeter of the gowns in narrow strips. The soft,
expressionless face of the Angel of the Annunciation can be paralleled in the face of the
seated St John and the murderers hanging at the right side of Christ in the Crucifixion
scene in the Fitzwarin Psalter, while the rugged visages of the soldiers surrounding the
cross are analogous to the shepherds and Joseph in the miniature of the Nativity in
Egerton 2781 (Fig. 102). Evident in both male and female figures is the manneristic loop
which is created when the drapery is pulled tightly around and under the arm in the form

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55 For Royal 10.E.vii see Warner and Gilson (1921), i, 335 and for Add. 47170 see London (1979)
pp.242-43. It would appear that this artist is the main hand of the Tiptoft Missal, New York, Pierpont
Morgan Library, MS. 107.

56 See London (1894), pp.473-74; Millar (1928), pp.21, 83 (no.241) with further bibliography; Saunders
(1928), pp.109-10, pl.117; Harrison (1937), pl.23; Wormald (1943), 73, 76, pls 22b, 25d; Backhouse

57 Wormald (1943), 73, 76, pl.22b.

58 The division of hands is not always well-defined and the question inevitably arises as to whether the
variations in style represent the work of a number of illuminators or, more likely, fewer artists engaged
in experimentation. I suggest three hands can be clearly distinguished and possibly a fourth, but not six

72
of a sling. This can be observed if the figure in the scene of Paradise is compared with that of the Virgin in the Ascension (Figs 61, 99). Similarly present is the gesture of the hand turned back at the wrist, with the palm facing outwards. There is a marked agreement between Egerton 2781 and the works of Hand B in the palette employed, the most distinctive colour being bright orange, a characteristic hallmark of a number of manuscripts of this date. There is, moreover, a parallel use of rinceaux decoration; but whereas in both the Fitzwarin Psalter and Liturg. 198 it is confined to the background areas, such as in the scene of the Flagellation in lat. 765 (Fig. 100), in Egerton 2781 it can also be found decorating other surfaces, such as garments, curtains and architectural structures (Fig. 101). Observation of these two miniatures further highlights the close relationship between the head and figure types in the Fitzwarin Psalter and Egerton Hours, and the figures of the Virgin and the Apostle in the Egerton miniature recall the mannered types of the Dublin/Walters illuminator (Figs 89, 101).

Even allowing for stylistic development, it is inconceivable that the Egerton and Fitzwarin artists are one and the same, however, since they do not fall into an explicable chronology. Although the Egerton artist incorporates architectural structures into his miniatures (Fig. 99) there is no intrinsic evidence to suggest that they will develop into the elaborate types which characterise the works of Hand B. However, despite subtle differences between the two artists there are sufficient parallels to suggest that their origins probably lay in a same direction.

The main illuminator of Egerton 2781 can be identified in London, B.L., Royal 10.E.iv, the so-called Smithfield Decretals, where he was responsible for the initials and borders on ff. 1v-3v, which appear in a separate gathering from the main text. The script is bordered on the left by a series of five, eight-line initials which, with one exception, are filled with elaborate pen decoration; the remaining initial is historiated (figs 103, 104). On f. 3v (Fig. 104) the left border is occupied by a towered structure, with figures standing in niches, while further architectural forms enclose figures in the lower margin. Comparison alone of the heads in this manuscript and those in the Egerton Hours indicates beyond question that they are the work of the same hand (Figs 102, 103). The relationship between the two works is reinforced by the presence in the Decretals of a further artist who painted the miniatures on the recto and verso of leaves 8 (Fig. 105) and 190 in the Hours and who, though sharing many points of contact with the main Egerton illuminator, produces a sketchier version of his style. As with the Fitzwarin Artist, bright blue and orange pigments dominate the palette of the two Decretal artists. This second

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59 On this manuscript see Warner and Gilson (1921), i, 334; iv, pl.67; Millar (1928), pp.20, 83-84 (no.243) with bibliography; Pächt (1943), 55-56; Rickert (1965), pp.134, 148, 241 n.35, pl.136.

60 Whereas the script of the main text is Italian, that of the tituli on these folios is English.

61 The affinity of these hands explains why the principal illuminator of the Egerton Hours has mistakenly been credited with the bas-de-page illustration in the Smithfield Decretals (see Baker (1981), p.369), when in fact he was only responsible for the illumination on ff. 1v-3v.
illuminator displays a more lively interest in architectural structures, an interest which is reflected in the recto and verso of f. 8 (Fig. 105) and f. 190 in Egerton 2781.

A further manuscript which can be associated with this group is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 20, where the entire programme of illumination, in both the Coronation Ordo and Apocalypse of which the manuscript is composed, can be assigned to the main hand of the Egerton Hours. The lengthy figures, with slender and expressive arms and hands (Fig. 106), are closely matched to those of the Egerton Hours, as in the Virgin and angel Gabriel in the scene of the Annunciation (Fig. 98). The head of the angel in each representation is almost identical: they possess the typical rounded face, small bow lips, blocky neck and head framed with neat, tight curls. The distinctive male head, with squarish or bearded jaw, short neat fringe and hair gathered in prominent waves, such as in the head of the male donor on f. 35 (Fig. 107), is the standard type of the coronation miniature (Fig. 106). The tendency towards caricature, inherent within certain heads, such as those of Joseph and the shepherds in the Nativity (Fig. 102), is also apparent in the Apocalypse (Fig. 108), and recalls, moreover, the villainous characters of the Fitzwarin Psalter (Fig. 100). Further evidence in support of the latter's relationship to the works of the Egerton group can be seen in the technique employed for modelling the garment worn by St John in the Apocalypse (Fig. 108) which can be compared to that of St John in the representation of the Crucifixion (Fig. 60) in the Fitzwarin Psalter.

Although each is a distinctly separate personality, the hand of ff. 86-108v in the Luttrell Psalter, the principal illuminator of Egerton 2781, the Zouche Hours artist and Hand B of the Vienna Psalter resemble one another closely in style; this suggests their likely geographical proximity.

The text of the Egerton Hours supports a date in the 1340s for the preparation of the Carew-Poyntz Hours with which there are close textual similarities; and there may be further support in favour of a Cambridge location for the earliest work in the Carew-Poyntz Hours by virtue of the litany which, unlike the calendar, forms part of the original text. Although both the Dublin and Walters Hours have calendars of the Lincoln diocese they could conceivably have been produced in Cambridge, not on the basis of

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64 See Baker (1981), no.22. Useful information can also be found in her thesis on the textual components of Walters 105 (no.24), Dublin, Trinity College, F.S.21 (no.25) and Bod., Lat. Liturg. e.4 (no.26).
65 The litany features Sts Mildred, Etheldreda, Milburga, Sexburga and Radegund, three of whom have associations with the diocese of Ely.
66 In the Walters Hours there is an unusually specific reference to St Hugh of Lincoln on 6 October: "Translati(,) sancti hu(,)gionis ep(,)iscopi Lincol(n)iensis". The calendar of the Dublin Hours is almost identical. The month of April is unique in this respect, sharing Nereus (6 April), Leo (12 April) and Richarius (26 April) (in both the scribe has mistakenly written St Richard for St Richardus) and it was probably copied from the same exemplar. However, the Dublin Hours lacks the translation of St Hugh but, unlike the Walters Hours, has the feast of the invention of St Frideswide of Oxford on 15 May and the inclusion of St John of Beverley on 7 May. Oxford was then in the Lincoln diocese.
liturgy or ownership but on account of their clear stylistic relationship to Ely diocese manuscripts and the body of works associated with them. Egerton 2781 and related works, on the other hand, seem to have evolved out of a style associated with London in the 1320s and early 1330s, but by 1340, or thereabouts, the workshop could have been based elsewhere. The Egerton Hours has a remarkably close parallel in the wall-paintings of South Newington in Oxfordshire, while the figure types of the Dublin/Walters illuminator have an affinity to those in the wall-paintings at Chalgrove in Oxfordshire.

A possible Oxford connection, is further suggested by a fragment of a book of hours in Liverpool University Library, MS. F.3.14, which has a calendar suggestive of an Oxford destination, but the style of the single miniature (Fig. 109) is broadly analogous to the Zouche illuminator and Vienna Hand B, both of whom may have been working in Cambridge. However, its closest counterpart lies in the Egerton Hours. The frame of the miniature (Fig. 109) is of a type found in the Hours (Fig. 105), and the marginal decoration, where a trilobed leaf (ivy?) is widely used, also recalls that manuscript; while the distinctive berry sprays, which are attached to the corners of the Liverpool miniature, ornament the minor initials in the Egerton Hours (Figs 101). All of these features are present in a further book of hours, Vatican, Pal. lat. 537 and a little known psalter in

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66 The Dublin Hours bears no marks of ownership. In Walters 105 the arms of Botelier of Wemme (gules a fess checky argent and sable between six crosses patty or) occur in the lower border on f.17 at the opening to the Hours of the Virgin. See London (1967), p.150. The miniature on f.15 depicts a kneeling man, woman and child who probably represent William le Botelier, Lord le Botelier and his wife Margaret, daughter of Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel and their son William (born 1331). For this family see G.E.C., ii, (1912), 232. The Botillers of Wemme held lands in Warwickshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire. See C.I.P.M., vii (1909), 406 (no.593).

67 Although a kneeling man and woman are represented on ff.35, 36v, 37v, 42 and 101v in the Egerton Hours they cannot be identified, nor does the liturgical evidence suggest any specific location for the manuscript, as both the calendar and the litany are uninformative. The Smithfield Decretals bears no contemporary marks of ownership, only a late fifteenth-century inscription on f.1, indicating that it belonged to St Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield. Corpus Christi MS.20 (the Apocalypse) has a contemporary inscription at the top of f.iiiv (see James (1912) L37), with the information that the manuscript was given to the library of St Augustine's, Canterbury, by Juliana de Leybourne. Juliana's husband, William de Clinton, was created earl of Huntingdon in 1337. The earldoms of Huntingdon and Cambridge were united under one earldom at this date; there is little evidence for an earl of Cambridge (see V.C.H., Cambridgeshire, iii, 31), as distinct from that of Huntingdon until William, Count of Jüliens was created earl in 1340.

68 The calendar, which is contemporary with the first campaign (the litany is of the fifteenth century), includes two feasts of St Frideswide, that of her deposition on 19 October and her translation on 12 February. There are no marks of ownership.

69 This manuscript, like the Liverpool Hours, lacks any marks of ownership and the calendar is basically Sarum, with some omissions. It lacks St Swithin (15 July), St Arnulf (18 July), St Cristine (24 July) and from 27 to 30 July it lacks all the Sarum feasts, five in all.
Exeter College, Oxford, MS. 46. The Liverpool, Exeter and Vatican manuscripts can be shown to have emanated from the same workshop, and their stylistic relationship to the Egerton 2781 group, as well as to that of the Queen Mary Psalter, suggests that this is where the sources lie.

Of the two artists who collaborated in the Vatican Hours the illuminator of the material within the hours text (he will be named the 'Creation' hand after the first miniature in the series) recalls the artist of Queen Mary's Psalter (B.L., Royal 2.B.vii), but that there has been a hardening of form is well demonstrated by a comparison between the representation of the Marriage at Cana in each work (Fig. 111). The other illuminator was the author of the series of half-page miniatures, seven in all, between ff. 32 and 35v; it will be convenient to call this artist the 'Betrayal' hand, after the opening miniature in the series.

There appears to have been a conscious effort on the part of the 'Creation' hand to emulate the designs of Royal 2.B.vii, with its half-page miniature, initial below and accompanying foliage extension (Figs 111,114,115,123); but the effect is less refined and the colour more heavily applied. The same dichotomy exists, however, between a fully-painted and water-colour technique: whereas the miniatures are in full colour, the bas-de-page scenes have a lighter wash of pigment, as in the Psalter (Fig. 123). Where this illuminator has employed rectilinear borders, in which he foliage tendrils are formed into lozenges (Fig. 144), they have their ultimate origin in those of the Queen Mary Artist's collaborator.

The scenes of the Flight into Egypt in the Vatican and Egerton Hours (Figs 112,113) cement the relationship between the two works (the two-dimensionality of the composition is emphasised by the identically diapered backdrop) and at the same time confirms their allegiance to 'Queen Mary' models. The scene of the Marriage at Cana, compared above to that in Queen Mary's Psalter, is also closely related to that in the Egerton manuscript (Figs 110,111). A further point of contact between the Vatican and Egerton Hours is provided by the subtle technique of modelling God's head in grey and pink tones in the 'Creation' miniature (Fig. 115), which relates closely to the head of the saint who enters

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72 Millar (1928), p.84 (no.248); Alexander and Temple (1985), no.306, pl.xxxi. There are no marks of ownership and the calendar is Sarum with some variations and omissions. The feast of St Anthony, Abbot, occurs on 17 January. The calendar is closely analogous to an unilluminated Obituary Roll of Queen's College, Oxford, of ca 1340, for which see Magnall (1910). The litany is rather colourless, except for the inclusion amongst the confessors of St Louis whose feast, on 25 August, is not included in the Exeter calendar, but is found in that of the Vatican Hours. This feast is celebrated in a calendar of the Austin Friars, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod.Clm. 23215 and in the Franciscan calendar of London, Dr Williams's Library, MS. Ancient 6.

73 Close analysis suggests that despite some variability in technique and style it is a single artist at work from the 'Creation' folio on. For an illustration of the scene of the Creation in Queen Mary's Psalter, see Warner (1912), pl.2.

74 For an illustration of this scene in Queen Mary's Psalter see ibid., pl.198.

75 For a discussion of these artists and bibliography on the Queen Mary group of manuscripts, see Dennison (1986a).

76 For an illustration of this scene in Queen Mary's Psalter see Warner (1912), pl.184.
the building in the Egerton miniature on f. 18v (Fig. 100), except that green pigment is added to the facial modelling in this example. It is, however, the single occurrence of this phenomenon in each work. The 'Betrayal' hand's figure style, although less monumental and more manneristic than that of the 'Creation' hand, seems ultimately to stem from Queen Mary's Psalter (Figs 116,118), but finds expression in exaggerated hipshot poses and contorted limbs, reminiscent of certain figures in the Egerton, Walters and Dublin hours (Figs 88,89,101), as well as in the Chalgrove paintings and the Brent Eleigh painting in Suffolk. It may be possible to assign the minor initials in a psalter in Exeter College Oxford, MS. 46, to the 'Betrayal' hand (Figs 32-35). This artist's well-defined leaf forms and rectilinear marginal bars, accompanying the minor psalms (Figs 120,121), are closely analogous to those of one of the artists in Egerton 2781, and reminiscences, of 'Queen Mary' forms are evident in the drolleries which issue from these stems, and the foliage terminals (Figs 120,121). There may be a case, moreover for postulating that the miniatures in Exeter 46, and the borders accompanying them, are the work of the 'Creation' hand; but how might this this be explained when the figure style is so different in the two works? It is clear that in the Vatican Hours the artist was drawing heavily on 'Queen Mary' iconography which apparently was later abandoned. The iconography in Exeter 46 is not standard and as a result it left the way clear for the artist to create a more personal style. That it is probably the same artist in the two works can be demonstrated by comparison between the head of the Virgin in the scene of the Nativity in the Vatican Hours (Fig. 123) and that of the reclining figure, represented twice, in the Dixit dominus initial in the Exeter Psalter (Fig. 122). Despite the stylistic and technical variants which exist amongst the surviving miniatures, all appear to be by the same illuminator (Figs 122,124), distinctive features of one miniature appearing in another.

The compositional, iconographic and stylistic debt owed by a number of manuscripts discussed in this chapter to the Queen Mary workshop suggests that London pattern books were in circulation from the late 1330s onwards. The indications, though tentative, are that by around 1340 there was a gravitation of illuminators to Cambridge from various centres (possibly Oxford, Norwich and London), a hypothesis supported by some additions made to the Milemete Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta secretorum, London, B.L., Add. MS. 47680. The Aristotle is one of a large corpus of manuscripts, comprising many illuminators, and three centres of production have been proposed. Although most of the

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77 For illustrations of Brent Eleigh and Chalgrove, see n.54 of this chapter.
78 A number of major folios of illumination (those for psalms 1, 26, 38, 52 and 80) have been excised, while those to psalms 51, 68, 97, 101 and 109 remain. The calendar and litany are intact and belong to the original campaign.
79 It is not within the scope of this study to discuss this question in detail, although a number of further comparisons could be made.
80 For bibliography, see Alexander and Kauffmann (1973), no.64. See also Alexander (1983), pp.142-43.
81 See Michael (1987), where this complex question is discussed in greater detail.
illumination in the Aristotle dates to 1326/7, it was left incomplete. Further work on the
book was undertaken around 1340; three of these artists can be identified in manuscripts
which have been shown to have Cambridge associations. One is remarkably close to the
artist of the Dublin and Walters Hours (Figs 125,126), a second is one of the
illuminators of the Astor Psalter-Hours (Figs 127-129), while a third collaborated with
the Vienna A Hand in the Brescia Psalter (Figs 130-133). Furthermore, it is of interest
that the other illuminator who is found alongside Hand B in Harley 2888 arises from the
Milemete group of the earlier period, and as such may give a further clue as to the origin
of Hand B.

(vi) Conclusion

Existing evidence suggests that whereas Hand B may have originated from the Oxford
area, by the 1340s – at what point is uncertain – he had either developed strong contacts
with Cambridge illuminators or had, more likely, become established in Cambridge itself,
which from around 1340 until the Black Death appears to have been a flourishing centre
for illuminators. It is puzzling that although the style of Hand B touches on a number of
artists of ca 1340-50 no evidence survives to show that he ever collaborated with any
other illuminator. In this context, it is significant that although the Zouche Hours, the
Brescia Psalter and Psalter of Simon de Montacute have almost identical calendars and
date to around 1345, no artist from one can be identified in the others, despite the clear
stylistic links between them. As stated, the impression given from an analysis of style is
that artists from different regions were converging on a single centre, since their works in
varying degrees betray contact one with another and this is supported in certain instances
by actual collaboration. The high death-rate among illuminators can possibly be accounted
for by the apparent centralisation of much of their activity, unlike that of wall painters,
who, as noted in the last chapter, probably fared rather better since their work was more
widely spread geographically. There is no clear evidence that London or Norwich,

82 London, B.L., Add. MS. 47680, ff.61v, 62, 63, 63v, 64, 65, 66, 66v and 67v.
83 London, B.L., Add. MS. 47680, ff.21-24v and Astor Psalter-Hours, ff.53, 59v and 101v. Two closely
similar artists work on the remaining psalm initials (that for psalm 38 has been excised), one on f.70v,
the other on ff.115, 127v and 140. However, since three progressive manifestations of a single drapery
style are evident in these folios it would appear to be a single illuminator developing, a development
comparable to that undertaken by Hand B in the Fitzwarin Psalter.
84 London, B.L., Add. MS. 47680, ff.32v-51v and Brescia, Queriniana Library, MS. A.V.17, ff.46v, 58,
72, 85v, 87, 99v. The border decoration by the Milemete illuminator in question closely relates to that
in the Psalter of Simon de Montacute. A further Milemete-related artist collaborated with Hand A in
Douce 131 (ff.20, 32, 42v, 43, 54, 68v – initials and borders, ff.81v, 83v – borders only).
85 London, B.L., Harley MS. 2888, ff.9, 31v, 44, 56. Amongst other works, this artist illuminated Oxford,
Bod., MS. Douce 231 (Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.575, pl.lx) which has a calendar of the diocese of
Lincoln and could have been produced in Oxford. An Oxford origin is strengthened by a further
enigmatic manuscript, Bodleian, MS. Don. b.5, which may provide a source for, or even be by, Hand
B. There is a fourteenth-century dedication to a church in Oxfordshire. See Pächt and Alexander
(1973), no.668, pl.lix, where a date of ca 1370-80 is given, but on stylistic grounds it could be as early
as 1340.
hitherto important, were still centres for the production of illuminated books in the 1340s.

However, remnants of the tradition of the 1340s exist in the form of the foundation charter given to Trinity Hall Cambridge (Trinity Hall Muniments 77) by Bishop Bateman in 1353. The illuminated initial, depicting the Trinity (Figs 134,135), can be assigned to the 'Creation' hand and may therefore suggest that this artist and his collaborator, the 'Betrayal' hand, identifiable in the Vatican Hours, Liverpool Hours and Exeter 46, were not in circulation until after the Pestilence; but bearing in mind the stylistic and iconographic affinity of these books, particularly of the Vatican Hours, to pre-1350 manuscripts, they could well have been active prior to the Black Death. With the exception of the two illuminators, however, it has not been possible to identify any of the illuminators discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 of this study in post-Black Death books. This charter may indicate that the workshop of the Vatican Hours was also based in Cambridge, given that there is no firm evidence in support of a location in the capital.

The stylistic and other evidence gathered in these two chapters has important implications for the chronology of the Bohun manuscripts, traditionally dated to the second half of the fourteenth century, since both Hands A and B of the Vienna Psalter, constituting the first campaign, were clearly active in the 1340s.

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See Pink (1929). I am grateful to Elizabeth Danbury for informing me of the existence of this charter. For information on Bateman, see D.N.B. s.v.
CHAPTER THREE

THE ENGLISH BOHUN STYLE AND FLEMISH INFLUENCES

Vienna, National Library, Cod. 1826* (the remaining folios).

A further sixteen gatherings (ff. 50-160v) of the psalter text in the Vienna manuscript, as well as the calendar (ff. 1-6v) have yet to be assessed. This material comprises psalms 59 to 150, including the penitential psalms, litany, canticles and memoriae. In the method of illustration (there are three-line historiated initials for the minor psalms, mostly accompanied by a continuous marginal bar in the left border), though not in style, this section shows continuity with gatherings two to seven. In an original state this portion would have contained decoration at the major divisions of psalms 52 and 80, but these leaves have now been excised. Decoration for three of the principal psalms (those for 68, 97 and 109) and for the penitential psalms remain.

When Rickert and others examined the Vienna Psalter they assumed that all the material from f. 50 to the end was homogeneous in style. It has already been shown that ff. 50 and 57 deviate from the remainder, and there is evidence for suggesting that the Salvum me fac (f. 58) and Cantate (f. 85v) pages might be similarly distinguished.

(i) Vienna Hand C: the Salvum and Cantate folios.

On the Salvum me fac folio (Fig. 136) a ten-line historiated initial occupies almost the full width of the upper portion of text: there are continuous borders in the left and lower margins, while the right-hand margin is partially occupied by a single stem of foliage which terminates at the lower edge of the historiated initial. The arrangement of the border elements evokes the Dominus illuminatio folio of the first campaign (Fig. 2); the lower marginal bar, ornamented with bilaterally paired leafy stems and cusped decoration enclosing further forms, is identical in concept, as is the method by which the right hand stem arises from the junction of the lower bar. The head of the bearded man in the lower border on the Salvum page corresponds with the facial types on the Dominus illuminatio folio, both within the border and the initial itself, while the linear quality of a number of the heads on the Salvum folio is analogous to those on the Beatus page (Fig. 1). The interest in creating elaborate three-dimensional structures, as in the representation of the

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1 With the exception of folios 50rv and 57rv, attributed in the last chapter to Hand B. For a collation of this manuscript, see Appendix I.

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town of Nineveh in the lower register of the *Salvum* initial (Fig. 136), finds a parallel in the thrones of the Godly and the un-Godly in the *Beatus* initial (Fig. 1) and compares with those used by Hand A in the Brescia Psalter (Fig. 25).

The border in the left-hand margin of the *Salvum* page (Fig. 136) consists of a wide rectilinear element, composed of three separate chambers formed out of interwoven foliage tendrils, each containing a single figure and separated by further interlace. Neither the *Beatus* nor *Dominus illuminatio* folios has structures of this kind, but climbing, standing and acrobatic figures enclosed in this way occur on the *Beatus* page of the St Omer Psalter (Fig. 137), a manuscript touched on in Chapter One. The figure at the base of the shaft with arms raised is closely comparable in the two examples. It is conceivable that the idea of employing further roundels outside of the initials grew out of a knowledge of the major folios of decoration in the St Omer Psalter, where an elaborate display of interlace for accommodating additional iconography is found on each major page of illumination (Figs 137-139). On the *Salvum* page highlighting, usually on blue draperies, is achieved by a subtle gradation of tone which reaches a climax in the application of thickish white pigment, seemingly applied almost dry on the brush and placed on the contours of the folds; this has the effect of pushing forward towards the spectator the vigorously highlighted areas, a technique not characteristic of Hand A, but one closely allied to that in the St Omer Psalter and related manuscripts.

In the St Omer Psalter a host of teeming little characters occupies the interlace and inhabits the outer foliage (Figs 137-139). Despite the artist’s preoccupation with painterly techniques, the underlying style is linear. The faces are calligraphically rendered; and in order to restore substantiality to certain figures, lost as a result of a surfeit of white pigment, the artist has outlined some in black, rendering them rather flat in form, as in the representation of Eve in the lower roundel just to the left of the centre (Fig. 143). This technique is also employed by the artist of the *Salvum* folio in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 140,142,172). A number of affinities exist between the figures themselves. The two figures who stand in the upper roundel of the *Salvum* initial (Fig. 142) compare with the various representations of God the Father in the Adam and Eve cycle in the St Omer roundels, (Fig. 143). In the representation of Jonah rising out of the whale in the initial itself (Fig. 136) the manner in which his slender arm arises out of the drapery can be paralleled in the figures in the St Omer roundels and the heads are closely similar. In this scene God looks down on Jonah from above and their heads are almost identical to those of God and Adam emerging from the vine scroll in the Expulsion roundel.

With the exception of the second representation of Jonah (he appears six times at different stages in the narrative) where he is about to embark on his journey, the figures lack any marked mannerisms (Fig. 136). In this example, however, his face is turned sharply around in the direction of the boat he is about to board, while the upper part of
his body faces the spectator with the result that his head and right leg pull in diametrically opposed directions, a contorted and unnatural gesture. Figures of this type occur in the Beatus initial of the St Omer Psalter (Fig. 16); this representation of Jonah relates to the dancing figure in the central roundel on the right and that in the lower left-hand roundel. As demonstrated earlier, both Hands A and B produced mannered figures of this type, but their application was equally as transitory.

The range of colours employed by the illuminator of the Salvum folio differs from that used by Hand A on ff. 7-49v; it is more pastel in tone, agreeing with that in the St Omer Psalter (Figs 137-139). Moreover, certain foliage forms, principally wavy oaks and lozenge-shaped leaves, round and pointed trilobes, as well as seed-like leaves, bearing terminals, are introduced which are not characteristic of the repertoire of Hands A and B, although closely related types occur in the St Omer Psalter. The delicately rendered stem, bearing seedpods, which occupies the right-hand margin on the Salvum page is of the naturalistic type of the St Omer Psalter, as are the various birds.

From the enigmatic parallels which can be drawn between the illuminator of the Salvum page, who will be named Vienna Hand C, and the major folios of decoration in the St Omer Psalter, particularly that of the Beatus, it would appear that the artist was borrowing elements not only of style and technique but also of composition. Although it does not appear to be the same artist at work, the analogies are sufficiently telling to suggest that they were known to each other or that Hand C had access to the manuscript or a close model.4

The representations of God and Jonah in the upper roundel on the Salvum folio (Fig. 142) can be compared with the figure of Moses and the climbing man poised just outside the initial on the Cantate folio, both in conventional dress (Fig. 169); the faces, figure forms and draperies are closely similar and a dark, shadowy outline circumscribes the figures. The linear facial types of the musicians in the border roundels on the Cantate page (Figs 145(a),(b),170(a)) can be compared in turn with those of Jonah in the initial and the climbing figures in the left-hand border of the Salvum folio (Figs 136,140,146). Not only is the border structure and disposition of the various elements analogous in the two pages, but many of the foliage forms, namely the rounded and pointed trefoils, the seed-like and serrated half cabbage leaves, are identical. The Cantate page might be seen as developing away from the St Omer type, as embodied in the Salvum folio, towards the re-introduction of grotesques and drolleries, for the most part abandoned in the Salvum page; but it is still possible to see that these border types are close relatives, as comparison of the drollery in the upper border on the Cantate page and the climbing man in the lower border on the Salvum folio reveals (Figs 171,172). The correspondences are

4 In the fifteenth century the manuscript is known to have been in the hands of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, a descendant of the Bohun family, who had the illumination completed (see Rickert (1965), pp.131, 181), but there is no evidence available to suggest when it entered the family.
such that there is not sufficient dissimilarity between the style of the two pages to postulate the work of two separate hands. The impression given is that they are the product of a single artist developing as a result of exposure to a fresh stimulus which has given rise in the Cantate page to a brighter palette, increased modelling, greater characterisation in the faces and the introduction of more fashionable garments.

(ii) Vienna Hand D: the Dixit dominus and Domine ne in furore folios: definition of style

Although the figure style is essentially small in scale, in comparing the two, ten-line historiated initials it is evident that the sizes of the figures have been governed to a degree by the available space: the narrative aspects of the subject-matter chosen for psalm 109 (f. 100), in which four separate scenes illustrate the story of Solomon (Fig. 147), compelled the artist to modify the size of the figures, with the result that the heads appear over-large for the bodies, whereas the Christ of the Last Judgement (Fig. 148) at the opening to the Seven Penitential Psalms (f. 141) is a well-proportioned, fairly monumental figure, unrestricted by spatial considerations.

The Solomon scenes are courtly and elegant. In the lower, left-hand scene where the Judgement is enacted (Fig. 147) Solomon is crowned and wears a rich robe trimmed with vair. In the lower scene on the right the two soldiers who have snatched the baby away from its true mother and are about to divide it wear contemporary garments which cling tightly to their bodies: a narrow belt is worn at the hips; a short skirt covers the thighs and they each wear hoods with distinctive semi-circular capes. A more elaborate version of this jupon, in which the skirt is pleated and the bodice is adorned by a row of buttons, is worn by the male figure who stands behind the two women in the compartment to the left. The women also wear tightly-fitted garments which accentuate the form of the figure. The arms of both the male and female figures are slender and rather stiff, with little variation in width along their length; the hands tend to be over-large, as in the gesture of supplication, where they are held at a sharp angle to the fully out-stretched arms. This characteristic gesture of prayer occurs twice in the Last Judgement scene (Fig. 148), in which the nude figures rising from their coffins are equally stiffly rendered.

The faces are rather curious: most of the younger men have scanty moustaches and tiny, wispy beards; there is mild modelling in pale to mid-grey tones on a thickish white pigment base for the flesh; the eyes are composed of wide slits which narrow towards the ear, with black, beady irises firmly lodged in the upper lid. The lids themselves are emphasised and this gives the heads an oriental appearance, as in the figure of Christ of the Last Judgement. In non-hooded figures, of which there are a number in the scene of the Last Judgement, the oval, rather egg-shaped nature of the heads is particularly apparent. The mouths are small and the noses narrow, although they do occasionally
broaden towards the eye-brows; and in some of the profile heads, as in one of the men crowning Solomon, the nose is formed in one continuous line from the forehead, showing little or no indentation, producing a snout-like effect. The female heads are almost a carbon copy of those of the men; their features are small and dainty, the flesh is basically white although there is a faint suggestion of grey modelling. They are principally distinguished by short plaits (comettes) which adorn the sides of their heads, as in the two women who dispute over the custody of the child in the Solomon initial.

Plasticity of form is achieved by the application of pigment in subtly graduated tones of a single colour, usually blue or pink extending to white at the highest point on the contour. The effect differs from that created by Hands A and C, and is particularly well demonstrated by the seated Christ and angels of the Last Judgement, where the draperies cling, as though damp, to their bodies, creating a convincing impression of form beneath the drapery. Although the application of the pigment is still fairly dry in texture, as in the Salvum folio, the result is softer and more painterly.

In the upper section of the Dixit dominus miniature (Fig. 147) the drapery of the bed serves to separate the first of the Solomon scenes (his birth) from the second (his anointing), while the ground plane of this action provides the ceiling of two cusped and arcaded vaults, separated by a central colonette, in which the two scenes of Solomon's judgement are enacted. By virtue of modelling in dark grey tones the inner vaulting recedes, while the outer cusped structure and column are pushed to the fore as a result of the application of thickish white pigment. Despite these attempts to create depth, the action unfolds along a single plane; although a degree of depth is evident in the raised platform on which Solomon is anointed, this has been achieved by means of painterly techniques, rather than perspectival modelling. That the basic rules of perspective had not been grasped is amply illustrated by the table on which the babies have been placed in the bottom left-hand compartment, which appears to be springing forward out of the picture; and the background to this activity is not an interior scene or landscape, but a curtain of pounced burnished gold. The setting is a miniature stage-set and the figures performing within it are doll-like in proportions.

This style, however, for all its idiosyncrasies, was to be a dominant force in English manuscript painting during the second half of the fourteenth century, varying little over approximately fifty years, only to be superseded by a Continental style. The selection of pigments also heralds the new phase that English miniature painting was entering, inherent within the brighter palette of the Cantate page by Hand C but not fully expressed until the production of the Dixit dominus and Domine ne in furore pages, in which there is a concentration on rose pink, a range of blues, brown, green and a subtly blended orange, set against finely burnished and delicately pounced gold. The effect is one of

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Further reference to this is made in Chapter 9.

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richness and elegance, achieved with an economy of colour. This illuminator will be named Vienna Hand D.

(iii) The minor psalm initials: definition of style

The Dixit dominus and Domine ne in furore initials are fairly representative of the style of the remaining initials. For the greater number of gatherings the repertoire of forms, once established, is repeated with little variation; but owing to the limitations imposed by the smaller size of these initials (they are mostly of three lines) the style becomes a short-hand version of that of the two major folios. Although the strongly narrative approach adopted for the minor initials necessitated a small-scale style, the borders afford the artist greater freedom to increase the size of the figures.

The calligraphic linearity expressed in the hair of certain figures, however, is not paralleled in either the Judgement of Solomon or Last Judgement miniatures. Although this freer use of line is found alongside plastic, more solid forms, these features seem to be heralding developments which were underway in the gatherings towards the end of the manuscript, for a change in style is discernible in the eighteen three-line initials and one of four lines between ff. 151-158 in the memoriae following the litany, depicting various saints, and the four five-line initials representing the Four Evangelists (ff. 158v-160), and a further five-line initial of the Virgin and Child with a saint, illustrating the prayer ‘O Beata et intemerata’ (f. 157). The single saints, mostly shown half-length, are well-proportioned, in contrast to the pixie-like figures which characterise the preceding folios.

The opening folio to the memoriae has been excised and St Peter (f. 151) (Fig. 149) is the first of the saints represented. In one solidly formed hand (his arms are also sturdy) he holds a book, in the other a key. Although this degree of corporeality has no precedent in the former gatherings, comparison of the head with similar types in the Last Judgement miniature (Fig. 148) establishes that it is the work of Hand D. St Paul, who is represented on the verso of this leaf, has eyes which in contrast to the majority, are open wide (Fig. 150). He shares with St Peter and St James (f. 152) (Fig. 151) a face of some individuality. For most of the saints, however, there is a return to the customary oval-shaped head, with narrow eyes and hair swept well back from the forehead, neatly framing the face and extending in waves. The representation of St John on f. 151v (Fig. 150), with small mouth, firm nose-line and eyes which narrow slightly, characteristic of the majority, is essentially an enlarged version of the standard type. Variations on this basic theme are offered by St Jude and St Matthew, both on f. 154 (Fig. 153), whose faces are more vigorously modelled. Both St James on f. 153 and St Sebastian on f. 158 (Fig. 156) wear hooded mantles and recall the head type represented by the two soldiers in the Solomon miniature (Fig. 147), while the St Matthew on f. 153v (Fig. 152) and St
Luke on f. 154v (Fig. 154) witness to the emergence of more linear tendencies in which streaks of pigment are applied to the hair, simulating waves.

The Virgin and Child (f. 157) (Fig. 155) and the Four Evangelists (ff. 158v-160) (Figs 157-160) are freely accommodated in seated positions, with a resulting monumentality of form implicit in the saints of the memoriae, the Christ of the Last Judgement and certain figures which people the borders. However, in contrast to the softly rounded draperies of the Christ of the Last Judgement (Fig. 148) the folds of the Virgin’s outer mantle (Fig. 155) are angular and brittle in form, and the technique is less painterly. As noted earlier, the solidity of Christ’s draperies has been achieved by the application of white pigment to the rounded areas of the form, which has had the effect of pushing the knees forward in the direction of the spectator. In the case of the Virgin’s draperies, however, a more even, drier application tends to flatten the form of the figure.

St Mark on f. 158v (Fig. 157) is seated on a grey stone seat which recalls the technique used for the tombs of the Resurrected in the scene of the Last Judgement (Fig. 148). His arm and hand, which are raised and hold a quill, share the corporeality of certain saints, such as St Peter in the memoriae (Fig. 149). Although the outer garment is slightly glazed the treatment of the draperies relates to the ‘drier’ type of the Virgin (Fig. 155), and not the ‘wet’ effect associated with those of Christ and the angels in the Last Judgement miniature (Fig. 148). The pattern of white dots, applied in groups of three to his outer mantle, and the calligraphic treatment of his hair signal a new direction for this artist. The linear rhythmic qualities, the increasing monumentality of the figures in these later gatherings, of which the calendar (ff. 1-6v) and the remaining three Evangelists (Figs 158-160) are examples, attest to the reassertion of more ‘Gothic’, less ‘Italianate’, principles of form and suggest that the artist had been exposed to fresh influences, the possible origins of which will be examined in the following chapter.

(iv) The border decoration

The border decoration on the Dixit dominus folio (Fig. 147) is composed of three continuous rectilinear elements and a fourth in the right margin, which is broken at the centre for a space of seven lines of text. At focal points, these richly burnished shafts burst forth and form into cusped medallions, enclosing animal and foliage forms, as well as interlace, while symmetrically placed leafy terminals, arranged in pairs, issue forth into the margin. The principal leaf is lozenge in shape. These leaves which have been referred to as ‘kites’ are interspersed with small, burnished berry forms, with hair-line tendrils issuing from them. A border of this type occurs on the other major folio by Hand D (Fig. 148) where there are continuous borders on three sides, while on the fourth the border

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* Rickert (1952), p.73.
begins to form, but disintegrates into two lengthy tendrils bearing kite leaves. The left-hand border, although clearly originating in a rectilinear shaft, soon broadens into wider cusped elements which house further narrative and other forms. It is notable that when grotesques are included, as in the bottom left-hand roundel, they are neatly camouflaged within the cusping. As a result of the bright, yet harmonious, range of colours and the delicately pounced burnished gold grounds, these folios possess considerable richness and elegance.

How do these borders compare with those accompanying the minor psalm initials? On f. 65 (Fig. 161), at the beginning of the tenth quire, rectilinear bars occupy the upper and left-hand margins, while short foliage terminals extend partially into the lower and right-hand margins. Both in structure and ornament there is an agreement with the borders on the two major folios (Figs 147,148); this is also the case with the decoration on f. 67 (Fig. 162). Borders of this type to the minor psalms only occur however on ff. 65, 65v and 67, all within the tenth gathering. The standard convention is for the left-hand margin only to be filled with a continuous border, with short leafy flourishes extending into the upper and lower margins (Figs 167,174). There is the occasional aberration, as in f. 82, where a straight bar extends for half the distance across the upper margin. These minor borders accommodate a fairly extensive repertoire of forms. The male climbing figures, many of which form an integral part of the initial or climb just outside of it (Figs 160,163), are probably the single most important element of ornament, as in the first campaign. Although less prolific than these acrobatic figures dragon, grotesque and hybrid forms also populate the borders. Leaf masks, lion masks and human and grotesque heads, some within interlace, are further characteristic of Hand D’s ornament. As to the leaves, themselves, burnished gold ‘kites’ and mottled sycamores predominate and these often issue from the stems in the form of extensions, resembling bat wings.

(v) The transitional gatherings between the first and second campaigns

Inconsistencies in certain aspects of the palette, technique and border decoration in the first of the quires in which Hand D can be identified (there is a concentration of these discrepancies in gatherings 8 and 9) warrants closer examination.

Certain leaf and flower forms, comprising holly, clover, beech, elongated wavy ivy leaves, pointed-berry and seed-like sprays, spear and profile heart-shaped leaves, and more florid forms such as the wild strawberry flower are not characteristic of Hand D’s repertoire. Moreover, there are two instances in which the border structure deviates from the norm. Although it is customary to place a single shaft of ornament in the left-hand margin where the three-line initials occur (Fig. 167), on f. 52 the initials are not linked together by a single stem, but remain as individual elements (Fig. 163). This pattern is
followed for the single initial on f. 61 (Fig. 164), where the border is not extended in the normal way for the full length of the margin and the leaf form within the cusping is not paralleled elsewhere in the manuscript. Not only is there considerable colour variation from folio to folio but the pigments mostly lack the richness of the subsequent gatherings; pale blue and orange dominate and there is an absence of the characteristic rose pink pigment associated with Hand D. Gatherings eight and nine also differ in the use of a dry, sketchier and rather less painterly technique, whereby the flesh can become quite chalky, as in the initial on f. 51. The gold in the cusping around this initial has a coppery glow, indicating that it is thinly applied, revealing the pink size beneath. This less refined use of gold and a coarser form of punching, applied in random fashion (a blunt, rounded tool has been used), contrast with the fine gold leaf, rich burnishing and delicate pouncing of the later folios.7 In some cases the cusping, the staves of the initials and the line-fillers have been crudely delineated in a black line. Equally incongruous are the black foliate patterns, applied with the brush, to the ground of the two, three-line initials on f. 52 (Fig. 163), and the use of semi-painted, semi-gilded grounds for the two initials on f. 56.

These inconsistencies in palette and technique are well illustrated by the verse initials and line-fillers in the ninth gathering; on some of the pages there is a concentration of blue pigment, on others orange, while the method of applying the colour, as well as the treatment of the gold, is variable, suggesting the presence of two, or even three separate artists, although the distinctions between them are subtle and difficult to discern. The enigmatic and variable nature of these leaves is exemplified in the initial and border to f. 63v (Fig. 166), unique amongst these gatherings, which is painted in a rather garish palette comprising bright orange and cobalt, and where the linearity of the brittle, broken folds of the mantle of the kneeling man contrasts with the painterly modelling of his face and the wings and body of the dragon outside the initial.

The consistency of style which is the hallmark of most of the Vienna manuscript for which Hand D was responsible is not fully accomplished by the onset of the tenth gathering or, indeed, within it. Although in the tenth quire there are clear signs of movement towards the uniformity of the later gatherings (this is seen in the more delicately pounced gold and the appearance of ‘kites’), the method of applying the colour, the presence of oak (f. 65) (Fig. 161), kidney (f. 67) (Fig. 162) and wavy trefoil (f. 71v) (Fig. 167) leaves, and the diminutive size of the figures within the initials suggest more of an affinity with the eighth and ninth gatherings. Nor is the grotesque which appears at the top of the marginal bar on f. 66 (Fig. 165) in character with the later gatherings. The transitional nature of the tenth quire is also evident in the border decoration on ff. 65, 65v and 67 (Figs 161, 162) which, although having affinity with that on the Dixit dominus and

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7 There is an exception to this on f. 55, where the ground of the initial is delicately pounced in a foliate design.
Domine ne in furore folios (Figs 147, 148), is a design which is not used elsewhere for the minor decoration. By the eleventh gathering, however, transition towards the subsequent folios is virtually accomplished. Whereas the leaf forms remain dry in technique on f. 73v (this is particularly evident along the veins), by f. 74 the veins of the sycamore leaves have become more mottled, and by the twelfth gathering the pristine quality of the palette is fully evident.

Whereas these anomalies could be seen as being consistent with Hand D's development it is more likely that they have resulted from Hand D working over the drawing, and perhaps some of the painting, of an earlier campaign. The material in gatherings eight and nine may have been taken to a further stage of completion by the earlier artist, or artists – hence the more obvious discrepancies there – whereas gathering ten and to a degree eleven (the truly transitional leaves) probably contained less of the former campaign. This hypothesis is supported by the repertoire of leaf forms, particularly evident in gatherings eight and nine, which contrast with those of Hand D whose range is more limited, consisting principally of 'kites' and sycamores.

Further aberrations in style, occurring in gathering twenty (ff. 143-149v) suggest that some of the folios were drawn out and even painted by Hand C. The overall structure of the border on f. 143 (Fig. 168), comprising a sinuous stem of foliage, interrupted by cusped forms and grotesques and ornamented with trefoils, small clovers and pointed berry forms, compares closely with the marginal decoration on the Cantate page (Fig. 144). The grotesque perched on the outer cusping and playing a musical instrument, is of a closely related type to the one positioned in the centre of the left-hand margin on the Cantate page (Figs 168, 170(a)). The distinctive treatment of the staves of the initial on f. 143 (Fig. 168) with serrated half cabbage leaves, is of the type which surrounds the roundels on the Salvum (Fig. 142) and Cantate (Fig. 145(b)) folios. The decoration on f. 143 is characterised by a hot palette which has no parallel in the work of Hand D, although it is analogous to the Cantate page. Comparison of the facial types (Figs 168, 169) strongly suggests that f. 143 can be assigned to Hand C. The verso of f. 143 has no historiated initial but a number of one-line initials, ornamented with Hand C's repertoire of forms, as is f. 144 (Fig. 173) and its cognate leaf, f. 149 (Fig. 176). Since the recto and verso of ff. 146, 147 and 148 (Fig. 175) show no evidence of his hand it would suggest that certain leaves had been partially drawn out by Hand C and one, at least, completed. The marginal shaft on f. 144 (Fig. 173), probably drawn out by Hand C, is slender compared with the type associated with Hand D (Figs 149-151, 154). A closely related border, with characteristic cabbage leaf form, occurs on f. 54 in the eighth gathering (Fig. 174). The trilobed flower at the base of the shaft on f. 143 (Fig. 168) is drawn with the same precision as the sweet pea flower on the Salvum folio (Fig. 136) and

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8 The cognate leaf which would have contained the opening to the litany is now excised.
the strawberry flower on f. 53 in the eighth gathering; each species occurs only once in the manuscript, attesting not only to the individuality of the draughtsman but indicating that it is the work of a single artist (Hand C).

That it was the same artist at work, mostly in the underdrawing in gatherings eight to eleven and twenty, can be illustrated by reference to the Cantate folio, which explains many of the incongruities in this manuscript by bringing together on a single page almost every facet of Hand C's style. Evident is the method of placing grotesques outside the cusping, as in the left-hand border (Figs 144, 168), which agrees not only with those on f. 143 (gathering 20) already discussed, but also with that on f. 66 (gathering 10) (Fig. 165). Such bold grotesques are not typical of Hand D's repertoire. The penchant for winged grotesques (Figs 145(a), 170(a)) is reflected on f. 55 (gathering 8) and f. 63v (gathering 9), where dragons with similarly sinuous wings occur (Fig. 166). The structure of the left-hand tendril on f. 63v, in relation to the rectilinear shaft, and the stave of the initial containing the serrated half cabbage leaf, are strongly reminiscent of Hand C's forms, as is the hot palette in which it is painted. The head which appears in the third verse initial on this page secures beyond question that this folio was executed by Hand C, as indicated by comparison with the heads in the Salvum and Cantate pages, as well as f. 143 (Figs 142, 144, 168). It would appear that both f. 63v and f. 143 were substantially, if not entirely, completed by Hand C when the manuscript was taken up by Hand D. The method of placing a dragon within an independent element of cusping, with a stringy extension of foliage leading from it, as in the top right-hand corner of the Cantate page (Fig. 171), recalls the cusped element of foliage on f. 61 (gathering 9) which encapsulates a dragon and a climbing figure (Fig. 164). From the cusped decoration on the Cantate folio it is possible to detect a coarser form of gold punching which characterises much of the ornament in gatherings eight and nine. The interest in rocky formations, evident both in the Salvum and Cantate initials (Figs 136, 169), can also be paralleled in the ninth gathering, as in the initial on f. 63v (Fig. 166); rocky background elements such as these were not a feature of Hand D's style. As noted earlier, direct comparison can be made between the leaf forms which occur on the Cantate page and those within the folios. Evidence of Hand C's participation in these gatherings may explain the dryness of technique which characterises much of Hand D's initial work in the manuscript; it is a method of applying pigment which holds much in common with that on the Salvum and Cantate folios.

This evidence clearly points to the interruption of the campaign on which Hand C was engaged. Presumably the manuscript then lay in loose quires until the onset of the final campaign. In an attempt to work over the leaves in quires eight to eleven (left in varying degrees of completion) anomalies in palette, technique and ornament have resulted. Hand D had much cosmetic work to do; it was not until this artist took up the leaves containing
no remnants of the earlier campaign that he was able to develop a more personal style. At this point the decoration becomes more consistent, controlled and elegant. A subtle process of refinement, at times almost imperceptible, is underway, largely dictated by the remnants of the earlier campaign but possibly partly occasioned by the artistic development of Hand D himself.

Whereas Hand A worked systematically from gathering to gathering (2-7) and Hand B took up the next available bifolium at the beginning of the eighth quire, Hand C and his assistants (the presence of one or two further hands, seemingly inferior to his own, mainly evident in certain verse initials and line-fillers, serves to explain the variable quality of gatherings eight and nine) seem to have been rather more haphazard in their selection of quires for illumination. Although there is a concentration of Hand C's underdrawing, and some finished work (i.e. ff. 58v and 63v) in gatherings eight and nine and to a degree ten and eleven, the Cantate page falls within the twelfth quire and f. 143 within the twentieth, where Hand D is well established.

(vi) The dating of the work by Hand C

Although Hand C is not identifiable in any other extant manuscript it was shown earlier in this chapter that the origin of his style lies in pre-Black Death books. The contribution made by Hand C should be seen either as a short-lived campaign, post-dating the activity of both Hands A and B, dating to around 1350-55 or, more likely, as being contemporary with those artists, the work of Hands A, B and C successively interrupted by the Pestilence. This would give a date of between 1347 and 1350 for the three illuminators, who probably worked in a chronological sequence. It is to be recalled that the diverse stylistic tendencies presented by Hand A, whose style is broadly linear, and Hands B and C, which is more modelled, characterise the lectern Bible of this date (Figs 74, 177). The more painterly approach is especially evident in the rendering of the heads. A particularly close affinity exists between the head of the shepherd tending his sheep in the Amos initial in the Lilly Library and the heads in the initial by Hand C on f. 63v (Figs 166,178). There are, moreover, strong reminiscences of the style of Vienna Hand B: comparison can be made between the head of the shepherd tending his sheep in the Amos initial and the climbing figure in the border on the Vienna folio (Figs 50,178), and between the bearded head of the standing figure in the Vienna initial and that of Christ in the Amos initial.

It would appear that at the time Hand C took up the work, the writing of the text (with the possible exception of the calendar) was complete. At this point the first few lines of each psalm, which are palimpsest, may have been written over. A change of

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9 This manuscript, now dismembered, was discussed in Chapter 2.
scribe is discernible on f. 143, at the beginning of the twentieth gathering (the text up to the end of the nineteenth quire appears to have been prepared for Hand A to begin the first campaign of work), curiously the one where Hand C made an isolated appearance. It is here where an explanation for the anomaly might be found; Hand C may have wished to make his mark on the freshly prepared leaves and not confine himself to those of the first scribal campaign. A date for the commencement of the final campaign of illumination, that associated with Hand D, will be postulated in later discussion.\(^\text{10}\)

(vii) The stylistic context of Hand D

The origin of the figure style of Hand D (Figs 147,148) clearly lies in the English-Italianate works which culminated in the principal hand of the Luttrell Psalter (Figs 81,83), the more painterly portion of the lectern Bible, of which the Lilly leaves are representative (Figs 177,178) and Hands B (Figs 50,55) and C (Figs 136,144) of the Vienna Psalter. A fresh exposure to Italian painting may have added a further ingredient to the style.\(^\text{11}\)

The source of the border decoration, like that of the figure style, can be sought in the manuscripts associated with Hands A, B and C. In fact, there is little that cannot be accounted for by the earlier Vienna gatherings and material to which they relate. The formal and symmetrical structure of the borders of the two major folios assigned to Hand D (Figs 147,148) echoes those of the Cambridge workshop of the Walters Hours (Fig. 92), the lectern Bible (Figs 75,76,78), the Psalter of Simon de Montacute (Fig. 27) and above all the Astor Psalter-Hours (Fig. 28), the latter of Bohun ownership and therefore possibly directly available to the artist.\(^\text{12}\)

Although the highly personal style of Hand D in some ways represents a departure, there is much to suggest that its origins lie in the decoration of the earlier Vienna folios. The assimilation of elements both of figure style and border decoration is easily explained given that Hand D had ready access to these completed leaves. Therefore it is against this rich background of source material that the 'Bohun' style evolved.

\(^{10}\) In the conclusion to Chapter 5.

\(^{11}\) The specifically Italianate aspects of this style are examined in Chapter 10.

\(^{12}\) Both manuscripts were discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.
Manuscript painters at this time appear to have been particularly receptive to foreign influences, especially from Flanders. For the first thirty years of the fourteenth century English illuminators were especially sensitive to artistic currents from Paris and northern France. Around 1330 a strong wave of Italian influence permeated English painting; but by ca 1335 this had been largely replaced by a style predominantly under Flemish influence. At this date French characteristics (although much diluted) were maintained, although it would appear that they were not based on a fresh wave of influence, but perpetuated a Parisian style already established at an earlier date (ca 1310-30) by the Queen Mary Psalter group. These characteristics have been noted in connection with the manuscripts associated with Egerton 2781 and those relating to the Vatican Hours. However, these works were clearly not untouched by Flemish painting. At this time Flanders was subject to both Parisian and Italian influence, with the result that English painting of ca 1335-50 might be seen as representing a fusion of primarily Flemish but also French and Italian features, grafted on a strongly indigenous style; English miniaturists resisted complete surrender. Such a hybridisation of forces would sufficiently account for the anomalies in style and technique which characterise many of the manuscripts discussed so far in this study.

The way in which elements of the Flemish style were transmitted to England is no mystery, given the political and economic interchanges between the two countries at this time. Before launching the Hundred Years' War with France in 1337 Edward III turned to the Low Countries for support; the Anglo-Flemish Alliance was signed in 1339-40. During several of the Flemish campaigns Edward had his headquarters at Antwerp and Ghent where Philippa kept her court. Lionel, later duke of Clarence, was born in Antwerp in 1338 and John of Gaunt in Ghent in 1340. The career of William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, who owned the Astor Psalter-Hours, is of special interest. As one of Edward's most active councillors in the Low Countries from 1337, he spent the whole

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13 See Chapter 10.
14 With the possible exception of the Majesty Master's miniatures in the de Lisle Psalter, London, B.L., Arundel MS. 83, pt. 2, and the Annunciation miniature in the Taymouth Hours, B.L., Yates Thompson MS. 13. For the Psalter, see Sandler (1983), pls 20-24 and p.19, where she suggests that the immediate sources of the Majesty Master's style lie in the works of Jean Pucelle. For the Annunciation in the Hours, see Sandler (1970), fig. 4 and pp. 364, 371.
15 On these manuscripts, see Chapter 2.
16 For further discussion, see Lucas (1929).
17 Strickland, i (1864), p.386. For a more detailed account of the period see Lucas (1929).
20 This manuscript is discussed in Chapter 1.
of 1339 and from June to November 1340 there with the King. Both Henry of Lancaster and William of Northampton were held for some time in the Low Countries for the King's debt to the Flemings. It is perhaps no coincidence that the period of concentrated English activity in Ghent, Bruges and Tournai occurred around 1338-41, approximately coinciding with the protracted execution (1338-44) of Bodley 264, the Romance of Alexander. The Romance is known to have been in England by the late fourteenth century, and it is possible that the manuscript reached England soon after its completion. Although the date of the completion of the Romance (1344) does not precisely coincide with the presence in the Low Countries of William de Bohun, Edward III or Queen Philippa, it might be conjectured that its arrival in England resulted from contacts that had been fostered there. Some connection with William would explain how it reached the Duke of Gloucester's library at Pleshey, via Northampton's successor, his son, Humphrey de Bohun, the seventh earl of Hereford.

The Flemish qualities of the works discussed in Chapters One and Two, inspired by the Romance of Alexander and related manuscripts, some datable to as early as 1330, are clear. Architectural structures, such as that found on f. 20v of the Romance (Fig. 72), of importance for Vienna Hands A and B, as well as the Dublin Hours illuminator, appear also to have been influential for the artist of ff. 190 and 190v in Egerton 2781. This miniaturist, as noted, can be attributed the greater part of the Smithfield Decretals, where devices of this type are more widely employed. The principal illuminator of Egerton 2781, responsible also for the decoration on ff. 1-3v in the Decretals, was preoccupied on f. 3v (Fig. 104) with architectural structures of a type which are found within the outer frames of the miniatures on ff. 88v, 127v and 164v in the Romance. Background diapering, like that on ff. 42v and 88v in the Romance (Fig. 182), composed of lozenges containing human heads, recalls closely related forms which occur in the initials and borders of both the Egerton Hours and Decretals (Fig. 103), as well as in those of the

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21 G.E.C., ix (1936), 666, where specific references are given.
23 For a general outline of the origin of the Hundred Years’ War, see McKisack (1959), pp.119-22 and Pirenne (1936) and for a more detailed account of this period see Lucas (1929) and Quicke (1947).
24 It is possibly identifiable as the one listed in 1397 in the post mortem inventory of the confiscated goods of Thomas, duke of Gloucester, younger son of Edward III and husband of Eleanor de Bohun. See James (1933), p.3 with reference to W.D. Macray's conjecture; Madan and Craster (1922), no.2464, pp.381-82 with reference to Nicholson. For further bibliography on this manuscript, see Pächt and Alexander (1966), no.297. The inventory, transcribed in Appendix XI (i), is discussed in Chapter 11. For the material added ca 1400 by English illuminators see Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.792, pl. lxxv, with bibliography.
25 For the seventh earl see G.E.C., vi (1926), 473-74.
26 An outline of the origins and development of the style associated with the Romance of Alexander is contained in Chapter 6.
27 Notable examples can be found on ff.88v, 89, 90v-91, 111v, 112, 93v-95, 119v, 120, 202, 207, 208v, 209, 209v, 223 and especially 313v-314.
28 For ... ions to these folios see the facsimile by James (1933).
workshop of the Vatican Hours and Exeter College MS. 46 (Fig. 180). A specific drollery, resembling a centaur, which is found in Exeter 46 (Fig. 187) is of a type which also occurs in the Romance of Alexander (Fig. 179). The rinceaux decoration, characteristic of both the principal Egerton illuminator and Vienna Hand B (Figs 100, 101), is an important decorative feature of the Romance, where it is seen ornamenting backgrounds, buildings and draperies (Figs 24, 72). The artists of the Alexander outline the facial features in a brownish-orange line and this recalls the technique used by both the main Egerton miniaturist, Vienna Hand B and certain associated artists. Moreover, in the case of the Egerton artist there is a similar facial type in one of the illuminators of the Romance of Alexander (Figs 106, 107, 179). Although it is not possible to make a precise hand attribution, the illuminator of B.L., Harley MS. 2899, the so-called Psalter of Queen Philippa (Fig. 184), holds much in common, not only with the Egerton artist who illuminates the greater part of the Decretals (Fig. 185), but also with one of the artists in the Alexander and the illuminator of a further Romance, of either Flemish or North French origin, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 22 of 1344 (Fig. 183), the date which marks the completion of the Bodleian Alexander.

Certain alien types evident in the Cantate page of the Vienna Psalter, such as the grotesque with a distinctive head-dress in the left-hand border (Fig. 145) and the seated musician in a roundel in the lower margin (Fig. 146), are not traceable to English works and raise the question whether this illuminator, Hand C, might be foreign. Some support for this hypothesis lies in the fact that although drawing heavily on English forms, possibly as a result of working for a short time with artists of the first Vienna campaign, his hand is not identifiable in other English manuscripts. These elements, which also show Italian influence, are not typically French either, and although there is apparently no existing Flemish work with which they can be precisely paralleled the stylistic idiom of the work suggests such an origin.

Edward III had many affinities, both inherited and acquired, with the Low Countries. The marriage of Edward to Philippa of Hainault in 1327 had naturally increased the intimacy and interchange between England and Flanders, and a number of unsuccessful attempts were made to secure further alliances of this kind. In 1337, on the King’s behalf,
William of Northampton entreated for the marriage of Edward's daughter, Isabella, to Count Louis de Nevers' heir apparent, Louis de Male; they were betrothed and actually met. Later in the same year William was ordered to negotiate for a marriage between Prince Edward and Marguerite de Brabant and in 1347 between Louis de Male and Edward's daughter, Isabella; and in 1351 successive attempts began to secure Louis de Male's daughter, his sole heiress, for another of Edward III's sons, Edmund, earl of Cambridge.

By 1335, Queen Philippa had set up a prosperous manufacturing colony for weavers in Norwich, where she paid frequent visits. In 1331, John Kempe of Flanders, 'weaver of woollen cloth', had been given a letter of special protection to come to England, along with the 'servants and apprentices of his mystery', and he established himself in Norwich. Indeed, by various inducements, Edward successfully encouraged Flemish weavers to settle in England, so discontented were they with the social strife prevailing in their own country, for which Edward was partially to blame. In 1337, he placed an embargo on the export of wool to Flanders in order to force an alliance with the Count of Flanders against France. This policy did not meet with success, and as a result the Flemish people, driven to starvation, fled the country in great numbers, a situation not improved by the continually warring activities of Louis de Nevers and his son, Louis de Male. The social upheaval wrought in Flanders at this time was hardly conducive to settled artistic production, except in the secluded conditions of the monastery, and many Flemish illuminators were probably working elsewhere. Judging from the stylistic content of certain English manuscripts of 1335-50, some may even have settled in England. This is directly allied to the declining effect of French influence on English illumination which had been pre-eminent in the reigns of the first two Edwards. At precisely this time French miniature painting saw the injection of fresh life into a tradition which had been dominated by Pucelle and was in danger of stagnating. It is possible that this

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35 Lucas (1929), p.204.
36 Ibid., pp.257, 564.
37 B.N.B., xii (1892-93), 433.
38 Strickland, i (1864), pp.382-83. If Douce 131 can be assigned to Norwich and later shown to be a royal commission, Philippa's frequent visits to this area might explain why an apparently Norwich illuminator had been chosen. She was in Norwich around 1340 (ibid., pp.385-86), after returning from and before going back to the Low Countries.
40 For a general discussion of this industry and the presence of Flemish weavers in England, see McKisack (1959), pp.363-70, but for a detailed account see Sagher (1926), 109-26.
41 See Lucas (1929), pp. 200-203, especially 202, and 219-23.
42 I am referring here to the manuscripts associated with Gilles li Muisis, discussed in Chapter 6.
transformation in style is attributable to Flemish illuminators, a hypothesis supported by the apparent dearth of illuminated manuscripts surviving from the period 1330 to 1390 which have an actual provenance in Flanders. It is reasonable to conclude that the combined effect of declining French popularity (the intermittent war with France prevented much commercial intercourse with that country) and the strong bonds which were forming with Flanders, resulted in Flemish influence gaining supremacy over French. The question of Flemish influence will be raised, where relevant, in subsequent chapters of this study.

43 This new impetus has been attributed by Panofsky (1953), pp.35-40, to the presence in Paris of the so-called 'Master of the Boqueteaux' (and his assistants). This artist may be identifiable as Jean Bondol (p.38), born in Bruges and 'active in Paris from 1368 to at least 1381' (p.35) and who worked in the 'Bible of Jean de Sy', Paris, B.N., MS. fr. 15397, begun as early as 1356. Avril (1978), pp.24-30 and commentaries accompanying pls 19-36, while accepting that 'the presence of artists from the north was an undeniable stimulant' suggests that this 'new orientation of French painting and illumination seems to have been largely the result of an inner evolution' (p.25). See also Porcher (1960), pp.55-57, for a description of this trend in Parisian illumination of the second half of the fourteenth century, although he does not acknowledge the official entry of painters from Flanders until 'at least 1371 onwards' (p.57).

44 Beardwood (1931), p.36.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE FORMATION OF THE BOHUN WORKSHOP:
COLLABORATION OF THE ENGLISH AND FLEMISH ARTISTS

London, British Library, Royal MS. 13.D.i*, ff. 16v and 18

Two folios (ff. 16v and 18) in a little known psalter, B.L. Royal 13.D.i*, have a direct bearing on the stylistic development undertaken by Hand D in the final folios of Vienna 1826*. The Royal manuscript has unfortunately suffered severely from the effects of damp and this has resulted in the discolouration of some of the illumination, a factor which has to be borne in mind in the following analysis. The two folios, one for psalm 38, the other for psalm 52, have a picture frame border enclosing text (now erased) and a six-line historiated initial. The lower register of each is composed of half-length representations of prophets holding banderoles, individually enclosed within an architectural canopy (Figs 186,187). They are strongly reminiscent of the Apostles in the Vienna memoriae. Certain idiosyncratic details of style compare closely in the two works: the V-like form between the eyebrows, which creates a frown mark; the eyes comprising wide open slits with black dots for the irises in e compare with the head of St Paul in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 150); and the white wavy lines applied to the hair, especially evident on the head of St Matthew and St Luke in the Vienna manuscript, are visible on the head of prophet f on f. 16v (Figs 152,154,186). The drapery of the prophets surrounds the upper part of the body, emphasising the roundness of the form. Especially characteristic is the manner in which the mantle is tightly pulled around the shoulders and under the lower arm in the form of a sling; in this respect, close comparison can be made between St Jude in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 153(a)) and Prophets c, d and j (Figs 186,187). A fine line is often employed, as in the draperies in the Vienna Psalter, to delineate the outer edge of the garment, as in d, h and j (Figs 151,186,187). Although the unfortunate discolouration of the pigments does not allow for a full appreciation of the modelling it is possible to determine that the techniques are comparable with those in the portion of the Vienna manuscript under discussion. Two techniques are used: one gives a dry, grainy effect, the other a wetter, glazed appearance; but in each the colour is laid on in a series of vertical or horizontal brush strokes with a liberal application of white pigment. The ‘wet’ technique – the more obviously painterly of the two – has evidently resulted from a generous supply of glair or gum arabic in the pigments, clearly detectable when white is

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1 The psalter is imperfect. See Warner and Gilson (1921), ii, 109.
2 The six prophets in psalm 38 (lower border) will be referred to as a, b, c, d, e and f, the four in psalm 52 (lower border) as g, h, i and j.
used. Both techniques are successful in achieving plasticity of form. The 'dry' treatment is particularly well demonstrated by the drapery covering the sleeves (Figs 152,153(a),158).

Owing to the inclusion of standing figures in the two Royal folios it is possible to determine a re-assertion of certain Gothic principles of line, governed to a degree by the extra space available to the miniaturist. The gentle swaying, well-proportioned figures on these two pages stand in contrast to the insubstantial, pixie-like types which are a feature of the Hand D's illumination in the majority of folios in the final Vienna campaign; but that these monumental, more linear tendencies were showing clear signs of development is nowhere better illustrated than in the four seated Evangelists (Figs 157-160). An especially striking analogy exists between the king who stands in the upper section of the left-hand border on f. 18 in the Royal Psalter (Fig. 187) and the figure of St John the Evangelist in the Virgin and Child initial on f. 157 in the Vienna manuscript (Fig. 155). Each figure has the same mild sway and the line and form of the draperies are in exact agreement. Furthermore, the king's mantle can be compared with that worn by the Apostle Simon on f. 153v (Fig. 152). Although the Vienna folios offer little opportunity for the comparison of standing figures, three further examples illustrate this artist's move towards a more monumental rendering of form and they all appear in the later leaves: two male figures stand in the borders on ff. 152 and 155v and a third occupies an area just outside the historiated initial on f. 160 (Figs 151,160). Further parallels give a clear indication of the stylistic compatibility of the two works. If the seated kings in the historiated initials in Royal 13.D.i* (Figs 186,187) are compared with the representations of the Four Evangelists in Vienna 1826* some striking analogies are apparent. Both the configuration of the draperies and the posture of the seated David in the Dixi custodiam initial (Fig. 186) correspond precisely to those of the Evangelist Mark on f. 158v and Matthew on f. 159 (Figs 157,158), as demonstrated by the lower part of the figure with the two rounded folds gathered over the thigh, and drapery falling vertically from the knee. Although closely related to the Dixi custodiam David, the seated king in the Dixit insipiens initial on f. 18 (Fig. 187) appears narrower by virtue of his semi-frontal position; this figure compares well with the Evangelist Luke on f. 159v in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 159), where a similar type of foreshortening has been attempted.

Further parallels, some of a miscellaneous nature, confirm beyond doubt that the two Royal folios are the work of Vienna Hand D. Firstly, although this artist's preoccupation with architectural form in the Vienna manuscript does not approach that in the Royal Psalter (to be described in greater detail later in this chapter), an interest of this sort is clearly emerging in the final Vienna gatherings, where isolated motifs are incorporated

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3 For details of these binding media see Chapter 1, n.6.
4 The portion from f. 51 to the end, with the exceptions already noted.
into the borders and certain initials. For instance, a small turret appears in the border on f. 125, a pinnacled niche on the verso of that leaf, an arched structure in the initial on f. 150, a turret in the border on f. 159 and tower-like structures in the initials on the recto and verso of f. 159, and so on, all of which bear a general affinity to those in the two Royal folios. Specific comparison can be made between the finials decorating the columns of the Virgin’s throne (Fig. 155) and those which occur on the extremity of David’s throne and sceptre in the Dixit insipiens initial (Fig. 187); the thrones themselves are also similar. Secondly, the highly distinctive technique employed to achieve the effect of marble corresponds in the two works, as shown by the painting of the two turreted buildings in the right-hand border of f. 18 in the Royal manuscript (Fig. 187) and the seats of St Mark (Fig. 157) and St John (Fig. 160) in the Vienna Psalter, although oxidisation of the pigments has almost obscured this technique in the Royal initial. Thirdly, there is an exact correspondence in the two Psalter folios for the three most commonly repeated pounced gold patterns of the Vienna manuscript. Inscribed on the burnished gold background of the Dixi custodiam initial (Fig. 186) is a punched leaf scroll pattern consisting of sycamore sprays and small berry-like forms interspersed between leafy tendrils, a motif liberally employed in the Vienna folios. For instance, an example can be found on the grounds of the two Evangelist initials on ff. 158v and 159 (Figs 157,158), while the leaf scroll in the Dixit insipiens initial (Fig. 187) is composed of an elongated trilobed leaf of the type which occurs in the other two Evangelist initials on ff. 159v and 160 (Figs 159,160). A further pounced pattern, consisting of a single punch surrounded by a circular group of dots, a recurrent motif in the Vienna Psalter, is found on the gold grounds surrounding most of the standing figures in the side frames of the two Royal folios. Fourthly, the letter D in each of the Dixi custodiam and Dixit insipiens initials is composed of a decorative leaf design (Figs 186,187), for which a precise parallel exists in a number of initials in the later Vienna folios (Figs 149,153(b)). Finally, the mottled technique for painting the foliage is employed in both works although in the Vienna Psalter it is more evident in the later gatherings.

The parallels which it has been possible to draw between the Royal folios and the latest work by Hand D in the Vienna Psalter support not only the involvement of a single artist in the two works, but indicate that the illumination in each was carried out at approximately the same time. Inherent within the relevant portions of the two manuscripts is a development by Hand D away from the softly modelled qualities which mark the earlier Vienna folios of the final campaign towards more linear tendencies in which there is a drier application of the pigment. Furthermore, the Royal folios will prove to be of considerable importance in assessing a sequence of production for this illuminator, for while there is a precise correspondence with the latest material in the Vienna Psalter, these characteristics are also reflected in what can be determined to be the first campaign.
Oxford, Exeter College, MS. 47 (the first campaign)

(i) The major psalm initials and borders

Folios 20-77v contain psalms 35 to 106 and the only two major psalm initials to survive in the entire psalter occur here: that for psalm 51 (Quid gloriariar) on f. 33v and that for psalm 52 (Dixit insipiens) on f. 34. The splendour of these illuminated folios (they appear on facing leaves) offers some insight into the former richness of this book before its sad mutilation (Figs 188,189). It is likely that the other major folios of decoration, now lost, were identical in design to those on ff. 33v and 34, judging from the small remnant of an excised leaf for psalm 97, still intact between folios 69 and 70, on which the extremity of a pinnacled structure is visible. It is these architectural frames, completely enclosing the text, which are a striking feature of the two folios. The lower register consists of six narrow shafts arising from a solid crenellated base which serve to compartmentalise the narrative. On f. 33v the shafts are separated by a series of trefoil arches decorated with crockets, finials and pinnacles; on f. 34 they are replaced by interwoven stems of foliage from which arise further finials and pinnacles. On f. 33v the architectural frames on either side of the text are divided into three crocketed niches, with adjoining buttressed pinnacles. A similar scheme is followed for those on the adjacent folio but only two crocketed niches are visible, since the remaining compartments are composed of knots of interlace similar in type to those surmounting the scenes in the lower register. On f. 33v each of the tower-like structures rests on a triple crenellated column (that for f. 34 consists only of a single column), cut off at a low point and adjoining the base structure. Each of the side elements contains figures, mostly full-length, but there are some head and shoulder representations. The upper borders comprise an elaborate system of turrets, interspersed with slender pinnacles. These structures serve to enclose an historiated initial which occupies the top nine lines of a twenty-two line text on f. 33v and on f. 34, lines three to twelve inclusive. Although the vocabulary of these architectural forms is accurate in detail, as an entity the buildings are purely fanciful and have no structural foundation.

5 For Exeter 47, see London (1908), no.73, pl.64; Millar (1928), pp.26-27, 66, 86 (no.263) pls 68, 69; James and Miller (1936), pp.5-22, pls i-xxii (for the portion in question see pp.11-17, pls ii\* -xii\* ); Harrison (1937), 34, pl.24; Rickert (1965), pp.243-44 nn.10, 12, 14; Simpson (1980), p.141, Fig.11; Alexander (1983), p.148; Simpson (1984), pp.120, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131, 132, 144, 145, pls 168, 169, 182, 261, 262; and Alexander and Temple (1985), no.316, pl.xxii, where further bibliographical items are listed.

6 In the section in question the following major psalm illustrations have been excised: psalm 38, Dixit custodiam (between ff. 22 and 23); psalm 68, Salvum me fac (between ff. 43 and 44); psalm 80, Exultate deo (between ff. 57 and 58); psalm 97, Cantate deo (between ff. 69 and 70) and psalm 101, Domine exaudi (between ff. 70 and 71). For a codicological analysis, see Appendix I.
(ii) Relationship to the British Library and Vienna Psalters

There is an intimate relationship between these two pages in Exeter 47 (Fig 188,189) and folios 16v and 18 in Royal 13.D.i* (Figs 186,187). In the Royal folios, as in the Exeter manuscript, the vertical elements comprise architectural niches which house standing figures and a lower panel enclosing further subject-matter, divided by slender arcades and surmounted by arches arising from a solid crenellated base. There are further crenellations and small towers in the upper register on f. 16v, as well as a series of pinnacles of the Exeter type just visible surmounting the arcades of the upper right-hand niche; the upper register on f. 18 consists of a horizontal crenellated band, from which hangs a row of small trefoil arches, and the pinnacles of the upper niche in the left-hand border are surmounted by three crockets.

Also analogous are the rectangular elements containing the historiated initials and the device by which they are tenuously attached to the left-hand frame, this necessitated by the absence of the customary marginal bar composed of organic foliage forms; the two initials in the Exeter manuscript agree with that of the *Dixit insipiens* initial in the Royal Psalter, in which a clear strip of vellum is visible between the rectangular structure and the left-hand frame.

Turning now to the Exeter initials and borders, there is a fundamental agreement in style with those of the final campaign in the Vienna Psalter. Comparison can be made between the *Quid gloriaris* and *Dixit insipiens* initials in Exeter 47 (Figs 188,189) and the two major initials (*Dixit dominus* and *Domine ne in furore*) in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 147,148). In both, the figures are small and there is a tendency to make the heads over-large for the bodies. The eyes are composed of narrow slits with black dots for the irises. A few of the men are clean-shaven but the majority of the younger ones have tiny moustaches, with the smallest indication of a beard; the older males are more heavily bearded. Particularly characteristic is the profile head in which the forehead and nose are formed in a continuous line, with little or no indentation, resembling an animal's snout. There are basically three types of male attire: the tight-fitting jupon with cape and hood (the hood is not always worn); a knee-length skirt with low-slung belt, worn above hose (these men usually wear brimmed caps); and the straight, full-length gown with a fairly voluminous outer garment. The females of higher social rank, veiled or with hair set free, wear fashionable gowns which accentuate the form of the body, while the peasant women dress in looser garments and have their heads covered in a large scarf knotted at the side of the head. Jester-like figures, usually wearing a horizontally striped garment, occur in all three manuscripts: one is found in the lower right-hand border on f. 34 in the Exeter Psalter, another in the form of a climbing man at the lower end of the marginal shaft on f. 137 in the Vienna Psalter, and in the Royal Psalter a related type appears as the Fool in the *Dixit insipiens* initial on f. 18.
The method chosen by Hand D in the Vienna Psalter of dividing the *Dixit dominus* initial into four compartments to accommodate a continuous sequence of events from the life of Solomon (Fig. 147) is identical to that in the *Quid gloriari* and *Dixit insipiens* initials in the Exeter manuscript illustrating the Old Testament cycle (Figs 188,189). Furthermore, these two letter forms are delineated with the same delicate pattern of beading as that used for the initial D at the opening of the Penitential Psalms in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 148). Another important detail which undeniably links the two works is the use of liquid gold, applied in a series of wheel patterns, which in the Exeter Psalter appear within and surmounting the staves of the initials (Figs 188,189). Closely related forms are found in identical positions in a single example in the Vienna Psalter, on f. 158v (Fig. 157), in the final gathering of the manuscript. Moreover, the painterly treatment used in the rendition of stone and marble takes the same form in all three of the manuscripts, the relevant portions of which are clearly the work of Hand D of the Vienna Psalter.

(iii) The minor psalm initials and borders

The minor psalm initials reinforce this attribution. Strong reminiscences of his work are evident in the mannered pleating of the cape worn by the figure on f. 30 in Exeter 47 (Fig. 190), which relates to that worn by one of the attendants who crown Solomon in the Vienna initial (Fig. 147). The female figure in the initial on f. 26v (Fig. 193) wearing the tight-fitting garment, highlighted on the contours of the form, has a direct parallel in the angels of the Last Judgement initial in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 148). The form of drapery of the seated female figure in the initial on f. 26 (Fig. 191), the foreshortened effect created, and the dryish application of paint (especially of the white pigment) recall both the Vienna Evangelists on ff. 158v and 159 (Figs 157,158) and the seated kings of the two initials in the Royal Psalter (Figs 186,187).

The closest similarities are again with the illumination in the final quire in the Vienna Psalter and the two Royal folios; the three men in the initial on f. 46v (Fig. 195) relate closely to the saints of the *memoriae* and Evangelists in the Vienna manuscript, especially to the representation of St Mark on f. 155 (Fig. 194). It is especially evident from this Exeter initial that the monumental, linear tendencies of Hand D's style, which were clearly emerging in Royal 13.D.i* and the Evangelist initials in Vienna 1826*, have been suppressed by the limitations of space, resulting in bodies with fairly large heads but diminutive legs. Single figures in initials, such as that on f. 48 (Fig. 192), allow for better proportioned figures, but the heads are still over-large, emphasising how elements both of scale and subject-matter can affect the style. Where, however, there is no narrative

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7 James and Millar (1936), p.2 and n.7.
element, such as in the Vienna *memoriae* and Evangelist initials, this encourages a more monumental handling of form, a monumentality which finds expression in many of the climbing figures of the borders, not bound by the confines of the small initial, as on f. 65v (Fig. 196).

Although the two major folios of illumination in Exeter 47 are undoubtedly by the same hand (Vienna Artist D), closer examination highlights certain stylistic discrepancies between each leaf. This is especially evident in the head types. Those on f. 33v (Fig. 188) are mostly oval in shape, many with an etched type of shading in quite dramatic contrasts of light and shade, whereby the forehead and nose are highlighted but the rest of the face remains in shadow. The heads on f. 34 (Fig. 189), however, are on the whole less well-defined; although softly modelled in grey tones, they are predominantly white. Two further technical variations occur on this folio: the appearance on some of the heads of fine lines of white pigment simulating hair strands and a V-shaped frown mark on certain foreheads. Furthermore, the reduction in space for the accommodation of the figures in the two vertical frames has resulted in figures less well-proportioned than those positioned in the larger niches on f. 33v (Fig. 188).

There is a counterpart for each head type in the minor initials. A good example of the type on f. 33v (Fig. 188) is provided by the heads in the initial on f. 20 (Fig. 197); and the slender-shaped musicians of the architectural niches are analogous to the young man in the psalm initial on f. 48 (Fig. 192). Parallels for the king figures of the niches on f. 34 are found in a number of the initials in the remaining text (Figs 196, 198, 205); the king in the initial on f. 41v and the adjacent climber (Fig. 198) are exactly paralleled in two of the figures in the left-hand frame on f. 34. The heads with white simulated hair strands and those with frowning brows, are found in a number of the smaller initials (Figs 196, 199, 200, 202, 203); and the seated crouched figure in the *Dixit insipiens* initial (Fig. 189) is a type which occurs on ff. 36v and 38 (Figs 200, 201).

The fact that the figures in many of the small initials (Figs 202, 204, 210) relate equally to those of the two major psalm pages (Figs 188, 189) emphasises the overall homogeneity of the work and suggests that despite the duality of technique the first campaign in Exeter 47 can be assigned to Vienna Hand D, engaged in experimentation. Further support for this is given by some of the initials on the remaining folios, such as on f. 59v (Fig. 205), where the stylistic dichotomy of ff. 33v and 34 is manifested within a single initial: the female grotesque in the outer margin has at the same time the well-defined facial shading of f. 33v and the linear treatment of the hair of f. 34. Similarly, the climbing figure in the cusping outside the initial on f. 65v (Fig. 196), although employing linear touches for the hair and wide slit eyes, inherent in the style of the *Dixit insipiens* folio, displays tendencies towards both monumentality of form and incised modelling which hold more in common with the figures in the outer frames of the *Quid gloriaris* folio. That it is the
work alone of Hand D is confirmed by the two Royal folios and the final work in the Vienna Psalter, where it is possible to discern the emergence of each stylistic trend. The artist here appears to be standing at a stylistic crossroads, as yet unresolved on which course to follow.

This style, of which the two major psalm initials by Hand D in both the Vienna and Exeter Psalters are fine examples (Figs 206,207), is strongly reminiscent of that found in some of the paintings in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (now mostly destroyed), namely that of the fragment representing the muting of the swallows into Tobit's eyes, preserved in the British Museum. Particularly telling comparison can be made between the corporeal figure of Tobit, shown twice within a single scene (Figs 208,209) and that of the seated Jacob (also depicted twice) in the Dixit insipiens initial in the Exeter Psalter (Fig.207). The presence of inscriptions beneath the paintings in this cycle further emphasises the relationship between the works in the two media, as do the pigments and to a degree the techniques used. The pigments which can also be observed from another of the fragments now in the British Museum, representing the destruction of Job's children, include pink, blue, purple, olive green and orange, enlivened with gold, and are especially characteristic of those of Vienna Hand D.  

(iv) The minor border decoration

How do the borders in Exeter 47, ff. 20-77v relate to those in the final campaign of the Vienna manuscript? At first sight there appears to be the inclusion of a number of new forms, but the repertoire is, in fact, only marginally wider. For instance, there is the customary emphasis on climbing and acrobatic men (some nude), females standing within the foliage, hybrids of various kinds, lion faces and leaf masks (Figs 195-205, 210-213), all readily recognisable from Hand D's repertoire in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 147,148,151). Conversely, there is a specific form which is not found in the Vienna Psalter – a drollery with its head completely immersed in a vase (or hat), as in the upper left-hand corner of the border on f. 31v (Fig. 220). Also unfamiliar to Hand D's repertoire are mitred hybrids and reindeer, as in the upper left-hand border on f. 28 (Fig. 216), beasts wearing wide-brimmed hats (Figs 219,220) and female heads wearing corsettes and fir-brimmed head-dresses, as in the upper and lower left-hand border on f. 30 (Fig. 218). There is, moreover, a greater preponderance of birds in this border decoration, specifically swan and stork-like creatures (Figs 217,218). The most

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8 For a description of the scene in question and the inscription beneath the image, see Tristram (1955), p.213, extracted from John Topham, Some Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St Stephen, Westminster, pp.18-19 (pl. xx, no. 2 and pl. xxi).

9 Topham's description of this painting (and those which no longer survive from the Job and Tobit cycles) gives an account of the colours used, for which see Tristram (1955), pp. 211-16.

105
fundamental change, however, is discernible in the design of the borders and in the disposition of the forms. Without exception, the borders in the Exeter folios are composed of continuous rectilinear bars which enclose the text on all sides (Figs 215-220), unlike those in the Vienna Psalter which mostly occupy only the left-hand margin, having short sprays partially extending into the upper and lower margins (Figs 149-151,154). Furthermore, whereas these bars perceptibly widen towards the final folios in the Vienna manuscript (Fig. 149-151,154) those in the Exeter Psalter are consistently slender (Figs 215-220); and whereas the human, animal and grotesque forms in the Vienna Psalter are confined mainly to within the leafy stems (occasionally one may extricate itself and balance freely on the upper or lower stem) those in the Exeter folios protrude from each corner or, in some instances, at a midway point along the stem. Also suggestive of development from Hand D's final work in the Vienna Psalter is the substitution of kite-shaped leaves, so prevalent in the Vienna Psalter, for sycamore (or ivy) leaves, suspended singly or in sprays from the marginal bar (Figs 216-220). In the Vienna Psalter 'kites' are evident from f. 65v, where hand D was beginning to establish a measure of independence from the earlier campaign. Towards the end of the manuscript, however, there is a reduction in their use and the emergence of sycamore/ivy leaves (Figs 149-151,154). In these final folios, especially in the gathering comprising the calendar, these leaves can be seen attached singly to the marginal bar in a manner unprecedented for this artist (Fig. 214). It is this portion which is most closely allied in style and technique to the Exeter folios (Figs 216-218), indicating that it was last to be illuminated. In the Exeter Psalter, however, Vienna Hand D did not adopt the use of sycamore/ivy leaves to the exclusion of 'kites'. On f. 26v, for example (Fig. 215), ivy sprays mingle with the kite-shaped leaves, the multi-lobed leaf, cusped roundels of foliage and bat wing-like extensions, as well as lozenge and rectangular tracery, all of which are characteristic of Hand D's repertoire in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 147,148). However, these unmistakably English forms occur less and less as the gatherings proceed; a rationalisation which leads to the domination of the sycamore/ivy leaf.

From the first gathering of this campaign (ff 20-25) it would appear that it may have been the initial intention to assign the illumination of the borders containing no historiated initials to a different artist, for it is soon evident that a further hand was involved. But there was clearly a change of plan, for this other hand can only be attributed the marginal decoration on ff. 21, 21v, 22, 23, 24 and 25, although he was responsible for the verse initials and line-fillers from f. 20 to the end of the manuscript on f. 126. These borders can be distinguished from those of Vienna Hand D by having more slender rectilinear bars, a matter use of gold, a less mottled application of white pigment for highlighting the veins of the leaves, a duller palette and a different repertoire of motifs, with an almost exclusive use of sycamore/ivy leaves (Figs 221-223). Nevertheless, there is a fundamental
agreement with the borders by Vienna hand D in the Exeter Psalter in the design and disposition of the marginal motifs at focal points along continuous, rectilinear borders (Figs 216-220). Since this method was not applied by Hand D in the Vienna Psalter and there has been a move towards the acceptance of sycamore/ivy leaves at the expense of kites, as well as other typically English foliage forms, it is worth considering that these modifications resulted from the intervention of the other artist. This is all the more likely, given that the illuminator in question made an appearance in the first gathering of the first Exeter campaign, which on stylistic grounds seems to have followed on closely from the completion of the Vienna Psalter; it could well have been the original intention for this other artist to execute all those borders which do not occur at a psalm opening.

An explanation for the sudden appearance of this hand, who in the Exeter Psalter is consigned only a minor rôle, might be sought in Royal 13.D.i*, in which ff. 16 and 18v have been attributed to Vienna Hand D.


Attention will now be focused on the illuminator who was responsible for the historiated initial and full border on f. 20v in Royal 13.D.i* and the minor decoration, comprising decorative initials and partial borders to the minor psalms, the verse initials and line-fillers. As noted, this fragment has suffered severely from the effects of damp but from f. 43 the illumination is in a good state of preservation.

The design of the one surviving major folio of illumination by this artist, illustrating psalm 68 (Salvum me fac) (Fig. 224), agrees with that for psalms 38 and 52, discussed above, in which there is a rectangular compartment containing the historiated initial and wide rectilinear borders on all sides. In the initial itself a king is represented submerged in the deep waters and in the lower frame there is a row of heads representing Christ and the Four Evangelists. There is little variation between the heads: in all examples the hair neatly frames the face and is delineated in a pattern of undulating lines; a characteristic curl of hair, which falls forward or is pushed back over the head, forms in the centre of the forehead of both Christ and the Evangelist second from the left. Equally distinctive is the prominent wave of hair on either side of the face, covering the ear, as in the Christ, the two Evangelists on the left of Christ and the king in the initial, but the ear itself is covered. The waves are then further emphasised by lines drawn in white pigment. Christ, depicted in the centre, has a short forked beard; the two heads in semi-profile to the left have longer, more wavy beards; the rugged visage on the right, in full profile, has a thick bushy beard and hair gathered in small tight curls; while the Evangelist furthest right is

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10 This convention was widely adopted because it would appear that artists at this date experienced some difficulty in drawing the ear itself. Invariably, when attempts are made, it is inaccurately drawn or wrongly placed on the head.
beardless, with a prominent square jaw and hair styled in the fashion of a cleric. The firm line of his chin compares in its forcefulness with the pronounced nose of the adjacent Evangelist. The eyes of each are black and piercing.

(i) The origins of the style (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. f. 3)

The nearest parallels to this style lie in Flemish illumination, as seen in a book of hours now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Lat. liturg. f. 3. In fact, the correspondence between the two works leaves no doubt that the same artist was involved. The heads are the most distinctive feature of this illuminator's style. The semi-profile type of the two elderly bearded Evangelists in the Royal Psalter (Fig. 224) occurs frequently in the Hours; the Entombment miniature (Fig. 226) has three closely similar heads, with piercing eyes, slightly turned down mouths, wavy forked beards and a prominent side wave, highlighted in white. Comparison can also be made between the dead Christ in this miniature and the body of King David in the Salvum me fac initial. Furthermore, the profile head of the Evangelist on the right of Christ (Fig. 224), with heavy-shaded lids, compares with that of Joseph (Fig. 228), Simeon (Fig. 229) and Pilate (Fig. 231), while the beardless Evangelist has a parallel in the younger kings in the Adoration of the Magi scene (Fig. 225). The frontal head of Christ (Fig. 224) corresponds exactly to that of the Christ of the Resurrection in the Hours (Fig. 234). The female heads are closely modelled on those of the men. For example, in the Adoration miniature there is barely any concession made to the femininity of the Virgin whose face closely resembles those of the two standing kings (Fig. 225).

The heads of Christ and the Four Evangelists in Royal 13.D.i agree in their calligraphic linearity and juxtaposed arrangement (Fig. 224) with the row of heads, representing Christ and the Twelve Apostles, in the upper border of the Flemish brass to Frei Estêvão Vasques Pimentel at Leça do Balio in Portugal of ca 1336. A detail from the Leça brass (Fig. 235) shows Christ in the centre; although the beard is not forked, as in the miniature (Fig. 224) the facial features are strongly analogous, as is the arrangement of the hair, with a small fringe in the centre. A further detail from the Leça brass (Fig. 236) shows two heads, one in profile, the other in semi-profile; these have a parallel in the Evangelists on either side of Christ in the miniature (Fig. 224). Further support for the kinship between the miniaturist and the Flemish brass engraver is given by the angel of the Annunciation in Lat. liturg. f. 3 which has a parallel in one of the Evangelists on the Leça brass (Figs 237,238).

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11 For bibliography, see Pächt and Alexander (1966), no.299, pl.xxiv and Watson (1984), i, no.548, ii, pl.216. See also Simpson (1980), pp.142-43, Fig.13; Simpson (1984), pp.129-30, 136, pls 192, 193, 194, 196, 224, 192-94, 196, 224.
12 For a discussion of this brass, see Cameron (1970), p.98; Cameron (1979), 373-402.
Such a close comparability between the head types in the Psalter and the Flemish Hours is exceptional, but what secures beyond doubt the participation of one illuminator is the border decoration, since a precise parallel can be found in the Hours for the two types which occur in the Psalter, one more elaborate than the other. The plainer type (Figs 239,240) consists of a simple, slightly cusped shaft broken by alternate segments of pink and blue, enlivened on the inner edge with a strip of burnished gold, of which the two-line initial is also composed, and there are foliage extensions in the upper and lower borders. In both works there is an agreement in detail as well as overall structure: trefoil pen flourishes extend from the mild cusping which arises at the point where the coloured segments join; wavy tendrils extend from the leaves; and tadpole-like flourishes are suspended amongst the leafy branches. Furthermore, the one-line verse initials of blue ornamented with purple flourishing and burnished gold adorned with purple flourishing agree in both manuscripts.

Marginal decoration of a more elaborate type is found on certain folios in the Hours (Fig. 244). The Placebo miniature, for instance, is surrounded by borders composed of narrow rectilinear bars of burnished gold which enclose a blue tendril of foliage identical to those in the Royal manuscript (Figs 242,243). Similarly in each, above and below the two-line initial, the border bursts forth into flange-like tendrils; the veins of many of the leaves are highlighted in white in a mottled technique and there is a leaf form which resembles a sea-anemone; it emits two leafy stems and these adorn the upper and lower margins. Birds and butterflies of exactly the same type appear in the margins of both manuscripts. The presence of the same artist is secured beyond doubt by the occurrence of minor details of ornament, such as paired spear-shaped foliage forms, which emanate from the outer edges of the right- and left-hand borders on f. 20v in the Psalter (Fig. 224) and the upper margin in the Placebo folio in the Hours (Fig. 243). Furthermore, just as each manuscript has precisely the same type of plainer one-line verse initials, as described above (Figs 239,240), the same fully painted variety occur in the two works (Figs 242,244).

The Hours, unlike the Psalter, provides a comprehensive range of draped figures. Monumentality of form, as in the scene of the Betrayal (Fig. 230), is achieved by the linear quality of the draperies: the white highlighting on the outer edges of some of the garments is therefore not decorative but functional. This adept draughtsmanship, however, tends to mask the basic insubstantiality of the form, a feature which becomes apparent when contemporary draperies are worn. In forward-facing male figures, as in the soldier in the scene of the Flagellation (Fig. 232), the shapeless contours of the legs emphasises the tip-toeing stance and the artist's basic unawareness of elementary foreshortening. Although the profile figure appears more corporeal in form, this is only due to his fashionable padded jupon. As in the Psalter (Fig. 224) the style relies on the skilful linear
qualities of the drawing.

The area behind the miniatures consists mostly of pen-drawn decoration, comprising foliage and grotesque forms, on a thin wash of colour. The background to the miniature of the Flight into Egypt (Fig. 228) is composed of a leafy trellis of ivy interspersed with berries, a decorative device which corresponds exactly to that in the right-hand border on f. 20 in the Royal manuscript (Fig. 224), while the foliage decoration of the opposite border is of the type used in many of the Flemish miniatures (Figs 225, 227, 230, 231, 232, 243). Winged beasts with elfin-like heads, some bearded, as in the area behind the scene of the Betrayal (Fig. 230), have faces which relate to those of the figures in the foreground of the miniature. Creatures of this type also populate the margins and the *bas-de-page* scenes where there is a variety of human, animal and bird activity which recalls not only the creature which composes the ‘S’ of the *Salvum* initial in the Royal Psalter (Fig. 224) but also certain forms in the borders of the Exeter Psalter, used by Vienna Hand D, but alien to him, such as the storks/swans (Figs 217, 218, 231, 244) and beasts with their heads in vases (Figs 220, 228).

(ii) The origins of the style (Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 6426)

This illuminator can be identified in a further Flemish manuscript, an Antiphonary in the Royal Library in Brussels, MS. 6426, where he can be assigned the historiated initials and full borders on ff. 2, 26 and 36 and the smaller historiated initials and marginal extensions on ff. 9v, 14, 17v, 19v, 28v and 42. Comparisons can be drawn with both the Hours and the Psalter.

The head types are identical to those in Royal Psalter: the head of God who appears in the clouds in the initial on f. 2 in the Antiphonary (Figs 245, 246) can be compared with the semi-profile head of the Evangelist to the left of Christ in the lower frame on f. 20v of the Psalter (Fig. 224); the Evangelist in the bottom left-hand corner who wears a small cap has a parallel in the head of the kneeling John the Baptist in the initial; and there is agreement between the exaggerated profile of the Evangelist to the right of Christ and the head of the executioner on f. 19v in the Antiphonary (Figs 247, 250, 251).

Where the three large historiated initials occur (ff. 2, 26 and 36) (Fig. 246) each scene is surrounded by a turreted architectural canopy supported by slender columns as in the Hours (Figs 225-234), irrespective of whether the scene takes place in or outside a building. The landscape in both works is minimal; although there is a narrow band of grass just above the lower frame in many of the miniatures in the Hours sometimes there is no ground plane at all, as in the Antiphonary, where the backgrounds are mostly of

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floor-to-ceiling diaper or pounced burnished gold. As a result, in the opening initial in the Antiphonary (Fig. 246) the figure kneels on the lower frame and not within the miniature itself, a concept which is directly paralleled in the scene of the Annunciation in the Hours (Fig. 237). Pen and wash grounds do not occur in the Antiphonary but diapering of the Nativity type in the Hours (Fig. 249) occurs in the composite scene of the Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 250); a related type, set only in lozenges, comprises the ground of the Salva me fac initial in the Royal Psalter (Fig. 244). Particularly telling comparison can be made between the scenes of the Nativity and Annunciation to the Shepherds in the Hours (Figs 241,249) and the composite miniature in the Antiphonary (Fig. 250): the treatment of the landscape (the only instance where the grassy plateau is raised), the turreted frames, the type of manger, the swaddled Child, the ox and ass, the overhead canopy to which the animals are tethered, the hat worn by Joseph and the type of bed covering with vair lining are identical. In the scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, the angel in the cloud formation who holds a banner, and the two shepherds and the sheep closely relate to those in the same scene in the Hours; the little dog is present in each representation, as are the distinctive mushroom-like trees.

The border decoration in the Antiphonary (Figs 245,248) is closely analogous to that in the Psalter (Fig. 242): the principal leaf forms – wavy trilobes and ivy – agree exactly; there is the oak leaf and acorns (f. 36) which occur frequently in the Royal manuscript; and the tiny pen flourishes of the type in the Psalter and Hours (Figs 239,240) ornament the outer edges of the marginal shafts in the Antiphonary (Figs 245,248), where they are joined by paired extensions of foliage of the type noted earlier. There is evidence, as in the two other works, of the fringe-like tendrils which grow organically from the inner thread of foliage just above and below the historiated initial (Figs 242,245,248) and the leafy device resembling a sea-anemone from which two stems of foliage issue on the outer bars of the Antiphonary. Identical species of birds and butterflies occupy the empty margins and some of the birds rest on the leafy stems. The distinctive, square-winged butterflies and fanciful storks and swans, which form an integral part of the marginal decoration in the Hours (Figs 228-232, 243,244), occur in the Brussels manuscript (Figs 245,248). Similar drolleries to those in the Bodleian Hours once existed above the lower marginal bars on ff. 2, 26 and 36 but they are now almost entirely erased, although some in the upper margins have been preserved. The palette is essentially ‘low-key’ in the three works comprising a range of rather cloudy colours – misty pink and mauve and a dusty orange and brown-enlivened by a bright blue, white and a matt gold.

The letter H of the Hodie nobis initials in the Antiphonary (Figs 250,251) show the distinctive device by which the letter is composed of the gaping mouths of monstrous winged creatures. The double-winged beast comprising the initial S on f. 20, in the Psalter (Fig. 224) can be compared with that of the opening initial in the Antiphonary (Fig. 246),
and the creatures which adorn the backgrounds of many of the scenes in the Hours are closely related to this form. Another example of this genre with a direct parallel in the Hours, is the much employed motif of the profile head of a bearded old man (Fig. 243). These yawning monsters are closely analogous to the beasts with distended mouths which inhabit the backgrounds of Flemish brasses, such as that to Bishops Serken and Mul at Lübeck of ca 1350 (Figs 252,253), while occurring on the Leça brass are the centaur-like drolleries (Fig. 253) of the type in Exeter 46 and the Romance of Alexander (Figs 181,182) which are also found in the Brussels Antiphonary (Fig. 254). It is conceivable that the engraver gained inspiration from manuscript sources. The Flemish illuminator’s affinity with work in this medium may offer an explanation for the curious architectural frames employed by the English Artist in Royal 13.D.i and Exeter 47 (Figs 186-189), which have puzzled writers in the past. As demonstrated, in Exeter 47 the borders on each side of the text are composed of tall towers and the artist has skilfully achieved an illusion of height by gradually narrowing them towards the top. There is an exact parallel for these structures in Flemish brasses of the period, where the ground behind the canopies stands out in relief, as in those commemorating Alan Fleming of Newark, of ca 1361, and Bishop Wybloc von Culm, formerly at Altenberg of ca 1370 (Figs 255,256). Further correspondence can be seen in the niches enclosing standing figures, the buttressed side pinnacles (visible in the Wybloc brass) and the multi-columned bases to the shafts; as in the illuminated examples, there is a solid architectural foundation and an upper section which consists of an elaborate system of pinnacles. On f. 34 of Exeter 47 the artist has created an illusion of depth and height by angling out and tipping up the bases of the upper pinnacled niches, as in the brasses (Figs 189,255,256). The illuminator has thus created a free-standing architectural structure to surround the text and to encase the historiated initial which is closely allied to those in the brasses. It is worth considering that the sudden appearance of these forms in manuscripts arose from the importation of Flemish monumental brasses, such as that to Alan Fleming at Newark. It is also contemporary with the period of the Hanseatic League’s power.

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14 For illustrations, see Cameron (1984), Figs 1, 2, 8, pl.vii and pp.363-80 for a discussion of this brass. See also Creeney (1884), pp.13-14, pl. and Cameron (1970), p.59.

15 Millar (1928), pp.25, 27; James and Millar (1936), p.2; Pächt (1943), 57; Wormald (1943), 72.

16 For discussion of the Fleming brass, see Cameron (1982), 422-26, pls xlii, xlvii, xlviii; for reference to the Wybloc brass, see Cameron (1970), 62-63, Fig.8. Unfortunately the Newark brass is badly rubbed. The absence of an inscription on the Wybloc brass indicates that the monument pre-dated the Bishop’s death in 1398.

17 For a discussion of this in the context of Flemish imports to England, specifically Boston, see Tennenhaus (1971), 189-94. See also Cameron (1980).
The second illuminator in Exeter College, MS.47 (the first campaign) and a chronology for the Vienna, Royal and Exeter Psalters

Although there is no figural illumination from which to make an assessment it is clear from the border decoration alone that the illuminator who was assigned ff. 21, 21v, 22, 23, 24 and 25 and the verse initials and line fillers in Exeter 47 can be identified as the artist of part of the Royal Psalter, the Flemish Hours and the Antiphonary. This is secured by comparison of the border decoration in the four works (Figs 221-223, 242-244, 245, 248).

The calendar in the Vienna Psalter reinforces this attribution, for it can be observed that the same illuminator executed the small initials at the opening to each saint (Fig. 214). Comparison can be made between these initials and those in the Exeter Psalter (Figs 215-223). On account of his presence in the Vienna Psalter this artist, who does not work elsewhere in the manuscript, will be named Vienna Hand E. All five of the illuminators who participated in this complex work have now been identified.

Vienna Hand E's influence on Hand D might be summarised as follows. Although the majority of Hand D's animal, hybrid and human border forms stem from the English tradition it is clear that certain drolleries could not have been created without a knowledge of Hand E's repertoire. Direct influence from Vienna Hand E is evident from the way in which these motifs have been disposed formally on straight and slender marginal bars with the increasing use of sycamore/ivy leaves, replacing more Anglicised foliage types. Therefore, forms which are basically English have been grafted on to a border Flemish in origin. It has been observed, furthermore, that Hand D's work in Royal 13.D.i* is less painterly, and the technique of pigment application drier. These more linear qualities, which correspond precisely with those developing in the latest illumination in the Vienna Psalter, and which appear in a fully developed context in the Exeter Psalter, probably resulted from Hand D's association with Hand E in Royal 13.D.i*. The two illuminators could well have come together during their participation on this manuscript, at a point which corresponded with the completion of the Vienna Psalter, marginally pre-dating the work on the Exeter Psalter. This chronology is supported by three factors. Firstly the greater part of the Vienna Psalter, postulated to be the earliest work in the sequence, was executed before Hand E had become influential; it is significant that his influence was becoming apparent in the portion of the Vienna Psalter (this includes the calendar) which was executed last. However, by the onset of the Exeter Psalter, as shown, there is abundant evidence of his influence and the features of Hand D's style which it has been argued resulted from contact with Hand E pervade the entire campaign (ff. 20-77v). Secondly, a progression from Vienna to Exeter is strengthened by the growing
involvement of Vienna Hand E; whereas he painted only the small decorative initials in
the calendar of the Vienna Psalter, in the Exeter manuscript he was responsible for all the
minor decoration between ff. 20 and 126, including certain borders in the opening quire
of the first campaign. This clearly indicates that although contact with Hand E had only
just been made when the Vienna Psalter was in the final stages of completion he was in
circulation from the earliest stages of production on the Exeter campaign. A third factor
in support of Exeter post-dating Vienna is apparent in the work of Hand D; the innovative
techniques and idiosyncratic features of his style, as seen developing in the latest portion
of the Vienna Psalter and ff. 16 and 18v in the Royal manuscript, are reflected throughout
the first campaign in the Exeter manuscript. The dualism of style evident in the Exeter
folios can be seen to be a synthesis of techniques and forms drawn from each; one
stylistic element evolves from the linear tendency epitomised by the two Royal folios and
the Vienna Evangelists, in which the tick mannerism and pronounced white hair strands
are characteristic, while the other derives from the style and technique prevailing in the
remaining Vienna folios by Hand D, and which is characterised by a modelled rendering
of form with the pigment applied in a well-defined manner, such as in the saints of the
memoriae. The stylistic progression between the Vienna, Royal and Exeter Psalter is so
natural that it would appear no other manuscript separated their production. The close
analogy of the two major folios of decoration in the Exeter Psalter with Flemish brasses
of ca 1360-65 supports a later date for the Exeter campaign than for the two Royal folios
by Vienna Hand D. This indicates that the Royal manuscript occupies an intermediary
position between the final illumination in the Vienna Psalter and the earliest material
(designated the first campaign) in the Exeter Psalter.18

The origins of Vienna Hand D’s collaborator (Vienna Hand E) are, as demonstrated,
purely Flemish; these are further attested to by some striking parallels with monumental
brasses from his native area.19 In the following discussion Hand D will be called the
English Artist and his partner – Hand E – the Flemish Hand; the manuscripts in which
they can be identified will be referred to as those of the central Bohun workshop.

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18 Actual dates will be suggested in Chapter 11.
19 Further discussion can be found in Chapter 6 under the heading ‘The relationship with Flemish
brasses’.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE ORIGINS OF THE FLEMISH BOHUN HAND I


In order to establish an approximate date for the foundation of the partnership between the two illuminators, one English, the other Flemish, clearly it would be beneficial to discover when the Flemish Hand came to England. Therefore some account must be given of the group of artists with which he was associated during his time in Flanders. There are four main works to be considered, an antiphonary, already discussed, a liturgical psalter, Brussels, Royal Library, MS.9427, a missal, Brussels Royal Library, MS.9217 and a further missal in The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS.10.A.14. Since there is no internal evidence for dating the three manuscripts in Brussels with any precision and, as will be demonstrated, the dated colophon in the Missal in The Hague poses a number of enigmatic questions, it is necessary to determine a chronology for the most part by stylistic analysis.

(i) The Brussels Antiphonary, Liturgical Psalter and Missal: division of hands and definition of style

In the Antiphonary the Flemish Hand (he will be referred to as Hand A in this discussion) works alongside another illuminator (Hand B). Artist A, who was responsible for the initials and borders on nine of the folios, uses a subtle, low-key palette while Artist B decorates the remaining four illuminated pages in a much hotter range of colours. Although the activity on the upper and lower marginal bars has been partially obliterated, enough remains of Artist A's ornament to see that he has attempted a fairly naturalistic rendering of birds, insects and leaf forms; even the drolleries are recognisable
human and animal forms (Figs 245,248). Apart from the *bas-de-page* scenes Hand B employs more fanciful types in which curious paired winged grotesques with elongated and coiled necks emanate from the straight borders (Figs 257-260). A distinctive hallmark of his style is that of delineating the highly burnished gold bars and some of the leaves with a red line while other leaves are painted in thick white pigment which produces a feathery effect. This technique (it produces a rather hard and dry appearance) is used in the painting of the draperies as well as the ornament (Figs 259,260). Some of his figures have slightly hip-shot stances (Fig. 258). Artist A’s style, in contrast to Hand B’s, is basically linear; especially characteristic is the method he uses for rendering the hair and the fleeces of sheep in which the textured strands are individually delineated. The figures have rather jerky limbs and slightly bulbous eyes (Fig. 250). Despite certain basic differences, however, the workshop affiliation of both artists is assured by their identical method of ornamenting the letter forms which are metamorphosed into monstrous creatures with gaping mouths, the cavities of which contain further decorative motifs (Figs 246,250,251). Like his collaborator, Hand B relies on diapered or plain gold grounds, but unlike Hand A he does not surround each scene with an architectural canopy (Figs 258-260).

The liturgical psalter, referred to henceforth as psalter, is also the work of two artists. Artist B of the Antiphonary illuminated the borders and initials to psalms 1, 26 and 38 and Hand C the remaining five. Hand B’s work in the Psalter appears to be later than that in the Antiphonary. There has been a move away from certain mannered figure poses of the Antiphonary and the decorative elements have become more organised. For example, the wings of the grotesques now neatly flank the initials (Fig. 261), the ornament, some surrounded by neat cusping, is disposed at focal points and there is greater symmetricality (Figs 261-263). It is possible that this more disciplined approach evolved from Hand B’s collaboration with Hand C whose borders are very similar. Furthermore, Hand C shares with A and B the idiosyncratic approach for ornamentating the letter forms for which there seems to have been a set repertoire, varied only slightly by each artist. At first sight there appears to be little difference between Hand B and C’s borders; this is well demonstrated by comparison between the *Dominus illuminatio* page by Hand B (Fig. 261) and the *Dixit dominus* page by Hand C (Fig. 267) where the paired, winged and hooded grotesques are particularly characteristic. However, although Hand C retains the highly distinctive method of outlining the gold clover leaves in red instead of the plain burnished shafts used by Hand B, he divides the vertical bars into alternate gold and pink and blue segments, the latter detailed in white (Figs 264-267).

That Hand C was experimenting in technique and spatial composition is suggested by one stylistic anomaly. Whereas his technique is manifestly linear in the rest of the initials

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6 Hand B: ff.14, 43, 62v; Hand C: 81v, 100v, 124, 145v, 170 (psalms 52, 68, 80, 97 and 109).
(Figs 264,266,267), in that for Exultate (Fig. 265) the face is modelled, the draperies etched in a series of fine dry white lines and the throne is rendered perspective in striking contrasts of light and dark tones. The drapery technique may well have evolved from Hand B's influence, but the throne appears to have been inspired by an external stimulus. Judging, however, from the Dixit dominus (Fig. 267) initial and his work in the Missal (as yet to be discussed) he settles on a compromise solution for both the draperies and three-dimensional forms in which there are softer contrasts and stylised, more decorative architectural structures.

The third work, the Missal in Brussels, contains fifteen historiated initials and borders, as well as a full-page Crucifixion. It is by Hand C, alone, and on stylistic grounds it appears to have been executed after his participation in the Psalter. If the Dixit dominus initial in the Psalter (Fig. 267) is compared with the Resurrexi initial in the Missal (Fig. 268) there is a close agreement in figure and drapery style. For the majority of initials, the Crucifixion miniature included, Hand C's figures are monumental in form, gently swaying and heavily draped (Figs 269,270,272,278), but at the same time there are reminiscences of some of the more squat figures of the Psalter (Fig. 266), such as those reserved for the clerics (Fig. 271). If the thrones in the Exultate and Dixit dominus initials in the Psalter are again compared (Figs 265,267) it can be seen that the empirical perspective of the one has been translated into the semi-three-dimensional form of the other. It is structures of this type which are taken up and developed upon in the Missal; they are converted by Hand C into the form of elaborate architectural frames to enclose the subject-matter of a type which do not occur in the Psalter (Figs 268-272,278). As shown, Hand A in the Antiphonary used a more simplified version of these structures (Figs 246,250,251) whereas Hand B did not employ them in either the Antiphonary or Psalter.

In this brief appraisal of the three manuscripts in Brussels it would appear that Artist B developed his style from the Antiphonary to the Psalter and that Artist C did likewise from the Psalter to the Missal, suggesting that the Antiphonary, Psalter and Missal were produced in this sequence.

(ii) The Missal in the Hague: division of hands and definition of style

Hand B can be identified in the Missal in the Hague, a manuscript which is far more complex stylistically than the other three. Both Byvanck and Lieftinck failed to distinguish the two separate campaigns of illumination and to divide the hands with precision. The period of time, if any, which separated the two projects will form the

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7 These occur on ff. 11v, 33, 41v, 52v, 54v, 109, 115v, 116, 123, 140v, 144, 169, 180v, 205, 214.
8 Byvanck (1924), no.36; Lieftinck (1964), no.118.

117
basis of discussion on the problematic issue of dating for this workshop.

Artist B of the Antiphonary and Psalter executed the initial and borders to the Ad te levavi and Domine ne longe pages as well as the fine Crucifixion miniature (Figs 273-277). If the initial on f. 7 of the Hague Missal (Fig. 274) is compared with that of the Beatus in the Psalter (Fig. 261) there can be no doubt that they are the work of the same artist, but there has been one important development: the introduction of an elaborate architectural canopy in the style of Artist C of the Brussels Missal (Figs 268-272). The use of these structural elements is amply illustrated by the Crucifixion page in the Hague Missal (Fig. 277). The similarity of approach between Artists B and C can be fully appreciated if comparison is made between the Crucifixion miniature in each Missal (Figs 277, 278). But in palette and technique they differ markedly. Hand B, as noted, used a hotter range of colours and applied the pigments in a dry, etched modelling technique. These more painterly tendencies, latent in the Psalter, are clearly apparent in the modelling of Christ's body in the Missal.

A further illuminator in the Hague Missal worked in a style which relates to that of Hand C, but minor, yet important, differences suggest that he is a very close follower of Hand C but not C himself. This artist will therefore be named C2. His palette is cooler, and red pigment is abandoned for outlining the burnished gold clover leaves. While some of the borders are more restrained than those of Hand C (Fig. 280), others are closely similar, as in the calendar (Fig. 279), and on f. 139 where there are the same paired winged drolleries and a similar border structure (Fig. 285). A common workshop derivation is undeniable. Although Hand C2 incorporates new decorative forms, such as interface which is increasingly used in the letter forms (Fig. 282), the gaping mouthed beasts are still employed (Figs 283, 284). However, in the poses of certain figures there is a hint of mannerism not characteristic of Hand C and the draperies are more convoluted (Figs 283, 286); the hair is more sketchily rendered and there is a noticeable elongation of the noses (Figs 280-286). Although the architectural structures which enclose the subject-matter are closely comparable to those of Hand C, the draughtsmanship is not identical (Figs 281, 282, 286). Hand C2's style is basically linear, as the six initials for which he was responsible clearly illustrate.9

Out of a total of twelve pages containing major illumination in the Hague Missal three can be attributed to Hand B and six, as well as the calendar decoration, to Hand C2. This leaves three further pages to be assigned: f. 22, a Nativity miniature and borders (Figs 287, 288); f. 26, an initial of the Circumcision with partial borders (Figs 289, 290)) and f. 27v, the Adoration of the Magi with donors, a further miniature with full borders (Figs 292, 293). The placing of the illumination takes two forms: the Nativity miniature is inserted within the right-hand column of text (Fig. 287) and the decorative initial P of

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9 These occur on ff. 139, 144, 151, 167, 176v, 192v
Puer natus remains detached below in the space between the text; while the Circumcision takes place within the initial P itself (Fig. 289). The Magi scene follows the form of the Nativity miniature, with the E of Ecce advenit in the space between the text (Fig. 292). Each method was employed by Hands B and C2, as on f. 106v by B (Fig. 275) and on f. 144 by C2 (Fig. 294) where the initial appears underneath, and on f. 7 by B (Figs 273, 274) and f. 167 (and others) by C2 (Figs 280, 282-286) where it forms a composite part of the miniature.

It would appear that two artists work on the three initials and borders in question. Artist D, the more proficient of the two, illuminated the initials and borders on the Nativity and Adoration pages while D2, undoubtedly his assistant, with a closely similar style, was responsible for the Circumcision folio. However this was not the full extent of their participation for a number of minor initials, and some of the accompanying ornament, have been overpainted. Artist D2 appears to have been responsible for this but it only occurs in the first part of the Missal up to the Crucifixion miniature on f. 143v. Closer examination discloses, however, that the overpainting has not been confined to the minor initials and extensions and that Hand D or D2 may have completed the borders on f. 144 (Fig. 294).

It soon becomes apparent that this manuscript suffered an interruption to the campaign in which Hands B and C2 were involved, and that it was not completed until it came into the workshop of Hands D and D2; this is suggested by certain anomalies. The architectural structures in the Ad te levavi (Fig. 274) and Circumcision (Fig. 293) initials are so close in type as to suggest that they were both executed by Hand B, and yet only the former is by that artist, the other being by Hand D2. The structure of the architectural elements in these two scenes is identical, and the curious background at the top of the miniature by Hand B (Fig. 274) is the same as that in the Adoration miniature by Hand D (Figs 292, 293). The initial P in the Circumcision miniature agrees in form (although not in execution) with the motifs of the first campaign. All this points to a suddenly abandoned project but one which was completed sympathetically by a different workshop, and at a later date judging from the divergence in style between Hands B and C2 on the one hand and D and D2 on the other. This has resulted in certain miniatures and borders being substantially the creation of later artists who at the same time found it necessary to utilise what remained of the underdrawing and painting of the earlier campaign. That the second part of the Missal had been barely touched by the later workshop suggests rather incongruously that it was the first part of the manuscript which remained incomplete. Indeed, the miniatures of the second campaign occur within gatherings three and four.
Dating

On the basis of the liturgical psalter (or Breviary of Louis de Male which it is more commonly called) Gaspar and Lyna have broadly dated the three manuscripts in Brussels to the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The initial ownership of the Psalter is not in question (it contains the arms of Louis de Male and those of his wife Marguerite de Brabant) but their dating of 1357 or after is falsely derived. They erroneously refer to Louis and Marguerite’s marriage in this year but they were married ten years earlier, in 1347, and betrothed at an even earlier date. It was Louis de Male’s daughter, Margaret of Flanders, who was married in 1357 at the age of seven. This therefore permits an earlier dating for the Psalter and its close relatives should other factors support it. Neither the Antiphonary nor the Brussels Missal contains any internal evidence for dating but the Hague Missal has two colophons (Fig. 295), and it is on the basis of these that the dating for this group of manuscripts will ultimately rest.

Colophon one: Anno Domini MCCCLXVI Sabbato post Nativitatem Beate Marie Virginis fuit perfectus liber iste a Laurentio illuminatore presbytero de Andwerpia commoranti Gandavi. Deo gratias.

(In the year of the Lord 1366 on the Saturday after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary this book was made [or completed] by Laurence the illuminator, priest of [from] Antwerp, staying [living] at Ghent. Thanks be to God.)

Colophon two: Sic scribi et illuminandi ob laudem Del et Ecclesie Sancte fecit nobilis Arnolthus dominus de Rummen et de Quatbrecke. Baro. Orate pro eo. (Thus the noble Arnold, Lord of Rummen and Quabeek had [this book] written and illuminated for the praise of God and the Holy Church. Baron. Pray for him.)

Neither colophon is apparently written in exactly the same hand as the main text and they are both in gold which tends to distort the character of the individual letters (Fig. 295). However, the first is executed with a skill and competence on a par with the script of the main text which was written by the same scribe throughout. The second colophon, immediately below, is in a different, less competent hand.

Three hypotheses for dating might be forwarded on the basis of this information. It could be argued that the dated colophon was written on completion of the text at the time of the first campaign of illumination, and that the second colophon was written after the

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Missal was fully completed. But if the first colophon relates to the writing of the text and the seemingly earlier campaign, one which was apparently so abruptly terminated, why should the words *fuit perfectus* be used? A further interpretation could be placed on the words *fuit perfectus*. They could simply mean 'was made', a phrase equally applicable to a finished or unfinished book. The first campaign may well have been interrupted in 1366 and Laurence, wishing to be recognised for his part in the project, had the colophon placed there. Alternatively, the first colophon could be an addition of 1366, written after the main text, at the time Hands D and D2 completed the work. Also somewhat puzzling is that although there are at least three distinguishable artists at work in the Missal the colophon only mentions one; so if it had been written on the completion of what it could be argued was a joint campaign in which artists B, C2, D and D2 worked together, it would make nonsense of the colophon. However, whether the name Laurence of Antwerp is assigned to the first, second or a single campaign, it is reasonable to assume that as head of the atelier his name, and not that of his assistant, would feature in the colophon.\(^{12}\)

Since the dated colophon is clearly ambiguous, and in the light of the two very different styles in the Missal, stylistic analysis is fundamental as a means of establishing a chronology and approximate date for this artistic activity. It is now necessary to weigh up the available documentary evidence in the light of the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis One:** That campaigns one and two were of the same date; the colophon therefore dates the two styles to 1366.

**Hypothesis Two:** That the colophon relates to the first campaign, and the second project was carried out after 1366.

**Hypothesis Three:** That campaign one dates from the mid 1340s or after, the earliest date permitted by the Psalter. In this case the colophon bears no relevance to the earlier-looking material, but dates the second campaign to 1366.

(i) The second colophon

Before further consideration of each hypothesis it is necessary to take a closer look at the second colophon which tells us that Arnold, Lord of Rummen and Quabeek had this book written and illuminated. Although Byvanck dismissed the colophon, claiming it to have been written in the fifteenth century,\(^ {13}\) Lieftinck had no reservations in accepting its

\(^{12}\) As is the case with the colophon in Bodley 264 (see James (1933), p.50) which refers to only one illuminator when it is clear from the decoration that more than one participated.

\(^{13}\) Byvanck (1924), p.99.
authenticity.\textsuperscript{14} Who was Arnold de Rummen and where are Rummen and Quabeek? Arnold owned lands in Quabeek which lies to the south of Brussels, near Waterloo, and had property in Brussels and Ghent by virtue of his wife Elizabeth, Lady of Somergen whose first husband, Simon van Halen, was a member of the wealthy Lombard family of Mirabello, already long-established in Ghent, banker and burgher of that city and Ruwarf of Flanders.\textsuperscript{15} Mirabello was so wealthy that he loaned great sums of money to Edward III for his many undertakings in the Low Countries at the outset of the Hundred Years' War. Apart from the considerable fortune which came Arnold's way as a result of this marriage Wenceslas of Brabant elevated him to the high position of Drossart or Seneschal of the Brabant (first officer of justice) where he remained in office until 1363. The revenues from this post and from his lands and properties were considerable. His major estate was at Rummen where, in 1353, he began to build a castle which became according to chroniclers 'a marvel to see'.\textsuperscript{16} Rummen itself is situtated approximately five miles north of St Trond in the diocese of Liège.

(ii) Hypothesis one

Hypothesis one, that campaigns one and two were of the same date, the colophon thus dating the two styles to 1366, although incongruous, has some evidence in its support. Despite Arnold and Elizabeth's great wealth a serious disaster befell them in 1365. During Arnold's unsuccessful struggle to gain the County of Looz, the fine castle of Rummen was besieged and burnt to the ground. Elizabeth, apparently overcome by this loss, retired to Flanders where she died of grief in March 1366.\textsuperscript{17} That it was to Ghent that she fled seems certain as she was buried alongside her first husband, Simon Mirabello, in the Collegiate Church of St Pharailde in that city. Contemporary accounts relate that her great fortune had been swallowed up in the ill-matched struggle undertaken by her husband, Arnold, in his attempts to secure the County of Looz.\textsuperscript{18} Given this information it could be conjectured that Elizabeth commissioned the manuscript on her arrival in Ghent in 1365. The calendar of the Missal contains a mixture of Liège and Ghent saints which might be expected if this were the case; it could be described as occupying a midway position between the Ghent calendar of the Psalter of Louis de Male and the Liège calendar of the Brussels Missal, also attributed to Louis' patronage.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{14} Lieftinck (1964), p.50.
\textsuperscript{15} B.N.B., xvi (1901), 248, ff. For Mirabello, ibid., xiv (1897), 869-82.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., xvi (1901), 249.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 253-54.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 250-54.
\textsuperscript{19} The calendar is neither typical of Ghent nor Liège. Of saints in the Ghent calendar of Brussels MS. 9426 it has St Macaire on the 10 April and St Amalberge on 10 July, and of saints in the Liège calendar of Brussels MS. 9217 it has St Servatius on 13 May and St Lambertus on 7 September; but it omits many feasts characteristic of those regions.
Elizabeth died on 17 March 1366, and the colophon was written on the Saturday after the feast of the Nativity of the B.V.M. that year (12 September 1366). Perhaps on the death of Elizabeth, Arnold travelled to Ghent in order to settle her affairs and in the ensuing six months, between her death and the date the colophon was written, had the manuscript completed by Laurence of Antwerp and his assistants, Artists D and D2, who were known to him in Ghent; he would then have had the second colophon added.

If, however, the first campaign is assumed to date to 1366 this may be considered too early for the later-looking illumination. That the style of Hand D and his assistant was current at this date is supported by a manuscript in Liège University Library, 57 and 58E, a Liber Passionalis containing the lives of all the saints honoured at the Benedictine Abbey of St Trond, in the diocese of Liège, for which the manuscript was destined. This book, written by the same scribe throughout, is now in two volumes. The opening folio of volume one contains a fine drawing of St John the Baptist in grisaille (Fig. 296), while the opening to the second volume has a further ten-line initial with borders and bas-de-page in full colour (Fig. 297). Although the figure style and palette are not sufficiently analogous to suggest the same artist, it is a style which clearly relates to that of Hand D in the Hague Missal. It is the borders which show the closest affinities; if comparison is made with the Adoration of the Magi page in the Hague Missal (Fig. 292) they each contain climbing animal and human forms, emanating from foliage, enclosed within bands of burnished gold. The borders on the Nativity page of the Missal display these fountain-like, highly-modelled foliage forms to better effect (Fig. 287). In a hand contemporary with that of the main text there is an incipit which gives the information that 'Lord Robert of Craenwic, of pious memory, by the Grace of God abbot of this monastery of St Trond had this book made, which was completed and bound in the year 1366 A.D.' — the same year as the Hague Missal.

(iii) Hypothesis two

The second hypothesis, that the colophon relates to the first campaign and that the second project was carried out after 1366, is given some support by the colophons themselves (Fig. 295). The decorative pen initial A of the first colophon, containing the date, forms an integral part of the left-hand pen-flourished shaft; both the initial and decoration are of a type to be found in the Missal text. Although the flourished shaft seems to accompany the second colophon since it runs, like those in the main text, down to the lower margin, the initial S of 'Sic scribi...' is not encased within it, as in every other example in the main text, but lies slightly to the right, independent of it. Therefore, it could be deduced that the first colophon was written at the time of the initial campaign.

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20 Grandjean (1875), no.210; Wittek et al. (1968), no.60, pls 160-64; Paris (1951), nos 254, 255.
dating the illumination by Hands B and C2 to 1366. This might mean that the second colophon was written some time later when Hands D and D2 completed the book. The decorative initial S of the second colophon is of a simple form containing abstract decoration, and although it matches exactly those of the simpler variety in the text, it could be a later imitation. Furthermore, the scribe of the second colophon has added two line-fillers, one to his own colophon and one to the first, which gives the impression that they were written at the same time. However, closer scrutiny discloses that no other line-fillers of this type occur in the Missal, and it is clear that the scribe of the second colophon was responsible for both. If this hypothesis is accepted then the incompletion of the Missal might well have resulted from the combined effects of the death of Elizabeth and the growing bankruptcy of Arnold. The manuscript, having been commissioned by Elizabeth from the Ghent atelier, could have been worked on by Artists B and C2, although admittedly unlikely, until the September after her death in March; the first colophon may then have been added and the unfinished manuscript handed over to Arnold.

(iv) Hypothesis three

The second hypothesis, like the first, is not wholly satisfactory on grounds of style, since if one or other is accepted it is necessary to compromise over a date which seems stylistically right for the two campaigns and the date suggested for them by the colophon. If the second hypothesis is accepted, this would mean that the illumination by Hands D and D2 is an estimated ten or fifteen years later than the 1366 campaign and as such would run directly counter to the stylistic evidence presented by the Liber Passionalis. Similarly, if the first hypothesis is accepted, 1366 is surely too late a date for the first campaign, given the style of the Liège University manuscript, the rather mannered tendencies of Hand C2’s figures and the correspondence of Artist B’s style to certain English works of approximately the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The Crucifixion miniature by Hand B in the Hague Missal is similar iconographically to the ca 1330-35 Crucifixion in the Gorleston Psalter; the forms of the Virgin and the hanging Christ are closely comparable (Figs 18,277). Hand B’s modelling techniques, furthermore, are related to those of one of the artists in the Luttrell Psalter of ca 1340-45, although there they take a more exaggerated form (Figs 80,81,83). A date of ca 1345-50 for the first campaign in the Hague Missal, in line with the third hypothesis, is given further credibility by the works of the Fitzwarin Artist (Hand B of the Vienna Psalter) whose obsession with solidly architectural canopies surrounding the miniatures (Figs 60,79,82,100) is undeniably close to those of this Flemish workshop (Figs 274,277,281).21

21 For discussion and dating of the Fitzwarin Psalter and related manuscripts see Chapter 2.

124
A similar somewhat abstract interpretation of architectural decoration, displaying dynamic contrasts in light and shade, is apparent in the representations of each of the illuminators (Hands B and C and the Fitzwarin Artist). If Hand B's Crucifixion (Fig. 277) is compared with that by the Fitzwarin Artist (Fig. 60), although very different iconographically, the expressive, mannered gesture of St John in the Psalter is to a degree reflected in the fainting Virgin in the Missal; and the head types of each figure of St John with their curly hair are similar. The three-dimensional handling of form chosen by Hand C in the Brussels Missal (Fig. 278) seems to be closely allied (though different in technique) to that attempted by Vienna Hand A in Douce 131 (Fig. 23) and the Psalter in Brescia (Fig. 42). Furthermore, both artists seem to have arrived at a similar solution if the Virgin's throne in the Brescia Psalter, of ca 1345, by Vienna Hand A is compared with Christ's throne in the Missal (Figs 42,267). Given these observations, it would appear that Artist B of the Missal displays precisely the same type of transitory interest in Italianisms which had been the preoccupation of English illuminators during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. A date of ca 1345-50 for Hand B's activity in the Missal would make good sense in the light of the Bodleian Alexander of 1338-44, the architectural structures of which might be seen as an immediate source for those which occur in the English and Flemish manuscripts in question (Figs 24,344,345). It will later be shown the extent to which Hand A (the Flemish Hand) was indebted to Frenchified Flemish works such as the Alexander. The figure style of Pierart dou Tielt in the Chronicle now in Courtrai, Bibliothèque Communale, Cod.135 serves to show that the linear, rather mannered Gothic tendencies, discernible in the work of Hand C, were prevailing at this date (Figs 354,358). Also detectable in certain initials by Hand A in the Antiphonary is a strangely mannered drapery type in which the material is gathered into horizontal folds (Fig. 340); related forms, as shown, occur in English manuscripts of the 1340s, such as the Brescia and Fitzwarin Psalters (Figs 32,61), the Astor Psalter-Hours (Fig. 31) and the Walters and Dublin Hours (Figs 88,89). Clearly, there were close connections between illumination in the two countries at this time, a phenomenon not difficult to explain given certain political, economic and social factors. In the light of these stylistic parallels, and the fact that the Psalter of Louis de Male no longer has to date to 1357 or after, a date of 1366 for the first campaign in the Hague Missal and the closely related works in Brussels is no longer acceptable.

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22 Italian influences are discussed in Chapter 10.
23 See Chapter 6 where the relationship of the manuscripts of Gilles li Muisis to the Romance of Alexander is also outlined.
24 For bibliography see Chapter 6, n.29.
25 These stylistic elements are discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Folds of this type also occur in the initial on f. 42 in the Antiphonary which is not illustrated.
26 For discussion of these see Chapter 3.
It might be postulated that Arnold and Elizabeth commissioned the Hague Missal in the mid to late 1340s; they were married by 1346.\(^7\) For some reason the workshop then disbanded and the manuscript presumably lay in loose quires until it was completed in 1366 by the atelier of Laurence of Antwerp living in Ghent. A break in artistic activity of some fifteen to twenty years would satisfactorily account for the diverse styles in the Missal; it is inconceivable that they should have co-existed. Given the nature in which Hands D and D2 worked, it is clear that they were completing an unfinished campaign and not initiating a new one. It would be tempting to see in the interruption to the first campaign a parallel situation to that in England, where workshop production was in all probability curtailed by the Black Death.\(^8\) It is likely that Hand A (the Flemish Hand) left the workshop after his participation in the Antiphonary, since he is not identifiable in the Psalter or Missals. But it is puzzling that the Missal should have remained unfinished for fifteen years in the hands of two such wealthy people who could have well afforded to finance its completion; but perhaps Arnold and Elizabeth were not the original patrons, but the initiators of the final campaign. The delay in its completion might have resulted from the disruption of artistic activity in Flanders in the middle years of the fourteenth century owing to the effects of the Black Death, coupled with the political upheaval and civil unrest in the Low Countries. A further factor to consider is that many of the best artists from this region may have fled to Paris to illuminate books for the French royal family, a proposal forwarded by Panofsky,\(^9\) and one which certainly has some foundation in the light of the sort of changes which occurred in Parisian illumination at this time, as evidenced in a manuscript such as Guillaume de Machaut's *Le Remède de Fortune*,\(^10\) executed in Paris *ca* 1350-55 but under strong Flemish influence.

Support for the third hypothesis is provided by three additional factors. Firstly, had the Missal not been completed by 1366 it is hardly likely that Arnold could have afforded to do so after, for he was so short of money that he was never able to reconstruct the fortress at Rummen, and in spite of a pension of 1000 small florins of gold successively reversible on his brother-in-law, Lord Jean de Hamel, and his nephew William de Hamel he procured great debts.\(^11\) In order to cope with his expenses we learn that Arnold assigned to the Count of Namur diverse rents on his lands at Quabeek which finally remained the property of his creditor.\(^12\) His town house in Brussels was seized for debts in 1371. Vogelsanck, Zolder and Zonhoven passed from his estate into the hands of Jean de Hamel and the domain of Rummen was for the most part alienated and estranged. Arnold

\(^{27}\) *B.N.B.* (1901), 248-49.  
\(^{28}\) See Chapters 1 and 2.  
\(^{29}\) See discussion in Chapter 3, especially n.43.  
\(^{30}\) For discussion of this manuscript see Avril (1978), pp.26-28, pls 23-25; Paris (1981), no.271, with bibliography.  
\(^{31}\) *B.N.B.* (1901), 254.  
died in 1373 without leaving any legitimate heirs. Following his wishes he was buried at
the Abbey of Oriente in Rummen where on his stone tomb the quartered shield of Oreye
and Looz was represented. Secondly, a date of 1366 for the second campaign accords
well with the style of the Liber Passionalis. Thirdly, there is further stylistic evidence
provided by a charter of 1354, now in the Potterie at Bruges (Fig. 319). This
illuminator's selection of the specific type of diapered ground and ornament for the letter
form is characteristic of Hands A, B, C and C2, while the figure style, particularly the
facial type, shows development beyond those artists towards the style of Hands D and D2
in the Missal (Figs 288,290,293).

The only obvious objection to the third hypothesis is the painted initial A and
flourished shaft of the first (dated) colophon, which it has to be admitted marry well with
those in the main text (Fig. 295). Although this could be the work of a clever imitator the
most plausible explanation is that the initial and flourishing were placed there in readiness
by the scribe of the first campaign but that the actual colophon was not written until
1366, the date of the second campaign; even allowing for the difficulties occasioned by
writing in gold leaf, the scribe of the colophon does not appear to be that of the Missal
text, the implication being that it was added later.

The ownership of the Missal in Brussels

Before proceeding further, the original ownership of the Brussels Missal, traditionally
assigned to Louis de Male on account of its kinship to the Psalter, should be considered.
If the Brussels Missal were commissioned by Louis it is puzzling that the calendar should
contain a preponderance of saints associated with the region of Liège. The Liège flavour
of the calendar is incontestable. In this respect it stands in marked contrast to the Psalter
which clearly points to Ghent, much closer to Louis' home in Male, near Bruges in
Flanders. Coens has noted that the Psalter was not designed with any particular Ghent
church in mind, but that its liturgical features seem to suggest that it was produced in a
workshop in that city. The colophon in the Hague Missal secures this beyond question.
In the absence of any internal evidence linking the Brussels Missal to Louis de Male and
since Arnold and Elizabeth lived predominantly in the Liège region, it could be
conjectured that they commissioned the manuscript. Elizabeth's association with Ghent
arises not only from her first marriage to Simon van Halen but as Elizabeth of Lierde,
Lady of Somergem, she was the natural sister of Louis de Nevers, Count of Flanders.

33 Ibid., 254-55.
34 As far as I am aware nothing has been published on this charter.
35 Gaspar and Lyna (1937), pp.344-45. Later authors have not denied this attribution.
36 See ibid., p.344 and Cologne (1972), i, p.392.
37 Coens (1966), 158-59.
who was killed at the Battle of Crécy in 1346 and succeeded by his young son, Louis de Male, then only sixteen. Elizabeth and Arnold de Rummen, therefore, were Louis' aunt and uncle, and as such provide the necessary link between the two families. That both families knew of the Ghent workshop is open to little doubt. Furthermore, there are certain manuscripts, now in the Liège University Library, associated with the Abbey of St Trond (St Trond lies about five miles from Rummen), which appear to have originated from the same Ghent workshop. One such book is MS. 138, St Gregory's *Homilies on the Gospels*, which has an almost identical ruling of the text to that in the two Missals; but their closest affinity lies in the unique character of the fine pen-drawn initials (the manuscript contains no illumination) which display closely analogous forms to those in the Brussels and Hague Missals. Another, MS. 57 and 58E, already discussed, has pen initials which have been executed by the same hand (Figs 373,376). It seems likely that Arnold and Elizabeth acted as mediators in setting up these commissions for the nearby Abbey.

It could still be argued that despite the evidence in support of Arnold having commissioned the Brussels Missal, without the evidence of the arms we cannot be sure that Louis de Male was not the original patron. Unfortunately, it is no longer possible to establish with certainty the original ownership of this manuscript as the heraldic devices have now been obliterated in the borders by thick over-painting by a later, possibly fifteenth-century hand (Figs 268-272). Curiously, the same anomaly occurs in the Hague Missal; the shields there have been crudely over-painted by exactly the same clumsy hand, using identical decorative devices (Figs 273,287,292). Clearly, this could have occurred only if both manuscripts had been in the same hands at a later date, either of a later descendant of Arnold or simply a buyer who purchased the two manuscripts together. Further support in favour of Arnold's ownership of the Brussels Missal arises from the fact that it was not in the hands of Louis de Male's heir, Margaret of Flanders, who married Philip of Burgundy, since it does not appear along with the Psalter in their 1420 inventory; nor does it feature in the inventory of the Duke of Burgundy in 1487. Surely if the Brussels Missal had been inherited by Margaret from her father, it is unlikely that she would have obliterated the arms of her father and mother, when the Psalter of Louis de Male, which we know she possessed, was untouched. The Hague Missal at no time entered the Library of the Dukes of Burgundy and its provenance is unknown until in the eighteenth century it became the property of Baron van Westreenen. Arnold's immediate descendants, Jean and William de Hamel, no doubt inherited what remained of Arnold's possessions, including the two Missals; it is known that he made a will, for it was proved by the Bishop of Liège on 5 May 1373.38

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38 *B.N.B.*, xvi (1901), 248-49. For Louis de Nevers, see *ibid.*, xii, 411-26 and *ibid.*, 426-66 for his son, Louis de Male.

39 *B.N.B.*, xvi (1901), 254.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. f.3 and its relationship to other manuscripts

Now that a date of ca 1345-50 has been formulated for the four manuscripts central to this discussion the Bodleian Hours, which on grounds of style has been shown to marginally pre-date the Antiphonary, might therefore date to ca 1345. However, this manuscript is popularly called the Hours of Anne of Bohemia and in all published references is dated to 1380-81. Confusion regarding its date and ownership has arisen on account of certain heraldic devices which occur in the manuscript and the miniature which opens Matins on f. 118. Madan has indicated that these shields [the lion rampant of Bohemia (Fig. 379); the spread eagle of the Kings of the Romans (Figs 227,234); the fleur-de-lys of France (Fig. 231); St Edmund’s three crowns (Fig. 234); the cross and martlets of St Edward the Confessor (Fig. 229); and the quartered arms of England (Figs 230,237,374)] can be shown to have a connection with Anne of Bohemia, the Queen of Richard II, while Madan and others have postulated that the kneeling donor wearing a gown of fleur-de-lys in the Virgin and Child miniature on f. 118 is a portrait of Anne of Bohemia herself (Fig. 299).

If these identifications are correct, and there is no reason to question them, why should Anne of Bohemia’s portrait and arms appear in a Flemish Book of Hours presumably executed ca 1345? During Anne of Bohemia’s passage to England in the winter of 1381 she was detained in the Brabant. She was afraid to proceed because twelve large vessels were on the sea between Calais and Holland pillaging passing boats. For over a month she stayed in Brussels with her aunt and uncle, the Duke and Duchess of Brabant. Contemporary accounts relate that Louis de Male entertained Anne of Bohemia lavishly for three days in Bruges and gave her magnificent gifts: Louis could well have originally commissioned the Hours ca 1345 and had the miniature and the appropriate arms added in 1381. The Hours now lacks a calendar and presumably since it would have been of Ghent use was probably removed before its presentation to Anne. The arms were clearly painted in for the purpose; this is evident from the pigments which differ from those used for the first campaign. It is puzzling, however, for what purpose the donor page and initials were originally left empty.

40 For bibliography see Chapter 4, n.11.
41 The manuscript is now incorrectly bound with the result that what was once the opening miniature occurs on f. 118 in its present state.
42 Madan (1905), no.29742, which refers to a much fuller description by Madan in the Bodleian.
44 Strickland, i (1864), p.413; Quicke (1947), p.403.
That the Hours of Anne of Bohemia were in England by the 1380s is confirmed by the figure of St George on the opening folio (Fig. 302). Although the miniature itself forms part of the original ca 1345 campaign by Hand A, the face and hair of St George have been overpainted by an artist working in the style of the so-called Westminster School; this is well demonstrated by comparison with the heads in an initial from B.L., Cotton Nero D.VI, a Book of Statutes dated after 1386 (Fig. 581). Curiously, it is precisely this facial type which characterises the heads in Bodleian, Canon. Liturg. 251, a manuscript of Bruges provenance, which is also datable ca 1380 (Fig. 303).

Interest in the added miniature in the Hours of Anne of Bohemia is heightened when it is found to correspond closely to the style of Hand D in the Hague Missal. Comparison with the miniature of the Adoration (Figs 298, 299) shows a close agreement in the palette, diapered backcloths, architectural canopies and the facial types where there is a significant elongation, rounding and turning-up of the end of the nose. There is a particularly close correspondence between the Christ Child and the female donor in contemporary costume in each miniature. The draperies, however, show some development from those in the Missal; those in the Bodleian miniature are less brittle and schematised, more expansive and softly modelled. Furthermore, the architectural canopies in the Hours show greater complexity and subtlety of modelling.

These observations suggest that the Bodleian miniature of ca 1380 is a later work by the same hand. Now that the second campaign in the Hague Missal has been dated to 1366, a passage of some fifteen years would sufficiently account for this development. Confirmation that it is the same miniaturist in both works is provided by a manuscript now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 152, a *Bible Historiale*, which might be estimated to occupy a transitional position between the Missal and the Hours, the psalter section only of which can be assigned to this miniaturist (Figs 291, 305, 307, 310, 311). A clear move towards the style of the Virgin and Child in the Hours can be discerned in the more elaborate architectural structures and the softly rounded, more painterly draperies. The *Bible Historiale* has points in common with both the Missal and the Hours; this is well illustrated by the *Dixit insipiens* miniature (Fig. 310), where it can be seen that the subject-matter – rectangular miniature and an initial in a detached position beneath – is arranged identically to that in the Missal (Fig 298), and the *Cantate* initial where the faces and the border decoration accord closely with those of Hands D and D2 in the Missal (Figs 290, 291).

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45 For discussion of this manuscript and related ones see Chapter 9, with bibliography in n.16.
46 Pächt and Alexander (1966), no.617, pl.xlvii.
47 Greenhill (1977), 9-12, 17, but she does not discuss the style of the portion in question.
Other Flemish works of the period

As shown, from ca 1365 to 1380 Flemish miniature painting was dominated by a new style which could have originated in Ghent, but which was in all probability Bruges in inspiration. It is of interest to see this later style reflected in brasses of the period which are arguably Bruges or Ghent in origin. Conversely, the creators of these monuments could well have influenced their contemporaries. The kneeling male donor in the Adoration miniature in the Missal recalls that of the palimpsest fragment of a Flemish brass at Winestead of ca 1370 (Figs 293,309), and relates, in turn, to the costumes of the men in the Bible Historiale (Fig. 307);48 while a pen drawing of the Virgin and Child, also in the Missal (Fig. 301), is reminiscent of the unique Flemish brass of Bonifacio Rotario at Susa in northern Italy of around 1368 (Fig. 300).49 The crown and draperies of the Virgin and the hair of both the Virgin and Child correspond in the two representations, as does the foliate decoration which forms a backdrop to each scene. Comparison can also be made with the Bodleian miniature of the Virgin and Child and that of the Adoration in the Missal (Figs 298,299). There is also a close relationship between the style represented by this material and that found in the small figures in the background of the brass to Gottfried and Friedrich von Bülow, at Schwerin of 1375 (Figs 307,308).50 There are two further brasses which complement this illuminator's style. The first of these is the brass to Pieter van Zynghehe and his wife, formerly at the church of St Walburga, Bruges, of ca 1372 (Fig. 304).51 In this brass it is possible to discern the engraver's attempt to break out of the set formula, hitherto adopted for brasses of this size. There is, for instance, a hint of greater characterisation, particularly evident in the figure of the woman. The second brass which shows these characteristics is that to Michiel van Assenede and wives Adriane and Elisabeth, probably engraved between 1390 and 1395, also formerly in St Walburga's, Bruges (Fig. 306).52 Both of these brasses speak the same language as the miniatures by Hand D, as comparison with the Bible Historiale illustrates (Figs 304,306).

48 For discussion of the Winestead brass see Cameron (1975).
49 For a brief description of this brass and bibliography see Cameron (1970), p.86.
50 For a brief description of this brass and bibliography see ibid., p.75.
51 For discussion and bibliography see Cameron (1981), 119-31. A thorough assessment is, however, hampered since they now only exist as illustrations.
52 Ibid. for discussion and bibliography.
A further important development, evident in the later material of the Hague Missal, occurs in the border decoration. By 1366 marginal motifs resembling those in Catalan manuscripts, such as the additions made to the Paris Utrecht Psalter, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 8846, were appropriated by Flemish illuminators. Catalan influences could well have been assimilated, via Bruges, given the trading contacts between this city and port and Catalonia. That this Ghent style had a following in Bruges is shown in a late fourteenth century Book of Devotions in Latin and Catalan written by Johannes de Ecclesia and of Bruges provenance, although it is only in the border decoration that a close affinity exists (Figs 326, 287, 289, 292).

That Ghent was still a centre of production in the 1370s, if rather on the decline, is suggested by a Breviary made for the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter's in Ghent, now MS. 3381 in Ghent University Library. It can be dated to 1373 precisely and its St Peter's provenance is attested by the calendar, which includes the Feast of Dedication on 30 September. The figure style, particularly the distinctive facial types with the long, slightly rounded retroussé noses (Figs 312, 317, 318), is related to that of Hand D2 of the Hague Missal (Figs 289, 290), but it is not of the calibre of illumination produced by Hand D himself. Noses of this type occur as early as 1350 in the brass to Bishops Serken and Mul, as a head from his alb apparel testifies (Fig. 316). An epistle lectionary, although not by the Missal or Breviary artists, is in the same general style. It is a work which testifies, on the one hand, to the retention of border structures and ornament of the earlier period, while on the other, to a plasticity of figure form characteristic of the later phase (Figs 320, 321). Clearly, there had not been a comparable development in the area of border decoration and this might account for why these illuminators embraced the alien forms of Catalan decorators; this could be seen as an attempt to throw off the essentially linear elements of the earlier Flemish tradition.

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53 For discussion of these additions and others by this artist such as London, B.L., Add. MS. 15274, see Meiss (1941). Unfortunately, most of those he illustrates show little border decoration, although elements of the type in question are visible in figs 30, 32, 38 and 39 of his article.
54 See Hulgarth (1976-78), pp. 34 (here he refers to a study by Finot), 38-39, 290, 362, 388.
55 See Sotheby's Catalogue, 3 December, 1968, lot 21, pl. 150.
56 Sold at Sotheby's, 5 July, 1965, lot 233; see also Ghent (1975), no. 579.
57 Now in private hands; sold at Sotheby's, 4 June, 1974, lot 2918, pls 21-23.
The closest stylistic counterparts to the Ghent Breviary, however, are the charter in the Potterie (Fig. 319) and the fragments of an ambitiously decorated Benedictine Gradual (Figs 313-315, 322-325). In the Christie’s catalogue it was given an English provenance and compared with Rickert’s Hand C in the Carmelite Missal, but it is unquestionably Flemish and probably Ghent in origin. Its Benedictine destination is clearly attested in the iconography of several of the initials (Figs 323,325) and it is possible that, like the Breviary, it was destined for the Abbey of St Peter’s. What is especially interesting, and helps to confirm its Ghent origin, is the survival in these fragments of decorative formulae made current by the earlier Ghent workshop; this is most clearly apparent in the letter forms, decorative features which do not have an origin in English illumination (Figs 322-324). However, there is no evidence for dating these fragments and although the style is linear and the figures rather poorly executed certain costume details indicate that they probably date no earlier than 1380.

When the Flemish tradition was finally revived at the ‘International’ period, the genesis of this revival might be seen in the style of Hand D in the Hague Missal, the Bible Historiale, and the donor miniature from the Bodleian Hours, a style which is also reflected in the Liber Passionalis. It would appear that the so-called Estouteville Altarpiece, claimed to be English, but which is surely Flemish, evolved directly out of this new phase in Flemish painting (Fig. 327). Moreover, that there were connections between this Bruges-Ghent style and developments in Paris is suggested by Hand D’s most mature work, the Bodleian Virgin, Child and Donor miniature of ca 1380, which has an affinity with certain French representations of this subject.

Suggested date for the foundation of the central Bohun workshop

The Flemish workshop of the earlier phase of the Hague Missal is therefore of fundamental importance for the Bohun group of manuscripts, since the Flemish Hand (A of the Antiphonary) evolved directly out of this milieu. Simpson, in her recent study, states that it is not until the execution of the Carmelite Missal that there is sufficient stylistic evidence to postulate the intervention of foreign artists, of whatever nationality, but this is clearly not the case. Indeed, on the basis of the chronology formulated for the Flemish workshop it is possible to arrive at an approximate date for the formation of the central Bohun workshop composed of the two illuminators, one Flemish, the other English. If the Hours and Antiphonary were executed between ca 1345 and 1350, and

58 Sold at Christie’s on 29 June, 1966, lot 121, second series (pp.41-44).
59 On this altarpiece, see London (1962), no.20, with bibliography.
60 Meiss (1967), figs 34, 50, 180, 181, 256, 620, 785 but these post-date the Bodleian Hours. However, he illustrates an earlier example (see fig. 657).
after this point the Flemish Hand cannot be identified working in Flanders alongside Hands B, C or C2, therefore his passage to England can be calculated to have taken place sometime between 1345 and 1355. On arrival in England, he appears to have worked first on the British Library Psalter, Royal 13.D.i\*, in collaboration with the English Artist. Also assignable to his early years in England are the painted initials in the calendar of the Vienna Psalter and the minor decoration on ff. 20-126 of the Exeter Psalter, including some of the borders.\[62\]

\[62\] For discussion of this material see Chapter 4. More precise dating is forwarded for the foundation of the central Bohun workshop and the manuscripts associated with their hands in Chapter 11.
CHAPTER SIX

THE ORIGINS OF THE FLEMISH BOHUN HAND II

The full significance of the Flemish Hand's participation, albeit fairly cursory, alongside the English Artist in the Vienna, Royal and Exeter Psalters becomes apparent when other works associated with the Bohun family are examined, since this illuminator can be assigned, with the exception of the Beatus page, the illumination in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 38-1950, a Psalter.¹

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 38-1950: definition of style

There are half-page miniatures and five-line historiated initials at the ten divisions of the psalter text and for the Ad dominum, Confitebor and Domine ne in furore folios,² as well as initials and borders for the minor psalms. Rectilinear borders composed of slender tendrils of foliage outlined in gold issue from the miniatures and historiated initials (Figs 328-339). At focal points (in the centre and each corner) the tendril forms into cusped rounds which encapsulate single ivy leaves, while further leaves of this sort are adjoined at intervals to the outer stem by thin tendrils and a spray of ivy branches grows organically from a roundel in the centre of the lower border. There is a marked agreement with the borders in Royal 13.D.i* (Fig. 242) (except that birds and butterflies no longer inhabit the margins and the leaf repertoire is restricted to ivy), as well as those now assigned to the Flemish Hand in Exeter 47 (Figs 221-223). Comparison with a page from the Flemish Hours (Fig. 243) indicates that the borders in the Fitzwilliam Psalter have become more compact and there has been an abbreviation of the forms (Figs 328-339). The partial borders accompanying the minor psalms in the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Figs 395,396) also have a parallel in the Royal manuscript (Fig. 242). There is a basic agreement in their structure, despite the refinements in the former, where further rectilinear shafts in the upper and lower margins have replaced the organic tendrils of the Royal Psalter. Drolleries, characteristic of the Bodleian Hours and the Brussels Antiphonary, are no longer found in the Fitzwilliam Psalter as detached elements in the


² See James and Miller (1936), pp.53-59 for details of the folios on which these occur. For full-page reproductions of the principal pages of illumination see ibid., pls lxi-lxviii.
side margins and lower borders, but occur in restrained form either in the interior of the minor psalm initials or as part of the border; as well as drollery and animal forms the repertoire includes fanciful storks, mitred bishops and ladies with their hair in comettes. The minor initials contain a variety of male and female heads, animals, drolleries and leaf forms. Many are recognisable from his earlier works; even the fringe-like tendrils, typical of the Royal Psalter and Brussels Antiphonary, are still visible on the shafts of some of the minor borders.

The use of architectural devices shows development from that in the Flemish Hours and Antiphonary, with which however there is a fundamental agreement. In the Fitzwilliam manuscript, where the miniature occupies the top half of the text, an identical system is employed to that in the Hours and the Antiphonary, only the simple turreted canopies have been transformed into a complex array of slender towers surmounted by pinnacles (Figs 328,329,332,334,335-339), and there is a clear indication of the colonnettes supporting the structure. The delicacy and complexity of these devices is heightened by the addition of further turrets and pinnacles on each side of the picture frame which are ingeniously attached to the inner columns by flying buttresses. Beneath some of the canopies there is the indication of interior vaulting (Figs 334,337) of the kind which occurs in the Annunciation miniature in the Flemish Hours (Fig. 237). The basic structure of the architectural canopies in the Fitzwilliam manuscript is of two ogee arches (Figs 328,329,332,334,335,337,338). In the majority of examples the two canopies are subdivided into cusped shapes and on f. 46 (Fig. 329) they each divide into further ogee arches. Where the artist has found it desirable for the sake of the narrative to divide the scene into two compartments (Figs 336,337) each arch is given a column, an idea which is further developed on f. 123 (Fig. 338) by the addition of a centrally placed crenellated structure. On f. 142v (Fig. 336) the inner vaulting is an elaboration of that described in the Canuue folio (Fig. 334); a further variation is that of subdividing the subject-matter by architectural elements, as on f. 207 (Fig. 339), in order to accommodate the angels who hold the Instruments of the Passion. Winged creatures act as caryatids at the base of the external turrets on f. 99 (Fig. 333).

Although there is some evidence to suggest that the artist is being more ambitious in the rendering of space in this manuscript the plane remains two-dimensional and little development has in fact occurred since his execution of the Antiphonary and the Hours. On f.29 (Fig. 328) the activity unfolds along a single plane: the soldiers on the right of the scene and the maidens on the left stand uniformly on the lower frame of the miniature. The row of figures behind the women is raised above the others in an attempt

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3 The exceptions are psalms 51 (f. 61), 52 (f. 62) and 80 (f. 99) where such treatment would have interfered with the adjoining text.

4 This is the only instance; in all the other examples the canopies are purely two-dimensional.

5 It is not possible to discuss Royal 13.D.1* in this context because so little has survived.
to create depth in the miniature, but there is no indication of where the feet will rest; in the space created between the first maiden and the second, the body of a musician is cut off at a midway point, thus destroying the sense of depth momentarily created. The single plane of the miniature is accentuated by a curtain of burnished gold which runs without interruption its full length. The same principle was employed in the historiated initial on f. 2 in the Antiphonary (Fig. 246) where the figure kneels on the lower frame of the miniature and a pattern of continuous diaper fills the background. This feature is also apparent in the scene of the Annunciation in the Hours (Fig. 237) where the two figures kneel on the lower frame and not within the miniature itself. In the scene for psalm 38 in the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Fig. 329) there is the introduction of a narrow strip of chevron-patterned grass, a feature common in the Bodleian Hours (Figs 230,232), but the building rests on the lower frame of the miniature and the plane remains flat. In the miniatures to psalms 51, 52, 68, 80, 97 and 101 (Figs 330-335) the area of grass is extended to occupy a greater part of the background, providing the opportunity to place figures at a variety of levels, but they remain identical in size, recalling the Annunciation to the Shepherds scene in both the Hours and the Antiphonary (Figs 241,250). So that the battle scene on f. 99 (Fig. 333) can be shown in entirety the grassy bank extends to the top of the miniature; it is separated from the indoor scene on the left by an architectural niche; as a result the activity takes place on two different levels within the same miniature. In the Cantate miniature (Fig. 334) the artist has placed a group of figures on the grassy horizon, in an attempt to create some distance between those in the foreground.

The staves of the five-line initial D on f. 29 (Fig. 328) are composed of two adjoining fern leaves of the type which fill the upper border on 20v in the Royal Psalter (Fig. 224), a form which also occurs at the base of the dragon in f. 2 of the Antiphonary (Fig. 246) and in many of its small pen initials (Figs 245,248). Lion masks fill the letter forms in the initials accompanying psalm 38 (Fig. 329) and an identical motif fills the two outer compartments of the letter M on ff. 19v and 28v in the Antiphonary (Figs 247,343). In the initial S for psalm 68 (Fig. 332) part of the letter is hidden behind the curtain within the miniature but where it emerges it is possible to see the eye and the mouth of a beast at each terminal. In psalms 80 and 97 the initials are composed of the bodies of these weird beasts arranged in the form of mirror images (Figs 333,334). A closely related example occurs in the opening initial in the Antiphonary (Fig. 246); the right-hand stave is made up of the heads of two creatures which imperceptibly unite at the centre, while the right-hand stave of the small initial on f. 28v (Fig. 343) is composed of two storks' heads which correspond exactly with those in both the Exultate and Cantate initials (Figs 333,334). The letter D at the opening to psalm 101 consists of a fish-like form (Fig. 335) of which numerous examples occur in the Antiphonary (Figs 341,342). On the Ad dominum folio (Fig. 338) the left-hand stave of the initial A is made up of a dragon's
body of the type which composes the initial on the opening folio in the Antiphonary (Fig. 246). None of these forms has an English precedent and their presence in Fitzwilliam 38-1950 further secures its attribution to the Flemish Hand.

The head of the young king in the *Exultate* initial (Fig. 333) with piercing eyes, curl in the centre of the forehead and pronounced highlighted wave covering the ear, recalls the heads in The Bodleian Hours (Figs 230, 237, 244)). Examples of the older male type in the Hours (Fig. 226), with wavy beard parted in the centre, are to be found in the *Quid gloriari* miniature (Fig. 330); the profile head of the priest who stands next in line to be killed in this scene can be compared with that of Simeon in the Presentation miniature (Fig. 229) while the head of David in the *Dixit dominus* miniature (Fig. 336) has a parallel in that of Christ in the scene of His Baptism in the Antiphonary (Fig. 251). In the Fitzwilliam Psalter the distinction between male and female heads is clearer since fashionable comettes have replaced the long, flowing, locks typified by the women in the Hours.

That the Fitzwilliam Psalter is clearly a later work is evident from the introduction of figures in contemporary dress, which has had a transforming effect on the style: the group of females on f. 29 (Fig. 328) wear neat hoods and full-length, tightly-fitted garments with long ermine-lined sleeves; the kneeling queen in the *Salvum me fac* miniature (Fig. 332) wears an outer cape lined with ermine; and the seated female in the *Dixit insipientis* initial (Fig. 331) wears a cote-hardie and has a pretty head band attached to her veil. The effect is elegant and courtly. In contrast, the women in the Brussels Antiphonary and the Bodleian Hours wear less sophisticated clothes (Figs 227, 342); in the Psalter the gowns follow the smooth line of the bodies (Fig. 328), whereas those in the Hours are loosely gathered at the waist. With the greater refinements apparent in the Psalter it is not surprising to discover that it is the plain gowns worn by the priests (Figs 330, 334), with the folds marked out by sketchy penlines, which are of the type worn by the women in the Hours (Fig. 227). However, in comparing the women in each, affinities are still evident in the drawing of the form around the neck, shoulder and bust of the figures (Figs 227, 328). Furthermore, the drapery worn by the nimbed figure of Nathan in the *Dixit dominus* miniature in the Psalter (Fig. 336) closely approximates that of Christ in the scene of the Bearing of the Cross in the Hours (Fig. 233); the nervous line of Nathan's slightly gathered gown can be compared with that of the Virgin in the Hours. The greater refinement of the Fitzwilliam Psalter is also evident from the soldiers' armour (Figs 328, 333) which is more elaborate than that in the Hours (Figs 227, 230, 232). The group who stand opposite the maidens in the *Dominus illuminat* miniature in the Psalter (Fig. 328) contrast dramatically with those in the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents in the Hours (Fig. 227).
A further development can be seen in the compositional groupings of the figures. If comparison is made between the group of figures converging on Christ in the Betrayal miniature in the Hours (Fig. 230) and those who appear on the right of the Salvum miniature in the Psalter (Fig. 332), in the Hours the schematic outline created by the row of helmets and the symmetrical arrangement of the two soldiers at each side, with their legs pushed outwards, creates a static composition which has relied exclusively on line to achieve form, in contrast to the softer line and more painterly treatment in the Psalter, qualities well demonstrated by the two shepherds who are seated on the hill-side in the Dixit insipiens miniature (Fig. 331). In the case of the shepherd who sits on the right the artist has attempted a forward-facing pose in which one leg is folded up in front of him, but the shepherd of the Annunciation in the Hours (Fig. 241) adopts a more static profile pose. Inherent in the Psalter are indications of naturalism which are not apparent in the Hours.

Whereas the technique in the Hours is of tinted wash and a calligraphic linearity dominates, in the Psalter there is a more painterly rendition of form. The Antiphonary provides an important intermediary, in which the palette and technique closely approach those of the Psalter. In the Psalter, however, there is the significant introduction of rose pink.

Every facet of style analysed serves to confirm that it is the same hand in the Bodleian Hours, Brussels Antiphonary, Royal Psalter and Fitzwilliam Psalter and that the last named is the latest in the progression.

The Flemish Hand: the ultimate origins of his style

It has been noted that both the Bodleian Hours and the Brussels Antiphonary are manuscripts with a Flemish provenance. The so-called manuscripts of Louis de Male with which they are contemporaneous were discussed earlier, but where does the ultimate source of this style lie? One work, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 264, the Romance of Alexander is of central importance to discuss in this context.

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6 See Chapter 4 (bibliography nn.11, 13) for the Hours and Antiphonary; and Chapter 5 (bibliography nn.2-4) for the Psalter, Brussels Missal and Missal in The Hague.

7 For bibliography see Chapter 1, n.18. This manuscript is also discussed in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5.
The Bodleian *Alexander* and related manuscripts

There is a fundamental agreement between the composition and landscape in the *Alexander* and that observed in the works of the Flemish Hand, all of which remain close to the concept of space in the *Alexander*. Even in the representations of battle the ground plane remains uncompromisingly flat; it resembles a stage set where characters converge on to the scene from opposite directions along a single plane (Fig. 344) or perform in groups within it (Fig. 345). In the Psalter, however, despite its essential two-dimensionality (Fig. 328) there is a definite movement underway to embrace a further level for the action since the grass which stretches across the scene just below the lower frame invariably extends to various heights within the picture space (Figs 329-335).

Perhaps the most striking feature of the *Alexander* are the elaborate architectural structures which surround and surmount many of the miniatures (Figs 24,344,345). Whereas in the Antiphonary and the Hours these elements consist of a row of simple turrets (Figs 249,250), as in some of the smaller miniatures in the *Romance* (Figs 179,182), in the Psalter they become more elaborate (Figs 328,329,332,334,335-339) and closely resemble those which frame the full-page miniatures in the *Alexander* (Figs 24,344,345). If a page is compared from each (Figs 336,344) the two can be seen to agree in having tripartite architectural canopies, slightly tilted upwards displaying a pattern of interior vaulting which are, in turn, surmounted by towers, slender pinnacles and flying buttresses. Some of the *Alexander* canopies contain a greater number of pinnacles and closely resemble those in the Psalter. There is also an agreement between the two books in the use of architectural structures within the field of the miniature (Figs 182,329).

The three-dimensionality created by these architectural canopies stands in marked contrast, however, to the flat diapered backgrounds they enclose. In the Fitzwilliam Psalter these grounds consist entirely of burnished gold but those in the Hours, the Antiphonary and the Royal Psalter contain diapering which corresponds closely to that in the *Alexander*. This is especially well illustrated if the ground on f. 26 in the Antiphonary (Fig. 250) is compared with that on f. 51v in the *Romance* (Fig. 344) which, in turn, relates to that on f. 2v in the Hours (Fig. 302).

The structure of the borders and marginal motifs, moreover, recall those of the Flemish Hand. The *Alexander* contains marginal scenes and slender rectilinear shafts which send forth sprays of foliage to accommodate a liberal supply of birds and butterflies, as in the borders of both the Hours and the Antiphonary. Particularly close comparison can be made between the drolleries, tracery and fringe-like foliage of one of

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8 For further illustrations see James (1933).
the marginal decorators in the Romance and certain borders in the Antiphonary (Figs 245, 248, 346). Furthermore, on a number of folios in the Romance the profile heads of bearded old men occur in the staves of the initials (Figs 340, 347); on f. 58 the letter M is composed of the bodies of two dragons (Fig. 346); on f. 82 part of the letter consists of the elongated face of a lion (Fig. 349); and on f. 102 a dragon within the left-hand stave of the initial is being speared by a man on the right (Fig. 341); the initial on f. 79 is composed of a similar form (Fig. 348). It is ornament of this kind which clearly inspired the Flemish Hand to create a letter form of the type on f. 2 in the Antiphonary (Fig. 246).

Although the Alexander clearly lies in the background of the Flemish Hand’s style he is not identifiable in this work. In general, the Alexander figures have elongated, swaying bodies and pointed, mannered gestures. The Flemish Hand’s figures in the Antiphonary and Hours share something of this angularity and jerkiness of the limbs, but this is as far as any correspondence can be taken. The people illustrated wear fashionable clothes; the females have tight-waisted gowns and wear their hair in comettes. In this they approximate the refined and courtly elegance of those in the Fitzwilliam Psalter. In the Alexander, characteristically Flemish, parti-coloured, striped costumes are worn by some of the men (Fig. 345); garments of this type are worn by the drollery on f. 26 (he hangs beneath the historiated initial) (Fig. 248) and by the executioner on f. 19v in the Antiphonary (Fig. 247). A mi-parti costume, directly related to the kind in the Romance, is found on one of the men in the Dominus illuminatio miniature in the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Fig. 328).

Since the Bodleian Alexander is clearly important for the style of the Flemish Hand, by establishing the location of atelier it should be possible to form a clearer picture of this illuminator’s origins. Bober in his study of the Flemish manuscripts from the atelier of Jean de Grise, of which the Alexander is a key example, draws attention to a Chronique d’Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, MS. 11142 in the Royal Library in Brussels, illuminated by one of the artists of the Bodleian Romance. It contains 57 rectangular miniatures, with simple banded frames, except for the first which has an architectural framework of two trefoil arches resting on a central colonette, reminiscent of,

9 A number of borders have affinity, but those on f. 58 (see my fig. 346) and f. 59 (see James (1933)) in the Alexander, with drolleries terminating at the extremity of the bars and occupying the upper margin, compare with those on ff. 2, 26 and 36 (see my figs. 245, 248) in the Antiphonary.

10 A division of hands in Bodley 264 cannot be undertaken here. James’s uncertainty as to the division of labour is expressed in his introduction to the facsimile (ibid., p.8).

11 It has been noted that comettes (on comettes, see Newton (1980), pp.86, 96, 97, 98, 103, 129, figs 7, 33-36a) are not present in either the Hours or the Antiphonary, and there are no female figures in the Royal Psalter with which to make comparisons.

12 Ibid., pp.71, 80 with reference to the ‘striped cloth of Ghent’; pp.79, 102 with reference to mi-parti in the Romance of Alexander; and p. 104, with reference to instances in the Luttrell Psalter and Alexander of mi-parti divided horizontally. It is barely visible in the following Figures illustrated.

13 Bober (1947-48), 15-21, especially 17. James (1933), p.8, identified the miniatures on ff. 3-21v as being illuminated by a single artist, whom Bober, 16, names A, but credits this hand with the decoration on ff. 3-25, inclusive, with the exception of the two miniatures on f. 20v. For MS. 11142, see also Gaspar and Lyna (1937), no.102, pl.6 with bibliography.
though less elaborate than, those in the Fitzwilliam Psalter. Bober has dated the Brussels manuscript on stylistic grounds to ca 1325-35, before the artist's involvement in the Bodleian Romance, where he illuminated some of the earliest material, dating to ca 1338.14

Further manuscripts stylistically related to the Alexander may provide information from which to determine the provenance of the workshop. At the time Bober wrote his article a consensus of opinion favoured Bruges as the most likely location for this workshop, 'a specific localisation... resting mainly upon the identification of the name of the artist with Bruges, taken together with various evidences of important manuscript activity in that city at the time'.15 However, as Bober was anxious to point out, insufficient stylistic evidence exists for establishing Bruges as a centre of artistic activity at this date, and from that available Tournai, rather than Bruges, is suggested for the origin of the Bodleian Alexander.16 He strengthens his hypothesis by attributing the earliest material in the Romance (the illuminator of MS. 11142) to the artist who executed the marginal figures on page 17 in MS. 101 in the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Tournai, Le Roman de la Rose, which he compares with the marginal figures on f. 21v of the Bodleian Romance,17 a manuscript convincingly assigned to Tournai by Fourez,18 and bearing a date of 1330.19

The outer frames of the miniatures on ff. 5 and 12v in the Roman de la Rose, (Figs 352,353) are decorated with naturalistic birds and butterflies and three- and five-lobed leaves which recall not only the Bodleian Romance but also the Brussels Antiphonary and the British Library Psalter (Figs 242,246,248). Moreover, the staves of certain initials contain the now familiar profile heads of bearded men (Fig. 352), and fish-like creatures, highly distinctive decorative devices which occur, as shown, in the Alexander, the Bodleian Hours, Antiphonary and Fitzwilliam Psalter.

By discussion of related material it should be possible to support the contention that it was out of this tradition that the Flemish Hand's style evolved.

14 Bober (1947-48), 21. The Bodleian Alexander took six years to complete. According to the first colophon (see James (1933), p.50) the scribe finished his work on 18 December 1338, while the second colophon (ibid., p.50) indicates that the illuminator, Jean de Grise, did not complete his work until April 1344. Presumably he was head of the atelier, for it is fully apparent that more than one artist was involved. This is supported as James (1933, p.8) has suggested by the presence of directions to the artist.
16 Ibid., n.8.
17 Ibid.
19 Ibid. 213 for a transcription of the colophon. On this manuscript, see also Faider (1950), pp.107-9; Massai and Wittek (1968), no.38, pls 110-15, and Paris (1981), no.249, both with further bibliography.
(ii) Gilles Li Muisis and Pierart dou Tielt

Both the Bodleian *Alexander* and the Toumai *Romance* are intimately related to a group of manuscripts which were written by the poet and chronicler Gilles Li Muisis and illuminated by Pierart dou Tielt. They are dated, and can be localised with certainty to the Benedictine Abbey of St Martin where Gilles Li Muisis was Abbot from 1331 until his death in 1352, spanning the period of production of the two romances.

One of the manuscripts, now in the Royal Library in Brussels, MS. IV.119, contains works in French poetry and prose: ‘Li lamentacions’ composed in 1350 (f. 1), prayers composed for the outbreak of the Black Death in 1349 (f. 19v), meditations composed in 1350 (f. 21v), accounts in prose of the Abbey of St Martin, Tournai, with a prologue stating that the work was begun in May 1350 when the author was 78 years old, having been a monk since 1289 (f. 36v), and praise and thanks to God for the author’s recovery of his sight after three years of blindness; his sight was restored in 1351.

From a note written at the end of a 1351 copy of a *Quête du Saint-Graal*, Paris, Arsenal Library, MS. 5218, we learn that Pierart was a copyist and illuminator. The name Pierart de, dou or van Tielt is recognised in Tournai sources of around that date. At the end of the *Quête du Saint-Graal* Pierart relates precise information in the form of a chronology up to 1277 of events local to Toumai which would only have been known to someone living in the area. D’Haenens further points out that in B.N., MS. Nouv acq. fr. 1789, a *Liber compilatus* concerned with information regarding the administrations of the abbot Gilles Li Muisis, a master Jehans de Bruielle is charged to ‘retenir tous les livres’. Documents show that he was occupied in the scriptorium of the Abbey at Tournai in 1349. However, the name Jean de Bruielle has been crossed out and replaced by that of Pieres (Pierart) dou Tielt. This is sufficient evidence, concludes D’Haenens, to suggest that Pierart dou Tielt was active in Tournai, even if it cannot be proved that he was a permanent inhabitant of that town.

The Arsenal manuscript in which Pierart’s name appears contains three miniatures and seventeen borders with further scenes. If the style of the miniature on f. 88 is
compared with the Courtrai manuscript by Gilles Li Muisis, *Liber Primus Chronicarum*, Courtrai, Bibliothèque Communale, Cod. 135, of 1347-49,\(^{29}\) there can be little doubt that each is the work of a single hand (Figs 354,355). One has only to compare the faces in the two manuscripts. The same hand appears with others (Figs 356,357) in Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 13076-77, *Liber Secundus Chronicarum*, of 1349-52,\(^{30}\) and in the works in French poetry and prose discussed above.\(^{31}\) As in the *Liber Secundus Chronicarum* more than one artist (probably only one other in this case) participated (Figs 260-262,264,266). Comparison can be made between the miniature on f. 88 in the Arsenal manuscript (Fig. 355) and that on f. 238v (Fig. 359) in the works of poetry and prose where the author is seen kneeling in a panel to the left and below a larger miniature which is divided into two registers. Like the Arsenal *Quête*, all three works are unequivocally linked with Gilles Li Muisis and have working in them the artist who can be identified as Pierart dou Tielt. A particularly distinctive feature of his style can be seen in the rendering of the facial features, the characteristic curve of the eyebrows and the close set, rather prominent eyes (Figs 259,263,265).\(^{32}\)

Bober furthermore observed that the artist of the frontispiece on f. 51v of the *Alexander* painted in a style very close to that of the Muisis *Liber Secundus Chronicarum*; there can be little doubt that it is his hand (Fig. 394).\(^{33}\) He also noted a stylistic connection between the Tournai *Romance* and the Bodleian *Alexander*.\(^{34}\) However, Bober fails to recognise that the artist now identified as Pierart also participated in the Tournai *Romance*.

The weight of evidence, both stylistic and documentary, strongly supports the existence of an important workshop (or workshops) of illuminators in Tournai. If it is possible to accept that the *Alexander* was executed in Tournai, the rare occurrence in the study of illuminated manuscripts of a precisely dated chronology and record of artistic activity is available for the years *ca* 1330 to 1350 in Tournai: the *Roman de la Rose* is dated by a colophon to 1330, the *Alexander* to between 1338 and 1344 and the Gilles Li Muisis compilations to between 1347 and his death in 1352. These conclusions have been corroborated by Avril,\(^{35}\) who has identified Pierart dou Tielt’s collaborator in the Tournai *Romance* as the artist of the Ghent University Ceremoniale of St Peter’s, Mont Blandin,
MS. 233, of 1322, which has a calendar of St Bavo's, Ghent. He notes that Pierart worked again with this artist in the Breviary of Maubeuge, Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 133, of Tournai provenance, which he dates to ca 1330. Avril stresses the Pucellian quality of the figure and border style of Pierart’s collaborator, suggesting that he had a Parisian apprenticeship, and that after Paris he was installed at Tournai. A connection of this sort makes more explicable the Parisian qualities of the Tournai Romance and related manuscripts, of which the Bodleian Alexander is especially typical. Avril adds further manuscripts to the oeuvre of Pierart; he is of the opinion that Brussels MS. 4783 (Fig. 368) is a work of his hand and supports the view that Pierart participated in the Bodleian Romance.

(iii) The style of Pierart and the Flemish Hand

How does the style of Pierart compare with that of the Flemish Hand? Comparison of the scene of Pentecost in the Hours (Fig. 374) and the miniature by Pierart on f. 88 in the Arsenal manuscript (Fig. 355) shows an affinity in the calligraphic rendering of the hair and facial features, drawn with a firmness of line, with the eyes emphasised to the point of a fixed stare. The seated bishop in the Arsenal miniature has a pronounced curl of hair at the side of his head, characteristic of the heads of Flemish Hand. In contrast with the Pierart miniature, most of the figures in the Pentecost scene are bearded but if similar types are compared, such as the angels in this scene (Fig. 355) and the angel of the Annunciation in the Hours (Fig. 237), the affinity is unmistakable. Close correspondence is also evident in the rendering of the draperies. Although their linear properties are the most pervasive, gentle modelling endows them with a sculptural quality, and the white line which circumscribes the edges of some of the garments further emphasises their corporeality. Apparent in some of Pierart’s standing figures (best demonstrated in the Courtrai manuscript in the lower register of the miniature on f. 131v) (Fig. 354) the hips are pushed outwards giving rise to a vigorous déhanchement of a type which is reflected in the bishops on f. 59v (Fig. 358). Although there is no sign of such poses in the Flemish Hours nor, indeed, in the Fitzwilliam Psalter, there are certain figures in the Antiphonary where there are instances of this mannerism, only here it is partially disguised by the sometimes peculiar rendering of the draperies (Fig. 340). Where Pierart employs more naturalistic types, however, as in the figures in the lower register of the Trinity miniature on f. 238v in Brussels MS. IV.119 (Fig. 359), there is a marked

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38 Ibid., no.301, the works in question being Washington, Library of Congress, MS. De Ricci 127 and Brussels, Royal Library, MS. IV.435.
39 Ibid. There are no indications of provenance for this manuscript.
agreement in their gently swaying stances and linear draperies (Figs 334,342,379). There are basically two types of garment: one which falls to the ground in straight uninterrupted linear folds, as in the drapery worn by the priests in the Psalter (Fig. 334), which compares with the gowns worn by the angels in the Pierart miniature (Fig. 359); and another, comprising an outer mantle which produces a more complex system of folds, as in the group of Apostles in the lower register on the left, and on the outer mantle worn by the Virgin in the Hours (Figs 359,379).

It is apparent from this brief examination that the figure style of the Flemish Hand holds much in common with that of the Tourmai illuminator, Pierart dou Tielt, who also participated in the Bodleian Alexander. Clearly, the Flemish Hand's style is a prototype of that produced in Flanders around 1350.

(iv) The Glazier Voeux du Paon

Perhaps the most tangible connection yet between the Flemish Hand and manuscripts of a Tourmai provenance, however, is offered by New York, Pierpont Morgan, Glazier MS.24, an illustrated manuscript of the Voeux du Paon composed by Jacques de Longuyon and datable on stylistic grounds to ca 1350-55; it is clearly in the milieu of the Alexander workshop which concentrated on romances. The relationship of its style to the Flemish Hand is especially evident in the border decoration which compares closely to that in the Bodleian Hours; the degree of stylistic correspondence suggests that the two artists arose from the same workshop. The marginal forms are drawn in a correspondingly linear technique, showing a predilection for fanciful storks and swans; specific comparison can be made between the closely related type of stork in each manuscript (Figs 229-232,371) but what secures their relationship beyond any doubt are certain distinctive and rare motifs, such as the playful device for ingeniously attaching two or more drolleries by the extremity of each (Figs 230-232,370), and that of a stork placing its head in a wicker basket (Figs 369,370). The rabbit, hare, deer and monkey are related types and naturalistic birds are placed amongst the more fanciful ones. Although related to Pierart the artist of the Voeux is more accomplished; there is no hint of the mannerisms inherent in Pierart's

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40 Amongst the many miniatures attributable to his hand are the frontispieces on ff.42v and 51v
41 It is not within the scope of this study to deal in greater detail with the other artists of this workshop, but those who collaborated with Pierart in Brussels MSS 13076 and IV.119 bear a like affinity to the Flemish Hand.
43 The Voeux (see Ross (1963), p.87) became the most popular of the Alexander poems, surviving in over thirty copies, mostly of the fourteenth century. Composed between 1304 and 1312, it was dedicated to Thibaut de Bar, Bishop of Liège between these dates, and is incorporated into the Bodleian Romance of Alexander. This vowing to a bird of mystic or heraldic significance to perform some high deed became a knightly custom in the early fourteenth century. Some of these manuscripts can be shown to have been in Flemish hands at an early date.
style (Figs 371,372). The figure style of the *Voeux* closely approaches the courtly elegance of the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Figs 328,337), a quality not apparent in either the Hours or Antiphonary; the latter shows more of an affinity to the works illuminated by Pierart thus reinforcing their earlier date.

(v) The relationship with Flemish brasses

Many features of these manuscripts invite comparison with the style and composition of Flemish brasses. As noted earlier, a special feature of the *Alexander* and the manuscripts of the Flemish Hand is the two-dimensionality of the backgrounds, with little or no ground plane beneath the figures. The floor-to-ceiling geometric diaper which occasionally occurs in the *Alexander* (Fig. 344) could well have been inspired by patterns existing on Flemish brasses of approximately 1320 to 1350, such as that to King Eric Menved and Queen Ingeborg at Ringsted. The birds and butterflies which populate the borders in both the Hours and the Antiphonary recall the types found between the trefoils of the ground patterns on Flemish brasses of the first half of the fourteenth century, as analysed by Cameron, such as in the brass of ca 1347 to Bishops Serken and Mul at Lübeck (Fig. 352). In the scene of the Betrayal in the Flemish Hours (Fig. 230) the background area consists of linear, pen-drawn decoration, in the form of a leafy trellis and grotesque heads with dragon bodies, interspersed with berry-like forms, decorative devices which correspond to those in the background of many Flemish brasses, such as those to Thomas de la Mare at St Albans, probably engraved around 1350-55 and Simon de Wensley at Wensley, Yorks. of ca 1370 (Fig. 375). The success of this illuminator's style, as shown, lies in its linear qualities; these reach a climax in the *Placebo* miniature in the Hours (Fig. 243), where no element within the scene escapes pattern, recalling the *horror vacui* typical of Flemish brasses of the period (Fig. 252).

Perhaps the most striking feature of design in the works of the Flemish Hand (especially evident in the Fitzwilliam Psalter) and the related *Alexander* are the elaborate architectural structures, surmounted by a complex array of slender turrets and pinnacles which surround the scenes. In certain examples the ogee arch is tilted up slightly, displaying a pattern of interior vaulting (Figs 334,336,344,345), a feature which recalls Flemish brasses from ca 1360, such as that to Alan Fleming at Newark of 1361 (Fig.

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44 Avril in Paris (1981), no.302, notes the finer quality of the illumination in the *Voeux*.
45 For illustrations see Cameron (1982), pl.1, figs 5, 14 and discussion of this brass (*ibid.*) 169-88. See also Creeny (1884), pp.3-5, pl. and Cameron (1970), p.31.
46 See also Cameron (1970), 54-56, fig.3, patterns 1, 3b and Cameron (1984), fig.8.
47 For the de la Mare brass see Cameron (1980), fig.3, with discussion on 3-13; for the Wensley brass see *ibid.*, 13-19.
In both the brass and the miniatures the feeling of depth momentarily created by these architectural canopies contrasts with the flat backgrounds they enclose.

The figure style itself suggests a number of parallels with Flemish brasses. In the scene of the Crucifixtion in the Hours (Fig. 379) the external line of the Virgin’s veil extends to her waist and forms across the body in a loop where it is caught up under her arm on the opposite side. Both the drapery form and figure pose closely compare with those of the female ‘weeper’ figures on the brass to Robert Braunche and wives at Lynn of 1364 (Fig. 380). Some of the men in the Hours are dressed in a short, narrow tunic with a frill at the base (Fig. 232); a related type of jupon is found on the figures on the Fleming and Braunche brasses (Figs 377,378). The profile figure in the Flagellation scene (Fig. 232) wears a tunic with pronounced padding of the bodice which is buttoned throughout, and a narrow belt at the hips. A jupon of this precise type is worn by the weepers in the Schwerin brass of ca 1375 and the male figures in the base panels of the Serken and Mul brass of ca 1350 (Fig. 382). This fashion seems to have been current from 1340 onwards, with small adaptations as the century progressed. The courtly elegance of the figures represented in the scene of the Peacock Feast in the Braunche brass (Figs 381(b),383) has a direct parallel in the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Figs 328,332). The females are of the same fashionable appearance: they wear hoods which expose side plaits, and gowns with tightly fitting bodices, which follow the smooth line of their bodies. The artistic refinement of these two works recalls that of the Glazier Voeux du Paon which contains a rare scene of the Peacock Feast similar, both stylistically and iconographically, to the representation of the subject in the Braunche brass (Figs 372,383). Despite certain minor discrepancies overall, and the ten to fifteen years separating their production, there is detailed correspondence between the two representations.

The style of the brass at Lynn also invites comparison with that of Pierart. The curly-headed angels in the Brussels miniature of the Trinity (Fig. 259) have a parallel in those of the tabernacle above Robert Braunche’s wife, Margaret (Fig. 381(a)), as witnessed in the loop of drapery at their waists and the way in which their gowns fall straight to the ground in uninterrupted gathers, revealing the moving limbs beneath.

Cameron has put forward convincing evidence in favour of Tournai as the most likely
centre for the school of Flemish engravers under discussion and the manuscript evidence strongly supports his conclusions. Flemish monumental brasses of this period can be shown therefore to have importance not only for securing Tournai as the most likely centre of manuscript activity (on account of the affinities outlined) but for reaffirming the same origin for the Flemish Hand.

(vi) The influence of Paris

The suggestion having been forwarded that the Flemish Hand arose from the milieu of Tournai illuminators, some account must be given of the development which occurred between the execution of his Flemish and English works. It is clear that the illuminators of Tournai were under the influence of Paris. A further link with Parisian book illumination is provided by the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux and the Psalter and Prayerbook of Bonne of Luxembourg. Many of the backgrounds have a pattern of linear designs which relate to those in the backgrounds of the miniatures in the Hours; and the staves of the initials in the Evreux Hours are composed of the grotesque and animal forms which become a feature of the work of many of the Flemish illuminators. Furthermore, the design of the Hours, with a rectangular miniature, straight borders, historiated initial and bas-de-page scene, is typically French in conception.

Obvious to even the casual observer is the degree of refinement which has occurred between the Flemish Hand's indigenous works, via the Royal Psalter (his apparently earliest English assignment and one which clearly occupies a transitional position stylistically) to the Fitzwilliam Psalter, a development which is evident in both the design and execution of the work. The delicate pinnacled architecture and the increasing use of gold, combined with a brighter palette, has contributed to the richness and beauty of the work. Parisian illumination appears to have been accountable in part for this transformation although perhaps no single group of manuscripts was instrumental. As noted, the removal of the storks and butterflies and the bas-de-page scenes containing grotesques, characteristic of the Hours, has had a transforming effect on the Psalter, the clearly later product. They have been replaced by slender bars containing an inner thread of foliage which develops, at focal points along its length, into cusped roundels enclosing ivy leaves; the borders are further adorned with leafy branches and single gold ivy leaves.


It would no doubt have been possible to have cast further light on this question but for the sad loss in Tournai of much valuable archival material and illuminated manuscripts in May, 1940. For further discussion of the relationship between works in each media, see Dennison (1986b forthcoming).

For illustrations of the Evreux Hours, see Rorimer (1957); Avril (1978), pls 3-10 and Paris (1981), no.239, with bibliography. For the Psalter and Prayerbook of Bonne of Luxembourg, see Avril (1978), p.18 and Paris (1981), no.267, with bibliography.

Aspects of this maturation which can be accounted for by a purely internal process will be the subject of later discussion.
which are attached to the cusping (Figs 328-339, 395, 396). Appropriate parallels can be made with Parisian work of the atelier of Jean Pucelle and the later workshop of Charles V, such as the Bible Historiale, London, British Library, Royal MS. 17.E.vii,7 illuminated for Charles V. Preference in the Fitzwilliam Psalter for neat verse initials and line-fillers contributes to the general refinement of the work. The plain, pen-flourished variety has been abandoned for a fully painted burnished gold type; again the closest parallels appear to be with Parisian illumination. If Parisian manuscripts were responsible in part for the courtly elegance of the figures, it is a manuscript such as Guillaume de Machaut's Le Remède de Fortune, mentioned in an earlier context, which may have been influential.54 Although a work of Parisian provenance, however, its strongly Flemish qualities are supported by comparison with brasses. The courtly figures in the base panels of certain Flemish brasses, such as those in the Serken and Mul brass of ca 1350 (Fig. 382) and that of the Braunche brass of ca 1365 (Figs 381(b), 383), like the Voeux du Paon (Figs 371, 372), are in the same stylistic idiom as the Machaut manuscript. That work of this sort may well have been produced in Flanders is suggested by an apparently Flemish book (Fig. 384), now in Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale Albert Ier MS. 11195, of ca 1350,59 which closely resembles the Flemish Hand's work in the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Figs 329, 332, 335).

When the Flemish Hand executed the Fitzwilliam Psalter it would appear that he was well aware of developments in Paris, but the extent of such contacts and the precise manner in which this transmission occurred are not easy to explain. Were the contacts chiefly with Paris, or with manuscripts executed in Flanders under French influence? Perhaps the most likely means by which elements of French painting were transmitted to this Flemish illuminator working in England was by his access to French manuscripts in English libraries,60 some of which may have been confiscated during the Hundred Years' War. These questions raise a problem far too complex to be answered in this study, which is to what extent were the Parisian illuminators of Charles V's atelier truly Parisian, since there are indications that around 1340 the style of Pucelle was being transformed by artists arriving in Paris from Flanders;61 these enigmatic cross-currents of influence tend to obscure their origination.

7 See Warner and Gilson (1921), ii, pp. 260-61, iv, pl. 102 and for B.L., Royal 19.D.ii, ibid., ii, 341-42, iv, pl. iii. For other manuscripts associated with Charles V with which comparison might be made, see Sherman (1969), pls 1 (Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 10319), 2 (Rome, Vatican Library, MS. reg.lat.697), 4 (Paris, B.N., MS. fr. 9749), 5 (Paris, B.N., MS. fr. 1792), 6 (Oxford, St John's College, MS.164), 8 (The Hague, Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS.10.D.1), 39 (Paris, B.N., MS.lat. 1052) to quote only a limited number of examples. Royal MS. 19.D.ii was the one apparently confiscated by the English at Poitiers in 1356, and could therefore have been brought to England with King John in the 1350s. For further discussion of this manuscript, see Paris (1981), no. 277.
9 For a description see Gaspar and Lyna (1937), no. 134, pl. lxx (b). See also ibid., no. 133, pl. lxx(a), a manuscript of 1355.
10 This question is further discussed in Chapter 11.
11 See Chapter 3, n. 43.
Although it is difficult to formulate specific parallels, in general aspects of style and composition there is an agreement with Parisian illumination. Despite certain refinements in form, however, the Flemish Hand’s origins in Flanders are unequivocal.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D.4.4

Also largely attributable to the Flemish Hand is the illumination in Oxford, Bodleian MS. Auct. D.4.4, a Psalter-Hours. Compared with the complexities of the Vienna Bohun Psalter, which required lengthy analysis, the indications are that like Fitzwilliam MS. 38-1950 this manuscript was executed in a single campaign. Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 hold in common a number of stylistic and compositional elements which support a close date for the two books. Precisely the same phenomenon, that of the opening to the Psalter being by a different illuminator, occurs in the two works, while the rest of the illumination can be assigned with certainty to the Flemish Hand. It comprises an Old Testament cycle, disposed in half-page miniatures and historiated initials, identical in design to Fitzwilliam 38-1950, for the ten major psalms, as well as for psalm 115, the opening of the Canticles, the first of the Penitential Psalms (Last Judgement), the eight divisions of the Hours (Miracles of the Virgin) and the Office of the Dead (Story of Job). Each miniature, with the exception of those in the Hours, which consist of single scenes as in Fitzwilliam 38-1950, is compartmentalised into four variously shaped vesicas (Figs 385,386,388). The miniatures are surmounted by elaborate pinnacles, which further recall the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Figs 328,329,332,334-339) as well as the two surviving folios in Exeter 47 (Figs 188,189). The subject-matter is expanded in the form of historiated initials for the three separate memoriae, those to Lauds (ff. 195-200), to Vespers (ff. 215-219) and one which follows the Hours of the Virgin but precedes the Office of the Dead (ff. 224-229v); these initials have half-length representations of the saints commemorated. Finally, the Gospel sequences depict the Evangelists (Fig. 391). It is therefore a rich cycle of illustration. In addition, there are two full-page miniatures by the Flemish Hand, one illustrating the Instruments of the Passion and the Wounds of Christ, the other various

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63 In Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 38-1950 there is evidence of a later, probably fifteenth-century, campaign (see the text from ff. 217v to 243, containing a single illuminated initial on f. 230), but as demonstrated later in this chapter it cannot be seen as the completion of an interrupted campaign.

64 This artist will be discussed in the following chapter, along with three of the full-page miniatures in a related style inserted in Auct. D.4.4.

65 They are, however, absent from the miniatures on ff. 182, 188v, 200, 203v, 206v, 209, 211v and 219v, depicting the miracles of the Virgin.

66 For a list of subjects see James and Millar (1936), pp.24-32, pls xxiii-xxxviii. See also Appendix VI.
standing saints disposed in three horizontal compartments (Figs 389,390).

The Psalter in the Fitzwilliam Museum also has a ten-part textual division and illumination for Psalms 119 and 137, although the choice of subject-matter (a Life of David cycle) differs. The opening to the Penitential Psalms, as in MS. 38-1950, is illustrated by the Last Judgement. However, in its present state the Fitzwilliam Psalter does not contain any memoriae or Gospel sequences as in Auct. D.4.4, Exeter 47 and Vienna 1826*, all of which are illuminated, but that the Fitzwilliam Psalter possibly once possessed this material is evident from a close examination of the litany. This shows that between f. 217 and f. 217v a different scribe took over, and there was a corresponding change of decorator who painted the initial S and accompanying line-filler for each saint entered. The partial truncation of the litany at this precise point was necessitated by a subsequent desire to convert it into a ferial litany. That this occurred in the early fifteenth century for a later owner is assured by the textual material added by this scribe which follows the litany. It includes the prayer (f. 230) which opens with a small historiated initial depicting the head of the Virgin, datable to ca 1410-20. The calendar was also added at this date and the former one possibly abandoned. All the textual material thus following the original standard litany, probably based on the Vienna, Exeter, Auct. D.4.4 prototype, was excised; this would doubtless have included the memoriae, evidently not suitable for the later owner, and the Gospel extracts. As a result, there is no means of determining with certainty if Fitzwilliam 38-1950 may also have contained the two full-page miniatures of the Instruments of the Passion and Saints which, according to their position in Auct. D.4.4, would have occurred in the now excised portion.

Despite the different iconography, there can be little doubt as to the close relationship of the two works. It is notable that even in the single instance where the subject-matter is identical (that for the opening of the Penitential Psalms) there are minor iconographic and compositional variants (Figs 339,386) although the style and design of the page with rectangular miniatures, surmounted by pinnacles, with historiated initials and straight borders are in precise agreement. Furthermore, there is a marked codicological affinity: the page size, ruling and textual area, containing eighteen lines of a closely related script (but not the same scribe), correspond. Although not twin, they are clearly sister books.

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67 See Appendix IV.
68 This is probably London work (it has been suggested to me by Nicholas Rogers that it might relate to London, B.L. MS.Add. 50001, the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen) but at present it is not possible to place it into a precise stylistic context. For an illustration of this manuscript see Marks and Morgan (1981), pl.36.
69 The implications of this are considered in Chapter 11.
70 Supplementary leaves at the beginning and end (see Wormald and Giles (1982), pp.432, 433-34) contain various fifteenth-century additions.
71 There was more than one scribe involved overall. For a division of the scribal hands see Chapter 7. See also Appendix I for diagrams of the manuscripts in question.
Consequently, what has already been said regarding the style of MS. 38-1950 can be applied to Auct. D.4.4. As in the Fitzwilliam Psalter, the Flemish Hand executed all the minor psalm initials and borders, including the verse initials and line-fillers. A distinctive feature of this artist's style is the application of white pigment in a fairly dry manner to delineate forms and structures; for the minor psalms a slender rectilinear bar, decorated with single ivy leaves, terminates in lengthier ivy sprays in the upper and lower margins, and some of the three-line initials are occupied by closely related heads (Figs 393-396). An identical repertoire of human drollery, animal and foliage forms is to be found in the borders as well as in the staves of the initials. As in MS. 38-1950, a number of these recall the Brussels Antiphonary and the Flemish Hours in the Bodleian.

It may be possible to see in the representation of the Four Evangelists as symbols (in contrast to the English Artist who represents them as in human form) a further point of contact with Flemish art; the Flemish brass at Leça do Balio in Portugal is one of a number which depict the Evangelists in this way (Figs 391, 392). The Apostle James the Greater in the Bodleian memoriae is represented holding a short staff, from which a cockle-shell is suspended, which again appears to derive from the Flemish tradition. There are close stylistic as well as iconographic parallels: the heads in the small initials in both the Fitzwilliam and Bodleian books are remarkably similar to those on the Leça brass (Figs 335, 393-396).

The Parisian qualities of Fitzwilliam MS. 38-1950 have already been stressed, a relationship which can be further advanced in this work. As noted, each miniature, with the exception of those illustrating the Hours, is divided into four compartments by a series of abstract shapes resembling embroidered threads. Although tending to obscure the narrative it gives a rich appearance to the work. This method of disposing subject-matter in Auct. D.4.4, unique to the Bohun manuscripts and well-suited to narrative illustration, occurs in a number of books associated with Charles V. In the light of the earlier parallels drawn with Parisian painting it is possible that this artist encountered a manuscript such as B.L. Royal, 19.D.ii, a Bible Historiale, where similar devices are utilised. In the Charles V manuscripts, however, the narrative is always disposed in barbed quatrefoils, whereas the Flemish Hand used a variety of inventive forms (Figs

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72 These comprise bearded heads in profile, gaping lion mouths, fish-like creatures and hooded faces. A variety of wimpled female, mired male and animal heads, extending from long, cusped necks, metamorphose at their waists into animal forms, some with flanged foliage terminals (as in the Antiphonary, Brussels, Royal Library, MS.6426, and Hours, Bodleian Lat liturg. f.3), and thus become an integral part of the stem.

73 There are drolleries on ff. 22, 92, 106v, 134v, 180 and 223 in Auct. D.4.4 which correspond intimately with those in the borders of the Antiphonary on ff. 2, 26 and 36.

74 This was suggested to me by Nicholas Rogers.

75 For bibliography on the Leça brass see Chapter 4 n. 12.

76 This manuscript (see n.57 above) was in England at this date and has some of its subject-matter disposed in this way. For further examples, see Sherman (1969), pls 6 (Oxford, St John's College, MS. 164), 9, 11 (Brussels, B.R., MS. 9505-06), 12, 14 (Paris, B.N., fr. 1728) and 15 (Paris, B.N., fr. 1950).
There are few English manuscripts which employ such devices: Queen Mary's Psalter, London, B.L., Royal 2.B.vii, as used in the miniatures devoted to the Northern Passion, is a notable exception; but since this manuscript was possibly under Parisian influence it is reasonable to suppose that this convention is French in inspiration.

The influence of the English Artist on the Flemish Hand

The *Exultate* initial on f. 88v in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 397) contains two figures; while the man is entirely in the style of the Flemish Hand the woman (Lot's wife) wears a wimple and has drapery painted with a pigment rich in glair, characteristic of the English Artist. Also reminiscent of this artist is the device by which the drapery is gathered up and folded under the arm in a softly rounded curve (Figs 152,156,186,187). The face of Lot's wife and that of the crowned female saint standing second from the right in the lower register in the miniature showing standing saints on f.238 (Fig. 390) have a painted matt white base, to which white shiny pigment has been applied in the form of highlights, identical to that on the woman's garment in the *Exultate* initial (Fig. 397). In the case of the crowned female saint her eyes are composed of narrow slits, unlike the beady type characteristic of the Flemish Hand, but identical to those of the English Artist, as in the Vienna and Exeter Psalters (Figs 148,156,206,207). There is a further instance of this anomaly on f. 219v, where the entire figure of a Benedictine monk sitting on a grassy bank is painted in this technique and style, apparently borrowed from the English Artist (Fig. 387), although the rest of the miniature is illumined by the Flemish Hand. Especially notable is the agitated line which circumscribes the edges of the drapery. In addition to the crowned female saint on f. 238 (Fig. 390), but not evident in any of the others, the drapery of the Virgin who is being taught to read by St Anne also receives this treatment. Close scrutiny of the technique reveals that here the English Artist has overpainted the work of the Flemish Hand. That this was done concurrently with, or soon after, the execution of the manuscripts is suggested by the same sort of over-painting in Fitzwilliam 38-1950, of which there are four instances, all occurring within a single gathering. The principal example occurs on the *Ad dominum cum tribularer* page (Fig. 338), where both Christ's face in the miniature and that of the standing knight in the initial below have been 'touched up' by the English Artist, who has tried to disguise it by employing the palette of the Flemish Hand. The head of Christ is characteristic of the

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77 For illustrations of Queen Mary's Psalter, B.L. Royal, 2.B.vii, see Warner (1912), pls 245-46, 248-49, 252-53, 256-57, 274-75. These devices for enclosing the narrative, although not identical to those in Auct. D.4.4, also occur in New York, Public Library, Spencer MS. 26. For illustrations see Egbert (1940) frontispiece and pls i, v, xiv, xxv, xxxvii, i, lxi, lxix, lxxi. See also pl.xc b of the closely related Psalter of Queen Isabella (Munich Staatsbibliothek, Cod.gall. 16). The origin of these forms is likely to be French, even in the case of these earlier manuscripts.
English Artist: the oval face is thickly painted and carefully modelled; the eyes assume a slightly heavy-lidded appearance, the hair is swept back from the deep forehead in gentle painterly waves, and there is an absence of the small curl in the centre of the forehead, characteristic of the Flemish Hand. The heads in the three-line initials on ff. 167, 168 and 168v also receive this treatment.

As noted, certain forms of the Flemish Hand's earlier career have been retained but Auct. D.4.4, like MS. 38-1950, testifies to a maturing of his style since his time in Flanders. Although these changes are partly attributable to Parisian influence, a further factor — that of his working partnership with the English Artist — should be considered. Firstly, whereas the Flemish works are still basically linear, in both Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 some modelling of the draperies is attempted. This is especially evident in the case of the pink and blue garments (the blue highlighted in white, the pink slightly glazed in appearance), techniques which appear to have evolved as a result of direct contact with the English Artist. The blue highlighting can become quite vigorous, as in the garment of David in the miniature on f. 169 in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 386), but rather than being subtly blended, as in the work of that artist, the white pigment is applied in a series of broken lines. It will be recalled that the English Artist used this technique in the Vienna Psalter and the first campaign in Exeter 47,78 where it was suggested that its application coincided with the formation of his partnership with the Flemish Hand, with whom the source of this technique appears to lie.

Secondly, under influence from the English Artist, the palette has undergone some development. Whereas the colours are rather low-key in his Flemish works, the palette in both Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 is detectably brighter, with the introduction of rose pink and a warmer blue. However, the colours do not attain the intensity of those of the English Artist as demonstrated by the Vienna and Exeter Psalters, and the use of gold although burnished, is slightly duller.

The third area of influence concerns the figures. Certain bodies, such as those of the two men sitting on the bank on f. 62 in the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Fig. 331) are more corporeal in form than those in the Hours or Antiphonary; and there is a clear attempt to model the nude figures, as in the scene of the Last Judgement in the two works (Figs 339,386). The larger representation of Christ in the miniature in Auct. D.4.4 shows clearly the modelling of His muscles; it was unprecedented for this artist to depict so ambitiously a poised figure as that of the man rising from his coffin in the bottom left-hand corner of the miniature, as demonstrated by comparison with the miniature of the Last Judgement in the earlier Flemish Hours (Lat. liturg. f.3) (Fig. 234). In the Hours, the figures do not venture out of their coffins, but supplicate from within with rigid arm movements. The English Artist's version of this scene has a direct origin in the St Omer Psalter (Figs

78 This is discussed in Chapter 4.
139,148). The profile head, in which the nose is drawn in one continuous line from the forehead (it produces a snout-like appearance), such as that of the Jew stoking the fire on f. 203v in Auct. D.4.479 by the Flemish Hand, is a feature borrowed from the English Artist, (Figs 211,386), absent from his earlier works. It is possible that the Flemish Hand appropriated certain other devices from the English Artist, such as the dotting and speckling of the pigment to achieve a marble effect and the technique of placing matt over burnished gold, as seen in both the Vienna and Exeter Psalters. The Flemish Hand's development as outlined in this section might be traced, if only indirectly, to Italian painting;80 indirectly, since it was the English Artist who clearly acted as the mediator in this case.

Chronology

A number of factors suggest that Fitzwilliam 38-1950 and Bodleian Auct. D.4.4 are broadly contemporary. The two works are closely allied in style and design, and there is the curious anomaly in both of contemporary overpainting. That the first campaign in Exeter 47 precedes them both in date is secured by the fortunate presence in that manuscript of a few pages of border decoration by the Flemish Hand, which show an earlier manifestation of his style,81 indicating that it stands closer stylistically to his Flemish works and Royal 13.D.i*, than to the ornament in either Auct. D.4.4 or Fitzwilliam 38-1950 where his style shows greater refinement and homogeneity. Although the influence of the English Artist is fully apparent by this stage in the Flemish Hand's career, there can be no mistaking his ultimate origins in the Tournai region of Flanders.82 Furthermore, the Flemish Hand can be seen to have exerted a powerful influence over the design and composition of both the Bodleian and Fitzwilliam manuscripts, resulting from his growing participation in the workshop, which in turn supports the chronology postulated.

79 For a reproduction see James and Millar (1936), pl.xxxiib.
80 See Chapter 10 for a discussion of Italian influences.
81 See Chapter 4.
82 As shown in Chapter 5, before his passage to England he had also been associated with a possibly Ghent-based group of illuminators.
CHAPTER SEVEN
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BOHUN WORKSHOP

The remaining illumination in Fitzwilliam MS. 38-1950 and Bodleian MS. Auct. D.4.4

Now that the origins of the Flemish Hand have been established and his later development traced attention will be focused on the remaining illumination in Fitzwilliam 38-1950 and Auct. D.4.4, not assignable to him, but possibly to his collaborator – the English Artist.¹ If however this material can be attributed to his hand, as seems to be the case, then subtle changes suggest that there has been some development.

(i) The Beatus pages in the two manuscripts

That the heads are the main focus of this development is well illustrated by the figure of David in the Beatus miniature and initial in the Fitzwilliam Psalter (Fig. 398). On the right of the scene David confronts the lion; the facial features are small and delicate, and softly modelled wavy hair is pushed well back from the forehead and neatly frames an oval face. It was observed that towards the final folios (and the calendar pages) in the Vienna Psalter Hand D (the English Artist) was occupied in modifying the heads by means of fairly vigorous modelling and highlighting, a technique more widely adopted in the first campaign in Exeter 47, whereby the line of the nose and brow are painted in lighter tones which has the effect of pushing those areas forward and creating a sculpted appearance (Figs 188,192,196,197,206). The faces in the Beatus page of the Fitzwilliam Psalter show little evidence of these techniques and the modelling is more subtle. Similarly absent are the white lines drawn on the hair and the stylised frown mark which characterise many of the Exeter initials. Small dots are retained for the eyes but they have heavier lids, features which are especially well illustrated by the hooded representation of David and the cross-legged angel attached in the form of a caryatid to the architectural canopy of the miniature. Eyes of this type are not found in either the Vienna or Exeter College Psalters; there they remain narrow and slit-like. Although the nose in profile is still formed in one continuous line from the forehead, as demonstrated by David decapitating Goliath in the Beatus initial, the snout-like effect, as evidenced in the profile figure in the Solomon miniature in the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 147), is no longer apparent. It is the style of the Fitzwilliam folio and related material which is the subject of the

¹ The material not illuminated by the Flemish Hand is that on f. 1 in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 38-1950 and ff. xii verso, 1, 181v and the unnumbered page facing f. 244 (243a verso in effect) in Auct. D.4.4.
following discussion.

Turning now to the *Beatus* page in Auct. D.4.4, God is illustrated seven times at different points in the narrative (Fig. 400). The head of the youthful David in the Fitzwilliam miniature, although beardless (Fig. 398), relates closely to that of God in the Bodleian scenes: they each have the same delicate, softly modelled features and straw-coloured hair framing an oval face. The head of Adam in the lower part of the Bodleian miniature is closely modelled on this type. Although God wears a full-length conventional gown and David a contemporary garment, the same fragile white line delineates the outer edges of the drapery. There is further agreement between the two folios in the architectural motifs which surround the miniatures, and the scenery, in which there are identical trees, small streams and animals whose coats are thickly painted and textured in appearance. Cobalt, highlighted with white, is used instead of azure and red pigment is employed in both.²

If the *Beatus* folios can be assigned to the English Artist it will be recalled that hitherto he had used historiated initials to contain the subject-matter and not rectangular miniatures, as in the Bodleian and Fitzwilliam manuscripts. Here, therefore, is clear evidence of influence from his Flemish collaborator who utilised this design for conveying the narrative for the remaining illumination in these two works. His influence is also apparent in the use of slender gold marginal bars bearing ivy leaves and pinnacled architectural devices.

(ii) Oxford, Bodleian MS. Auct, D.4.4, ff. xiv, 181v and 243a verso

The suggestion made by Millar and James that Auct. D.4.4 was commissioned by Humphrey de Bohun, the seventh earl of Hereford, but completed after his death for his daughter Mary de Bohun, when in all probability the full-page miniature on f. 181v containing a portrait of the donor was inserted (Fig. 401), implies that the added leaf should be in a later style than the decoration of the Psalter-Hours text.³ If the donor leaf were introduced at a later date then there are two other full-page miniatures (the Crucifixion on f. xii verso and the Raising of Lazarus on f. 243a verso) which, as singletons and in an identical style, should also be considered in this context (Figs 399,402).⁴ The three miniatures are in the style of the English Artist and that they were produced contemporaneously is clear from the intimate relationship of their style and design. They are painted on the same thick vellum, thicker than that of the main text, and are each enclosed within slender rectilinear bars adorned with ivy leaves, either

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² Technical analysis of the pigments used lies outside the bounds of this study.
⁴ For the relative position of these leaves, see Appendix I.
incorporated within cusping or as single appendages attached to the stem (Figs 399,401,412). Is there sufficient discrepancy between the style of the inserted miniatures and the Beatus page to constitute two campaigns, and can the added leaves be attributed to the English Artist?

Comparison of the first miniature, that of the Crucifixion (Fig. 399), with the Beatus page (Fig. 400), indicates that they share a number of basic characteristics. The oval-shaped head of the murderer on the left can be paralleled in the head of God in the Beatus miniature (especially that in the top left-hand quatrefoil) while the head of St John relates to that of God in the Beatus initial. Although partially erased, enough remains of the Virgin's face to establish that it corresponds to the head of Eve (represented twice) in the lower margin of the scene. The figure of St John compares closely to the various representations of God, where the same agitated line encircles the edges of the garments. The use of barbed quatrefoils in the Beatus miniature has a parallel in the cusped structure which surrounds the scene of the Crucifixion. In the second miniature, that of the Virgin, Child and Donor (Fig. 401), the seated posture of the Virgin bears a formal relationship to that of God seated in the cusped quatrefoil in the lower right-hand corner of the Beatus page (Fig. 400). Although rather inappropriate, the painterly head of the Christ Child compares with that of the murderers in the Crucifixion miniature, and the softly modelled heads of the censing angels conform to those of the Virgin and St John (Fig. 399) and to God on the Beatus page (Fig. 400). The third miniature, that of the Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 402), is clearly part of the same series and no further specific comparisons need be made.

The three full-page miniatures and the Beatus page also share identical techniques and pigments. The softly modelled treatment of the flesh which instils the figure with greater naturalism is well illustrated by the nudes in the bas-de-page scene of the Creation and the semi-nude figures of the Crucifixion miniature (Figs 399,400). Flaking of the pigment, visible in the area of Christ's body, gives a clear indication of its thickness, and might suggest therefore that it is a technique which holds more in common with panel and wall-painting than illumination (Fig. 399). This artist fully appreciated the versatility of white pigment, for depending on its constitution and application, varying effects could be achieved, and this then becomes an important factor in determining his development. Generous amounts of glair or gum-arabic,\(^5\) mixed with the white pigment, render the surface shiny, a technique which is particularly effective for achieving highlights, and one which is especially evident on the rose pink and white draperies, as well as in the painting of the flesh. White pigment was also propitious for its opaque qualities; it can be observed that even when full colour is used if it is not mixed with white the colours have a more translucent quality. For instance, the Virgin's pink drapery in the scene of the

\(^5\) For details of these binding media see Chapter 1, n.6.
Crucifixion is darker and more streaky than that of St John which, owing to the extra white pigment, has greater density (Fig. 399). Again, the flesh is a particularly good demonstration of the opaque properties of white. It is clear that the painterly treatment of the flesh and draperies is in advance of that in the final campaign in the Vienna Psalter and the first campaign in the Exeter Psalter: in Auct. D.4.4 there is no vigorous white highlighting which strongly emphasises the limbs beneath the garments of the type evident in those works. Instead, substantiality of form is created by subtler techniques and the whole effect is less schematic and more naturalistic.

The palette, like the technique, precisely accords in the two Beatus pages and three full-page miniatures. Especially characteristic are the ultramarine garments lined with orange, such as that worn by Christ in the Lazarus miniature and by God on the Beatus page; equally distinctive is the use of a pale rose pigment, a colour which can become quite intense, as in the Virgin's dress in the Crucifixion miniature. These folios also see the introduction of a turquoise-blue pigment, as used for the Virgin's outer robe on the Crucifixion folio, on the Christ Child's gown in the donor miniature and for the cloaks of certain figures in the Lazarus scene. Red is a further notable addition to the palette, as seen in the donor's cote-hardie and the flag on the Fitzwilliam Beatus folio.

Despite certain differences, however, there can be no doubt this style progressed naturally out of the final Vienna and first Exeter campaigns. If comparison is made between the Lazarus miniature and the Judgement of Solomon initial in the Vienna Psalter identical gestures of hands in prayer and zigzag pleating of the capes occur in each (Figs 147, 402); the Christ type of the Lazarus miniature is found in many of the small historiated initials in the Vienna Psalter and the rather stiff posture of the Virgin in the donor miniature recalls earlier material (Fig. 401), as do the fine white wavy lines applied to the surface of the hair.

It can be concluded with some certainty that all the work done in this style in Auct. D.4.4 marks the same stage in the artist's career; little if any time seems to have separated the illumination of the Beatus page from the full-page miniatures. Unquestionably, Auct. D.4.4 (and by implication Fitzwilliam 38-1950) post-dates all the material in the Vienna, Royal and Exeter Psalters discussed so far. Furthermore, despite the constant variations in style and technique, there is sufficient agreement to ensure that the English Artist was at work throughout. The chronology of the manuscripts examined suggests the following sequence of production for those in which the English Artist participated: Vienna 1826* (the final campaign); Royal 13.D.i*; Exeter 47 (the first campaign); Fitzwilliam 38-1950 (f. 1) and Auct. D.4.4 (ff.xii verso, 1, 181v and 243a verso), the Bodleian and Fitzwilliam manuscripts conterminous projects.
Oxford, Exeter College, MS. 47, ff. 9-19v (the second campaign)

Folios 20 to 78v of Exeter College MS. 47, discussed in the last chapter, were designated the first campaign; ff. 9 to 19v, in direct stylistic parallel to the Beatus pages in Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950, appear to constitute the second campaign. This relationship is apparent from examination of the opening initial (Fig. 403) where the profile figure of Cain can be compared with that of David in the historiated initial in the Fitzwilliam folio (Fig. 398), and from the initial on f. 14 (Fig. 406) where the figure who stands on the shore in the initial compares with that of David on the left of the Fitzwilliam miniature. A particularly close comparison can be made between the youthful head of David, with slightly wavy hair, on the right of the same scene (Fig. 398), and the central figure in the initial on f. 16 (Fig. 408). In the light of the correspondences already drawn between the two Beatus pages, only a single comparison of the Exeter material with that of the Bodleian folio is necessary: the profile figure of Eliezer in the forefront of the initial on f. 17 (Fig. 409) compares with the various representations of God in the Bodleian miniature (Fig. 400). Whereas there was a tendency on the part of this artist towards the portrayal of over-large heads in both the Vienna and Exeter manuscripts here the figures are better proportioned. As in Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 the white details on the hair, the frown mark, the zigzag pleating of the shoulder cape, exaggerated facial gesture and the female figures with their hair in comettes, typical of his earlier work in the Vienna and Exeter Psalters, are no longer evident. This phase of development, like that in the Beatus pages and the Bodleian miniatures in question, is characterised by more naturalistic figures in which there is softer modelling and less harsh contrasts in light and shade.

However, although there is no suggestion of it in either the Vienna or Royal Psalters movement towards this later stylistic phase is discernible in the first Exeter campaign. For instance, the head in the lower right-hand section of the Quid gloriaris initial is oval in shape (Fig. 206), the forehead is high and the hair surrounds the face in straw-coloured waves, as in the head of God on the Beatus folio in Auct D.4.4 and the head of Eliezer entering the door on f. 17 in the second campaign (Figs 400,409). Similarly, the stance of the Quid gloriaris figure, and the form of his drapery, point in the direction of later work, as witnessed by comparison with the various representations of God on the Bodleian folio. Although the close stylistic affinities between the two portions of Exeter 47 support the common identity of the hand, however, the differences between each manifestation of the same style are sufficiently marked to suggest a break in artistic activity and a later

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6 This portion comprises psalms 3 to 32. The decoration of the major psalms, 1 and 26, has been excised. The folios containing psalms 13 to 25 inclusive are also lacking. For a codicological analysis, see Appendix I.

161
date for ff. 9-19v.

A corresponding development between the first and second campaigns is discernible in the border decoration. The borders are composed of slender rectilinear bars with ivy sprays which clearly derive from the Flemish Hand (Figs 411,412); but they are narrower than those of the first Exeter campaign. In this, and the technique in which they have been painted, there is a precise agreement with the borders which surround the miniatures on the two Beatus folios (Figs 398,400). Whereas the leaf types in the final Vienna and first Exeter campaigns appear succulent by virtue of a mottled technique (this seems to have been achieved by laying the paint on a wet surface), those of the later phase are smaller, more linear and drier in appearance (Figs 408,411,412). Further analysis of the borders reveals isolated motifs in the staves of certain initials, such as the profile head of the wild man (Fig. 404) and the monster's body (Fig. 407), which clearly originate in the Flemish Hand's repertoire, forms which are not present in the Vienna Psalter, executed before the partnership was fully established. Their assimilation, in modified form on ff. 9-19v, further testifies to the later date of this material; the borders on ff. 20-78, although clearly attesting to the influence of the Flemish illuminator, indicate that at this earlier stage these stave motifs had not been fully appropriated by the English Artist. While showing a clear debt to the Flemish Hand the borders on ff. 9-19v demonstrate a measure of independence by the English Artist of a type not witnessed since the execution of the Vienna Psalter: there is the appearance of certain motifs characteristic of an earlier stage in his development, such as the winged elements of foliage, lion faces, leaf masks and foliage tendrils formed in lozenges and rectangles (Figs 411,412). Climbing men and grotesques, typical of the first Exeter campaign, are retained in the second (Figs 197,404). These specifically English forms have no place in Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950, patently designed by the Flemish Hand. Folios 9-19v constitute a later synthesis of ornament derived both from his own earlier repertoire and that of the Flemish Hand; this is then grafted on to a border structure of Flemish inspiration, a feature well illustrated by comparison of a border from the respective Exeter campaigns (Figs 215,412). Similarly, comparison of a typical border from the final campaign in Vienna 1826* and one from the second Exeter campaign, while attesting to the development which has occurred, witnesses as well to the retention of forms associated with his earlier career (Figs 148,411).

An attribution of both Exeter campaigns to the English Artist, however, highlights an enigmatic codicological problem, namely that the style of the first three gatherings (ff. 9-19v.) is later than that of the immediately succeeding ones (ff. 20-78v.) which have been designated the first campaign. It is difficult to offer a satisfactory explanation for this anomaly although the following proposals might be considered.

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7 See Appendix I for a collation of this manuscript.
Firstly, the original gatherings may have been lost or discarded as a result of damage; but consistency in the presentation of the text in the two portions tells against this theory: the ruling is in agreement, the same scribe was apparently involved and despite later damage and discolouration to the existing ff. 9-19v, which hampers assessment, the vellum appears to be identical in the two portions. Although this suggests that the text was prepared throughout at the time of the first campaign, it is possible that the same scribe was recommissioned at the commencement of the second. This does not seem likely, however, given that at the time of the second campaign there is evidence that there were two (and possibly three) different scribes in operation.

Secondly, it could be argued that ff. 9-19v and 20-78v represent the work of two closely related contemporary illuminators. The only counter-argument to this is that the stylistic evidence supports the view that the two campaigns are the work of a single artist undergoing development. But the question remains why were psalms 1 to 32 not illuminated with the rest?

A third explanation might be that when the manuscript lay in loose gatherings, awaiting illumination, work did not commence with the opening quire but a later one. If this were the case, however, it would run directly counter to normal workshop practice, which indicates that illumination progressed sequentially through the successive gatherings; but this workshop does not appear to have been markedly typical. The Vienna Psalter gives some support to this hypothesis where there is evidence of one major aberration: Hand A began in the normal way at the opening folio (f. 7), Hand B took up the work where it was left by Hand A (f. 50), but Hand C can be identified in gatherings as widely spaced as 9 and 20. Exeter 47, however, presents very different problems by virtue of its scheme of illustration, for unlike the Vienna Psalter, where the historiated initials illustrate the content of the psalm, these are strongly narrative. Whereas it could be argued that an illuminator might be induced to start at no specific point if the iconography were of the Vienna type, or if the initials were merely decorative, it would be neither logical nor practicable to do so in Exeter 47, unless the compositions had been drawn out in advance. The strongly narrative content of the subject-matter further argues against the hypothesis that the opening leaves had been lost at the time of the first campaign, a cycle which would have been very difficult to reconstruct without recourse to a model book. Analysis of the manuscripts of this workshop indicates that this was not

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8 A scribal division of hands follows later in this chapter.
9 After f. 19 (psalm 32) there is a gap of one leaf, comprising psalms 33 and 34, before the commencement of the first campaign on f. 20 with psalm 35.
10 Accounting for loss, this would have been the fourth gathering of the psalter text.
11 In Exeter 47, once each campaign had been established, the illumination proceeded gathering by gathering, i.e. Campaign 1 (ff. 20-78v), Campaign 2 (ff. 9-19v), Campaign 3 (ff. 97-126 and 3-8v), the latter discussed in Chapter 8.
12 For a list of subjects see Millar and James (1936), pp.10-22 and Appendix VI.
the case and that these artists appear to have been drawing straight from the biblical narrative and inventing the iconography accordingly. Moreover, there is no break in the continuity of the narrative which might be expected if the compositions were being drawn for the second time, unless the original (possibly damaged) leaves were available to the illuminator. Unfortunately it is now impossible to determine if earlier drawing existed under the initials in ff. 9-19v, despite the fact that this does seem to be the most plausible explanation given the clear evidence which suggests that this was so for the third and final campaign in the manuscript. But if this were the case why should the English Artist begin at the fourth gathering and leave the first three unilluminated? Perhaps the Flemish Hand was allotted the work but did not do it (an apparent change of plan concerning a division of labour was noted at the onset of the first Exeter campaign), or it is possible that in the early stages of preparation this portion of the manuscript was deliberately left untouched, except for its underdrawing. There is some support for this in both Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950, where the opening folio in each was left devoid of verse initials, line-fillers and partial borders by the Flemish Hand (he executed the remainder) for the English Artist to execute. It is conceivable that he made similar provision in Exeter 47, where he left a greater number of folios unprepared. There is no evidence of the Flemish Hand until f. 20, the advent of the first campaign, and from this folio through to the end he illuminated all the one-line verse initials and line-fillers, as well as certain borders. This merely explains why the Flemish Hand is not present in ff. 9-19v and does not account for the English Artist’s decision to start at f. 20. It is possible that the English Artist drew out the initials in the first three of the quires, but concentrated on those fully prepared by the Flemish Hand. Then there was an interruption to the campaign at f. 78 but before ff. 78-126v were completed the English Artist took up the work for a second time, filling in the empty folios from what are now ff. 9-19v. In this section he illuminated not only the historiated initials and borders but also the verse initials and line-fillers (Figs 403-412).

It is difficult to conceive of a reason why the initial campaign should have been approached in this way but the sudden cessation of artistic activity and resumption at a later date adequately account for the stylistic development which is discernible on behalf of the English Artist between the first and second campaigns. Indeed, that Exeter 47 is an unusually complex book is evidenced in the further break in production, alluded to above,

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13 This conclusion, first formed by James (see James and Miller (1936), p.8), is not likely to be superseded.
14 For discussion of this material see Chapter 8.
15 See Chapter 4.
16 This was also the case in Copenhagen MS. Thott 547 where the Flemish Hand took over on f.2v. This practice tends to suggest that the English Artist was considered to be the head of the atelier. See the final chapter for further discussion of this question.
17 See Chapter 4 for details of his participation in Exeter 47.
18 Folios 3-8v and 78-126v constitute the third campaign.
which occurred after ff. 9-19v were illuminated, leaving ff. 78v-126v still unfinished. 19

Copenhagen, Royal Library, MSS Thott 547 4° and 517 4°, and Schloss Pommersfelden, Collection of Graf von Schönborn MS. 2934 (348)

An Hours (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 547 4°), 20 a manuscript of the Lives of the Virgin, St Margaret and St Mary Magdalene (Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 517 4°) 21 and a fragment of fifteen leaves from a Book of Hours (Schloss Pommersfelden, Collection of Graf von Schönborn, MS. 2934 (348)), 22 containing various memoriae, also belong to this phase of the English Artist’s development.

Copenhagen 547 is illustrated with ten, six to seven-line, historiated initials, six of which accompany the Hours and illustrate the Life of the Virgin; there is one for the Penitential Psalms, depicting the Last Judgement, and another for the Office of the Dead incorporating the story of Job (Figs 413-432). 23 Bas-de-page scenes illustrating the Miracles of the Virgin accompany the Hours (Figs 413,415,417,419,421,423,425,427); the story of Job is continued at the bottom of the page on f. 43 (Fig. 431); and the Last Judgement, the most elaborate of all iconographically, is further distributed in each of the four borders (Fig. 429). This tendency to invade the borders and the area immediately outside the initial is also discernible in the Hours portion: Matins has angel musicians disposed in barbed quatrefoils, and a female donor figure reading from a lectern (Fig. 413); Prime has further angel musicians, identically disposed, and in the upper margin the Annunciation to the Shepherds to complement the scene of the Nativity within the initial (Fig. 417); the Crucifixion at None has Longinus, two angels and the head of God just outside the initial, separated from the immediate action (Fig. 424); one of the soldiers is similarly placed at Vespers (Fig. 426); while at Compline an array of angel musicians herald the Coronation of the Virgin (Fig. 428). In Copenhagen 517 the text is enclosed within identical borders to those in Copenhagen 547 but the subject-matter is confined to the three, six-line initials at the opening to each Life (Figs 433,435,437). In both the Copenhagen manuscripts the English Artist executed the major frontispieces and his Flemish collaborator the minor decoration. However, in the Pommersfelden fragment the only figural illumination which can be assigned to the English Artist are two full-page miniatures which occur on adjacent pages (ff. 9v-10) (Figs 448,449). The miniature on f.

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19 See the following chapter for discussion of these folios, and the final chapter, where possible reasons will be forwarded for the successive interruptions.
20 Jørgensen (1923), i, pp.232-33; Millar (1928), pp.26, 65-66, 86 (no.262), pls 66, 67; Millar and James (1936), pp.1, 47-52, 50-61, pls iv-vi; Copenhagen (1952), no.106, with further bibliography; Wormald (1953), 82, 83-4; Rickert (1965), pp.243 n.10, 244 n.13; Alexander (1983), p.148 where it is erroneously referred to as a psalter; Simpson (1984), pp.120, 125, 126, 127, 128, pls 174-77.
21 Copenhagen (1952), no.107; Wormald (1953), 83-84, fig.6; Simpson (1984), p.120.
22 The manuscript is mentioned by Simpson (1984), p.120, but not discussed.
23 For a list of subjects and descriptions see James and Millar (1936), pp.47-52. See also Appendix VI.
9v depicts the Instruments of the Passion and the Wound of Christ, while that on f. 10 has standing saints, disposed in three horizontal tiers.24

The folios containing the miniatures by the English Artist in the Pommersfelden manuscript do not occur in a bifolium as one might expect;25 the miniature on f. 9v. is the final leaf of the first gathering, while that on f. 10 is the first leaf of the second. The fragment is in two quires, the first of seven folios, the second of eight. Analysis of the manuscript's structure reveals that the cognate leaf to f. 9 by the English Artist has been excised. This missing leaf would have prefaced the Ascension initial on f. 1, and thus comprised the opening folio to this collection of memoriae (Fig. 439). It is tempting, therefore, to speculate that this leaf may once have been illuminated. Since the opening to the memoriae is still intact perhaps this missing folio would have contained a full-page miniature by the English Artist, recalling Auct. D.4.4. This conjecture is given some support by the cognate leaf to f. 10 (f. 15), containing the final eleven lines of text, which has not been touched by the Flemish Hand, indicating that the English Artist took charge of the two bifolia (Fig. 454).

The two full-page miniatures form a centrepiece to an elaborate memoriae which, unlike that in the other surviving Bohun manuscripts has, where appropriate, in addition to an iconic representation of each saint, a narrative scene depicting the saint's martyrdom (Figs 439-445).26 For example, St Peter is illustrated in a six-line initial being roped to a cross (in customary reverse position) by two men; while below, a three-line initial contains a half-length representation of the saint, holding a church in his left hand and a key in his right (Fig. 440). In the following memoria to St Paul a six-line initial shows St Paul blindfold, kneeling in the foreground of the picture, awaiting decapitation by the executioner who stands in the centre of the scene with arm raised and sword in hand, while on the left and right of the scene two groups of men converse with one another. The three-line initial below presents, in usual form, a half-length depiction of St Paul holding a sword in his right hand (Fig. 440). These narrative initials continue until f. 6v, where there is a change in approach for the non-martyr saints (Figs 445-447,450,451).27

Apart from ff. 9 and 10, the Pommersfelden fragment is entirely the work of the Flemish Hand. The border decoration takes two forms: in the section in which the narrative memoriae occur (ff. 1-6v), rectilinear borders of the type which are found in the Copenhagen manuscripts, Fitzwilliam 38-1950 and Auct. D.4.4 completely surround the text (Figs 439-445), a format which appears again on ff. 13-14v for the Gospel sequences (Figs 452-454); where only three-line initials occur partial borders, in character with the majority employed by this illuminator, decorate ff. 7-9 and 10v-12, (Figs 445-

24 For a description see Appendix VI.
25 See Appendix I for a collation.
26 The memoriae in both Vienna MS. 1826* and Bodleian, Auct. D.4.4 have iconic representations only.
27 See Appendix VI for a description of the subjects.

166
447, 450, 451), while the same distinctive repertoire of motifs inhabit the letter forms (Figs 439, 441-445, 451, 452, 454).

In addition to the minor decoration in the Pommersfelden manuscript, the Flemish Hand was responsible for that in Auct. D.4.4, Fitzwilliam 38-1950, Copenhagen MS. 547 and Copenhagen MS. 517, comprising three-line initials, partial borders, verse initials and line-fillers. His influence, however, is equally apparent in certain aspects of the illumination which can be attributed to the English Artist in the Pommersfelden and Copenhagen manuscripts. In the two Copenhagen books the text at the frontispieces is enclosed within slender rectilinear borders which erupt at intervals along their length to accommodate cusped ivy leaves, while single ivy leaves on wavy tails, interspersed with small gold studs on filigree stems, project at various points (Figs 413, 415, 417, 419, 421, 423, 425, 427, 429, 431, 433, 435, 437), a design which precisely corresponds to that of the Flemish Hand in the Fitzwilliam Psalter and Bodleian Psalter-Hours (Figs 328, 329, 332, 334-339, 385-388); and yet the leaves are painted in pigments and techniques identical to those in the two Beatus pages by the English Artist (Figs 398, 400). Furthermore, all the border decoration in the Pommersfelden manuscript appears at first sight to be by his Flemish partner; closer scrutiny discloses that the border decoration on the reverse of each miniature (ff. 9 and 10v) although closely resembling that of the Flemish Hand, is in fact by the English Artist (Figs 447, 450). Not only is there a marked correspondence in palette and technique with his work,²⁸ but a different repertoire of forms from those of the Flemish Hand has been used for the minor initials and line-fillers. Indeed, there is a precise agreement with the line-fillers, verse initials and minor borders on ff. 1, 1v and 2 of Copenhagen 547 which again, unlike the remaining minor decoration, are by the English Artist (Fig. 413). In all examples the foliage extensions have greater delicacy and the dragons which inhabit the line-fillers are more supple and elongated than those of the Flemish Hand. These differences are also highlighted by the use of gold: the English Artist uses bright gold, while the Flemish Hand employs a yellower, less highly burnished type. Therefore, in the Bodleian, Fitzwilliam and Copenhagen manuscripts the English Artist has precisely imitated the Flemish Hand's border structures but has not allowed this drive towards a consistent presentation to submerge his individuality entirely.

²⁸ The distinctive pink and blue pigments are evident; purple is employed and there is a different use of white whitening from that of the Flemish Hand. See Chapter 4 for discussion of the basic differences between the artists' techniques.
Stylistic analysis and relative chronology of the three manuscripts

The intimate relationship between the books in Copenhagen is apparent if comparison is made between the historiated initial depicting the Assumption of the Virgin in MS. 517 (Fig. 434) and that of the Last Judgement in MS. 547 (Fig. 430) where the semi Profile heads of the apostles and angels are identical. The head of St Margaret (Fig. 436) is a type widely used in the Hours (Figs. 414, 430, 432), while that of the old man who stands in the bottom left-hand corner in the Magdalene initial (Fig. 438), with vigorously modelled flesh and a marked degree of facial characterisation, has a particularly close parallel in the head of Joseph in the Nativity initial (Fig. 418) and Simeon in the Presentation initial (Fig. 422), as well as in a number of the male heads in the bas-de-page scenes (Figs. 415, 417, 427). Architectural details also correspond: the building contained in the initial on f. 10v in MS. 517, with its speckled stonework and blue-tiled roof, is a variation of the type widely found in the Hours (Figs. 436, 414, 420, 422, 432).

Analysis of the painting techniques in both the Copenhagen Hours and Lives serves not only to support their close kinship but confirms the observations made earlier relating to the use of white in Auct. D.4.4, namely that white pigment, with varying proportions of glair or gum-arabic added, could be used as a successful medium for modelling and highlighting; it rendered the surface shiny and increased the opacity, and thus enhanced the painterly qualities of the work. For example, draperies such as the bluey-green gown of Mary in the Crucifixion initial, to which some white has been added, is semi-opaque (Fig. 424), whereas the gown of St John and the body of Christ, each containing more white pigment, show greater opacity. What amounts to virtually a water-colour technique, such as that used for the river and pond on f. 24v, results when no white is blended with the colour; prussian blue and ultramarine fall within this category. Generous amounts of glair or gum-arabic mixed with white are an especially effective medium for accentuating the flesh or, when blended with the appropriate colour, for highlighting the draperies; the striated dark pink highlights on St John's gown have been produced in this way, and the nude figures in the bas-de-page scene on f. 32v rely entirely on the use of white for modelling and highlighting (by this method matt white is used in combination with shiny white pigment).  

The fragment in Pommersfelden relates closely in style to the two Copenhagen manuscripts, but what is its precise position in the chronology? In the Instruments of the Passion miniature provision is made for a scene of the Crucifixion which can be compared with that in the Copenhagen Hours (Figs 424, 448). Although there are essential

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29 It is unfortunately not possible to illustrate these techniques successfully, for which actual examination of the manuscript is obviously necessary.
iconographic differences (the Pommersfelden representation is iconic whereas that in Copenhagen is narrative) there are well-defined stylistic similarities. Certain differences in technique might be accounted for by the narrative content of the Copenhagen initial which has the effect of minimising the space. In each, the head of Christ is particularly close; the flesh is painted in grey on a thickish base of white pigment, but in the Copenhagen initial the modelling is sketchier and marginally more vigorous. In the Pommersfelden miniature the modelling of form is achieved by the application of dryish white pigment in a series of lines, as in the Virgin's blue outer mantle, and St John's rose-pink robe is delineated internally with agitated brush strokes, techniques which do not occur in the Copenhagen manuscript. The technique used for the Virgin's drapery in the Pommersfelden miniature does, however, have a parallel in the closing folios of the Vienna Psalter and those of the first campaign in Exeter 47 (Figs 152,153,155,156,206,207). In contrast, John's outer robe in the Copenhagen initial has a generous amount of white pigment mixed with the colour (this increases its opacity), and the internal folds are indicated by darker striations of the same colour. This initial (Fig. 424), and indeed the manuscript as a whole, testifies to greater individual characterisation in the faces and more lifelike figure poses: witness the anguished Virgin, the prostrate Magdalene and the elevated profile head of the supplicating St John. However, there are equally strong reminiscences of Auct. D.4.4, since the faces in the Crucifixion initial recall those of the same subject in the Bodleian manuscript (Figs 424,399), and there is an affinity between the heads in the Last Judgement initial and those in the Lazarus miniature (Figs 402,430). The stance of the angel and the form of the drapery have a parallel in the figure of Christ, while the small figures ascending the ladder in the border to the Last Judgement page relate to those of the two thieves in the Crucifixion miniature in Auct. D.4.4 (Figs 399,429). The angels in the Resurrection initial (Fig. 426) compare with those in the Virgin and Child miniature (Fig. 401), while the technique used to produce sun-rays can be directly paralleled in the Copenhagen Crucifixion folio (Fig 424). Moreover, close comparison can be made between the soldier immediately outside the Copenhagen Resurrection initial and the representation of Goliath in the Fitzwilliam Beatus (Figs 398,426).

For purposes of chronology it would be appropriate to reconsider the scene of the Crucifixion in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 399) in the light of the two other examples (Figs 424,448). It is an essentially devotional representation, agreeing with that in Pommersfelden 348. Both scenes contain the thieves, identically positioned on tau-crosses with their arms strapped behind them; the stance of the Virgin is almost identical, but whereas the form of Christ's body relates closely to that in the Copenhagen initial, in Auct. D.4.4, though equally well rendered, it is more rigidly poised. Similarly, the treatment of St John's garment in Pommersfelden 348, arranged in a series of irregular
folds (Fig. 448), is not far removed from that of the crowned figure who supports the
donor in the miniature of the Virgin and Child in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 401). His mannered
stance seems to be reverting to an earlier model (note the gesture of the leg brought
stiffly forward in front of the other) and contrasts with the more naturalistic pose and
drapery of the Copenhagen St John (Figs 424,448), just as the rather static kneeling donor
figure in the Bodleian miniature (Fig. 401) contrasts with the inherently mobile kneeling
Magdalene in the Copenhagen initial (Fig. 424) whose fluid draperies witness to a
freedom and exuberance not apparent in former examples, dynamic forms which
characterise the Hours as a whole. Even allowing for the influence that iconography can
assert over style, the Virgin in Pommersfelden (Fig. 448) holds more in common with the
Bodleian donor and the flat, rather lifeless frame of the Bodleian Virgin (Fig. 401) than
with the solidly seated pose, plasticity of form and naturalistic gesture of the Virgin in the
Copenhagen manuscript (Fig. 414). This freer treatment extends to the hair which falls in
gentle waves, being at the same time devoid of the dry white textured strands of the
Virgin’s hair in the Bodleian miniature, characteristic of the first campaign in Exeter 47.
That the draperies are less schematic is well illustrated by comparison between the
standing Virgin at Lauds (Fig. 416) and the crowned figure who supports the donor in the
Virgin and Child miniature in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 401). The head types and figure forms in
the Copenhagen books are instilled with a vitality and expressiveness which contrast with
the rather stereotyped faces and bodies in Auct. D.4.4. A good illustration of this
progression is evident from a comparison of the nude figures in the Vienna and
Copenhagen initials of the Last Judgement; those in the Vienna scene appear rather stiffly
articulated and doll-like, compared with the supple and more energetic Copenhagen types
(Figs 148,429,430). These compositionally similar Judgement initials serve to underline
the presence of the same hand; but in line with its clearly later date the iconography of
the Hours’ Judgement is correspondingly more complex, extending to scenes in roundels
outside the initial and within the borders.

The Pommersfelden manuscript therefore seems to occupy an ambivalent position
between the two Copenhagen manuscripts, on the one hand, and Auct. D.4.4 and
Fitzwilliam 38-1950, on the other. This dichotomy of style is further expressed in the
head types. The heads of the angels in Pommersfelden, who are bearing aloft the Wound
on f. 9v, are remarkably similar to those on ff. 1 and 22v in Copenhagen 517 and f. 28v
in Copenhagen 547 (Figs 436,438,428,448) (they point, as do the heads of the scourgers,
in the direction of the growing naturalism inherent in the two Copenhagen books), while
the heads of saints in the other Pommersfelden miniature seem to hold more in common
with those in Auct. D.4.4. For instance, although the head of St Peter (Fig. 449) in the
upper tier of saints broadly relates to certain heads in the Copenhagen manuscript, such as
to Job (Fig. 432), Joseph and Simeon (Fig. 422), there is an even closer correspondence
with the head of the figure who sits in the foreground in the Lazarus miniature in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 402), which in turn recalls certain heads in the Vienna and Exeter Psalters (Figs 149,190,207). Similarly, the head of St Anne wearing a wimple in the Pommersfelden miniature (Fig. 449), while reminiscent of the maidservant in the Presentation initial (Fig. 422) and the woman who supports the fainting Virgin in the scene of the Crucifixion in Copenhagen 547 (Fig. 424), has equally strong analogies with the head overpainted by the English Artist in the Exultate initial in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 397). The bulbous, semi-balding bearded head of St Paul in the upper tier (Fig. 449) compares with that of the kneeling King in the Adoration initial in Copenhagen 547 (Fig. 420), but whereas the former head is only gently modelled, and rather expressionless, the latter is vigorously painted and shows greater characterisation. In general, whereas there is little variation between the heads in the Pommersfelden miniature, those in the Copenhagen manuscripts have greater individuality; this is especially well illustrated by the row of Apostle heads in the Christ in Majesty initial (Fig. 430). The heads in both Copenhagen manuscripts show a definite development away from certain stereotypes, as seen in the slit-like formula formerly used for the eyes, a progression evident from comparison of the heads in the Crucifixion and Last Judgement initials in Copenhagen 547 (Figs 424,430) and the more stylised types of his earlier works (Figs 147,148,206,207). Some overall indication of the development between the early and later aspects of this miniaturist’s style (it is clearly the same hand throughout) can be grasped if the head of Christ holding the mandorla in the Assumption initial in Copenhagen 517 is compared with Christ’s head in the Vienna Last Judgement, where the slit eyes have been replaced by a slightly more heavy-lidded type (Figs 148,434). A similar development might also be discerned in the draperies, as witnessed in the Pommersfelden saints’ miniature (Fig. 449): comparison can be made between the drapery of the kneeling King in the initial of the Adoration in Copenhagen 547 (Fig. 420) and that of some of the standing saints, such as the outer garments of Saints Michael, Leonard, Christopher, Anne, Catherine, Margaret and Ursula (Fig. 449), a development which is appreciated if comparison is then made between the saints’ draperies and those in the final Vienna and first Exeter campaigns (Figs 155,189). The more schematised figure and drapery forms of the Virgin and St John in the companion miniature in the Pommersfelden fragment seem to confirm (as suggested above) that here the artist may have been following an earlier model. However, that Pommersfelden 348 stands closer in style to Auct. D.4.4

30 They appear infrequently, e.g. the Virgin on f. 1 in MS.547.
31 A further observation concerning the draperies is that in Copenhagen 547 and the Pommersfelden saints’ miniature there is greater use of surface pattern compared with that in the Vienna and Exeter Psalters; this mostly takes the form of decorative motifs applied in gold which adds considerable richness to the work. With regard to Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 it is difficult to make a comprehensive assessment on the basis of the limited amount of illumination available by the English Artist. See n.1 above.
than to Copenhagen, if only marginally, seems to be indicated from a comparison of the saints with the closely similar group of figures in the Raising of Lazarus miniature (Figs 402,449). In short, although Pommersfelden 348 seems to be drawing on earlier forms at the same time it clearly shows movement towards the later material.

Pommersfelden's stylistic ambivalence is further reflected in the technique. Whereas the highlighting on the draperies in the Instruments of the Passion miniature (Fig. 448) is of the type in Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 in which white pigment is applied in a dry, granular manner (Figs 398,399,402), the draperies in the saints' miniature show movement towards those in Copenhagen 547 where highlighting is achieved by a series of striated brush strokes. That the method of highlighting used in the final campaign of the Vienna Psalter (Fig. 148) had not been entirely abandoned, however, in either the Pommersfelden fragment or the Copenhagen Hours is evidenced in the blue drapery of St Michael in the saints' miniature (Fig. 449) and that of Christ in the Resurrection initial (Fig. 426). This dichotomy is also apparent in the treatment of the architectural structures: while on the one hand the method of applying grey pigment to the Flagellation pillar (Fig. 448) in a series of rather textured lines shows clear signs of movement towards that used in the Copenhagen Hours, such as for the chimney furnace, architectural columns and even the Virgin's neck (Figs 414,417,420), on the other hand the technique used for the modelling of the tomb in the same miniature (Fig. 448) directly relates to that in the Lazarus miniature in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 402) and works of the tradition of Vienna 1826* and Royal 13.D.i* (Figs 157,187). Significantly, this technique is not found in either of the Copenhagen manuscripts; there the stonework is sketchier and less schematised and greater use is made of white pigment to emphasise the solidity of the forms (Figs 416,418,420,422,432,436,438). The architectural structures in the two Copenhagen books are certainly more inventive than those in the Pommersfelden manuscript. For instance, the doorway outside the stave of the Adoration initial in Copenhagen 547 is skilfully painted to create recession (Fig. 420), and the building in the bas-de-page scene on f. 1 testifies to a use of perspective not hitherto employed by this miniaturist. In contrast, in the Pommersfelden miniature the saints are disposed within a series of simple basically two-dimensional arcades which show greater similarity to the devices employed in the Beatus miniatures in Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 (Figs 398,400). The palette in the two books in Copenhagen embodies the widest range of pigments so far encountered for the English Artist, further signifying their later date. Whereas the Beatus folio in Fitzwilliam 38-1950 and the Pommersfelden miniatures see the introduction of a lighter, cobalt blue, characteristically highlighted in white, a blue which closely approaches turquoise is used for the first time in the Copenhagen Hours and Lives (movement towards the introduction of this pigment is evident in the full-page miniatures in Auct. D.4.4), where the palette extends to include prussian blue, a range of purples and liquid
gold of which there is extensive use. The punched patterns on the gold also suggest that
the Copenhagen manuscripts are later. There is the absence of the leaf scroll pouncing
which characterises the earlier works (Vienna 1826*, Royal 13.D.i* and Exeter 47, ff. 20-78v) and which also occurs in the section depicting the Crucifixion in the Pommersfelden
miniature on f. 9v (Fig. 448). The pouncing in Copenhagen 547 and 517 is less
decorative and consists merely of simple, rather haphazard punch marks, applied usually
in groups of three, as in the Crucifixion initial in MS. 547 (Fig. 424).

(ii) Codicological and palaeographical considerations

The stylistic compatibility of this material is supported by codicological and
palaeographical factors: in design all five, with only minor variations, are carbon copies
one of the other, and three intimately related scribes can be identified.22 The close
relationship shared by the Bodleian and Fitzwilliam books on the one hand and the two in
Copenhagen on the other is confirmed by the following analysis. Both Auct. D.4.4 and
Fitzwilliam 38-1950 are virtually the same size,23 the eighteen-line text occupies an almost
identical area,24 while the ruling patterns and placement of the text on the page are in
precise agreement.25 The conjecture that they were conceived as a pair and the text of
each prepared at the same time is supported by the activity of the scribes. It would appear
that while scribe A was preparing the Fitzwilliam Psalter, scribe B and a further scribe
(C) (scribe C can be identified on ff. 222-223v) worked on the Bodleian Psalter-Hours.
That the Copenhagen manuscripts were parallel undertakings, as well as standing
marginally apart from the Bodleian and Fitzwilliam books, is clearly demonstrated by
their size and layout: the ruling, external measurement and disposition of the text are
identical; there are twenty lines of script in each, occupying a textual area which varies in
width by only a fraction.26 Moreover, scribe B of MS. 547 appears to have written out the
text in MS. 517. These remarkably close codicological and palaeographical
correspondences, together with the intimate stylistic kinship of the books, could well
suggest that they once comprised a single volume, a view which could be seen as having
support in that they are now housed in the same library, some distance from their place of
origin.27 But two factors, and possibly a third, tell against this: first, the text of the Lives
is written in a darker ink; second, the vellum is less fine than that in the Hours; and third,

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22 For codicological diagrams see Appendix I.
23 Auct. D.4.4 measures 168/169 x 115/118mm, Fitzwilliam 38-1950 169/170 x 118/119mm. The minor
discrepancy in the width of the vellum would have resulted from trimming.
24 The textual space in Auct. D.4.4 measures 97/99 x 61/62mm while that in Fitzwilliam 38-1950 covers
an area 96/98 x 61/63mm.
25 See Appendix I for a diagram.
26 The page in both measures 176 x 130 mm. The textual area in Copenhagen 547 is 108/109 x 67/68mm
and in Copenhagen 517, 109/110 x 69/70mm. See Appendix I.
27 Although not original the bindings are also identical.

173
it is not altogether likely that the two were textually compatible. That they were produced at precisely the same time is not easy to refute however. Pommersfelden 348 is closely allied to the other four, sharing characteristics with the apparently two earlier and two later books, but codicologically there is perhaps a closer overall correspondence with the two books in Copenhagen with which it agrees in having a twenty-line text, and is closer to them in page size and textual area. However, the close chronology of the four books is firmly attested to by the presence of the same two scribes, since the two scribes in the Pommersfelden folios appear also to have participated in Auct. D.4.4 and the manuscripts in Copenhagen.

Analysis of the activity of the three scribes suggests the following division of labour in the five closely related works; but these conclusions must remain tentative since the hands are closely related and the distinction between them, depending on the vellum, colour of the ink and variability of the scribes, are not always well-defined.

- Fitzwilliam 38-1950, ff. 1-217: Scribe A
- Auct. D.4.4, ff. 1-221, 224-274: Scribe B
- Auct. D.4.4, ff. 222-223v: Scribe C
- Pommersfelden 348, ff. 1-7: Scribe B
- Pommersfelden 348, ff. 7-15: Scribe C
- Copenhagen 547, ff. 1-1v: Scribe C
- Copenhagen 547, ff. 1v-66v: Scribe B
- Copenhagen 517, ff. 1-38: Scribe B

Assessment of Chronology

The intimate relationship in style, technique and palette represented by the Beatus pages in Fitzwilliam 38-1950 and Auct. D.4.4, as well as the full page miniatures in the Bodleian book, indicate that they were contemporaneous (the inserted miniatures are probably marginally later) and post-date the English Artist’s work in the Vienna, Royal and Exeter Psalters. This development is fully comprehended if comparison is made between this material and the initials in the first Exeter campaign where more realistic figures have replaced the doll-like ones (Figs 206,207,420,424,430). The stylistic ambivalence represented by the English Artist’s miniatures in Pommersfelden MS. 348 suggests that this work stands chronologically between the single inserted leaves in Auct. D.4.4 and the two manuscripts in Copenhagen; while still showing attachment to the Vienna-Exeter tradition, there are signs of the naturalism evident in the two Copenhagen books. The Copenhagen manuscripts clearly embody a new stylistic phase and would

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38 The page measures 172/173 x 125/127mm and the text covers an area of 111/112 x 67/68mm. See Appendix I.
appear to be the latest in this line of development. This is evidenced in the following. There is greater individual characterisation in the faces, occasioned by more vigorous modelling and a largely sketchier rendition of the facial features. The figures themselves show greater mobility; the softly flowing draperies and painting technique reflect this progression. In Copenhagen 547 the narrative is more ambitious than hitherto; this is echoed in the increasing activity immediately outside the historiated initial, in the borders and *bas-de-page*; and the manuscript embodies the widest and most innovative palette yet for this artist. There are attempts to create space by means of perspectival recession, innovatory for this illuminator. Copenhagen MS. 517 mirrors this development, but since there are only three historiated initials, its iconography is more limited in scope.

Despite the codicological kinship of the two works it has been shown that there are minor aberrations which tell against their having once been joined, however tempting is such a proposal. It is equally unlikely that the Pommersfelden manuscript was once united with either of the Copenhagen books, since despite an agreement in a number of physical aspects, it is representative of a slightly earlier stylistic phase. Pommersfelden MS. 348 in all probability once belonged to a larger volume, now no longer extant, or the remainder of which was never completed, a not uncommon phenomenon judging from the assessment so far made of this workshop.

It is not possible to discern any stylistic development for the Flemish Hand in these works, the implication being therefore that they are close in date, a conclusion corroborated by the English Artist's involvement, which suggests that a comparatively short time separated their production. Difficulties arise in forming a chronology when development can be detected on the one hand while on the other there are strong reminiscences of earlier works. Since it is now clear that the English Artist drew on earlier forms, as well as innovating, this development does not necessarily reflect itself in all aspects of a single work. However, on account of minor yet important nuances in style and technique the following chronology can be postulated: Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 appear to have been parallel projects, and can be placed at the beginning of the sequence, the two manuscripts in Copenhagen, also sister books, can be positioned at the end, while the fragment in Pommersfelden occupies a transitional position. Folios 9-19v in Exeter 47 may either pre- or post-date the two Copenhagen books; a clearer indication of their position in the sequence should emerge after discussion of the third and final campaign in Exeter 47 in the following chapter.

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39 See Appendix I.
CHAPTER EIGHT

DERIVATIVES OF THE BOHUN STYLES

Oxford, Exeter College, MS. 47, ff. 1-6, 78-126 (the third campaign)

This chapter is concerned with the third and final campaign in Oxford, Exeter College, MS. 47 and related material. This portion (ff. 78-126v) contains the remainder of the text from psalm 107 onwards. A change in style, discernible around f. 79 in the thirteenth gathering, is manifested throughout the remaining folios of decoration. Although the illumination at first sight appears inferior to that of the first and second campaigns, closer examination discloses that certain initials and borders show a high level of painterly skill and fine draughtsmanship. However, this is matched by a coarser element, where the drawing of the figures is poor and ill-proportioned and the application of colour hurried and less competent. Given the stylistic adaptability of the English Artist and the affinity which the finer material bears to the former campaigns, it is worth considering the possibility that this miniaturist is here taking up the work for a third time at an even later stage in his career.

A number of features suggest change. Firstly, the palette is brighter and more limited in range with emphasis on cobalt and orange; the gold, although burnished, is of a yellower type and is mostly unpounced. Secondly, the technique of applying the pigment differs for both the painting of the flesh and the draperies. Thirdly, certain borders and initials contain larger, more heavily draped figures which indicate greater corporeality and painterly modelling. Fourthly, as the gatherings proceed, there is a gradual rejection of the ivy leaf terminals of the first and second campaigns, popularised by the Flemish Hand, and a reassertion of the indigenous kite-shaped leaves used by the English Artist in the Vienna Psalter. Although continuous rectilinear borders of the type introduced by the Flemish Hand are retained they become progressively slender, grotesques and other decorative forms are taken over from the earlier campaigns but they are transformed and new elements introduced. A further indication of change is the treatment of the letter forms which have become bolder and mostly more abstract in their surface decoration.

Despite a number of enigmatic parallels with the style of the first campaign there is evidence that not the English Artist but three further illuminators, who cannot be identified in any of the material previously discussed, worked in ff. 79-126v. Certain inconsistencies of style on the one hand and on the other affinities with campaigns one and two could well have resulted from material left in various stages of completion by the

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1 The first campaign is discussed in Chapter 4 and the second in Chapter 7. See Appendix VII (iv) for a codicological analysis of this section.
English Artist. This would account for the preservation of certain basic structural, compositional and decorative elements characteristic of the earlier work. The narrative cycle is continued without interruption and the basic border type is present throughout. Where, however, there were probably no vestiges of the first or second campaigns, from approximately ff. 105-126v, and in the calendar, the later illuminators were thus accorded greater freedom and the true nature of their style manifests itself. Support for the hypothesis that some at least of the historiated initials in the later gatherings had already been drawn out at the time of the first campaign, is evident from the minor initials and line-fillers from ff. 20 to 126v which form part of the original work by the Flemish Hand. However, the verse initials in the calendar, added when the manuscript was completed, are entirely the work of one of the later artists. The complexities and important implications of this material warrant a quire-by-quire analysis of the seven gatherings comprising the final campaign.

(i) Analysis of gatherings in the third campaign

Gathering 13 (ff. 78-83)  
This quire of six leaves (formerly of eight; it wants 4 and 7), is of decisive importance in determining the onset of the third campaign. A clear indication that the transition between one campaign and another occurred here is the difficulty encountered in dividing the hands. A parallel can be seen with the transitional folios between the first and second campaigns of the Vienna Psalter. The first historiated initial of the third campaign in Exeter 47 occurs on f. 79v; it is illuminated by an artist who will be named Exeter Hand A (Fig. 455); but the accompanying border is not entirely his work and there is evidence of a second illuminator (Exeter Hand B), who also appears to have illuminated the borders on the recto of this leaf (f. 79). There is a clear indication of a further hand (Exeter Hand C) who illuminated both the recto and verso of leaves 80, 81 and 82 (Figs 456-458). Moreover, this gathering is further complicated by remnants of the first campaign, for the English Artist can be identified in the border decoration of the outer bifolium (ff. 78 and 83). This quire, therefore, is truly transitional: out of its six remaining leaves there is evidence of the work of four illuminators.

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2 These were discussed in Chapter 3.
Gathering 14 (ff. 84-90v)

This quire is of seven leaves; the final leaf has been excised. Although this gathering contains no finished work by the English Artist, as in the former quire there is clear evidence of his influence. From the structure of the borders and the disposition of certain familiar motifs both gatherings thirteen and fourteen strongly indicate that there was a substantial amount of earlier underdrawing. Of the fourteenth quire, the leaves by Hand A (ff. 84, 85, 86, 89 and 90) (Figs 459-463,467,468) reflect the greatest freedom in the choice of new forms (there are vestiges of the first campaign in the survival of ivy leaves enclosed within cusping adjoined to the border), but compared with the later folios the borders are still very much in the mode of the English Artist. The remaining folios in this quire (the fourth and fifth leaves, ff. 87-88 – a bifolium in the centre of the gathering) can be assigned to Hand B (Figs 464-466). Thus according to the pattern of work emerging it can be conjectured that Hand A illuminated the missing final folio in the quire (between ff. 90 and 91) since he had been responsible for the companion leaf (f. 84) at the opening of the gathering. Hand B’s borders, in contrast to Hand A’s, are more in character with those of the first campaign.

Gathering 15 (ff. 91-98)

This quire has a full complement of leaves; it is entirely the work of Hand A, and the first to reveal a fluidity of treatment of the type which suggests that little, if any, underdrawing remained from the initial campaign (Figs 469-475). However, the basic border structure, with continuous rectilinear shafts and ornament placed at focal points along their length, is preserved.

Gathering 16 (ff. 99-105)

This quire lacks the sixth leaf. Hand A (f. 101rv), clearly the most competent illuminator, as in former gatherings continues to display the greatest freedom from the constraints of the earlier campaign (Fig. 479). Hand B (ff. 100rv and 104rv), whose skill is more mediocre, appears to conform more closely than A or C with the design of both the borders and figure style of the English Artist (Figs 483,484). Hand C (ff. 99rv, 102rv, and 103rv), the least competent of the three, seems undecided in his approach: whereas there is heavy reliance on the earlier material he also incorporates new forms, probably appropriated from Hand A, to whom can be assigned the introduction of a number of

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3 See diagram in Appendix VII (iv).
freer elements (Figs 478,480-482). Although the quality of Hand C’s work is decidedly inferior, as the folios progress away from the first campaign his individuality becomes more apparent.

Gatherings 17 (ff. 106-113), 18 (ff. 114-119) and 19-(ff. 120-127), and the calendar (ff. 3-8)

Quires 17 and 19 as well as the calendar are complete, but the eighteenth gathering lacks the first and sixth leaf. Quires 17 and 18 are straightforward in that they are entirely the work of Hand C (Figs 487-493). He also illuminated the recto and verso of the opening leaf (f. 120) to the final gathering (Fig. 494); the companion leaf to this (f. 127) is the last and is blank. Hand A was responsible for the rest of the illumination in the nineteenth quire, which can be rated as some of the finest in the book (Figs 495-498,500-506), and for the calendar decoration (Fig. 499). Judging from the fluidity of the forms in these three gatherings, as well as in the calendar, there was probably no underdrawing remaining from the earlier campaign.

Appendix VII (iv) gives a clear indication of the working methods of the three illuminators who have adopted a division of labour by bifolium. It can be seen, therefore, that there is a direct correlation between the disposition of the bifolia and the attributions proposed. For example, gathering sixteen shows that Hand C illuminated the outer and centre bifolia of the quire (ff. 99 + 105 and 102 + 103), Hand B, the bifolium corresponding to the second and seventh leaf in the gathering (ff. 100 + 104); and since Hand A was responsible for the third leaf in the gathering (f. 101) it can be conjectured that he painted the sixth leaf, now missing between ff. 103 and 104.

Having made the above analysis of the gatherings a more detailed definition of the style of each illuminator will now be given.

(ii) Division of hands (Exeter Hands A, B, C)

Hand A

There is evidence of this artist’s hand in five out of seven gatherings in the main psalter text, and to this can be added the illumination in the calendar (ff. 3-8), a separate gathering of six leaves. He was responsible for the historiated initial on f. 79v in the thirteenth quire, the gathering which forms the transition between the first and third campaigns; leaves 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7 in the fourteenth quire; the fifteenth in its entirety; the third leaf in the sixteenth gathering; and, with the exception of the opening leaf, all the illumination in the nineteenth quire. With the manuscript in its original state it can be
conjectured that he would have painted the companion leaf to the second in the thirteenth quire (between ff. 82 and 83), that to the opening leaf in the fourteenth (between ff. 90 and 91) and, as noted earlier, the now missing sixth leaf (between ff. 103 and 104) in the sixteenth gathering; to this can be added the calendar, thus amounting to twenty-seven illuminated leaves, to which three can be added by conjecture.4

Certain features of the later campaign are evident from f. 84, the first page after the transitional quire, where Hand A was responsible for two historiated initials (Fig. 459) entirely painted in the new style.4 His palette is highly distinctive but limited in range, with a concentration on bright blue and turquoise-blue (cobalt), beigy-pink and bright orange. The juxtaposition of these colours, in contrast to those of the English Artist, strikes an initially discordant note. Also characteristic are the plain yellow-gold, unpounced grounds to the historiated initials and borders (Figs 459-463,468-479), the reduced width of the rectilinear bars, and the replacement of ivy clusters by kite-shaped and wavy trefoil leaves. But the transition from one style to another is not immediately accomplished; it is not until f. 91, at the onset of the fifteenth gathering, that the borders are entirely of the later type, with only the occasional reversion to ivy leaves. Hand A also employs the acanthus leaf, again markedly contrasting with the earlier ornament, as does the treatment of the staves of the initials which are less derivative of that campaign and painted in a limited range of colours (Figs 495-502).

There is a preponderance of blue draperies, to which white pigment is vigorously and fairly thickly applied, in a series of fine brush-strokes. The hair, which covers the head in the form of a thatch, with no parting visible (Fig. 502), is often painted with dabs of white pigment (Figs 455,459,460,471-474). The faces are meticulously rendered in pinkish-brown pigment, with soft grey modelling and white highlighting. There is a noticeable elongation of the faces, replacing the chubbier, squarer heads of the first campaign; but the black, beady eyes are preserved, although only the upper lid of the eye is drawn to which the iris is firmly attached (Figs 471-479). The fine classical qualities of these figures, enhanced by the clinging nature of their garments, are fully expressed in the Four Evangelists (Figs 503-506) and certain border figures, such as the majestic male trumpeter on f. 124v (Fig. 504). This new plasticity and the well-observed figure proportions have clearly resulted from closer observation of the human anatomy. Certain figures in the narrative cycle (Figs 461,467) bear some similarity to those of the English Artist (Figs 188-207) which gives rise to the hypothesis that Hand A may here have been conditioned by underdrawing of the first campaign, but the calendar, like most of Hand A's work from the fifteenth gathering, witnesses to complete freedom from the earlier material. As noted, the calendar decoration, comprising continuous rectilinear bars framing

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4 See Appendix VII (iv).
5 As noted, he also worked in the previous gathering but the material there is not fully representative of his style.
each month, is devoid of all vestiges of the first campaign, including the minor initials which in the main psalter text are the work of the Flemish Hand. It is clearly the latest portion of all, undoubtedly not prepared until the final campaign.6

Hand B

There is little evidence of the work of Hand B: he shared with Hand A the illumination of f. 79v in the transitional gathering; he touched up the border decoration on the recto of this folio (he thus possibly shared in the painting of the now lost leaf between ff. 82 and 83); he was responsible for a bifolium in the fourteenth gathering (ff. 87 and 88) and a further bifolium (ff. 100 and 104) in the sixteenth quire; in all, this amounts to the recto and verso of four complete folios and the involvement in a further folio, the companion leaf of which no longer survives (f. 79).7

Although this is only a small proportion of the campaign as a whole, much is revealed about the artist's personality. Out of the three illuminators his style blends most sympathetically with that of the English Artist. His palette is wider than that of his contemporaries and unlike theirs is broadly comparable with that of the first campaign. Like Hands A and C, however, he uses the bright orange pigment but his blue is deeper and less strident, to which are added a mauvish pink and viridian. The rather squat figures, with squarish heads (Figs 464-466, 483, 484) also agree with the earlier work, as do the border forms and the marginal bars which are not as slender as those of Hands A or B; this artist furthermore exclusively retains the ivy leaf, never venturing to use the repertoire of the other two illuminators.

These factors, as well as the schematic rendering of the draperies, strongly support the hypothesis that some underdrawing, or even painting, remained from the first campaign, to which Hand B was more readily disposed to conform. The main difference, however, between the work of Hand B and that of the English Artist lies in the technique, where there is closer correspondence with that of his contemporaries. There is a liberal application of white highlights of the type already described to all areas of the figures and borders; but in accordance with the technique employed by the English Artist in the first Exeter campaign (of the type which was developing in the final folios of the Vienna Psalter), he often applies white wavy lines to the hair (Figs 464, 483, 484). A further characteristic and significant feature is the introduction of what might be described as hot shading, in which a pinkish-brown pigment, together with white highlighting, is applied to the faces. Although it is not apparent on ff. 87 or 88, it is used in the initials on the other bifolium (ff. 100 and 104) (Figs 483, 484).

6 Owing to the effects of damp, the calendar has now lost its original pristine quality.
7 See Appendix VII (iv).
Hand C

Hand C works, as does Hand A, in five out of the seven gatherings of the psalter text. He was responsible for ff. 80, 81 and 82 in the thirteenth quire (the now missing leaf between ff. 80 and 81 was probably his); the inner and outer bifolia in the sixteenth gathering (ff. 99 + 105 and 102 + 103); all of the seventeenth and eighteenth quires (ff. 106-119) (quire 18 wants leaves 1 and 6), as well as a single leaf (f. 120) at the opening of the final gathering. This amounts to twenty-two leaves, plus three which can be ascribed to him by conjecture. Discounting the calendar, in the psalter text itself Hand C illuminated an amount comparable to that of Hand A who was clearly the chef d'atelier.\(^a\)

Despite a general affinity with Hand A, namely a strident palette and the use of white highlighting, the paint is clumsily applied and the drawing of the forms rough and often ugly (Figs 456-458,480-482,485-494); the work gives the impression of having been rushed. Unlike Hand A, there is no gentle gradation of the modelling or subtle blending of colour, but coarse shading (mostly in orange) for the faces, both for the figures within the narrative cycle and the grotesques of the borders (Figs 480-482,485-494). The facial features are often crudely exaggerated: particularly characteristic is a head type, possibly appropriated from the English Artist, in which the profile nose is accentuated to the point of deformity; it is drawn in a single, continuous line, from the top of the forehead to the end of the nose, with the absence of a bridge (Figs 456-458,486,487,489,493). There are two particularly distinctive features about the draperies: white wavy lines sometimes circumscribe their edges (Figs 482,486,487) and the garments of the clerics are decorated with gold edgings, roughly delineated in black (Figs 457,458). When greater care is taken over the head types they closely approach those of Hand B; their work is not dissimilar, although Hand B handles colour and form with greater attention to detail. Whereas the border decoration agrees with the type taken up by Hand A, in which there is an abundant use of kite-shaped and wavy trilobed leaves (Figs 485,488), there are equally clear indications that certain border forms have been derived from the first campaign. In this artist's hands, however, they develop a distinctive character all their own: ugly winged grotesques and unruly sprays of ivy leaves often spill uncontrollably into the margins, quite unlike any of the other work in the Psalter (Figs 485-488). As the folios progress his work deteriorates. Hand C's drollery of a grotesque with its head immersed in a pot (Fig. 481(b)) clearly derives from similar examples by the English Artist in the first campaign, although it ultimately originates from related types in the Flemish Hand's repertoire (Fig. 369), a phenomenon which illustrates the complex nature of transformation and assimilation of these motifs. Finally, Hand C, unlike A but in

\(^a\) Ibid.
agreement with B, employs pouncing for the burnished gold grounds to the initials and marginal bars, but there is a corresponding decline in technical skill, and the work is not enhanced by his use of a black line to delineate the cusped forms of the borders.

(iii) Assessment of the third campaign

The broad similarity of style between the three illuminators and the affinities, in turn, with the English Artist, suggest that some of the underdrawing remained from the first campaign. This conclusion is further supported by iconographic considerations: the narrative continues to unfold without the sort of interruption or change in interpretation which might be expected from a fresh group of artists who, as far as extant illumination indicates, never worked alongside either of the two Bohun miniaturists. Although Hand A, clearly the most competent, was probably the least constrained by the earlier material, it is not until the non-narrative sequence (the single saints in the *memoriae* and the Four Evangelists) that he achieves total independence, and a reliable assessment of his style can be made. Judging from his response, Hand C, the least skilled illuminator, is undecided upon which course to follow: while there is heavy reliance on the earlier material, by around f. 117 he appears less fettered by it and betrays contact with Hand A in the introduction of freer elements which in his hands, however, lead to a clumsy figure style with overlarge heads and untidy borders. Hand B, whose skill is mediocre, adapts more readily to the figure style and page design predetermined by the English Artist.

Therefore, although it has to be acknowledged that the earlier material both restrained and influenced the three illuminators they each responded to the problem differently: Hand A created something new, with Hand B there is no advancement and Hand C compromises by drawing on both the style of Hand A and the earlier campaign. It is necessary to bear these factors in mind both in an internal assessment of style and for comparison with other works in which they can be identified. Despite the variations between the three hands it is a homogeneous style; the third campaign is clearly a product of contemporary artists of the same workshop. The work of Hands A, B and C aptly demonstrates how figure types and border designs of an earlier period can be transmitted to later artists without the need for personal contact.
Related works (Laud Misc. 165 and Hatfield 290)

Hands B and C share many points of contact with two of the illuminators who participated in a manuscript of William of Nottingham's Commentary on the Gospels, Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 165. It would appear that Exeter Hand B can be identified as Pächt and Alexander's Hand C in the Gospels, and Exeter Hand C their Hand D. In making comparisons, however, it is necessary to consider the following: one, the relative scale of the two works, the Exeter initials being mostly a third the size of those in the Gospels; two, whereas some of the underdrawing of the first campaign remained in the Exeter manuscript, which in varying degrees affected the three artists, the illuminators of the Gospels were at liberty to implement their styles freely, unfettered by these constraints; and three, owing to the sheer volume of work in the Gospels this may have demanded an abbreviated or hurried version of their styles. Therefore, the parallels will not necessarily be apparent in major areas, such as composition, figure types or drapery forms but might be found, instead, in the pigments, techniques and minor details of style. This is borne out by a comparison of an initial by Hand B from Exeter 47 (Fig. 484) and one by Pächt and Alexander's Hand C (Fig. 507). Although the larger space accorded the Gospel miniaturist has enabled him to develop a more monumental figure type with expansive draperies, certain idiosyncracies are preserved, such as the white line edging to the robes which agitate nervously at the hem. The heads are closely similar; particularly telling is the use of the hot shading on the cheeks and around the nose and eyes, as well as the type of eyes, with a large black pupil (Figs 483, 484, 507). The similarity in facial type is clearly shown by comparison with the head of the climbing man in the border on f. 87 of Exeter 47 (Figs 464(a), 507).

The work of Hand C in Exeter 47 and Pächt and Alexander's Hand D in the Gospels is equally close. Owing to the discrepancy in scale between the initials in the two works the figures do not compare well, but in the border decoration where Hand C is given more scope, the natural monumentality of his figure style becomes apparent, as in the figure of the hooded young man on ff. 102v and 103v (Figs 481(a), 482(a)) in Exeter 47 which compares closely with the standing figures in the Gospels initials (Fig. 509). Especially characteristic, as with Hand B, is the agitated white line around the hems of the garments. The young man shares many points of contact with the male figure who stands to the right in the Gospels initial in the second column of text (Figs 481(a), 509), whose exaggerated profile in turn exactly parallels that of the climbing man outside the

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9 Pächt and Alexander (1973), no. 739, lxxiii with bibliography; Sandler (1986), p. 232, Fig. 9.
10 According to Pächt and Alexander (1973), no. 739, their Hand C in Laud Misc. 165 illuminated ff. 239-78v, 457-72, 489-96, 570 to end, and their Hand D, ff. 279-456v, 473-88, 497-569.
11 In my reproductions the respective initials have been printed a comparable size.
initial on f. 99v in the Exeter College manuscript (Fig. 478). Also to be found in both works is the profile head in which the nose is drawn in one continuous line from the forehead, as shown by the small boy in the same Gospels initial (Fig. 509), and that of the climbing figure on f. 112v of the Exeter Psalter (Fig. 489). The standard facial type used by Hand C, in which there is greyish modelling around the eyes and cheeks, is of the type used by Hand D throughout the Gospels. Although the technique of painting is less modelled in the Gospels (it is not distinguished as in Exeter 47 by a dryish application of white pigment for highlighting) there is an emphasis on a particularly strident orange and blue, and Hand B characteristically uses a pinker, more mauvish palette. There can be little doubt that the same two artists work in both manuscripts.

To a degree there is an overlapping of styles between the two illuminators; this is evident in both manuscripts and emphasises their workshop affiliation. The affinity of the two artists is well illustrated from comparison of the head of Christ by Hand C on f. 117v in Exeter 47 (Fig. 492) and that in the Gospels by Exeter Hand B (Fig. 508), and the heads by Hand C in the Psalter (Fig. 457) and those by Hand B in the Gospels (Fig. 507). The fact that the ornament in the Gospels, consisting of simple uninhabited terminals of trilobed leaves (Figs 507-509), is totally unrelated to that in Exeter 47 (Figs 485, 488) further supports the hypothesis that the Psalter's borders were either drawn out in part by the English Artist, or that Hands A, B and C were charged by the patrons to complete the work in the style of the first and second campaigns.

Exeter Hand A cannot be identified in the Nottingham Gospels, but a remarkably similar illuminator can be found in Hatfield House, MS. 290, a book comprising a miscellany of religious works. Comparison can be made between Hand A and the artist who, with the exception of the opening folio, illuminated the entire work.

The Moses type in Exeter 47 (Figs 455, 476, 477, 479) with a blue robe lined with orange, an oval face and small forked beard can be compared with the figure of Christ on f. 163 in Hatfield 290 (Fig. 515). The squarer head of the tonsured cleric in this initial who has a pale, softly modelled complexion and white textured hair has a direct parallel in the border figure of the praying cleric on f. 95v in Exeter 47 (Fig. 473). The soft facial features of St Luke on f. 125v (Fig. 505) precisely correspond to those of the figure who stands on the left in the initial on f. 43v (Fig. 511), while the head of the man with slightly downcast eyes who stands on the far right relates to that of the climbing figure on f. 91 in Exeter 47 (Fig. 470(b)). The more rugged faces of the clerics in the single

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12 On this manuscript see Historical Manuscripts Commission, part xiii (Addenda) (1915), p.3; Forte (1957), 403-13; Simpson (1984), pp.133, 150, pls 211, 281, 282.
13 There are historiated initials and borders on ff. 43v, 138v, and 163; decorative initials and borders on ff. 129v, 150 and 155v, as well as a miniature and borders on f. 80. Folio 13, by a different artist, has a miniature, historiated initial and borders on three sides of the text. Although the Hatfield initials and the miniature are larger than the average Exeter initials, the initials of the Evangelists on ff. 124, 124v, 125v and 126 are comparable in size.
miniature by Exeter Hand A in Hatfield 290 (Fig. 518) are mirrored in the cleric just
outside the initial on f. 123 in Exeter 47 (Fig. 498); an especially close parallel exists
between the Exeter cleric and the one wearing a small black hat who is seated reading on
the far left of the miniature. There is an identical application of pen marks simulating
script on both the scrolls of the Evangelists (Figs 503-506) and the book used by one of
the clerics in the Hatfield miniatures (Fig. 518); but securing beyond doubt their close
relationship is the distinctive type of reading stand used by the Evangelist Matthew on f.
124v in Exeter 47 (Fig. 504) and the almost identical wooden structure in the Hatfield
initial on f. 145v (Fig. 514). Closely similar is the looped nature of much of the drapery,
especially evident in the seated figures in the Hatfield initials (Figs 513,514,518), and
which is especially characteristic of the type employed by Hand A in Exeter 47, as in the
Evangelist initials (Figs 503-506). This artist's method of depicting a number of closely
grouped people, as in the Hatfield initial on f. 145v (Fig. 514), who are partially visible
in varying degrees behind the front row, and in the St Ursula initial on f. 124 in Exeter
47 (Fig. 502) confirms beyond doubt the single identity of the illuminator. The oval head,
with neat forked beard, straight hair framing the face without a parting and softly
modelled features, as in the seated Christ on f. 138v in the Hatfield manuscript (Fig. 513),
is of the type most commonly found in the Psalter (Figs 460,461(a),468,469,495-497).
The rather schematic rendering of Christ's drapery in the Hatfield initial (Fig. 513) is akin
to that of the seated Evangelist on f. 124v (Fig. 504); while the other figure in the
Hatfield initial is close to the Evangelist on f. 125v in the Exeter Psalter (Fig. 505).

The border decoration in MS. 290 consists of slender, rectilinear bars with terminals of
kite-shaped leaves in sprays or in pairs of the type employed by Hand A in Exeter 47
(Figs 500,512,516,517). The small initials in the calendar of Exeter 47 (Fig. 499) are of
burnished gold on an alternate pink and blue ground, detailed in white, and are of the
same type as those used for the three-line initials in the text of Hatfield 290 (Fig. 517).
The larger decorative initials which occur on ff. 150 and 155 (Figs 516,517) are painted
on an unpounced ground of gold, filled with a pattern of interwoven trilobed foliage, and
the colour range remains as limited as that in the major decoration, with the exclusive use
of orange, azure and carmine. There is some variability in the borders; although those on
f. 138v relate closely to the Exeter type (Figs 500,512), there is evidence of certain forms
and structures which do not occur in Exeter 47, namely marigold, daisy buds, interface
and simple trilobed leaves (Figs 510,516). These bear some relation to those of the other
Hatfield artist, who was responsible for the miniature, historiated initial and borders on f.
13 (Figs 545,546).14 Apart from the occasional use of daisy buds and the even rarer
employment of interface, the predominant leaf types used by Hand A in Hatfield 290 are
kite-shaped leaves and wavy trilobes, interspersed with burnished gold studs. The trilobes

14 This artist is discussed later in the chapter.
sometimes curl back on themselves and might be seen as an early form of the acanthus leaf (Figs 313-315). The fully developed type, which is absent from MS. 290, occurs as a major element of ornament by Hand A in Exeter 47. Therefore, the acanthus leaf could have developed quite naturally out of the trilobe.

An important parallel can be seen in the distinctive treatment of the hair on f. 163 of the Hatfield manuscript (Fig. 515). As in Exeter 47 this textured effect is achieved by applying dryish white pigment in a series of short brush strokes. The technique of white highlighting for most of the draperies in the Hatfield manuscript is achieved by applying the white pigment in a series of rather streaky lines (Fig. 515). However, for certain other garments, such as on f. 80 (Fig. 518) and f. 138v (Fig. 513), although the paint is not as softly blended, it approaches the technique employed by Hand A in the Exeter initials (Figs 495-506).

As in Exeter 47 there is emphasis on orange, blue and pink pigments on a ground of slightly pounced, or totally plain burnished gold, but the colours are less strident. In both manuscripts, gold cusping, which is in turn outlined in black, surrounds the outer frame of the letter form, and the staves of the initials are similar, consisting of simple patterns in which there is a limited palette, usually of pink or blue.

(v) Chronology of works by Exeter Hands A, B and C

If only on account of the earlier-looking border forms, there is a strong possibility that Hatfield 290 pre-dates Exeter 47, but other factors support this chronology. Whereas the use of white pigment, applied in dryish brush strokes to simulate hair, was only a developing interest in one of the historiated initials in the Hatfield manuscript, it becomes a standard element of Hand A's style in Exeter 47. Similarly, the application of white streaks to the draperies, not as yet as softly modelled as those in the Psalter, might be seen as a precursor of this technique. Perhaps the most telling evidence in support of an earlier date for Hatfield 290, however, is the treatment of the eyes which are not as conspicuously slit-like or beady as those in Exeter 47. This suggests that the Hatfield book was illuminated before Hand A had knowledge of the Bohun style, as reflected in the first and second campaigns of Exeter 47. There is little doubt that it is the same artist in the two books although the illumination in MS. 290 is arguably less refined. Hand A's work in the third campaign in the Exeter Psalter might be seen as representing his fully mature style; the painting of the Evangelists bears eloquent testimony to this (Figs 503-

\[15\] Out of eight pages of decoration attributable to this artist in Hatfield 290, ff. 43v, 129v, 150 and 155v have unpounced grounds of plain burnished gold, while the remaining three (ff. 138v, 145v, 163) and the miniature (f. 80) have a simple form of pouncing in groups of three dots; the initial on f. 138v receives overlaid dabs of orange pigment and that on f. 145v blue pigment. The only notable aberration from the palette described is the isolated use of a plummy red pigment for Christ's undergarment on f. 138v.
All three of the illuminators of the third campaign in Exeter 47 have now been identified in other extant works. That they originated from the same workshop is assured. This can be demonstrated by one very interesting iconographic parallel. Although Hand A does not work in the Nottingham Gospels and conversely Hands B and C do not participate in Hatfield 290, there is an indisputable relationship between the two in the presence in each of a scene showing a cleric in academic dress teaching a group of younger clerics (Figs 518–519).16

London, British Library, Egerton MS. 3277

The style of the major historiated initials and borders in a further manuscript of Bohun ownership, British Library, Egerton 3277,17 a sumptuously illuminated psalter-hours, holds much in common with that just characterised. The majority of pages which contain major initials, unlike Exeter 47, are intact (Figs 520–530).18 They occupy approximately half the textual space; partial borders extend from the initials and fill all except the right-hand margin which remains empty. In this it is following the border structure determined by the Flemish Hand in the minor decoration in the Fitzwilliam Psalter, the Bodleian Psalter-Hours, the Pommersfelden fragment and the two manuscripts in Copenhagen, but the large format of the initials, which are mostly compartmentalised into four scenes to accommodate the narrative, conform to the English tradition, as seen in the major psalm divisions in the Vienna and Exeter Psalters (Figs 147,148,188,189). Historiated initials as a means of disposing the principal narrative appear to have been alien for the Flemish Hand who favoured rectangular miniatures, as in Bodleian Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38–1950. Broadly, whereas the English Bohun tradition is reflected in the Vienna, Exeter and Egerton Psalters (and to a degree, Copenhagen manuscripts), the Franco-Flemish tradition gained ascendancy in the Fitzwilliam and Bodleian books and is reflected in varying degrees in the border decoration of all the Bohun works so far discussed, with the exception of the greater part of the Vienna Psalter, mostly executed before the partnership was established.

Not only is the format of the major initials in Egerton 3277 rooted in the English tradition, but the style of the painting itself closely relates to that of the English Artist.

16 A suggested date for the third campaign in Exeter 47 will be advanced in Chapter 11.
17 On this manuscript see Sotheby (6 December 1937), where it is entitled the Psalter of Henry IV; National Art-Collections Fund (1943), pp.4–7; Friends of National Libraries (1943–44), p.4; Wormald (1953), 82, Fig.7; Millar (1954), p.292, figs 246, 247; Rickert (1965), pp.149–50, 244 n.10, pl.153a. For a good description of this manuscript see London (1970), pp.376–81. I do, however, dispute the statement (pp.380–81) that at least three hands were responsible for the decoration. On this manuscript, see also Simpson (1980), 141, Fig.10; Alexander (1983), p.148; and Simpson (1984), pp.120, 127, 128, 129, 131, 143, 155, pl.183–87, 197, 259, 260.
18 For what survives, see London (1970), pp.376–81. For an identification and description of the subjects depicted, see Appendix VI.
The most marked stylistic affinities are probably with the second campaign in Exeter 47 and the two Copenhagen manuscripts, but there is also some correspondence with Laud Misc. 165, Hatfield 290 and the final campaign in Exeter 47.

(i) The major decoration: a close follower of the English Artist

Fundamental changes, introduced by the artist of the principal psalm initials, might be interpreted either as the English Artist developing, as before, under a fresh wave of influences, or as the work of a different illuminator in close imitation of his style. The attempt to answer this question has necessitated a critical stylistic analysis, only an outline of which can be given here. If, however, it is a product of the English Artist then a number modifications have occurred in figure style, palette, technique and ornament.

It is a palette which at first sight appears garish; the colours are rather strident and not as aesthetically harmonious as those employed by the English Artist. Certain pigments have been introduced, hitherto not used by this miniaturist, with emphasis on a mauvish blue, ultramarine, cobalt, beigy-pink and bright orange, the latter often discoloured by dark shading; the English Artist was accustomed to using orange pigment, but more sparingly and with greater clarity. Azure and rose pink, previously the two dominant colours, are suppressed, although not entirely abandoned, and there is the increasing use of red pigment. This more intensive, less pristine palette recalls that of the third campaign in Exeter 47; the rather muddy orange and mauvish blue pigments are particularly characteristic of Hand C. In the place of azure, with extensive soft white highlighting, typical of the English Artist, there is emphasis on ultramarine, with white pigment applied in a series of dryish white lines, reminiscent of the final Exeter campaign, although there ultramarine is largely replaced by cobalt. However, the palette in Egerton 3277 is clearly wider than that used by Exeter Hands A, B and C.

Further representative of this development and reminiscent of the style of the three illuminators in the final campaign in Exeter 47, Hand C in particular, is the technique used for the modelling of the faces and certain grotesques where heavy grey shading is not always carefully applied; there are male heads in the lower right-hand compartment of the major initial and minor psalm initial on f. 114 (Fig. 525) which are quite crudely rendered and recall the work of this hand (Figs 456,458,480,486,487,489-494), as do those of the clerics outside the initial on f. 67 with dots placed on the faces to simulate the stubble of the beard (Fig. 522). Equally uncharacteristic of the English Artist is the roughly offset diaper on f. 68v (Fig. 523). The treatment of the hair, in which dryish white pigment and black shading are applied in a series of lines to a largely straw-coloured base (Figs 523,524,529,530), also recalls that of Hand C (Figs 457,486,487); the technique used by Hand A is similar but the white pigment is placed on a darker surface
in dabs. From f. 114 onwards, in the section illustrating the Hours, the modelling generally shows greater care and the colours are more softly modulated and harmonious, azure and rose pink again predominating. Despite these discrepancies in palette and technique, however, it is clearly the work of a single hand.  

The Egerton artist employs two basic head types. The long, oval head, with straight hair framing the face and no fringe or visible parting, resembling a wig in form, is typical of the majority in the third Exeter campaign. Although this head is closer in technique to those of Exeter Hand C, in form there is a closer overall correspondence with those of Hand A. However, the oval head is also widely used by the English Artist and where there is a preponderance of this type, as on f. 123 (Fig. 526), there is a clear affinity with the two Copenhagen manuscripts (Figs 430, 433) and the second campaign in Exeter 47 (ff. 16 and 17 in particular), a parallel which is also evident in the border decoration (Figs 408, 409, 411, 412). Equally reminiscent of that miniaturist is the broader Egerton head, as employed for the crowned figures (Figs 520, 521), with wavier hair, as in two of the Magi in Copenhagen 547 (Fig. 420), a type not commonly employed in the third campaign, except by Hand B who was strongly conditioned by the style of the earlier material.

Close correspondence between the figures in the Egerton and Copenhagen manuscripts is further demonstrated if the Presentation in the Temple initial (Fig. 422) is compared with the initial on f. 114 in Egerton 3277 (Fig. 525). Strong reminiscences of the figure types of the first campaign in Exeter 47 are equally apparent, however, if comparison is made between the large initials on ff. 29v and 133 (Figs 520, 528) and those on ff. 33v and 34 in Exeter 47 (Figs 188, 189). Although the figures are more monumental and the heads show greater characterisation in the Egerton initials, the same general style pervades the two works. A particularly striking parallel exists between the sleeping figure of an Apostle in the bottom right-hand section on f. 133 (Fig. 528) and the seated figure of Jacob represented twice in the Exeter initial (Fig. 207). However, even within the compartmentalised initials in Egerton 3277 which, as shown, can impose limitations on the artist, the figures are more elongated and naturalistic in proportion, as are those by Hand A in the third Exeter campaign. The Egerton artist's illumination hints at a greater understanding of the anatomy of a type which is already fully evident in the work on Hand A. There are two specific instances where the figure and drapery forms approach the sculptural, rounded qualities inherent in the style of Hand A. They both occur on f. 29v; one a drollery who plays a lute in the left-hand border, the other an old man with a large well-rendered head, crouching in the foliage of the lower border (Fig. 520). They compare with the seated Evangelists and certain marginal figures by Hand A (Figs 503-19.

Certain distortions may appear more exaggerated owing to the unfortunate but unavoidable variability in the printing of the photographs.
506), and certain heads by Hand C (Fig. 494); they share with them a type of drapery which clings tightly to the body and forms into loop-like furrows along the lines of the folds. However, these forms are not universally employed in Egerton 3277, as in the third Exeter campaign. It may be possible to detect a degree of corporeality emerging in Copenhagen 547 (Figs 420,424) and in the Raising of Lazarus miniature in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 402). White lines, as used by Hand C in Laud Misc. 165, are employed by the Egerton illuminator to delineate certain draperies, as in the lower right-hand compartment on f. 78 (Fig. 524). Furthermore, in both the Egerton and Exeter manuscripts there is the use of draperies edged in a gold and black cross-hatched pattern (only mildly detectable in Copenhagen 547) for the garments of the clerics (Figs 522,525). It was noted in the discussion of Copenhagen 547 that there was a growing tendency to allow the subject matter of the initial to extend into the area immediately outside (Figs 414,424,426). In Egerton 3277 there is an increasing use of this device (Figs 522,524,528,529), and single standing or seated figures, monumental in proportion (Figs 521,525-527), recall the large marginal types occupying an identical position in the third Exeter campaign (Figs 496(b),504), with the exception of St Ursula initial, where a number of heads fill the three outer projections (Fig. 502).

Reliance on the works of the earlier tradition is further shown in a number of miscellaneous stylistic and iconographic features, not encountered in the later Exeter material. Precisely the same technique for depicting the marbled tomb in the Lazarus miniature (Fig. 402) is found on f. 142 in Egerton 3277 (Fig. 529), a convention not used by the three illuminators of the third Exeter campaign. Specific comparison can be made between the curious knotting of the shroud in the Bodleian miniature and that in the roundel outside the initial on the same Egerton folio (Figs 402,530). Further motifs such as the small painterly stream in the half-page miniature in Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950 (Figs 398,400) and the globular bushes in the Lazarus scene also occur in the Egerton initials (Figs 527,528).

Although sprays of ivy leaves are retained, there are certain typically English foliage forms, such as 'kites', holly and wavy trefoils (Figs 520,521,528-530), which have a direct parallel in the third Exeter campaign; in palette and technique they are especially close to those by Hand C (Figs 485,488). Just as leaf forms of the earlier period reappear in Egerton 3277, climbing figures of a type which derive ultimately from the Ormesby Psalter, but have a more immediate source in the Vienna and Exeter Psalters, are incorporated, as are other forms, pigments and techniques which were popularised by the English Artist.

A further new feature in Egerton 3277, although it does not occur throughout, is the method used for ornamenting the staves of the initial D of Dirige on f. 145v (Fig. 530) with a simple pattern of pink and blue of the type widely used by Hand A in Exeter 47.
The majority, however, although showing some development, compare closely with the type found for both the large and small initials in the first campaign in Exeter 47. Also showing allegiance to the work of the earlier tradition are the delicately pounced gold grounds, unlike those in the third Exeter campaign which largely consist of plain gold surfaces.

Whereas in past discussion it has been possible to accept certain stylistic modifications as the work of a single illuminator developing, the correspondences here are not of a precise enough nature to attribute the major illumination in Egerton 3277 to the English Artist, despite the close affinity with the works of the earlier tradition, but to a very close imitator of the English Artist. Clear developments towards the third campaign in Exeter 47 have been discerned but this artist cannot be identified as any one of those hands. It is as though the Egerton illuminator had at his disposal the full decorative repertoire of the English Artist on which to draw however.

Also probably assignable to the English Artist's close follower are the two overpainted miniatures in the French Romance, Royal 20.D.iv (Figs 537,538) which reflect precisely this style. The relationship between the two works is evidenced in the more monumental treatment of form, the costume detail, palette and technique, as well as the rendering of the faces and hair (Figs 520,521,523,529).

(ii) Assessment of the major decoration

The main trends away from the earlier tradition can be briefly summarised as follows: there is a largely more strident palette; a slightly coarser technique, especially apparent in the faces where vigorous grey shading has mostly been used; larger, more monumental figures which occasionally spill out into the borders; a growing interest in the decorative details of costume apparent in the borders, as well as in the initials; and a treatment of architecture which, although not measurably more spatial than that in the two Copenhagen manuscripts, has become more blocky and complex in structure. At the same time however there is the reassertion of indigenous elements of border ornament.

Although there are clear affinities between the principal psalm initials in Egerton 3277 and the third campaign in Exeter 47, particularly with Hand C, a positive attribution cannot be made. As stated, the major illumination in the Egerton manuscript appears to be that of a close follower of the English Artist (this explains why in certain respects the style is closer to campaigns one and two in Exeter 47) but shows signs of later development. The Egerton illuminator's work might be seen as occupying a position midway between the style of the English Artist in the second Exeter campaign, to which

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20 On this manuscript see Warner and Gilson (1921), ii, p.378 (the miniatures in question occur on ff.1, 102v); Rickert (1952), p.75, pl. xle; Wormald (1953), 82-83; Rickert (1965), p.243 n.10; Simpson (1964), pp.120, 128.
the Copenhagen Hours and Lives are closely related, and the third Exeter campaign which
contains a number of late elements by the illuminators of a different workshop. Hand A's
figures throughout Exeter 47 possess a corporeality which is evident only in one or two
figures in Egerton 3277. Significantly absent from the Egerton manuscript, however, is the
acanthus foliage, a leaf form employed liberally by Hand A in Exeter 47, and one which
is associated with works such as the Carmelite Missal. Egerton 3277, like Hatfield 290,
occupies an earlier position in the chronology than the third campaign in Exeter 47. The
correspondence between the two styles might therefore be explained if the Egerton style
could be seen as a precursor for that of the third Exeter campaign. As shown, Exeter
Hands A, B and C were clever imitators of the earlier Bohun style. However, they clearly
belonged to a later workshop, possibly more commercial and serving a number of clients,
unlike the Bohun illuminators whose allegiance was exclusively to that family. The
apparently poor quality of some of the illumination in the third campaign in Exeter 47
might therefore be explained by the need to complete the assignment rapidly.

(iii) The minor decoration: the Flemish Hand

The minor decoration in Egerton 3277, comprising the remaining psalm initials, verse
initials, line-fillers and borders can be assigned to the Flemish Hand. As noted, his
influence is also apparent in the major folios of decoration, where English ornament (Figs
520,521,523-530) is grafted on to a Flemish border structure (Figs 393-396,446,447,450,451).

All the elements of the Flemish Hand's repertoire are evident in this work: there are the
familiar borders composed of straight marginal bars, terminating in the upper and lower
borders in short rigid stems which burst into ivy leaf sprays (Fig. 532). A special feature
of this artist's work in Egerton 3277 are the exquisite line-fillers in the two litanies, which
testify to a wide repertoire of highly distinctive forms. Reaffirming this
illuminator's Flemish origins is the symmetrical border structure in which a mirror image
is created by drolleries and other forms (they grow towards each other and interlock at
the centre), recalling the treatment of the borders in the Antiphonary (Figs 532,533)); but
the degree of refinement in the Egerton book is abundantly apparent. Equally reminiscent

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21 This manuscript is discussed in Chapter 9 where bibliography is given at n.33.
22 Discussion of this question is taken up again in Chapter 11.
23 Although this manuscript is of larger proportions than Fitzwilliam 38-1950, Auct. D.4.4, Pommersfelden
348, Copenhagen 547 4° and Copenhagen 517 4°, the design of the page is identical, a feature which
would become fully apparent if reduced in size. See Appendix I for comparative diagrams of these
manuscripts.
24 The first litany occurs in the psalter section (ff. 107-110v), the second accompanies the hours
(ff. 137v-141v).
25 A drollery occurs on ff. 22 and 92 of Egerton 3277 which responds with a type in the Brussels
Antiphonary, while on f. 141v there is a hooded monster of the Flemish type as seen throughout the
Brussels Breviary and Missal.
of his Flemish work is the motif, as found in the Bodleian Hours, of a stork and dog with their heads immersed in a wicker basket (Fig. 369), a form which does not emanate from the English tradition but which can be traced to its Tournai origins in the *Voeux du Paon* (Fig. 370). Certain naturalistic motifs, such as the butterfly, widely used in the Antiphonary, Hours and Royal Psalter, but phased out for his work in the other Bohun manuscripts, reappear as on f. 81 in Egerton 3277. The idea of using bulky drapery on the drolleries, as on ff. 17v and 35, also seems to be specifically Flemish in origin since drolleries of this type, some now partly erased, occur in the Antiphonary. The drolleries which are found in the litany and following the petitions are especially characteristic of the Flemish Hand and recall those in Lat. liturg. f. 3.

(iv) The minor decoration: evidence of interaction between the Flemish Hand and English Artist

Although the structure of the border is typically Flemish, as are certain motifs, such as the mitred bishop and the woman spinning, new forms appear, such as the bat, lion mask and winged dragon which have been appropriated from the English Artist’s repertoire. The most widely borrowed border motif is that of the climbing and acrobatic man, nude, semi-nude or fully clad, which has a wide variety of permutations; a climbing figure by the Flemish Hand is compared here with one by the English Artist from the first campaign in the Exeter Psalter (Figs 535, 536). The figures are lively and supple, contrasting with the rigid, doll-like forms in the adjacent psalm initials by the same hand. In general, these border figures show greater anatomical accuracy and corporeality of form: the semi-nude acrobat on f. 43v can be traced back to the Vienna Psalter and beyond to the Ormesby Psalter. Certain types, particularly the grotesque indigenous to England in which a human, animal or bird head is seen emerging from the hind-quarters of a beast, sometimes with a further head adjoined which faces in an opposite direction, are a considerable innovation for this illuminator and are found throughout the manuscript.

At first sight many of the hybrids appear to be replicas of those in Vienna 1826* and Exeter 47, but when an attempt is made to find precise parallels in the English Artist’s repertoire not one is an exact copy of the other in any of the works in question. This seems to suggest that the English Artist and Flemish Hand were not following pattern books but ingeniously adapting and modifying existing types as they progressed. Each artist creates something unique by fusing elements of the two decorative traditions; this

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26 This is found on f. 47v in Egerton 3277.
27 See Chapter 6 for discussion of this manuscript.
28 See Chapters 1, 2 and 3. This form is used by the English Artist on f. 87.
could be illustrated by countless examples but discussion must be limited to a few brief
descriptions. On f. 9 there is a drollery wearing a typically Flemish head-dress, but the
grotesque body is English in origin; on f. 19 there is a climbing man of English invention
except for the head which is characteristically Flemish. Both ff. 70v and 130 contain
excellent illustrations of how this illuminator remodelled forms derived from his
collaborator: while the border structure and initial forms are Franco-Flemish, the motifs
are of English provenance. Representative of this sometimes complex method of transfer
is a drollery in Exeter 47 whose head is immersed in a pot (Fig. 220); although this
specific form was created by the English Artist it had been inspired by the Flemish
Hand's device of a stork or dog with its head in a basket. The Flemish Hand then
appropriated this device and applied it in a modified form on ff. 54v and 55 in Egerton
3277.

The English Artist's influence is evident in the Flemish Hand's choice of leaf forms
and certain other decorative motifs. Although his own types are still retained, his
repertoire has widened to include 'kites', holly, elongated wavy trefoils and a leaf with
many globular segments surrounded by cusping, as well as interface and paired wing-like
foliage stems, all characteristic of the English Artist. In fact, these forms, like those of his
Flemish background, were curiously suppressed until the production of this manuscript.
Instead, he created a restrained, rather stereotyped yet successful border structure with a
more limited repertory of forms.¹

(v) Egerton 3277: position in the chronology

The more extensive range of motifs and the degree of their assimilation from the
English Artist clearly testify to Egerton 3277 being the Flemish Hand's latest extant work.
A late position in the chronology can also be postulated for his collaborator's work in this
manuscript, who is a close imitator of the English Artist.

The calendar in Egerton 3277 is the only surviving example illuminated by the
Flemish Hand (Fig. 531). It embodies the most Anglicised piece of decoration of his
career; at first glance it is barely distinguishable from the work of the English Artist, and
it would appear to be even later in style than his illumination in the main text. The minor
verse initials in the main text of Egerton 3277 by the Flemish Hand appear to have been
done before those in the calendar, which are more painterly in technique (the palette is
marginally duller and more subtle than that of the text), a characteristic which extends to
the calendar ornament and figures within the calendar borders. Even here, however, the
ivy leaves are retained but they are mottled in thickish white pigment set in gold cusping,

¹ I refer here to the border decoration of the type which occurs throughout Fitzwilliam 38-1950, Auct.
D.4.4. Pommersfelden 348, Copenhagen 547 4° and 517 4°.
and are joined by a succulent thickly painted multilobed leaf and burnished gold 'kites', hitherto exclusively associated with the English Artist. The roundels containing the labours of the month and signs of the Zodiac take the form of those in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 241,531).

Just as a discrepancy has been noted between the verse initials and line-fillers in the main text and the small initials in the calendar, the same anomaly is evident in the main text between the verse initials and line-fillers on the one hand and the initial initials and borders on the other. Since the latter are only marginally less painterly in treatment than those in the calendar and foliage of the calendar type is used, it is reasonable to assume that the calendar and main decoration in the text (with the exception of the verse initials and line-fillers) are fairly close in date. The minor ornament, however, is considerably more linear in style being of the type found in all the other works attributable to his hand, suggesting that they were possibly prepared at an earlier date. This hypothesis is supported by the script of the main text which appears to have been written by the same scribe as that in Exeter 47 (Figs 535,536). It is feasible, therefore, that the preparation of the text, including the painting of the minor illumination (verse initials and line-fillers) in Egerton 3277, may date to around the time of the first Exeter campaign. The calendar, in the Egerton manuscript, as in the Vienna and Exeter Psalters, marks the completion of the work; and in all three books (Vienna, Exeter and Egerton) it is possible to witness the latest manifestation of the respective styles.30

Although the Flemish Hand’s illumination in Egerton 3277 might be described as his most English in style, it contains elements which are an equally strong reminder of his Flemish origins. The Egerton manuscript is a unique synthesis of the two traditions. In this, his possibly latest extant work, he appears to have reached the heights of his creative powers, witnessed in the exuberance of the ornament. His development, from what has been suggested is his earliest (Bodleian Lat. liturg. f.3) and latest (B.L., Egerton 3277) work, is extensive but nonetheless explicable.

Furthermore, although the Flemish Hand was in evidence when the calendar was added to Egerton 3277 he appears to have been out of circulation when the calendar of Exeter 47, illuminated entirely by Hand A, was prepared; this in turn supports the contention that the third campaign in Exeter 47 was taken over by a different workshop and that it postdates Egerton 3277.

Given the affinity between the style of the English Artist in the second campaign in Exeter 47 and the material discussed in this chapter a position in the sequence, after, rather than before the two books in Copenhagen is perhaps more likely; its precise chronology however is uncertain.

30 All the other Bohun manuscripts discussed either have no calendars or calendars which were added in the fifteenth century: these are tabulated in Appendix II.

Finally, there is a manuscript which touches not only on Egerton 3277 and the third campaign in Exeter 47, but also on the William of Nottingham Commentary on the Gospels. Pächt and Alexander's Hands C and D in Laud. Misc. 165 have now been discussed, but their Hands A and B have as yet to be considered. It is well known that their Hand B of the Gospels can be identified in British Library, MSS. Royal 6.E.vi and 6.E.vii, called Omne Bonum, in which three other illuminators can be discerned. As was the case in the Gospels, Hand B carried out the bulk of the work. Here their Hand B will be called Omne Bonum Hand A.

(i) Omne Bonum Hand A

This artist employs an economical style in which scarcely any detail is expended, comprising a basic repertoire of stereotypes for flower, leaf and human forms (Figs 540-543). His flat compositions are executed with extreme simplicity. The backgrounds to the miniatures are of burnished gold, while the remaining ornament consists, with the exception of a full border on f. 16v (Fig. 540), of short foliage terminals which issue from the historiated initials (Fig. 541). The most widely used flower form is a stylised version of the marigold bud, elongated in shape and suspended in pairs on thin stalks. Particularly characteristic are the black hairy tufts which support a stylised three-pointed leaf, usually of burnished gold, but sometimes painted in a distinctive mauve and orange. The standard head type, oval in shape, is repeated throughout almost without variation and the eyes consist merely of black dots (Figs 540-543). White pigment is used as a base for the flesh and orange and brown lines delineate the facial features and hair. The figures have a wooden, insubstantial quality; the proportions are often ungainly and the bodily gestures restricted. The palette, consisting of a monotone range of pigments including orange, blue, green, pink, mauve and brown, is as limited as the border and figure forms. The linearity of his technique is nowhere better illustrated than in the draperies, which are painted in flat colours; some relief is given by the application of a pattern of white dots to the surface of certain garments. His abbreviated style may have resulted in part from the heavy work load, but even if his task had been less onerous it is doubtful that he would have aspired to great heights artistically.

The source of the style could be seen to lie in English manuscripts of ca 1330-50. At first sight this hand prompts comparison with the main illuminator in Egerton 2781.

31 Their Hand A will be touched on in the following chapter.
discussed in an earlier context, where it was noted that he also worked in the Smithfield Decretals and the Apocalypse, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 20, which have been dated on grounds of style to between 1335-40. There are also stylistic connections with Liturg. 198 of ca 1340-45 and the Zouche Hours and the Fitzwarin Psalter of ca 1345. The figure on f. 32 in Omne Bonum (Fig. 541), seated in a strongly mannered, cross-legged pose, has a parallel in Liturg. 198 (Fig. 63) and the Zouche Hours (Fig. 65), which in turn has affinities with certain mannered poses in the Astor Psalter-Hours and the Fitzwarin and Brescia Psalters (Figs 31,32,60,61). Moreover, the border decoration on f. 16v (Fig. 540) is strongly reminiscent of works of the first half of the fourteenth century, such as that on f.1 in Corpus 20. Similarly, the palette, with the use of bright orange and mauve pigments, recalls the products of that period.

However, even allowing for the larger scale of the illumination and an inevitable decline in artistic standards in so vast an undertaking, it cannot be assigned to the artist of the Egerton Hours, despite the undeniably close affinities. On the contrary, it would appear to be the work of an illuminator who was active at a later date, borrowing heavily on earlier forms. Although admittedly a debased version, the style of Omne Bonum Hand A could be seen as deriving from the Flemish Bohun illuminator. If miniatures from Fitzwilliam 38-1950 are compared with an historiated initial by Hand A, given the more stereotyped nature of his work there is agreement in all aspects of style: the heads with forked beards, the linear facial types, contemporary costumes, the turreted architecture and the figures themselves (Figs 328-339). The small heads in initials which occur on a number of folios in Omne Bonum are almost replicas of those of the Flemish Hand. Affinity with the Bohun workshop is also evident in the strongly narrative content of the illustration. Furthermore, there is a representation of the Instruments of the Passion by Hand A (Fig. 542) which recalls that by the Flemish Hand in Auct. D.4.4 (Fig. 389) and the English Artist in Pommersfelden 348 (Fig. 448). Therefore, although it is possible that Hand A was basing his style directly on that of the Flemish Hand it need not preclude influence from manuscripts of before 1350 which, as shown, witness to contact with Flanders. It is clear, however, that Omne Bonum Hand A cannot be seen as a source of inspiration for the Flemish Hand, the origins of whose style unquestionably lie outside England.

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33 See Chapter 2.
34 Ibid.
35 Ibid.
36 The Brescia Psalter and Astor Psalter-Hours are discussed in Chapter 1.
37 For discussion of Flemish influences in England at this time, see Chapter 3.
(ii) Relationship to Hatfield 290 and Laud Misc. 165

Earlier in this chapter the other hand in Hatfield 290 (he illuminated only a single page) was briefly mentioned (Figs 545,546). This artist can now be singled out to emphasise the close relationship of Hatfield 290 to the Gospels and Omne Bonum. If f. 13 in MS. 290 (Figs 545,546) is compared with the other two works it will be seen that they share the same rather naive style of drawing and page design comprising a miniature, historiated initial and straight borders (Figs 539,540). It is clear that the principal objective of the three illuminators was to convey the narrative economically rather than to create works of high artistic merit. Although each illuminator used a slightly different repertoire of foliage forms the basic border structure, with emphasis at focal points along the stems, suggests that they arose from the same milieu. This is underlined by the script which in all three works is a version of the same cursive hand.

Connections have now been made between the Gospels, Hatfield 290, Omne Bonum and, by implication, the third campaign in Exeter 47. That this material is intimately linked is further demonstrated by an interesting iconographic comparison, touched on when Exeter Hand A was identified as the principal illuminator in Hatfield 290. His miniature on f. 80 (Fig. 518) portrays a senior cleric in academic dress teaching three younger clerics, seated on a bench before him. Almost identical representations of this scene exist in both the Gospels (Fig. 519) and Omne Bonum (Fig. 544) by Omne Bonum Hand C, not as yet discussed, who it may be possible to identify as Pächt and Alexander’s Hand D in the Gospels. Especially characteristic in all three examples are the jagged-edged sleeves of the garments. Variations of this image are found on a number of folios in the Gospels: Pächt and Alexander’s Hand B (Hand A in Omne Bonum) provides simplified versions of this iconography on ff. 13 (Fig. 539) (in the initial), 109, 149v and 211; and others occur on ff. 286v and 467v by Pächt and Alexander’s Hand C (Exeter Hand B), and on ff. 298, 356, 393 and 509 by Pächt and Alexander’s Hand D (Exeter Hand C who relates closely to Hand C in Omne Bonum). Further underlining the relationship of the third campaign in Exeter 47 to this workshop is an image on f. 268 (not illustrated) by Pächt and Alexander’s Hand C in the Gospels (Exeter Hand B) which can be seen to conflate into a single miniature the images on ff. 80 and 145v in Hatfield 290 (Figs 514,518). The illuminator of the Gospels has preserved the benches of the one but has incorporated a lectern, with the teacher facing forward, from the other.

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38 This artist, the third to appear in Omne Bonum (Hand C), was responsible for illuminating folios 243v to 417 in Royal 6.E.vii. In the Gospels he can be attributed with ff. 279-456v, 473-88, 497-569. See Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.739, pl. lxxiii. In a reversal of the norm, this artist’s initials are burnished gold and the backgrounds are painted; he employs a watery palette and no ornament emanates from the initials.
(iii) *Omne Bonum* Hand B

Hand B in *Omne Bonum* can shed further light on the possible origins and dating of this style. His contribution, though small (ff. 1, 2v, 19-25v, 171, 211, 213, 457, 556v and 559v), is nevertheless important.³⁹ His hand is identifiable early on in the book, it recurs at a midway point and returns again near the end of the second volume. Particularly characteristic of this artist’s style are the facial types with almond-shaped eyes, delineated in a black line on a base of chalky white pigment (Fig. 547). His palette differs from that of Hand A, not only in his more sparing use of bright orange, but the colour range is wider, with the inclusion of red, ultramarine and distinctive green pigments. Where border decoration occurs, as on f. 19,⁴⁰ it is similar in type to that employed by Hand A. There is clear evidence from the disposition of the illumination that these artists were working collaboratively, since they can be identified in the same gatherings spaced at wide intervals.

(iv) Relationship to Fitzwilliam 259 and Royal 13.D.i⁴

*Omne Bonum* Hand B can also be assigned the illumination in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 259,⁴¹ an illustrated verse Life and Passion of Christ, a rich pictorial style, disposed on the recto and verso of ff. 1-27v (Figs 548,549) and two devotional images which occur on ff. 32v and 33, one of the Holy Face (Fig. 560), the other of the Instruments of the Passion. They provide an important point of contact with Hand A who, as shown, painted the Instruments of the Passion and the Holy Face miniatures in *Omne Bonum* (Figs 540,542), although those in MS. 259 are indisputably finer. The kinship of the two books is further cemented by the closely related content of the narrative cycles of the two books.⁴² The distinguishing features of this artist’s style: the peculiar almond-shaped eyes with black pupil set well to one side, wide mouths often showing bared teeth, and gesticulating arms are fully evident if the scene of the Baptism of Christ in *Omne Bonum* (Fig. 547) is compared with that of Christ before Caiaphas in MS. 259 (Fig. 548); the bearded head of Caiaphas and that of Joseph are particularly closely related.

This artist can also be identified in Royal 13.D.i⁴, a manuscript demonstrated earlier to lie at the heart of the Bohun partnership.⁴³ However, only a single page of illumination,

³⁹ He does not participate in the Gospels and works only in the Royal 6.E.vi volume of *Omne Bonum*.
⁴⁰ It bears a relationship to that on f.1 in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 20.
⁴¹ On this manuscript see Wormald and Giles (1982), i, pp.188-92, ii, pl.iv, figs 29, 30. See also Wormald and Giles (1966), no.55, pl.15.
⁴² For a list of subjects of the cycle in Fitzwilliam MS. 259, see Wormald and Giles (1982), i, pp.190-92 and for those in *Omne Bonum* see Warner and Gilson (1921), i, pp.158-59.
⁴³ See Chapter 4.
that for psalm 26, can be assigned to this illuminator in which there is an historiated initial of the Nativity and a wide rectangular border, containing the Annunciation, the Annunciation to the Shepherds and a small image of the Holy Face (Fig. 551). The jerky, angular limbs of the Christ Child in the scene of the Nativity, with schematic muscle structure, can be paralleled in the Christ Child of the Baptism initial in Omne Bonum (Fig. 547) and the Christ Child of the Circumcision in MS. 259 (Fig. 549). This attribution is further strengthened by the presence of an image of the Holy Face in the upper border in the Psalter, identical to that in MS. 259 (Figs 550,551). General comparisons can be made between all three works in which he participated: the draperies, some conventional, occasionally decorated with a pattern of dots, others contemporary, with semi-circular capes are closely compatible; the palette and technique agree and, in each, there is the distinctive, hard-edged version of the ivy leaf.

Elements of this illuminator’s work, both iconographic and stylistic, recall as did the work of Hand A, manuscripts such as the Fitzwarin Psalter and the Zouche Hours, produced prior to the Black Death; although no precise parallels can be drawn, there are a number of broader correspondences. Reminiscences of those works, for instance, can be seen in the compositions and figures in the scenes of Christ before Caiaphas, Herod and Pilate, and that of Christ’s Betrayal in MS. 259: note the jerky limbs, grotesque faces, contorted postures and contemporary costumes.

It has been shown, moreover, that the English Artist’s illumination in Royal 13.D.i* has reminiscences of work of an earlier period, a phenomenon which is also apparent in the illumination of the fourth and final hand identifiable in this important manuscript. who, like Omne Bonum Hand B, executed only a single page, the Beatus folio (Fig. 554). There is a good case for suggesting that this artist has appropriated a page design current some sixty years earlier in the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels of ca 1300. It might therefore be argued that this reliance on models of an earlier tradition was due to the break in production occasioned by the Black Death.

The relationship between Fitzwilliam MS. 259, the Nottingham Gospels and Omne Bonum has further support in a verse Life and Passion of Christ, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.10.15, which is iconographically related to MS. 259, and by the same or a closely related artist to Omne Bonum Hand C (Figs 552,553).

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44 For illustrations see Chapter 2.
45 See Chapter 4.
46 For an illustration of the page in question, see Sandler (1974), Fig. 298. The same phenomenon occurred in a small group of manuscripts localised to Norwich around 1400 in which a number of border forms recall works of East Anglian manuscript illumination of ca 1310-40. See Lasko and Morgan (1973), nos 41 and 47.
47 For a description of the contents see James (1900), i, no.226 (pp. 312-15).

201
(v) Conclusion

It has been postulated that Royal 13.D.i* was executed ca 1355, soon after the Flemish Hand's estimated arrival in England, and a date of ca 1360 might therefore be forwarded for MS. 259 and the earlier illumination in *Omne Bonum*. However, that *Omne Bonum* was not completed at this time is evident from the presence of *Omne Bonum* Hand C and a fourth illuminator, not as yet discussed. Transition to this later style occurs in the gathering beginning on f. 241, but there is no corresponding change in scribe (closely related scribes work throughout the manuscript), possibly indicating that some of the illumination was not undertaken immediately after the writing of the text.

Although only a fragment, Royal 13.D.i* has been shown to be a work of considerable importance, not least for its connection, via *Omne Bonum* Hand B, with that workshop, but it reinforces the suggestion made in relation to *Omne Bonum* Hand A that there was some connection, however tentative and transitory, with the two Bohun illuminators central to this study, the English Artist and the Flemish Hand, who, after Royal 13.D.i*, cannot be found working in association with others. Indeed, it is curious that when this external association is renewed, as evidenced in the stylistic connection between the illuminators of the third campaign in Exeter 47 and those of the Nottingham Gospels, it is with artists presumably from the same workshop at a later date.

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48 See Chapter 5.
49 This manuscript requires the sort of detailed analysis which it has not been possible to carry out in the scope of this study.
50 *Omne Bonum* Hand D is discussed in the following chapter. *Omne Bonum* Hand C also works in an apparently later style than Hands A and B.
CHAPTER NINE

RELATIVES OF THE BOHUN MANUSCRIPTS

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 188

A further illuminator of the *Omne Bonum*-Nottingham workshop, not as yet discussed, sets the scene for the final chapter dealing with the development of the Bohun style. He can be discerned in the second part (ff. 225-532) of volume two of *Omne Bonum* (Royal 6.E.vii). Although both Hands A and C of *Omne Bonum* continue to appear at this stage, the final folios contain work by a fourth illuminator, *Omne Bonum* Hand D (Fig. 556).¹

(i) *Omne Bonum* Hand D

This artist can be identified in Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Laud. Misc. 188,² a Franciscan book of hours, where he is the second out of three hands to appear. He can be assigned the illumination of two gatherings.³ Within these folios two historiated initials with full borders occur, one on f. 41, depicting the Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 557), the other on f. 46v, illustrating the Assumption of the Virgin; there is also a decorative initial and border on f. 67. The most striking analogy between the two volumes lies in the colour and technique. The palette is hot, with reliance on orange and red pigments and although the facial technique is strongly linear (the features are drawn in fairly heavy black lines) the foliage is vigorously modelled. Precisely the same type of painterly acanthus decoration occurs, with white dotting through the centre of the leaf, and identical black filigree ornament issues from the initials. The pear-shaped chin of the Virgin in the Presentation scene compares with that of the monk who kneels in the forefront of the *Omne Bonum* miniature (Figs 556, 557) and the head of the seated monk is of the Simeon type of the Presentation initial. A striking feature are the eyes, comprising two wide slits which do not meet at the corner of the eye. Despite the rather dry, scratchy application of colour, which might be seen as an attempt at modelling (this is characteristic of each work although the illustration from *Omne Bonum* does not show it), it is a rather flat style.

Another of the illuminators in Laud Misc. 188 painted in the style of the English Artist, although it is neither the work of his hand nor, apparently, of his close follower.

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¹ He was responsible for the initials on ff. 434v, 438, 452v, 462v, 464, 468, 479, 481, 484v, 487v, 489, 490, 493, 500, 502, 514, 516, 526v, 528v, 531, 532.
² For a brief description of this manuscript see Pächt and Alexander (1973), no. 666, pl. lxix with bibliography; see also Simpson (1984), pp. 133, 137, 145, 155, pls 209, 229, 285.
³ Gathering 6 (ff. 41-48v), gathering 9 (ff. 65-72v); the vellum is noticeably thicker in these two quires.
He can be assigned nine gatherings: these folios include an opening miniature on f. 1 and a 7-line historiated initial on f. 35, both with continuous, rectilinear borders (Figs 555,559). A further initial with borders on f. 21, although showing some discrepancies in technique (the borders are of the same type as those on ff. 1 and 35 but the execution of the flesh differs quite markedly and linear patterns are drawn on the garments), is probably also by this artist. The miniature on f. 1 depicts the Virgin and Child with a kneeling donor (Fig. 559), and recalls the similar representation of this scene on f. 181v of Auct. D.4.4 by the English Artist (Fig. 401). A stylistic as well as iconographic relationship is evident in the small-scale delicacy of the work. The facial types, especially those of the angel musicians and portrait heads which occupy the foliage lozenges and quatrefoils in the thick leafy borders surrounding the text, are unquestionably Bohun in origin, as is the repertoire of line-fillers. However, the softly modelled forms and the attempts at both naturalism and perspective, evident in the Virgin’s throne, the small altar and the donor’s open book, indicate that it is a later product. Although the historiated initial on f. 35, depicting the Nativity, vividly recalls the scene of this subject in the Copenhagen Hours (Figs 418,555), that there has been some development is particularly well illustrated by the painterly treatment of Joseph’s skin and the rugged expressiveness of his facial features, characteristics latent in the Copenhagen Hours. Equally, there are reminiscences of the major initials in Egerton 3277, by the English Artist’s close follower, but it is a style which, on reflection, holds more in common with the third campaign in the Exeter Psalter, and is therefore probably later in date than Egerton 3277. There is the use of a thickly painted, fluid form of acanthus of a type which does not occur in the ornament of the central Bohun manuscripts but is found in the third Exeter Campaign (Figs 500-506); and there are slender winged extensions of foliage-bearing kite-shaped leaves which also recall that workshop (Figs 485,500). The remaining illumination, comprising verse initials and the occasional partial border, is clearly based on the structure popularised by the Flemish Hand but the forms, themselves, bear a marked similarity to those of the third campaign in Exeter 47. Changes in palette, commensurate with those described in the third campaign, in which there is an emphasis on beigy pink, orange and light blue, also characterise these folios. However, there are certain decorative elements which derive not from the workshop of the third campaign in Exeter 47 but

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4 Gatherings 1-5 (ff. 1-40v); gathering 11 (ff. 81-88v), gathering 13 (ff. 97-104v) and gatherings 29 and 30 (ff. 224-239v).

5 This is well illustrated by the thirtieth gathering (ff. 232-239v), by his hand, containing the litany.

6 For example, a winged dragon occurs on f. 1v in Land Misc. 188 (the Hours) which can be compared with that on f. 81 in Exeter 47 (the Psalter); the grotesque head on f. 90 in the latter has a parallel on f. 7v in the Hours; the full border on f. 21, also in the Hours, compares with that on f. 117v in Exeter 47; the leaf form composed of spiky segments on f. 21 is related to that on f. 121v in Exeter 47; and the profile head on f. 35v of the Hours compares with that on f. 98 in Exeter 47.

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204
from a group of manuscripts centred on the Lytlington Missal (Fig. 568). The slender rectilinear bars, typical of the Bohun manuscripts, have been replaced by broader elements of foliage which at symmetrical points form into lozenges and quatrefoils of interlace, interspersed with gold balls, some containing heads and half-length figures (Figs 559).

Whereas this artist's borders clearly reveal contact with the Lytlington Missal, those of the third hand to appear are directly modelled on this type. On folio 73 in the historiated initial depicting the Trinity (Fig. 563), a wide rectangular border containing a variety of interlace surrounds the text, while paired leaf and flower motifs arise at regular intervals and terminate in the outer margin. These forms and structures, which markedly differ from those of the central Bohun group, have a direct parallel in the Lytlington Missal (Figs 561, 565, 567). On f. 143v, illustrating the Presentation in the Temple (Fig. 560), the border structure is similar but less rigid, comprising leafy vesicas which alternate with elements of tracery. Borders of a closely related type occur in the Missal.

Although the second artist in Laud. Misc. 188 (Omne Bohun Hand D) has a clear workshop affiliation with the illuminators of Omne Bonum and Laud. Misc. 165, he betrays, as do a number of other miniaturists at this date, some influence from the Lytlington Missal. However, apart from Omne Bonum Hand D it has not been possible to identify the artists of Laud. Misc. 188 in any extant work.

The Lytlington Missal

Three artists, none as yet discussed, can be identified in the Missal. One (Lytlington Hand A) illuminated all of volume I, consisting of seventeen initials and borders and five folios of volume II, comprising further initials and borders. A second (Lytlington Hand B) illuminated the full-page Crucifixion on f. 157v at the opening to the second volume. Hand A then returned on folios 158, 158v, 164, 206 and 286. A third artist (Lytlington Hand C) executed only ff. 221v and 224, while Lytlington B resumed the work on f. 225v, illuminating the initials and borders up to f. 285 and between f. 286v and f.

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8 This artist was responsible for illuminating 27 out of the 39 gatherings: 7-8 (ff. 49-64v), 10 (ff. 73-80v), 12 (ff. 89-96v), 14-28 (ff. 105-223v), 31-38 (ff. 240-304v, includes two extra leaves at the end). There are decorative initials and full borders at ff. 52v, 58, 93, 107v, 113, 118, 123, 128, 137v, 163v, 177, 182, 187, 191v, 195v, 204, 208 and 221; historiated initials occur at f. 73 (Trinity) and f. 143v (Presentation).

9 These occur on ff. 9, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 73, 95v, 106v, 111v, 120, 121, 144, 156 (vol. I), 158, 158v, 164, 206, 286 (vol. II). Although now obliterated, the initial on f. 24 is likely to have been by this artist.
Lytlington A interrupted this sequence on f. 286 where he was responsible for one further historiated initial and border.

Although there are three clearly distinguishable artistic personalities they harmonise well since the border decoration agrees throughout. The marginal bars mostly consist of broad rectilinear elements of thick leafy stems, which surround the text on four sides and a fifth bar occupies the space between the two-columned text. The rinceaux form into a variety of complex knotted shapes and, at symmetrical points, expand and encapsulate heads, coats of arms, animals and grotesques, as well as full-length figures (Figs 565, 567, 568). Terminals arise from the interface, bearing leaf and flower forms, mostly in pairs. Typical motifs are marigold and daisy buds, marigold and strawberry flowers, trilobed leaves, sycamores and beech, lion heads with protruding tongues and gold balls attached to black wavy stems. These distinctive yet remarkably standardised borders, composed of an impressive display of interlace, were to become highly influential.

(i) Lytlington Missal Hand B

Hand B's excellence as a draughtsman is embodied in the fine Crucifixion page, which reveals expert handling of space and composition (Fig. 573). The elegantly swaying, monumental type of the Virgin, richly draped in voluminous conventional garments, occupies the left foreground of the scene, while three richly dressed men, one (the centurion) in a particularly fine contemporary costume, occupy the right of the scene. The figure of Christ demonstrates well both the anatomical accuracy of the drawing and the well-proportioned rendition of the body.

There are four main head types; in all the base of the flesh is white. There is the oval head used for the females and the younger men, such as in the Virgin of the Annunciation and John the Baptist (Figs 561, 584) where the noses are long, the eyebrows gently arched and the hair long and wavy. Two further head types are illustrated by the Peter and Paul initial (Fig. 575). Peter has a squarish head, with well-defined cheeks and white hair and beard (the latter applied in dryish brush strokes), with the eyebrows of a slightly more pointed type. Paul's head is large, bulbous and bald, his beard thick and dark. A more rounded head is reserved for the majestic figure of God the Father (Fig. 562). Depending on the type of head portrayed, either white or brown pigment is applied in a delicate mesh of lines. It is in this manner that facial modelling is achieved. This dryish white highlighting extends to the border motifs, and is especially evident on the lion masks.

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11 There are variations: although the borders are basically rectilinear they can become more flexible, showing regular but gently cusped forms, as in f. 104.
In seated figures the expansive draperies fall heavily about the knees and the edges are convoluted, creating solidity of form, as in the figure of the seated king (Fig. 574). The garments are highlighted, as are the faces, in dryish white pigment applied in a series of streaky lines. The palette is fairly limited, with emphasis on ultramarine, orange and carmine pigments.

(ii) Lytlington Missal Hand A

Hand A’s figures, although approaching those of Hand B, do not match the naturalism inherent in his masterful types. The draperies, the edges of which are either turned outwards to expose a different coloured lining, or delineated by a firm white line (devices employed by Hand B) are expansive, and white pigment is applied in a series of etched lines, as in those of Hand B (Figs 566-572). The figure style shows some variability. Certain figures, like the St John the Evangelist on f. 22 have long elegant limbs with gently swaying, well-proportioned bodies (Fig. 569). Other scenes, more crowded compositionally, as on f. 206, showing a group of men standing around a king, result in figures with overlarge heads, rather stiff bodies and draperies which fail vertically in tubular folds (Fig. 656). In narrative initials (Fig. 567) the figures assume doll-like proportions. There are some signs of schematic form, as seen in the characteristic loops which sometimes occur on the draperies at the end of the lines indicating internal folds, and in the static gesture of the raised hand which is reduced to a mannerism (Fig. 588).

There are a few basic, often repeated head types. A rounded head, with ear exposed, is used mainly for clerics (Fig. 565) and the bulbous kind for elderly men (Fig. 566). Those most commonly found are the long oval head with pointed, forked beard and flowing hair parted in the centre and framing the face (Figs 569,570) and the slightly more rounded type with hair curiously flicked up into wig-like, looped bunches on either side of the head (Figs 571,572). This feature which can be exaggerated to the point of mannerism becomes a notable hallmark of the artist’s style (Figs 567,656). The eyebrows and long, straight noses are usually drawn in a continuous line; both the tip of the nose and mouth are indicated by means of a wavy line, the latter touched in red (Figs 569,570). The eyes are black and beady, the eyebrows high, with emphasis given to the upper lid where the pupil is firmly fixed. In general, the faces have a naive, rather vacant expression. The flesh is basically white, with some gentle modelling in colour and shiny white highlights. The Ascension and Pentecost initials (Figs 571,572) illustrate a series of such heads in which there is little variation.

The compositions are simple and the palette, which is in close harmony with that of Hand B, is distinctive despite being limited, with emphasis given to bright orange, ultramarine, sage green, viridian, ochre and beigy pink pigments. It is a highly competent,
economical style, and this may account in part for his large output. Although it has not been possible to positively identify Hand B of the Lytlington Missal working elsewhere, Hand A can be traced in a number of other manuscripts.

(iii) Further works by Lytlington Hand A

The full monumentality of Hand A's figure and drapery style is expressed in a series of half-page miniatures in an Apocalypse, now in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.10.2,\(^\text{12}\) where the entire cycle can be assigned to him. There is a fundamental agreement with his work in the Missal. The size of the miniatures (Figs 576-580) has afforded the artist greater scope. As a result, the full monumentality of his figures is realised. The compositions, in which there is considerable vitality and movement, are skilful. There are conventional voluminous draperies, and contemporary garments, the latter characteristically gathered around the waist and following the form of the body, with buttons down the centre (Fig. 577). The convention used for the sleeve, as seen on the garment of the Virgin in the Missal (Fig. 588) is found, for example, in the upper row of figures on f. 20v (Fig. 579).

Owing to the more vehement nature of the Apocalypse iconography some of the faces are more expressive (Fig. 580). The majority remain bland, however, as in the Missal. Telling comparison can be made between the heads in the Apocalypse and those of the Pentecost initial in the Missal (Figs 571, 572, 579).

There is the significant introduction of a distinctive magenta (a more reddish pink is employed in the Missal) and this is used in conjunction with the various shades of green (sage and viridian), blue and orange.\(^\text{13}\) The magenta pigment is primarily evident in the painting of the draperies. Modelling of form is achieved by either applying striated lines in darker pink tones to the surface of the colour to create folds, or by allowing the plain vellum to indicate the body beneath the clinging draperies; as in the Missal, blue garments are defined by a firm white line around their edges (Figs 576-580).

Further notable features of Hand A's style are the angel wings of mixed colours (Fig. 576) and certain costume details. This row of angels wear contemporary dress of the type described. The baldrick (a wide metal belt), worn by male figures around the hip, is well emphasised (Fig. 578) and certain fashionable garments have prominently padded bodices. No perspective is indicated in the architecture; the scenes are set against a plain vellum

\(^{12}\) For a description, see James (1900), no.213 (pp.283-86), but he incorrectly dates it to the early fourteenth century. See also Simpson (1980), p.144, fig.17; Marks and Morgan (1981), p.23; Simpson (1984), pp.140, 141, 146, pls 250-52 (the early fifteenth-century additions are illustrated in pls 295-97). The monumental quality of the figures in this manuscript is also discernible in the Missal, although there the smaller scale of the historiated initials tends to minimise this effect.

\(^{13}\) Although still of a comparatively limited palette this manuscript probably has the richest range of colour in the works attributable to his hand: there are greater variations based on each pigment. While some of the pigments are thickly applied, others are diluted.
ground. Gold is used decoratively on buildings, for haloes, crowns, necklines, harps, cups, candlesticks and baldricks (Figs 576,578,580).14

Lytllington Hand A can also be identified in Oxford, Bodley 581, an astronomical text entitled Geomancie.15 Although there are no borders, paired daisy and marigold buds, some distended, adorn the corners of the rectangular miniatures (Figs 582,583) of which there are sixteen, arranged two to a page on the left-hand side of the verso of leaves 15 to 22 inclusive, interspersed amongst the astronomical tables. Almost every miniature is occupied by a single standing figure. Rather more pastel colours are employed in this manuscript. The bulbous nature of certain heads (Fig. 583) recall some of those by the English Artist’s close imitator in Egerton 3277 (Figs 520-530) and there is also an affinity with the three illuminators of the third campaign in Exeter 47, especially Hand A (Figs 495-496).

A further work, London, B.L., Cotton Nero D.VI,16 a book of statutes, can be added to this artist’s sizeable oeuvre. There are twelve historiated initials,17 but no borders, although foliage roundels occur outside the initials and there are simple extensions of daisy buds and black filigree stems with attached gold trilobes of the type found in Omne Bonum. A different technique has been used for the modelling of the faces (there is light brown shading and white chalky highlighting) and there are attempts at rendering space of a type not encountered elsewhere in this artist’s work, as in the steps of the king’s throne (Fig. 581).

Two closely related manuscripts, both Sarum books of hours, one in private hands in Germany, known as the Belknap Hours,18 the other in Cambridge University Library, MS.

14 There are minor initials in red with purple flourishing which indicates that the Apocalypse originates from the same workshop as the Missal. Those in the Missal are either of gold with purple flourishing or blue with red flourishing. In the Apocalypse the ruling is in brown, rather than the red which is a characteristic feature of this workshop.

15 There are borders on ff. 1, 6 (partial border) and 9 but they, and the accompanying initial (f. 9), are the work of a different illuminator whom I have not identified in any other manuscript examined. On this book, see Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.673, p1.lxx, with further bibliography. See also Rickert (1965), p.153; Whittingham (1971), 15; Simpson (1980), p.144, fig.18; Alexander (1983), p.145; Simpson (1984), pp.141-42, 146, pls 255-57.


17 These occur on ff. 4, 31, 36, 56v, 61v, 65, 70, 70v, 72, 76, 82 and 85, depicting kings, princes and knights. The exception is that on f. 76, which shows three people in a boat.

18 This manuscript, once part of the Abbey collection, was sold at Sotheby’s on 1 December 1970, lot 2869, p1.13 and is now in private hands in Germany. It comprises the Hours of the Virgin with the Passion Hours trope d (ff. 7-71). The historiated initials to Matins (f. 7) Lauds (f. 20), Sext (f. 56), None (f. 59) and Vespers (f. 82) have been excised; while Prime (f. 44v) has the Nativity, Terce (f. 52), the Resurrection and Compline (f. 63v) the Deposition. Miniatures illustrate the following divisions of the Passion cycle: Matins (ff. 43-43v), the Betrayal of Christ; Prime (ff. 51-51v), Christ before Pilate; Vespers (f. 65) is not illustrated. The initial for the Penitential psalms (f. 72) has Christ seated on a rainbow displaying His Wounds; an acolyte with a book by a draped coffin illustrates the Office of the Dead (f. 72); the initial for the Commendation of the Souls (f. 127) is decorative. I have not examined this manuscript and the details contained in this note are derived from information kindly supplied to me by Claire Baker. The book is briefly mentioned by Marks and Morgan (1981) p.23. See also Simpson (1984), pp.140, 141, 146, pls 246-47, 249.
Add. 4086,\(^{19}\) can be assigned to Hand A. A striking parallel exists between the iconography of the initial for the Penitential Psalms in the two books of hours which show Christ seated in Judgement on a rainbow, displaying His Wounds (Figs 580, 581). The scene of the Nativity on f. 44v in the Belknap Hours is almost identical to that in the Lytlington Missal (Figs 587, 588). Many of the Passion scenes in the Cambridge Hours (the Betrayal, Christ before Pilate, Christ Bearing the Cross, Christ nailed to the Cross, the Deposition and Entombment) relate closely to those contained within the picture frame border of the Crucifixion page by Hand B in the Missal, from where much of its subject-matter is clearly derived (Fig. 573). The Hours omits the Flagellation and Resurrection of the Missal cycle but includes a simplified version of the Crucifixion. Comparison can also be made between the scene of the Annunciation in the Cambridge Hours (Fig. 586) and that in the Missal by Hand B (Fig. 584). Although the facial types and drapery forms are identical in the two books of hours a number of iconographic variants occur between scenes of the same subject (Betrayal, Christ before Pilate, the Deposition and Entombment) by a single artist. For example, in the scene of the Deposition, although the Virgin has her arms around St John in the Belknap Hours, she holds Christ’s head in Add. 4086. In the Lytlington Missal the Virgin holds one of Christ’s arms and St John the other.

Just as the scene of the Crucifixion in Add. 4086 is a simplified version of that in the Missal, the border decoration although obviously relating to that in the Missal, is equally less elaborate. The rectilinear format is maintained, but the repertoire of forms is not as rich and varied, and a slight coarsening of the motifs is discernible (Figs 586, 590). The Hours is a smaller, less ambitious project and some rationalisation was obviously required. Similarly, the borders in the Belknap Hours are a simplified version of those in the Missal, but unlike those in Add. 4086 there is greater variety, and thus a closer correspondence with the Missal. A partial border, comprising a single straight bar, terminating in paired foliage flourishes in the upper and lower margins, accompanies the miniatures, exactly like certain minor borders in the Missal (Figs 592, 593). The miniature of the Entombment is an exception, for it is surrounded by slender continuous borders with cusped forms at strategic points. The historiated initials are enclosed within full borders, mainly of the picture frame type (Figs 587).\(^{20}\) as in the Missal, containing heavy rinceaux, with emphasis at each corner and smaller leaf sprays arising at symmetrical

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\(^{19}\) This manuscript was bequeathed to Cambridge University Library by Samuel Saunders of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1892, and is uncatalogued. There are historiated initials at the following: Matins (f. 9), Annunciation; Lauds (f. 28v), Betrayal; Prime (f. 32v), Christ before Pilate; Terce (f. 35v), Christ bearing the Cross; Sext (f. 38), Christ nailed to the Cross; None (f. 40v), Crucifixion; Vespers (f. 42v), Deposition; Compline (f. 46), Entombment. At f. 49 (Penitential psalms), Christ is seated in Judgement on a rainbow displaying His Wounds; and at f. 73 there is a miniature for the Vigil of the Dead in which a cleric stands before a black-draped altar. Although severely trimmed the manuscript compares in size (16.5 x 12.0 cms) with the Belknap Hours (17.5 x 12.0 cms).

\(^{20}\) Borders of this kind also occur on the folios illustrating the Deposition, Resurrection and Vigil of the Dead.
points throughout. A further modification can be seen in the borders to the Judgement folio (Fig. 591).

The variety of border forms indicates, as with the iconography, that Hand A had a wide repertoire on which to draw. His selection may have largely depended on the type of commission. These economic borders, however, are devoid of the delicacy associated with the two central Bohun artists and it would appear that in these works (Add. 4086 and the Belknap Hours) early signs of larger-scale, more standardised production were beginning to emerge.

Some development in Hand A's style might be discernible in a single leaf from a Sarum book of hours sold at Sotheby's on 9 July 1969 (Fig. 595) and another sold from this manuscript in December 1983 (Fig. 594). Each has an historiated initial, and the borders are similar to those in Cambridge Add. 4086, except there is the appearance of motifs not previously embraced by this artist. The four corner and two central points of the border on the Bearing of the Cross folio (Fig. 594) and the upper and left-hand bar on the Crucifixion leaf (Fig. 595) are composed of acorn-cup forms. Acanthus leaves, albeit rather stylised, occur on the upper bar of one folio (Fig. 594) and just outside the initial on the other (Fig. 595). Although the remaining motifs are largely recognisable from other works, they have been modified by a more painterly treatment which extends to the figures. In the body of Christ in the Crucifixion leaf and the soldier in the Bearing of the Cross initial it is perhaps possible to discern greater plasticity of form. The basic style remains unchanged however. Not only do the border types, figure style and technique support the hypothesis that the leaves once formed part of the same manuscript, but the same scribe was involved and there is a precise codicological agreement.

It seems likely that Hand A can be identified in a breviary now in Cambridge, University Library, MS. Add. 4500, although the considerable reduction in the size of the initials has resulted in an abbreviation of form. At first sight all the illumination might be assigned to him, but it would appear that one or maybe two close collaborators were also involved (Figs 596, 597): Hand A was responsible for ff. 4-243v (temporale) and 340-402v (sanctorale); a second hand worked on ff. 278-314v (psalter) and 463v-476 (commune sanctorum), and it is possible that a third illuminator, deriving aspects of his style from

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21 Sotheby (9 July 1969), lot 10 and Sotheby (6 December 1983), lot 31. It is possible to establish that this book of hours was of Sarum use because of the presence of the word Germinavit on the verso of the leaf sold in 1983. For the leaf sold in 1969, see Simpson (1984), pp. 139-40, 146, pls 245, 270.

22 Although not identical, the iconography of the two initials (the leaf sold in 1969 has the Crucifixion and that sold in 1983 the Bearing of the Cross) can be paralleled in Cambridge, U.L., MS. Add. 4086 (ff. 35v and 40v), scenes which may also have occurred in the Belknap Hours in initials now excised.

23 In each, there are twenty-two lines of text, written by the same scribe and covering an identical textual area (the page size is at variance since there has been trimming and some damage); each historiated initial is of ten lines and the coloured, pen-flourished initials are of the same type. Moreover, the same delicate pattern of pouncing occurs in both. For further details, see the entries in the catalogues quoted in note 21 above.
the other two, can be assigned the work on ff. 253v and 256.24 Whereas Hand A’s borders (Fig. 596) relate closely to the Lytlington Missal (Figs 561), those of his collaborator(s) are either like those in the Missal (Fig. 596) or have different forms, notably paired wing-like extensions which grow from the centre or lower marginal bar (Fig. 597) and occasionally occupy the full length of the page. Although they recall certain borders in the third campaign in Exeter 47 they appear to be a later development, being of the type perpetuated by early fifteenth-century illuminators, whereas the Lytlington Missal variety on the whole are not.25 Hand A uses the characteristic magenta, a pigment absent from the palette of the second artist who is less careful in the execution of his figures. Hand A maintains a consistent standard, despite the small scale of the initials. Both iconographically and stylistically, this manuscript relates intimately to the workshop of the Lytlington Missal.

The same observation can be made for a further Missal now in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B.11.3,26 where the identical text and thus closely related iconography allows for good comparison (Figs 598, 599). The illuminator of the Trinity book appears to have drawn on the style of both Hands A and B of the Lytlington Missal, but there is also a relationship with Omne Bonum. Although white pigment is applied to the faces in a web-like mesh of strands, in the manner of Hand B, the facial types evoke those of Omne Bonum Hand C (Figs 519, 544) who may have illuminated Trinity B.10.15 (Figs 552, 553). There is a particularly fine border on the opening folio (f. 7) (Fig. 598) which recalls the forms and structures of the Lytlington Missal (Figs 564, 565, 568). The remaining borders in the Trinity College Missal relate to those on f. 7 but are not as elaborate or as carefully executed (Fig. 599).

Hand A can be identified in association with other illuminators in a book of hours in Keble College, Oxford, MS. 47.27 Like Laud Misc. 188, Keble 47 is an important manuscript by which other artists from apparently different shops are drawn together.28 Hand A was responsible for the two full-page miniatures of standing saints, four to a page, immediately following the calendar, on ff. 7v-8 (Fig. 600); they closely relate to his work in the Belknap Hours (Figs 587, 591, 593). These miniatures occur in a bifolium, detached from the immediately succeeding gathering which is formed of four leaves

24 Initials and borders occur on ff. 4, 9v, 42, 74v and 156 (an illuminated leaf is lost between ff. 182v and 183, but an impression of an initial and border is visible on the adjacent leaf), 188, 191v, 243v, 340, 364v, 402v (Lytlington Hand A); ff. 278, 285v, 290, 294v, 298v, 304, 309, 314v, 463v and 476 (Hand Two). If ff. 233v and 256 cannot be attributed to a third illuminator, then they are the work of Hand Two, rather than Lytlington Hand A. However, the border decoration is different in type from that employed earlier in the book and thus supports the presence of a third hand. The Crucifixion folio (once leaf 270) has been excised and leaf 388, probably by Hand A, is also missing.

25 Notable exceptions include Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 79 (pontifical) Hatfield House MS.292 (psalter) and Boulogne MS.93 (book of hours).

26 For a description of this book, see James (1900), no.242 (pp.329-31), dated by him to the early fifteenth century. I thank Nicholas Rogers for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

27 For a description of this manuscript, see Parkes (1979), no.47, pp.215-23.

28 I use the term workshop even when it is a question of a single illuminator.

212
(ff. 9-12) and contains an eight-line historiated initial and full borders on each of ff. 9 and 10v, illuminated by a different artist. The initial on f. 9 depicts the Virgin and Child adored by a layman and woman (Fig. 601), that on f. 10v the Pietà. This second illuminator is Rickert's Hand C of the Carmelite Missal.  

The Artist of the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours

The artist of ff. 9 and 10v in Keble 47 can be assigned most of the illumination in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS. 18.6.5, a Psalter-Hours, arguably his finest extant work; he will be referred to here as the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist. This manuscript contains twenty-four historiated initials with borders and four further pages with borders and large decorative initials. The only portion not by this artist are ff.14 and 65. These pages have borders surrounding the text which, although closely similar to the others, appear to have been added at a slightly later date by a different illuminator, the pigments and treatment of the forms differing slightly.

Although to a degree diluted, the marginal decoration recalls that of the Lytlington Missal, in which the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours artist does not participate, but his associate in Keble 47 (Lytlington Hand A) does. On the majority of pages, as in the Missal, four rectilinear borders surround the text and a further bar occupies the space between the two columns (Figs 602,603,605,606,654). The disposition of the motifs is broadly symmetrical, and the central bar usually has an arrangement of single leaves which arise at regular intervals from alternate sides of the stem. The border then erupts (usually at each corner, at the upper and lower termination of the central bar and at further points along its length) to accommodate a wide variety of mostly leaf and flower forms, but also dragon bodies and lion masks. The repertoire of motifs is typically English, agreeing closely with that in the Missal (Figs 561,564,565,567,568). It is not surprising that this form of ornament was popular because the artist could achieve a wide variety of permutations from the one basic, yet distinctive formula. In two instances (ff. 69 and 118) the rectilinear shaft is not composed of a slender gold bar and stem of foliage but a trellis of interlocking leaves (Figs 602,603). Borders of this type occur in Laud. Misc. 188 (Fig. 559) and in the works by Lytlington Hand A (Figs 568,588). A further adaptation occurs on f. 34 (Fig. 605), where the border comprises a single, inner stem of foliage and an

20 Parkes (1979), p.216. In the Carmelite Missal (see note 33 below) Hand C collaborated with other illuminators, discussion of whom lies outside the context of this thesis: see Wright (1986).

30 For references to this manuscript see London (1908), no.150, pl.102; Millar (1928) pp.27, 29, 86 (no.265); Miller and James (1936), pp.2, n.4, 3; Rickert (1952), p.73, pl. xliii; Brussels (1963), no.13, pl.8; Rickert (1965), pp.150, 243, n.10; Edinburgh (1971), p.93 (1169), p.102 (1285); Thompson (1974); Simpson (1980), p.143, fig.14; Simpson (1984), pp.120, 121, 131-32, 134, 144-45, 155, pls 199, 200, 203, 205, 207, 210.

31 It comprises daisy and marigold buds, strawberry and marigold flowers, beech, holly, sycamore, 'kites', trefoil, lobe and kidney-shaped leaves, many of these grouped in pairs or larger sprays, rosettes, a variety of interlace and barbed quatrefoils, containing empty shields.
outer casing of segments; foliate sprays then arise from the inner stem and grow into the outer margin.

There are a number of similarities with Hand A of the Lytlington Missal. Like that of Hand A, this artist's figure style shows little variation throughout his career. The compositions are simple and the narrative element is apparent in the use of scrolls within the field of the initial (Figs 585, 606). Although stereotyped, the figures are well-proportioned. The drapery (this is mostly conventional) is softly rendered and the artist employs the device of folding back the edges of the garments to reveal the lining beneath, used by both Hands A and B (Figs 608, 657). Emphasis is given to the baldric worn on the hips (Fig. 602), as in the soldiers by Hand A. The women wear tight-bodiced dresses, often showing buttons to the waist, again typical of those of Hand A (Fig. 589). The heads and hands are particularly distinctive. The hands, often cupped, are large and the fingers long and pointed (Figs 585, 604, 657). The majority of men have small, pointed and sometimes forked beards (Figs 605, 606), the eyes are heavy-lidded and there is the profile head (as used by the English Artist) where the nose is formed in one continuous line with the forehead (Fig. 657).

The palette, though limited, is fairly hot in range; it relates to that of Hand A, magenta, ultramarine and bright orange pigments being especially characteristic (mauve, viridian and brown are also used). If two similar figures appear in a scene one might wear a magenta mantle, edged with white, with an under-garment of ultramarine, the other a deep cerise under-garment and a blue mantle, a device used by Hand A. It is possible that the distinctive magenta pigment appeared in the palette of Hand A after his contact with the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist, since it is absent from the Lytlington Missal.

Modelling is achieved by the same two techniques used by Hand A: by diluting the magenta pigment and applying it in a streaky manner, thus allowing the plain vellum to describe the form; and by applying dryish white pigment, mostly to blue draperies (but also to pink), in a series of finely etched lines. However, the modelling is never vigorous, and the style is basically linear. The characteristic mannerism in which the pleats of the sleeve form into a jagged line, edged in white, is apparent in some of the figures (Figs 589, 604). A parallel for this device can be found in the workshop of Hatfield 290, Omne Bonum and the Gospels of William of Nottingham (Figs 518, 519, 544). There is a close iconographic as well as stylistic correspondence with a number of other manuscripts which have been discussed. Comparison can be made between the representation of the Nativity in the Missal (Fig. 588), Belknap Hours (Fig. 587) and Psalter-Hours (Fig. 589); that of the Annunciation in the Psalter-Hours (Fig. 585), the Missal (Fig. 584) and the Cambridge Hours (Fig. 586); the representation of Christ on a rainbow (Fig. 605) recalls that in the Belknap (Fig. 591) and Cambridge Hours (Fig. 590); and the depiction of the Virgin and Child relates to that in Laud.Misc.188 (Figs 558, 559). The historiated initial
on f. 60v of the Psalter-Hours, showing St Jerome in profile seated at a writing desk, is reminiscent of scenes in the Nottingham Gospels, *Omne Bonum* and Hatfield 290 (Figs 518, 519, 544, 604).

(i) Further works by the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist

A further work by this artist is a two-volume English Bible now in the British Library, Egerton MSS. 617 and 618, illuminated entirely by his hand. Border structures and motifs identical to those in the Psalter-Hours occur in this work. Rectilinear, mostly symmetrical, decoration completely surrounds the text. A marginal bar, almost invariably decorated with single lobe-shaped leaves arranged on alternate sides of the foliage stem, is placed between the two columns of text (Fig. 607). This has a direct parallel in the Edinburgh manuscript (Fig. 606). In the Bible the rectilinear bar is occasionally interrupted by a curved foliage form for which there is a further parallel in the Psalter-Hours, and a shaft sometimes terminates in circular shapes, as in f. 95 in Egerton 618 and ff. 18v, 32v and 102v in the Edinburgh Hours. Occasionally the shaft widens, as in f. 35v in Egerton 618, where the rectilinear bar is comprised of broader abstract segments of carmine alternating with azure. A stem of foliage grows along the inner edge, sprouting organic leafy terminals. This crosses over the segments and extends into the margin, as in the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours (Fig. 605) and the Lytlington Missal, from where the border structures and most of the forms ultimately derive. The highly distinctive range of border motifs is exactly paralleled in the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours.

Although the Bible contains no figural illumination (the foliage-filled initials are typical of the Wycliffite Bible tradition) an attribution to the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist is assured by the technique and pigments employed. Dryish white pigment is etched on to certain foliage forms and motifs, such as the gaping mouthed lion masks (Figs 606, 607). An identical rather yellow, burnished gold and the same pounced patterns occur in the two works. The two-line minor initials in gold and alternate carmine and azure grounds, detailed in white, are of the exact type as those in the main text of the Edinburgh manuscript (as are the one-line initials, flourished in mauve and red). These initials and the rather limited range of pigments are peculiar to this workshop.

It has been noted that the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist can be identified as Rickert's Hand C of the Carmelite Missal, London, British Library, Add. MSS 29704, 29705, 44892. All the distinctive hallmarks of his style are apparent in this work (Figs 608-611). Comparison can be made, for example, between the Trinity initial in the Missal and

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32 For bibliography see Millar (1928), p.87 (no.269). See also Saunders (1928), p.110, pl.118; Harrison (1937), p.27.

33 For the Carmelite Missal see Rickert (1952) with further bibliography. For the other work in the manuscript see Wright (1986).
that in the Psalter-Hours (Figs 603, 611). Fifteen other initials in the Carmelite Missal can be assigned to Rickert’s Hand C and his assistant (Hand C2). The strongly narrative content of the illumination in the Missal has necessitated the subdivision of many of the larger historiated initials into small compartments, of which the St Laurence miniature on f. 130 is a particularly fine illustration (Fig. 610). The Carmelite Missal witnesses to the Edinburgh Artist’s first use of acanthus leaf decoration (Fig. 608).

The Hours portion of a Psalter-Hours in the British Library, Add. 16968, is illuminated in the style of the Edinburgh Artist. It contains two cycles, one of historiated initials (Fig. 612), and another of miniatures (Fig. 613), the latter placed within barbed quatrefoils. Comparison can be made between the closely related scenes of the Annunciation in the Psalter Hours (Fig. 612) and the Carmelite Missal (Fig. 608), which in turn correspond to those in the Edinburgh Psalter Hours, the Cambridge Hours and the Lytlington Missal (Figs 584-586). There is a roughness of treatment in Add. 16968, however, which is not fully compatible with the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours or Egerton Bible. Although similar, the pigments are not identical, the palette of the borders is more diluted, and that of the miniatures and historiated initials not as softly modulated. The figure and facial types are less refined in their draughtsmanship and modelling, and the minor initials are not as carefully executed as those by the Edinburgh Artist. Although these stylistic aberrations could be explained by assigning this work to a different stage in the artist’s career, it would appear that the illumination in Add. 16968 is the product of a close follower – Rickert’s Hand C2 (Fig. 609), and not Hand C himself (the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist).

A Psalter-Hours, Dublin, Trinity MS. B.3.27 (now imperfect) is a further extant work in which the Edinburgh Artist can be identified. He illuminated the historiated initial and border at the opening to the hours (Fig. 615) and the decorative initials and borders on certain other folios (Figs 614, 633). The borders are of the two types normally associated with this artist, parallels for which exist in both the Lytlington Missal and Edinburgh Psalter-Hours (Figs 564, 565). That for the hours section is of the elaborate variety, having thick frames of foliage, whereas those for the main divisions of the psalms (including the Beatus) are more diluted (Figs 614, 615).

34 Rickert (1952), pp.64-66, 71-74.
35 See London (1864), pp.333-34; Rickert (1952), pp.73, 74, pl. xlib; Rickert (1965), p.150, pl.153b; Simpson (1984), pp.132, 144, 151, pl.206.
36 Historiated initials occur on ff. 10 (Annunciation); 17v (Nativity); 23 (Presentation in the Temple); 24 (Christ in Majesty on a Rainbow); 31v (Virgin and Child and Coronation of the Virgin). Miniatures occur on ff. 17 (Betrayal); 19 (Christ before Pilate and the Annunciation to the Shepherds); 20 (Christ bearing the Cross and the Adoration of the Shepherds); 21 (Crucifixion with the Sponge held up to Christ and the Massacre of the Innocents); 22 (Crucifixion with Christ pierced by the Spear and the Flight into Egypt); 24 (the Entombment). A different hand was responsible for the historiated initials and borders to the eight-part division of the psalter text, as well as the initial for Placebo and Dirige.
37 Abbot (1900), p.12 (no.92). The manuscripts in this collection are in the process of being catalogued by M.L. Colker who has made a thorough analysis of the textual contents of this book, many leaves of which are now misbound. See also Simpson (1984), pp.132, 145, pls 201, 202, 204.
The Holkham Psalter Artist and related manuscripts

It would appear that most of the remaining illumination in the Dublin Psalter-Hours, comprising the canticles and the initial to psalm 109, depicting the Trinity, can be assigned to the artist of Holkham Hall, MS. 26, a psalter now imperfect. Although possibly representing a later manifestation of his style (this is suggested by certain leaf forms), the border structures and facial types in Trinity B.3.2 indicate that it is the work of the Holkham artist. The partial border accompanying the Deus deus meus initial, with the climbing figure at the top of the shaft (Fig. 616), can be compared in its structure with a number of pages in the Holkham manuscript, such as those in the calendar (Fig. 617) and minor borders (Fig. 632), as well as the right-hand bar on the Dixit insipiens folio and the left-hand bar on the Cantate folio (Figs 623,625). There is a close correspondence between the male head in a roundel, just outside this initial, and that in the small initial on the Trinity folio in the Holkham Psalter (Figs 616,626). The Judica me domine initial (Fig. 618) contains a grotesque man whose face, arms and hands recall the figure of David in the Dixi custodiam initial (Fig. 621); but what survives of the Trinity initial in the two works (Figs 619,626) secures beyond question their intimate relationship.

That the Holkham illuminator, however, modified his borders to accord with the type used by the Edinburgh Artist in the Psalter section of MS. B.3.2 is illustrated by the Trinity folio (Figs 614,619). On other folios, the border decoration is different again (Fig. 633), but it is probably the work of the Edinburgh Artist who here appears to be moving towards the type in the Carmelite Missal, although no acanthus is as yet visible (Figs 608-611). Related borders occur in Hatfield 290 (Fig. 512), Add. 4500 (Fig. 597) and the third campaign in Exeter 47 (Figs 520-530). Although little change can be discerned in the figure style of the Edinburgh Artist, it is therefore possible to detect some development in the border decoration. The manuscripts in which he participated may have been executed in fairly rapid succession but the more likely explanation for this phenomenon is conservatism of style.

Further analysis of the style of Holkham MS. 26 is necessary to place it in a wider stylistic context. Each major psalm receives decoration in the form of an initial and a continuous border, but some of these have been mutilated or defaced; the portion

38 The canticles, now mis-bound, occur between ff. 22-27v and the Trinity initial and border on f. 80v
39 There is a ten-part division of the text: the page for psalm 26 is now missing, the initials to psalms 52 and 80 are defaced and the initial to psalm 109 is partly mutilated. On this manuscript, see Hassall (1970), pp.6, 34, pl. 2-7.
40 The Beatus initial is of fourteen lines, psalm 109 has eleven, psalms 38, 52 and 68 are of nine lines, psalm 97 has eight lines and psalms 51 and 101 five; that for psalm 109 is therefore given special ranking in terms of size, second only to the Beatus initial.

217
comprising the litany onwards has been excised. The borders contain a rich variety of forms, comprising interlace, large sycamores, serrated half cabbage leaves, dragons and climbing men, with further leaf and flower motifs arising in sprays from the marginal bars (these include marigold and daisy buds, trilobes and heart-shaped leaves) while lion masks, clovers and kite-shaped leaves are to be found amongst the minor decoration. The palette is bright and includes the magenta pigment of the type used by both Lytlington Hand A and the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist. The grounds of the initials and borders are richly burnished and delicately pounced.

The variously positioned climbing figures in contemporary dress, contained within the borders, and which balance precariously, one above the other, separated by interlace (the *Beatus* and *Exultate* borders are sufficiently wide to completely enclose figures of this type) recall those in the St Omer (Fig. 137), Vienna (Fig. 136) and Exeter (Figs 188, 189) Psalters. The delicately pounced design of coiling sycamore branches, used by the Holkham illuminator for the grounds of his initials, is identical to that employed by the English Artist; it in turn derives from an earlier fourteenth-century tradition.

The border structures and motifs, however, are not typical of the Bohun manuscripts. Rather surprisingly, they are reminiscent of those of the Queen Mary Psalter group, especially those in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Glazier MS. 53, the psalter of Richard of Canterbury. The monumentality of this artist’s figures and the iconography of the historiated initials differ fundamentally from the small-scale style and narrative idiom of the Bohun manuscripts and similarly derive from illumination of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. By the time Egerton 3277 was executed (the latest work in the chronology of the central workshop) the figures of the English Artist’s close imitator reflect this monumentality (Figs 520-530, 537, 538), which is also witnessed in the style of Hand A of the third campaign in Exeter 47 (Figs 496(b), 503-506).

The single illuminated folio in Higden’s *Polychronicon*, Bodley 361, is probably also attributable to the hand of Holkham 26. The border structures and individual forms are identical, as a comparison between the *Polychronicon* page and *Dixit dominus* folio

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41 See the first three chapters for a discussion of the sources of this type of border ornament.

42 It is used by the English Bohun Artist in Royal 13.D.i, Vienna 1826, Exeter 47 and the opening miniature in Fitzwilliam 38-1950. It is employed by the Vienna A Hand in Douce 131, Brescia, Queriniana A.V.17 and Vienna 1826*. Other examples include the Annunciation miniature (f. 7) in the *Astor Psalter-Hours*, certain initials in the Luttrell Psalter and in some of the miniatures by the Madonna Master (notably f. 131v, the Madonna and Child) in B.L. Arundel MS. 83.

43 For discussion and bibliography relating to this group, see Dennison (1986a).

44 Of the initials which remain ps. 1 has David harping, ps. 51 David slaying Goliath, ps. 38 David pointing to his mouth, ps. 52 David with the Fool, ps. 68 David kneeling in the deep waters supplicating to God above, ps. 97 three clerics singing before a lectern, ps. 109 the Trinity with Two Persons (the portion which may have illustrated the Dove is now excised). Apart from the illumination for ps. 68, which in the manuscripts of the Queen Mary group has Jonah and the whale, the affinities with this workshop are striking, and are especially convincing in the light of the other parallels drawn.

45 On this manuscript see Parkes (1969), p.5, pl.5 ii; Pächt and Alexander (1973), no. 674, pl. lxx where further bibliography is cited; Simpson (1984), pp.133-34, pl.212; Watson (1984), i, p.14, no.77, ii, pl.234.
illustrates (Figs 626,627). On the *Cantate* page (Fig. 625) there is the appearance of paired columbines, a comparatively rare motif, which also occurs in the *Polychronicon* border. The historiated initial in Bodley 361 is partially obliterated, but enough remains to indicate that the figure style is of the same monumental type as that in the Holkham Psalter, with its heavy draperies and well-defined hands and feet (Figs 626,627). The distinctive manner in which God’s hands are curved in the *Polychronicon* initial can be compared with the right hand of David, and the left hand of God in the *Dixi custodiam* initial (Fig. 621). Probably also by this artist are the decorative initials and borders (there is no figural illumination) in an Apocalypse in the Bodleian, MS. Fr. e. 22. 46

Two historiated initials now remain in a sadly mutilated Sarum Book of Hours which was sold at Sotheby’s in July 1984;47 it is now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. One contains the head of St Catherine (f. 21), the other the Face of Christ (f. 42) (Figs 629,630). Stylistically, they bear a remarkably close resemblance to the head types by Lytlington Hand A (Fig. 600) and can probably be attributed to him at a late stage in his career. The border decoration, however, deviates from that normally associated with this illuminator, being more organic in structure and having larger ornament, consisting of kidney, lobe and spear shaped leaves, serrated half cabbage leaves, luxuriant sycamores, as well as paired daisy and marigold buds, and lion masks, some with protruding tongues (Figs 628-631,634). Two further distinctive forms are a succulent version of the acanthus leaf (Fig. 634) and sturdy dragons which bite into leafy stems or broad diapered bars (Fig. 631). There were probably further examples of this type of border, but a number of principal pages of decoration are unfortunately now lost. 48 Some of the borders (Fig. 628) have rectilinear marginal bars and symmetrically placed leaf forms and tracery. 49

These borders are closely related to those in the Holkham Psalter where not only the structures but a number of individual motifs can be paralleled. In making comparisons, however, the difference in the scale and scope of the work has to be considered, the Psalter being a more ‘expensive’ commission. 50 The borders on a page from the Hours (Fig. 628) can be compared with those for the *Beatus* and *Dixit Dominus* initials in the Psalter (Figs 620,626). Contained in a number of the major folios of decoration in the Holkham Psalter (Figs 621,622,624) are dragons biting on to stems of precisely the same type as those in the Aberystwyth Hours (Fig. 631), and certain partial borders are

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46 See Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.703, pl. lxxi, who note its similarity to Bodley 316. The manuscript has no illumination but decorative initials and full borders occur on ff. 14, 28v, 40v, 53, 63 and 75.
47 See Sotheby (3 July 1984), lot 51.
48 See *ibid.*, where details of the missing leaves are given.
49 The opening folio to the calendar is similarly rectilinear and it can be conjectured that the major folios of decoration had similar borders.
50 The Holkham Psalter measures 389 x 255mm (written space 271 x 171mm), the Aberystwyth Hours 147 x 95mm.

219
structurally parallel (Figs 617, 631, 632, 634). Although there are similarities between the figure style of Lytlington Hand A and Holkham illuminator they are clearly two separate artistic personalities.

Examination of other manuscripts by this illuminator may shed further light on the origins of his style. The Holkham Psalter was shown to Pächt in 1946. He noted that its artist was rather like the Master of the Egerton Genesis but concluded that it was not the Genesis hand. Despite certain anomalies in style, technique and ornament, which are consistent with an artist undergoing development, the Genesis Master appears to have illuminated (as is generally accepted), the Crucifixion and Christ in Majesty miniatures in the Fitzwarin Psalter, the James Memorial and Derby Psalters and the Egerton Genesis. It is a unique manner of painting, the Genesis, the James Memorial Psalter and the Derby Psalter containing markedly foreshortened figures of a type not encountered elsewhere in English illumination of the fourteenth century.

It would appear that the Holkham Psalter, the illuminated folio in the Polychronicon and part of Dublin, Trinity B.3.2 might also be added to the oeuvre of this artist. A tinted drawing of St Christopher in Bodley 851 should also be attributed to the Holkham illuminator. There is a striking similarity between the St Christopher and the figure wearing a short tunic who is standing in the lower right-hand border on f. 6v in the Egerton Genesis (Figs 635, 636) in respect of facial type, large figure proportions, and the monochrome water-colour technique in which they are executed. The rather broad angular draperies of the type worn by the adjacent figure in the Genesis miniature relate to those of St Christopher. The substantial figure of the latter in turn compares with the Goliath figure in the Derby Psalter (Fig. 638).

In assigning the Holkham Psalter to the Egerton Genesis Master two factors have to be considered. Firstly, there is the artist’s development, which here shows movement away from certain Italianisms towards a reassertion of English style tendencies. For instance, there are no foreshortened figures, aerial or back views; and his interest in three-dimensional structures, as applied in the Fitzwarin Psalter (Fig. 637), is absent from the Derby and Holkham Psalters, the Egerton Genesis and the James Memorial Psalter.

Pächt’s unpublished observations are preserved at Holkham Hall; they are slipped inside the manuscript. For B.L. Egerton MS. 1894 (the Genesis), see James (1921), Pächt (1943), 57-70, pls 16a, 17a, 18a, c, e, 19a, b, 20c; Wormald (1943), 71, 73, 74, 79; Rickert (1965), p.243, nn. 8, 9; Simpson (1980), p.139; Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.21, 22; Simpson (1984), p.115, pl.148. For B.L. Add. MS. 44949 (the M.R. James Memorial Psalter), see Miller (1938), 1-5; Rickert (1965), pp.148-49, pl.154a; Simpson (1980), pp.139-40; Simpson (1984), pp.115, 116, pl.149. For Oxford, Bodl. MS. Rawlinson G.185 (the Derby Psalter), see Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.653, pl. lxvii, with bibliography; Alexander and Kaufmann (1973), no.68; Simpson (1980), p.139, pl.7; Marks and Morgan (1981), pp.21-22, fig. xiv; Simpson (1984), pp.115, 116, 118, 142-43, 144, pls 150, 151, 258, 263. A detailed account of the works produced by the Egerton Genesis Master lies outside the scope of this thesis.

Their appearance in the Fitzwarin Psalter can be explained by his deliberately copying the Fitzwarin Artist (Vienna Hand B) in that manuscript. See Chapter 2.
Secondly, the model available to the illuminator may give rise to stylistic anomalies, as does the substitution of conventional garments for contemporary ones.

Despite this artist's development there are certain stylistic and iconographic details, however, which hint strongly that the Holkham and Derby (Rawl. G. 185) Psalters were illuminated by the same hand. The distinctive pattern on the vair in the two works (it occurs on the lining of Jesse's drapery in the Derby Psalter and David's robe in the Holkham Psalter) is identical (Fig. 638). The head of God in the Dixi custodiam initial in MS. 26 (Fig. 641) closely approaches that of God in psalm 109 in Rawl. G.185 (Fig. 642(a)). The male head in the two-line initial on the Dixit dominus folio in the Holkham Psalter (Fig. 626), with distinctive wide-brimmed hat, compares favourably with the head of the reclining Jesse on f. 1 in the Derby Psalter (Fig. 638). A head in the small Confitebor initial occurs in the same position on the Dixit dominus folio in both works (Figs 626,642(b)), 

There are heads of this type, mainly Holy Faces, on ff. 9, 9v, 11, 15, 15v, 31, 35, 97, 103v, 106v, 108v, 113v, 114, 117v, 118 (slightly defaced) and 120 in Rawlinson G.185. 221

54 There are heads of this type, mainly Holy Faces, on ff. 9, 9v, 11, 15, 15v, 31, 35, 97, 103v, 106v, 108v, 113v, 114, 117v, 118 (slightly defaced) and 120 in Rawlinson G.185.

A head in the small Confitebor initial occurs in the same position on the Dixit dominus folio in both works (Figs 626,642(b)), securing beyond question their close relationship. Perhaps an even closer correspondence exists between the head of David in the Holkham Psalter Beatus, with clearly defined upper lid (Fig. 644), and the head types in the top left-hand section of the composite miniature on f. 8 of the Genesis (Fig. 643). This facial type can be compared, in turn, with those in the Judica me domine and Dixit dominus initials in Dublin, Trinity B.3.2 (Figs 618,619). In comparing the Dixi custodiam initials in the Holkham and Derby Psalters (Figs 639,641) it can be seen that the figure of the Holkham David has been radically transformed. In the Derby Psalter the artist is clearly adhering to the bulkier, more conventional types. Both figures, however, have similar hands and gestures and in each the drapery falls in heavy folds and clings around the lower leg at the base. This feature is also apparent in the kneeling figure in the right-hand section of the composite Genesis miniature (Figs 639,641,643).

The Mercy Seat Trinity of the Derby Psalter (Fig. 642(a)) (it does not occur in Holkham 26) has both a stylistic and iconographic parallel in the Polychronicon (Fig. 627). This iconography in turn recalls the Trinity in Keble 47 (Fig. 647). Comparison of the Trinity initials in the Derby, Holkham and Dublin Psalters (Figs 619,626,642(a)), all now attributed to the Genesis Master, gives some indication of the breadth of this artist's development. Although some years may separate the works, it would appear that the same hand was responsible for illuminating the Harping David in the James Memorial and Holkham Psalters (Figs 620,640). It is in the Holkham and Dublin manuscripts that he comes within the ambience of Lytlington Hand A and the Edinburgh Artist which transforms his style. The Holkham Psalter, Polychronicon and Dublin manuscript are all more painterly than his earlier works; here he relies less on line to describe form.
The border decoration in the Derby Psalter does not precisely relate to that in Holkham 26 but it can be shown that they both ultimately originated from the same source. The Derby Psalter artist's border types appear to derive from Lat. liturg. 198 by Vienna Hand B (the Fitzwarin Artist). Comparison can be made between f. 20 in Rawl. G.185 and f. 20v in Liturg. 198. The structures and certain border motifs of Vienna Hand B appear also to have their origin in the Queen Mary group. Comparison of f. 39 in B.L. Add. MS. 44949 (the James Memorial Psalter) (Fig. 640) with f. 32v in Rawl. G.185 (Fig. 639) secures beyond doubt that the Derby and James Memorial Psalters were executed by the Egerton Genesis Master. Identical mask-heads, spiky trilobes and heart-shaped leaves occur in both manuscripts. Vienna Hand B's affiliation is again reinforced by the Genesis Master's appearance in the Fitzwarin Psalter which, like the probably later James Memorial Psalter, has a harping David for Psalm 1 (Fig. 53) and only conventional foliage at the remaining major psalm divisions. The borders in the Holkham manuscript are a less diluted version of the Queen Mary type and give a clear impression of being based directly on a model of that workshop. This is further supported by the text; a ten-part division is used in Holkham 26 agreeing with that in the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury, with which it seems to be closely allied. The Derby, James and Fitzwarin Psalters follow an eight-part division. It has been demonstrated how certain motifs, characteristic of the Queen Mary workshop, such as oval leaf masks, have been absorbed by the English Artist, via Vienna Hand B. The ornament of the central Bohun manuscripts, however, seems to stand apart from that of the Egerton Genesis and related works, although certain border elements used by the Holkham illuminator recall those manuscripts. The palette, which in the Holkham Psalter has been modified in line with that of Lutington Hand A and the Edinburgh Artist (it is more pink in range), indicates the availability of different pigments from those of the Bohun illuminators, a change in taste and that it is probably a later work.

The Holkham illuminator, like certain artists of the Omne Bonum workshop, was clearly relying on forms which were current before the Black Death. Equally, there may have been some influence from the Bohun manuscripts, but the direct source of this style lies in the manuscripts associated with the Egerton Genesis Master, namely the Derby Psalter. This miniaturist can be identified only once working in apparent collaboration with another illuminator – the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist in Trinity B.3.2. He is the most independent of the miniaturists discussed in this chapter which might explain why,

57 This is discussed in Chapter 2.
58 Wormald (1943), 79, notes the lion-masks in the context of the Fitzwarin Psalter and the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury.
59 This point will be reconsidered in the final chapter.
60 For a description of the palette used by the English and Flemish Bohun artists see chapter 4. The palette of the Egerton Genesis Master comprises some unusual pigments such as a luminous green, deep viridian, scarlet, silver and mosaic gold.
until his contact with the Edinburgh Artist he remained a somewhat isolated figure. The Holkham Psalter, however, is of considerable interest in that it demonstrates important stylistic links between the first and second half of the fourteenth century and thus helps to explain how the indigenous English tradition in border decoration was perpetuated.

The Sotheby leaves, discussed earlier, now attributed to Lytlington Hand A, clearly arose from the same workshop as Trinity B.3.2; they came originally from a similar manuscript. A further artist who worked in this milieu illuminated the single folio of decoration in Durham Cathedral Library, MS. A.1.3, Nicholas de Lyra’s Postillae in Pentateuchium,61 the border of which relates closely to that in the Polychronicon (Figs 627,646) (note the columbines, biting dragons and broad leaf forms), while the figure style (the initial depicts St Cuthbert) can be affiliated broadly to that of Lytlington Hand A. Also bearing a curious affinity with the Holkham illuminator and the Edinburgh Artist, is the hand of MS. 17 in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, the Dymok (Fig. 645).62

Lytlington Missal Hand C and related Manuscripts

The third artist in Keble 47 has not as yet been discussed (Hand A of the Lytlington Missal and the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist have already been identified in this work). This illuminator, who was responsible for the greater part of the manuscript, can be assigned thirteen miniatures of varying sizes.63 Although they are clearly the work of a single hand there is some variability in style between them which can be accounted for by experimentation on the part of the artist.

There are three basic areas in which there is stylistic agreement with Hand C in the Lytlington Missal (not as yet discussed) who can be assigned the miniatures and borders on f. 221v, depicting the Coronation of a Queen, and that on f. 224, illustrating the Burial of a King (Figs 651,652). Firstly, for the majority of heads, the facial features are delineated in a brownish-orange line, as in the work of Lytlington Hand C. Secondly, certain figures, such as those of the donors on f. 13v (Fig. 647) and the soldiers in the scene of Christ’s nailing64 are, like those in the miniatures by Hand C in the Missal, rather awkward and ill-proportioned. However, some development on the figures in the Missal might be seen in the two men in the foreground, nailing Christ to the Cross, whose heads are large and legs short, and where empirical foreshortening is apparent. Figures more corporeal in form, wearing contemporary costume and showing greater modelling, are employed by Lytlington Hand C in the compartments formed of interlace

61 Listed in Millar (1928), p.86, no.259.
63 For a list of folios and subject-matter, see Parkes (1979), p.216 who calls this illuminator Hand Two, but I have labelled this artist Hand Three, since he is the third in sequence to appear in the work.
64 For an illustration of this miniature see ibid., p.217 (fig.118).
in the borders (Fig. 651). A third parallel is evident in the wide rectilinear borders composed of heavy foliage rinceaux (Figs 647, 651).

Given that this illuminator was inclined towards experimentation, it is conceivable that he was at work in both Keble 47 and the Lytlington Missal at different stages in his development. Although a firm attribution cannot be postulated his indebtedness, like that of the Edinburgh Artist, to the Missal is beyond question. The likelihood of this attribution is strengthened, however, when it is recalled that Lytlington Hand A also worked in Keble 47. That the third hand in Keble 47 was affected by the style of Hand A of the Missal is illustrated by some of the head and figure types. The Christ type, with oval face, staring eyes and forked beard is similar (Figs 570, 649), and although the techniques are at variance, there is a basic agreement in line and form. For example, the figure of the centurion in the Crucifixion scene can be compared with that of Joseph in the Nativity (Figs 588, 648). The presence of the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist in Keble 47 (Fig. 601) illustrates the complex chain of interdependence which characterises this group of manuscripts. There are also stylistic correspondences, particularly in the area of the draperies, with Hand C in the third campaign of Exeter 47 (Figs 481(a), 482(a), (b), 649); and certain borders show a marked correspondence with those in Laud. Misc. 188 (Figs 560, 563).

A distinctive feature of the Keble artist’s faces are the noses with knobbly, rather bulbous tips (Figs 647, 648). It is this idiosyncrasy, combined with the hot facial shading and brownish-orange lines delineating the faces, that invites comparison with Pamplona MS. 197 in the Archivo General de Navarra, a Coronation Ordo, in twenty-four folios. Owing to the different iconography, details of dress do not correspond, but comparison can be made between the heads of the mourners in the Pamplona manuscript and those of the soldiers around the tomb in the scene of the Resurrection in the Keble Hours (Figs 649, 655). The technique of applying white pigment to the draperies in a series of dry white lines, as employed by the Keble artist (Fig. 647), compares closely with that used by the illuminator in the Pamplona manuscript for highlighting the blue and orange draperies (Fig. 653).

The affinity of this artist with Hand C of the Lytlington Missal is strengthened in respect of the Pamplona manuscript; there are important textual and iconographic parallels between the two works. The text of the Pamplona Ordo is contained in the Lytlington Missal and the iconography of the three miniatures depicting the Coronation of the King, the Anointing of the Queen and the Burial of a King is identical (Figs 651-

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65 In the last chapter I identified this illuminator as Pacht and Alexander’s Hand D in Bodleian, Laud Misc. 165, the Gospels of William of Nottingham. See Pacht and Alexander (1973), no.739, pl. lxxiii (739d).

66 On this manuscript see Dominguez Bordona (1933), p.120 (no.1674), p.122 (fig. 523); Whittingham (1971), 15, n.20, Idoate (ca 1976); fig. 18 and Alexander (1983), p.146.
653,655,656,658). Moreover, two out of these three miniatures which occur in the Lytlington Missal (ff. 221v, 224) are by Hand C. The folio containing the Coronation of the King in the Pamplona Ordo has figures set within the borders in compartments of the same type as those in the Coronation of the Queen folio in the Missal (Figs 651,658). It is possible that the striking correspondences between the two, which suggest the same hand at work, evolved from the Pamplona illuminator basing both his iconography and ornament on Hand C’s work in the Missal. The now characteristic leaf and flower motifs, heavy foliage rinceaux and some interlace, of which the rectilinear, symmetrical borders are composed, speak for an intimately related, if not identical hand in the two works. The borders, in turn, can be compared with those in Keble 47 (Figs 647-649). That the style ultimately derives from the Lytlington Missal is well illustrated by the drapery worn by the seated king in the Pamplona miniature (Fig. 658) which relates in form to that of Hands A and B in the Missal (Figs 570,574), the Edinburgh Artist (Fig. 657) Liber Regalis and the portrait of Richard II. The head types, with prominent eyes and flaps of hair are reminiscent of those of Lytlington Hand A (Fig. 656), but the Pamplona artist’s faces, in which there is marked facial shading, reach the point of caricature (Figs 653,658).

Dating and the ultimate sources of the Lytlington style

A closely similar artist to Lytlington Hand A and Hand B illuminated the charter of the Burgesses of Ipswich, dated 1378 (Fig. 659). Both the figure style and border type relate to the Lytlington Missal. Given that the Missal can be dated with certainty to 1383/4, it is possible that the charter may represent an earlier work by Hand A or B. The marginal decoration in the charter (it comprises a rectilinear bar, paired marigold and daisy buds and blotchy trilobed leaves) could be by either hand, since this is the area which has seen considerable standardisation. Whereas the head types seem to relate more closely to those of Hand A, the figure style and the curvilinear, competently drawn drapery forms (particularly evident in the seated figure), are more akin to those of Hand B. Although the charter may not represent the work of either illuminator, it is clearly an important precursor, placing the origin of the Lytlington Missal style in the 1370s. It would appear that Hand B of the Lytlington Missal was responsible for introducing new

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67 As noted, the Coronation Ordo is unfoliated. In the Lytlington Missal the miniature of the coronation of the king (Hic est ordo) occurs on f. 206, that of the queen (De quo regina sola coronanda) on f. 221v and that of the funeral of the king (Domini rex munctus migravit) on f. 224.

68 For a description and bibliography see Lasko and Morgan (1973), no.38. See also Whittingham (1971), 16, fig.21; Simpson (1980), p.144, fig.15; Simpson (1984), pp.137-38, 146, pl.231.

69 For Liber Regalis and related manuscripts see n. 74 in this chapter and for the portrait of Richard II see Rickert (1965), pl. 162.

70 See Robinson and James (1909), pp.7-8.

225
elements of figure style and iconography,\textsuperscript{71} which were then transmitted to Hands A and C, but the border decoration remains traditionally English in style.

This workshop's origins in the early 1370s is confirmed by the fortunate survival of three other charters of this decade, which at the same time offer further insight into the source of this style. They are now in the Bristol Record Office and date from 8 August, 30 October and 20 December 1373 (Figs 660-662).\textsuperscript{72} All three were probably illuminated by the same hand and show Edward III in three different forms of attire. In the charter of 8 August he is represented as a knight (Fig. 660), in that for 30 October he is shown in rich regalia (Fig. 661), while in that for 20 December he is enthroned and wears contemporary dress (Fig. 662). The head of the king in both the 8 August and 20 October charters (Figs 660,661), for which there is a thick application of white pigment with vigorous, yet subtle grey modelling, is remarkably naturalistic and painted with considerable refinement. The heavy-lidded, protruding eyes make an appearance in these charters, recalling the male head type of the English Artist (Figs 206,207). Curiously, the latest of the three charters (20 December) shows the king with yellow-brown hair; it therefore may have been based on an earlier iconographic model. The other two represent him white-haired, his more likely appearance at this date, four years before his death in 1377.

The border ornament in these charters epitomises the range of colour and choice of motifs which were to become standard for the majority of manuscripts produced in England in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. This comprises a slender gold rectilinear bar with an inner stem of foliage ornamented with an array of wavy trilobed leaves, kites and hairline sprays containing gold berry forms. The staves of the initial of the 8 August charter (Fig. 660), moreover, are painted in the distinctive dusky pink and azure of the kind employed by the William of Nottingham and related artists.\textsuperscript{73} A further characteristic technique, later adopted by the Lytlington Missal workshop (it appears in

\textsuperscript{71}Stylistically Hand B bears a puzzling resemblance to the fourteenth-century Catalan miniaturist who completed the Utrecht Psalter now Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. MS. 8846. For illustrations, see Meiss (1959), figs 27, 28, 29 and 31. See also his figs 33 and 34, illustrating this artist's work in B.L. Add. MS. 15274. Catalan influence has already been noted (see Chapter 5 of this study) in Flemish manuscripts of this date. The monumentality of his style seems to suggest that he may also have been a panel painter, a factor which would explain his apparent absence from other extent illuminated books. It is not within the scope of this study to investigate more fully the sources of the figure style and iconography of Hand A of the Lytlington Missal, but for further discussion of the problem see Thomas (1974).

\textsuperscript{72}For details, see Dermott Harding (1930), pp.118-41 (8 August), pp.168-69 (30 October), pp.170-73 (20 December). See also Ralph (1971), p.1. I am grateful to Elizabeth Danbury for drawing my attention to these charters.

\textsuperscript{73}The artists of Bodleian, MS. Laud Misc. 165, Hatfield MS. 290 and the third campaign in Exeter 47, discussed in Chapter 8.
the Missal itself and Liber Regalis), is the use of matt on burnished gold, such as that employed for the throne of the king in the 20 December charter (Fig. 662). This charter is further distinguished by a series of monochrome heads contained within the ascenders of the script in the upper line (Fig. 663). These are exquisitely drawn and naturalistically rendered. They support the view that the Lytlington Missal (of a decade later) emanated from the same workshop as the charters, since pen initials containing pen and water-colour animal forms also occur in the Missal (Fig. 664). If work of this kind was being produced as early as 1373 it is surprising that nothing else of note, no liturgical books for example, survives of this workshop from the 1370s. It seems likely that we now lack certain important manuscripts of this date which would have complemented the charters and made the transition to the manuscripts of the 1380s more explicable.

It is difficult to propose a precise sequence of production for Lytlington Hand A on stylistic grounds, for his work shows little development. A date of before 1388 is likely for the Belknap Hours. Later obits refer to an Alice Belknap whose great-grand-father was Sir Robert Belknap; he was probably the original owner of the Hours. Sir Robert was one of those condemned by the so-called Merciless Parliament and exiled in Ireland from 1388 to 1397. If he commissioned the work it is perhaps more likely to pre-date his exile. The Apocalypse and Add. 4086 contain no internal evidence for dating. Evidence that the style of Lytlington Hand A had gained currency by the mid 1380s is provided by the derivative Durham Cathedral Postillae in Pentateuchium, which has a date of 1386 and clearly shows influence from Hand A of the Missal. The Statutes (Cotton Nero D.VI) have a date of after 1386, and Hand A’s style in this work certainly shows some development from that in the Missal and related material. Indeed, it could be a product of the 1390s, for the Bodleian Geomancie has to date after 1391. Judging from Hand A’s collaborator in Bodley 581, a date nearer to 1400 is possible. Moreover, there is a charter in private hands, dated to 1396, by a close follower of Hand A. On grounds of style, therefore, the Sotheby leaves and the Aberystwyth Hours appear to date to the mid to late 1390s. This date is also suggested for the illumination in London University, MS. 1 (The

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74 According to Rickert (1965), p.152 Liber Regalis was executed ‘at about the same time as the Lytlington Missal... perhaps shortly before or after Richard’s marriage in 1382’. Discussion of this manuscript and others by his hand (Oxford, Trinity College MS. 8 (a missal), Cambridge, St John’s College MS.A.1 (statutes) the Shrewsbury charter, as well as the closely related work in the Carmelite Missal (London, B.L. Add. MSS. 29704, 29705) lies outside the scope of this study. For discussion, see Rickert (1952); Thompson (1974); Simpson (1980), pp.144-45; Simpson (1984), pp.147-60 and Wright (1986).

75 For further illustrations see Wickham Legg (1893) v, pp.i, ii, v, vi, vii.

76 See Sotheby (1 December 1970), lot 2869, pp.30-31 for discussion of the later obits and births written in the calendar and the inscription on the flyleaf.

77 Miller (1928), p.86, no.259, mistook the dated colophon of 1386 for 1366.

78 Plicht and Alexander (1973), no.673.

79 I am grateful to Elizabeth Danbury for showing me a slide of this charter in private hands which she is to publish.

227
Life of the Black Prince), although not by Hand A himself (Fig. 650).

Again, probably not by this hand, but another close follower, is a Breviary in the British Library, Sloane MS. 2466, which has evidence to date it to the year 1400 precisely. As in the Cambridge University Library Breviary, which is possibly also of this date, the reduction in size of the initials gives rise to problems in attribution, and the oxidisation of certain pigments has badly affected some of the faces. The iconography of the historiated initials is closely modelled on that in the Lytlington Missal and there is also a relationship with Cambridge Add. 4500 and the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours. Although the majority of borders are less rich than those in the Lytlington Missal, following a type used by Hand A in the Belknap Hours, those from f. 259 are mostly more elaborate and closely approach the Missal variety. The Sloane manuscript seems to have drawn on a number of earlier border styles which the artist has rationalised. This in itself supports a date of ca 1400.

From the information available it is possible to ascertain that this artist was active (and influential) from ca 1380 to 1400. That his influence extended into the fifteenth century, is evident from a psalter now in Hatfield House, MS. 292 and a Pontifical, MS. 79 in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, not by Hand A, but both possibly illuminated by the same artist. They are clearly indebted to the Lytlington Missal and related manuscripts, as are the Missal, B.11.3 in Trinity College, Cambridge, a further Missal in the Vatican, Pal. lat. 561 and part of the illumination in Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 93. On the basis of the dating of the Pontifical, all five manuscripts appear to be products of the first decade of the fifteenth century.

Moving now to the manuscripts associated with Lytlington Hand C, if the Pamplona Ordo and the main hand of Keble 47 can be assigned to Hand C, then on stylistic grounds the Oxford and Pamplona books look later. The forms not only show greater competence but whereas Hand C's work in the Missal is purely indigenous in style, that in the other two works suggests possible Flemish influence. The elongation of the noses (this is not evident in the examples illustrated) occurs in Flemish work of this approximate date. Although there has to be some doubt as to whether the third hand in

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80 The text, for which see Tyson (1975) suggests that it is earlier however.
81 I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers who has made the following observation: on f. 18v there is a table of dominical letters, 1096-1700. In the column headed 1392 there is a pin-mark in the eight row down (i.e. the year 1400) which may be significant especially since on f. 388v there is a rubric to a lost table in a hand related to that of the running titles, referring to "Tabula Pascal extract circa annu dm MCCCC". The Breviary was probably in use by 1400 and perhaps first used in that year.
82 For a description of the Pontifical see James (1912), i, no.79 158-64. See also Frere, i (1899-1900), ii (1900), pls i-ix.
83 On account of the arms of England modern on f. 1, forming part of the initial campaign, the manuscript must date to 1407 or after. For discussion of these arms, see Pinches (1974), pp.88-89.
84 See Chapter 5 where the material associated with the later campaign in The Hague, Mermanno-Westreenianum, MS. 10.A.14 is discussed.

228
the Keble Hours can be identified as Hand C of the Lytlington Missal at an earlier stage in his career, the Keble hand does appear to be identifiable as the Pamplona artist. Indicating that the Pamplona Ordo is later than the Missal are the contemporary costumes worn by the attendant in the scene of the Coronation of the King (Fig. 658) and the border figures (Figs 653,658). They are broadly reminiscent of the fashions worn by the figures in the Boccaccio manuscripts produced in the Parisian ateliers of around 1400-1410. Contemporary dress, but not of quite this type, does occasionally occur in the Missal (Fig. 651) and in Keble 47 (Fig. 647).

This stylistic chronology is supported by Richardson's studies of the text of the four Liber Regalis manuscripts now extant. Richardson concludes that the Pamplona Ordo is a copy of the fourth recension of the text as found in Liber Regalis, completed by 1377, the date of the coronation of Richard II, and that according to Ullmann it relies on the version found in the Lytlington Missal. Given the precise dating (1383/4) of the Lytlington Missal and that stylistic analysis suggests Lytlington Hand C's work in the Ordo (if indeed it is his hand) is later than that in Keble 47 (this is in turn later than the related work in the Missal), it is likely that both the Keble Hours and the Pamplona Ordo are products of the mid to late 1390s.

Although Holkham MS. 26 was probably produced sometime in the 1380s, confirmation that the Holkham Psalter Artist's career extended into the 1390s is given by the Polychronicon, in which his hand has been identified. There is evidence of its having been commissioned by Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, to present to the college of secular priests dedicated to the Trinity which he founded in 1394. The manuscript can therefore be fairly precisely dated to between 1394 (there is a reference in the text to an event in that year) and 1397, the year Thomas died. The opening page has an initial, depicting the Mercy Seat Trinity, the arms of the College and a kneeling cleric in the lower left-hand corner (Fig. 627).

As noted, this illuminator is found again in a fragment of a psalter-hours, now Dublin, Trinity College, MS. B.3.2. A date in the 1390s is therefore likely since he worked alongside the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist in this manuscript. It contains no evidence by which it can be precisely dated. The relationship between these two illuminators (Holkham and Edinburgh artists) is further strengthened when it is recalled that Eleanor de Bohun, the wife of the duke of Gloucester who commissioned the Polychronicon, was the owner of the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours (f. 66 has a prayer naming the owner as Eleanor and f. 148v has an erased ownership inscription naming her). The Edinburgh Artist appears not to have been active until the 1390s. A date of ca 1395 for the Psalter-

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85 For illustrations see Meiss (1967), figs 287, 289, 290, 291, 292 and 294.
86 See Richardson (1960), 149. The king being crowned in all the representations is undoubtedly Richard II, and the dead King, Edward III. I have not examined this manuscript in the original.
Hours, suggested on stylistic grounds, is strengthened by internal evidence: another prayer on f. 66 (beginning, *Teigitur clementissime pater per unigenitum tuum...*) mentions Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404), Bishop Braybrooke of London (1382-1404) and Richard II (1377-1399), thus indicating a date between 1389 and 1399. Furthermore, the clause added to the litany on f. 39 (*ut viam famuli tui Thome disponas et omnia opera eius dirigas*) points to a date before the death of Thomas in 1397.

The impression given is that in the last decade of the fourteenth century artists were largely working for specific patrons. Where evidence exists it points principally to Eleanor and Thomas, apart from those manuscripts mostly illuminated by Lytlington Hand A, which are associated with Richard II. The English Bible in two volumes (Egerton MSS. 618 and 619) by the Edinburgh Artist bears conclusive evidence for ownership by Gloucester (his arms - Quarterly, France ancient and England, within a bordure argent – occur on the opening page), and these manuscripts are possibly identifiable as 'un bible en Engleys en ij gant liures cov'ez de rouge quyr', mentioned in the inventory of Gloucester's library taken at Pleshey when his goods were confiscated in 1397. Keble 47 in which Lytlington Hands A and C (the latter the artist of the Pamplona Ordo), as well as the Edinburgh Artist can be identified, could well have been commissioned by the duke and duchess of Gloucester in commemoration of the founding of their college. On f. 13v the donors (possibly identifiable as Thomas and Eleanor) kneel before the Mercy Seat Trinity in a miniature by Lytlington Hand C (Fig. 647). A further representation of a male and female donor occurs in the historiated initial on f. 9 by the Edinburgh Artist (Fig. 601). Their ownership is supported by the presence of a shield within the field of the Resurrection miniature on f. 57 (Fig. 649) showing a swan statant wings argent facing to sinister on a grey-green ground associated with the Bohun family. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed when comparison is made between the miniature on f. 13 and one of the seals of Pleshey College where the duke and duchess are represented alongside the Trinity in an almost identical manner. This would give a date of between 1394 and 1397 for the Keble Hours, which falls precisely within the stylistic chronology suggested for Lytlington Hand C. This in turn supports a date of *ca* 1400 for his latest extant work, the Pamplona Ordo.

These observations are of interest for two reasons; firstly because it reveals that there was a close relationship between patron and workshop. Three books in which the Edinburgh Artist worked, datable to the last decade of the fourteenth century, and a fourth by the Holkham Artist, reveal clear Bohun-Woodstock affiliations. Secondly, because it
seems to confirm that by the 1390s the Bohun family (Thomas and Eleanor) were forced to look elsewhere for illuminators; the two central Bohun artists had probably died sometime in the 1380s.\(^{92}\)

Not only did patrons have to seek out artists but it would appear that the reverse was also the case. The Edinburgh Artist, who in the 1390s may have worked almost exclusively for the duke and duchess of Gloucester, was by the following decade forced to look elsewhere for patronage; Thomas had been murdered in 1397 and Eleanor had died in 1399. The only other extant manuscript in which the Edinburgh Artist can be identified is the Carmelite Missal, for which Rickert suggested a date of \textit{ca} 1390,\(^{93}\) but which has more recently been dated to the 1410s.\(^{94}\) A date later than that proposed by Rickert seems more plausible given the 'imported' styles of Rickert's Hands A and B of the Missal and the fact that the 1390s were still very much dominated by the indigenous English tradition, as exemplified by the manuscripts discussed in this chapter. A date as late as the 1410s, however, raises the question of whether the work by Rickert's Hand C (the Edinburgh Artist) was done at this time, or whether the Missal had been started in the 1390s, but abandoned. The latter hypothesis seems unlikely since stylistic analysis suggests that the Missal is the latest work in the chronology attributable to him (acanthus decoration appears in the Missal but not in his works datable to the 1390s); and a break in campaign, although now difficult to establish owing to the fragmentary state of the book, is not supported by the distribution of the initials and borders by Rickert's Hand C (as represented by her reconstruction) which are widely dispersed throughout the manuscript. The impression given, though surprising on account of the \textit{retardataire} nature of the style, is that it was a collaborative undertaking. Therefore, if the material by Hand C is of the same campaign as the more forward-looking style, the presence of Hand C in the Missal argues for a date in the first decade of the fifteenth century, rather than the 1310s. The Missal is thus a unique illustration of the two trends apparent in English illumination at this crucial point of change. As noted earlier, Rickert has identified an assistant to her Hand C (Hand C2). It is this artist who probably executed Add. 16968, for which a date \textit{ca} 1400 might be postulated. Although it is not possible to establish for whom this book was commissioned, the Carmelite Missal was probably owned by the London Whitefriars.\(^{95}\)

Both the presence of acanthus ornament in the work by \textit{Omne Bonum} Hand D in Laud Misc. 188 and the position of his hand towards the end of \textit{Omne Bonum} suggest a date in the last decade of the fourteenth century, despite the apparent naïvety of the figure style. Precisely the same assessment was made in connection with the first illuminator in

\(^{92}\) For further discussion of their patronage see Chapter 11.

\(^{93}\) Rickert (1952), p.44.

\(^{94}\) See Wright (1986), pp.171-72.

\(^{95}\) Rickert (1952), pp.91.
Hatfield 290 and Hands A and B in *Omne Bonum*, discussed in the last chapter, and whose work may date to the 1360s. That both Laud Misc. 188 and the work by Hands C and D in *Omne Bonum* date to the 1390s, however, is supported by the style of the other two illuminators in the Bodleian Hours. Moreover, the close stylistic rapport between the products of this workshop, those of the Edinburgh Artist and the final campaign in Exeter 47 suggests a date in the 1390s for the activity of Exeter Hands A, B, and C.  

Although the folios by the first artist in Laud. Misc. 188 could be seen as a late product of the English Artist there is not sufficient stylistic support for this hypothesis, nor does this work appear to be by his close collaborator. But it is certainly the path of development which the English Artist may have undertaken had he still been working in the 1390s. The artists of Laud Misc. 188 display dual influence from the central Bohun and Lytlington Missal workshops. The monumentality of the Edinburgh Artist's style seems to originate in part from the Egerton Artist in Egerton 3277, placed last in the chronology of the central Bohun manuscripts. If, as postulated, both Edinburgh Advs 18.6.5 and Laud Misc. 188 date to the 1390s this would make a date in the preceding decade likely for Egerton 3277. By analysis of the material in this chapter it has been possible to establish that the activity of the two central Bohun artists and the English Artist's close collaborator (the Egerton Artist) most probably ceased sometime in the 1380s.  

Workshop location and conclusions to be drawn from the association of these artists  
A London provenance for the workshop associated with Lytlington Hand A seems certain. The central work, the Lytlington Missal, provides clear evidence not only for a Westminster destination (the arms of Westminster occur throughout the Missal) but for execution in the capital.  
That London was beginning to develop again as a centre for illumination from around 1370 is evidenced in the three charters of 1373, precursors of London work of the 1380s. They were undoubtedly illuminated in London before being sent out. The Bodleian Geomancie has a mark of ownership relating to Richard II and the Cotton Statutes also suggests a London origin. The cycle of miniatures in the Apocalypse (Trinity B.10.2) closely relates iconographically to the Apocalypse paintings in the Chapter House at Westminster. The series of illustrations by a different, ca 1400-1410 hand, which follow the Apocalypse, depict the Life of Edward the Confessor. Sir Robert Belknap, the probable first owner of the Hours, is recorded as attempting to maintain the
law in Essex in 1381 and he worked on the King's Bench. Unfortunately, nothing can be gleaned as to provenance from the calendars and litanies contained in Cambridge U.L. Add. 4086, Add. 4500, the Belknap Hours, Trinity B.11.3 or Sloane 2466; they are all pure Sarum. A London provenance is not denied by any of the manuscripts in which Lytlington Hand A participated, or those which have been shown to be close relatives. Laud. Misc. 188 also supports a London localisation. The opening miniature of the Virgin and Child depicts a crowned female donor who is traditionally identified as Anne of Bohemia, Richard II's queen (Fig. 559). The stylistic and documentary evidence accumulated in this chapter suggests, therefore, that London was the likely centre of production for *Omne Bonum*, Hatfield 290 and William of Nottingham's Commentary on the Gospels; as noted one of the *Omne Bonum* artists (*Omne Bonum* Hand C) has been identified in a Westminster-related (Laud Misc. 188) book. Consequently, a London provenance is indicated for the later work of the Holkham artist (the Egerton Genesis Master) and the third campaign in Exeter 47.

The stylistic and iconographic parallels, as well as those of palette and technique, which exist between the various illuminators at this date suggest that they knew one another's work and that their shops were situated in close proximity in the capital. Although the Edinburgh Artist does not participate in the Lytlington Missal the border types, iconography, style and range of pigments are evidence beyond doubt of his close affiliation with those artists. There are also affinities with other artists of this date and possible location. The type of the enthroned Virgin and Child on f. 16 in the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours (Fig. 558) recalls those in Laud. Misc. 188 (Fig. 559), f. 9 in Keble 47 (Fig. 601) and f. 86 in the Carew-Poyntz Hours (Fig. 667), the latter in a section of two gatherings which has *bas-de-page* scenes painted by an illuminator whose palette and style closely approach those of the Edinburgh Artist and where the mannerism of the jagged sleeve is also found (Fig. 666). But it does not appear to be the same miniaturist at work. The roundness of the drapery worn by the seated king on f. 78v in the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours (Fig. 657) is a distinct reminder of the garments in *Liber Regalis* and those worn by Richard II in his portrait. In the light of the connections (some stylistic, others iconographic), between the Edinburgh Artist and Lytlington Hand A, on the one hand, and the later artists of both *Omne Bonum* and the Gospels of William of Nottingham on the other, it is of interest that Pächt and Alexander have compared their

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101 *D.N.B.*, ii, pp.9-10.
102 As suggested to me by Nicholas Rogers, Sloane 2466 may have belonged to Henry Wodecock (see f. 2), one of the Wodecocks of London.
103 Sandler (1986), pp.232-34 has forwarded a London provenance for *Omne Bonum*.
104 The presence of St Erkenwald on 30 April in the calendar, which is part of the final campaign, might be seen to reinforce the London location suggested on grounds of style; this saint does not appear elsewhere in the calendars of the Bohun manuscripts. For Erkenwald see Stanton (1892), p.187.
105 For bibliography on the Carew-Poyntz Hours, see Chapter 2, n.4.
106 For an illustration of this painting see Rickert (1965), pl.162.
Hand A in the Gospels (Fig. 665) to Rickert’s Hand C (Edinburgh Artist). Although not the work of the Edinburgh Artist, certain similarities seem to suggest that the two illuminators evolved out of the same *milieu*.

Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that Lytlington Hand A and the Edinburgh Artist have stylistic affiliations with the Holkham illuminator. The monumentality of the figure style, heavy draperies, the facial types with piercing black eyes, and palette with the distinctive crimson pigment are common to all three illuminators, as are certain codicological details. However, despite these parallels, the Holkham illuminator and Lytlington Hand A do not appear together in any extant manuscript. The Holkham artist collaborated with the Edinburgh Artist in only one surviving work (Trinity B.3.2). Lytlington Hand A and the Edinburgh Artist are found in association in only Keble 47. But the Edinburgh Artist’s debt to the Lytlington Missal and related manuscripts is indisputable. He is unique of these illuminators to have worked alongside both the Holkham Artist (in Trinity B.3.2) and the Lytlington A Hand (in Keble 47).

That these miniaturists were largely independent, providing portions of the work, rather than collaborating within a single shop, is well demonstrated by Keble 47 and Laud Misc. 188. Just as Hand A’s work in Keble 47 does not occur in the same gathering as that of the Edinburgh Artist, the Edinburgh Artist’s contribution is found in a separate gathering from that of Lytlington Hand C (the Pamplona artist). Moreover, the vellum of each portion is at variance. Whether they were members of the same workshop is therefore open to question. The indications are that each artist provided material from their own workshops of which they may have been the sole members. Close liaison between the respective artists, however, is well illustrated by Laud Misc. 188. Although there is agreement between the various portions in the ruling and number of lines, the vellum and minor decoration differ. The Lytlington Missal, on the other hand, seems to typify the earlier tradition where artists came together to execute a commission, with a more homogeneous result.

The Lytlington Missal is a key work from which a large number of manuscripts derive their style, iconography and border types. The rather stereotyped formula chosen by this group of illuminators, a rationalised, diluted version of the Missal type, suggests that they were working under different conditions from the central Bohun artists, requiring greater output, presumably at lower cost. The unusual procedure for the fourteenth-century of ruling for borders, evident in the section illuminated by the Pamplona artist in Keble 47, and the standardisation of palette, style, border design and iconography, is perhaps an indication that changes in workshop practice were underway, heralding a move towards production on a larger scale. Standardisation of the type emerging here, however, was not

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107 The use of colour at this date (more precise dating will be advanced in Chapter 11) suggests that the palette was becoming more limited. It may be possible to explain this economy by the need for increased production.
fully achieved until the fifteenth century. The four main miniaturists discussed in this chapter (Hands A and C of the Lytlington Missal, the Edinburgh Artist and the Holkham illuminator) appear to have worked in adjacent London shops with access to the same models, using identical pigments and closely related techniques.108

The Vernon Manuscript

Finally, a work which perpetuates into the fifteenth century this indigenous English trend, while expressing a rather inert version of the Lytlington A, Edinburgh and Holkham styles, is Oxford, Bodleian Library Eng. Poet.a.1, the Vernon manuscript.109

The illumination of the first hand is contained in oblong miniatures, dispersed throughout the text, and recalls the work of the Lytlington Hand A (Fig. 593). Comparison can be made with a scene of the Nativity by the two miniaturists (Figs 587,588,668). The long, oval head of Joseph in the Vernon manuscript is very similar in type to that found throughout the Lytlington Missal and Belknap Hours, with its forked beard, protruding flaps of hair and curious shaped hat. The Virgin is also related in type to that of the Lytlington A Hand. Furthermore, paired daisy buds of the elongated variety embellish the corners of the rectangular miniatures, as in Bodl. 581 (Figs 582,583,668).

The second illuminator works in a manner which approaches that of the Edinburgh Artist. Although clearly a debased version of his style (Fig. 669), it holds a number of points in common, such as the facial types, with penetrating black eyes, the profile head (in which the nose is drawn in a continuous line with the forehead) and the tight-fitting costumes worn by the women (Figs 602-606,608-611). In view of the close correspondences which can be drawn between the first Vernon artist and Lytlington Hand A, it strengthens the possibility that this second Vernon hand had some contact with the Edinburgh illuminator.

This hypothesis is further upheld when the work of the third Vernon hand is considered, for a curious relationship exists between this illuminator and the Holkham artist, as demonstrated by the Polychronicon, Holkham 26 and Dublin, Trinity B.3.2. A particularly telling comparison can be made between the miniature of the Mercy-Seat Trinity in the Vernon manuscript and the only decorated folio in the Polychronicon (Figs 627,670). Not only is the subject-matter of the Trinity identical, but other decorative and iconographic elements from the Polychronicon have been incorporated into the Vernon miniature, such as the kneeling donor, the angels with segmented wings, tracery and the

108 The Pamplona artist (I can only judge from colour reproductions) does not appear to use the same bright crimson, characteristic of the other illuminators.

109 For bibliography, see Pächt and Alexander (1973), no.676, pl. lxx-lxxi. Although they suggest that there are only two main figural illuminators, there appear to be three distinct hands or styles. See also Doyle (1987). I derive my dating from stylistic analysis.
large sycamore leaf with dotted veins. Moreover, the figure style, being fairly monumental in type, palette and technique, are all broadly comparable. There is also the presence of paired columbines in the lower border of each page, a relatively unusual feature, and they share a number of other leaf and flower forms, as well as certain border structures.

Artistically the Vernon manuscript appears to be a provincial work of the 1390s, or even later, deriving elements from the three London illuminators outlined.

Lytlington Hand A and the Edinburgh and Holkham artists, therefore, each with their own highly distinctive yet compatible styles, dominated the scene during the last twenty-five years of the fourteenth century. The Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist appears to have been active for approximately the same period as Hand A of the Missal; there is evidence that his activity, like that of the Holkham Artist, was concentrated in the 1390s but may have extended into the early fifteenth century.
CHAPTER TEN

ITALIAN INFLUENCES

Having traced the career of the two central Bohun illuminators it is appropriate to consider the question of Italian influence. Whereas it has been possible to state with certainty the place of Flemish painting in England during this period Italy’s rôle in this development is more elusive.

(i) Italian influence on the English Artist

The style of the English Bohun Artist is often referred to as Italianate. Although there is no space here to give a detailed account of Italian painting, it is necessary to consider its main elements and to assess the extent to which they are reflected in the style of this illuminator. By the date of the formation of the central workshop the following characteristics had become well established in Italian Trecento painting. A fairly constant feature (evident in wall and panel painting as well as in manuscripts) is the monumentality of the figures, many clad in classical, voluminous draperies (Figs 671-673, 675) which seems to tell against Italian influence. Although there is some variation, the Bohun figure types, created essentially for narrative cycles, are small in scale and rather insubstantial. In Italian art, space is rendered in three dimensions and there is accuracy of architectural detail (Figs 675-677). An equivalent understanding of perspective is not apparent in English manuscript painting of this date. If the English Artist employs architectural devices, they are simple structures which, with few exceptions, remain essentially two-dimensional. In Italian works the compositions are invariably large in scale (Fig. 671) and many are dramatic (Figs 683, 684). There is an awareness of landscape and a degree of naturalism inherent in Italian painting of this date which is not paralleled in the small crowded scenes of the Bohun manuscripts.

However, in a number of general aspects distinct affinities can be found. Movement is under way towards the rendering of the body showing anatomical accuracy and skilful modelling of the nude figure (Figs 399, 424, 448). One Italian head type, used for males and females, is pear-shaped, with smooth rather expressionless features and eyes which narrow and slant gently upwards towards the ear (Figs 674, 675). It closely resembles the standard type of head used by the English Artist (Figs 152-154, 156, 206, 207). His style is further characterised by the plasticity of the draperies, an effect which is achieved by soft

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237
modelling and vigorous white highlighting. A thickish application of colour is used, the surface is rendered shiny and there is a concentration on rose pink, blue and green pigments, pristine in quality. The range of pigments used by this miniaturist and the painters of St Stephen's Chapel is in agreement, and does not originate in extant pre-1350 manuscripts. But whether the English Artist derived the palette directly from Italian panel or wall painting, or appropriated it second-hand from English works under Italian influence, is not possible to say with certainty, owing to the loss of so much monumental art in England.

In the three full-page miniatures by the English Artist in Auct. D.4.4 flaking of the paint reveals the original thickness of the pigment, a technique which reinforces an origin in monumental painting (Figs 399,401,402). These miniatures could well have been inspired by devotional panels imported from Italy: one depicts the Crucifixion, another the enthroned Virgin and Child with Donor, two popular themes in Italian art. Suggestive of a wall or panel painting technique is the affinity this illuminator bears to Bohemian work of this type of ca 1350, which shows a similar translation of Italian art. When, however, specific parallels are made with Italian art Gothic principles of form and space prevail. If the Crucifixion is compared with Italian examples the hanging posture of Christ, with semi-transparent loin cloth, is reminiscent of Italian models, but the Bohun figures lack the monumental qualities of Italian painting. These are more closely approximated by the artist of the Douai and Gorleston Crucifixions from which the Bohun representation could have derived (Figs 18,399). The Gothic qualities of the Bohun figures are well illustrated by the closely related scene of the Crucifixion in the composite miniature of the Pommersfelden fragment (Fig. 448), where the Virgin retains a gently swaying pose and St John's foot is pushed forward manneristically. The three-dimensionality achieved in the modelling of the tomb in this miniature may suggest exposure to fresh impulses from

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2 I have formulated these conclusions from the surviving fragments in the British Museum and the detailed descriptions made by John Topham, for which see Tristram (1955), pp.206-19, especially pp.211-17, describing the Job and Tobit cycles.

3 For a discussion of these manuscripts see Chapters 1, 2 and 3. An apparently isolated instance of rose pink in pre-1350 illumination occurs on the drapery of the seated St John in the Crucifixion miniature (f. 14) in the Fitzwarin Psalter, dated in this study (see Chapter 2) to ca 1345.

4 This type of palette occurs in the Thornham Parva Retable, dated by Norton, Park and Binski (1987) to ca 1335-40, reinforcing the view that it is a range of colour more closely allied to wall and panel painting (more likely the latter) than to illumination.

5 Folio xlii (Crucifixion); f. 181v (Virgin and Child and Donor); f. 243av (Raising of Lazarus). Of survivals of monumental painting in England that of the Virgin in the Byward Tower, London (see Tristram (1955), pl. 8(b)), recalls the technique employed by the English Artist in these miniatures.

6 The small-scale nature of various Italian panels (in the Accademia in Venice there is a series of small panels dated to the first half of the fourteenth century of the Riminese school and in the Vatican Museum two small panels depicting the Crucifixion and Noli me tangere also of this school) makes influence via this medium more explicable. The diapering of the background areas of gold is similar to that in manuscripts. Detached predellas might be a further channel of influence. Moreover, there is documentation that Italian panel painters also worked as illuminators. See Huter (1974), 9-16 for discussion of this question for ca 1400.

7 The question of Bohemian influence will be touched on later in this chapter.

8 St John's stance occurs in the late thirteenth-century painting of St Christopher in the S. Transept of Westminster Abbey. For an illustration, see Tristram (1950), pls 11,12.
Italian painting but a French, or possibly Fleming, intermediary cannot be discounted. Whereas Crucifixions of the Douai and Gorleston type (with only the Virgin and St John in attendance) are found in Italian painting, they are rare. Apparently even rarer is the Auct. D.4.4 type, which also has the two thieves (Fig. 399). In Italy they only exist in crowded Crucifixions which are widely prevalent. The manner in which they are affixed to the cross, with their arms tied behind, can be traced ultimately to classical sources. Contemporary examples of an earlier date include Giovanni Pisano's Pistoia pulpit of 1301, a Circle of Duccio panel of ca 1310-15 and a painting by Pietro Lorenzetti in Assisi of before 1319.10

Taking next the miniature of the Virgin and Child (Fig. 401), the throne and the use of the footstool could have been inspired by an Italian prototype, such as the Maestà by Simone Martini of 1315 in the Palazzo Publico, Siena, the Bernardo Daddi Triptych of 1333 in Florence, or certain enthroned Madonnas by Pietro Lorenzetti.11 But the throne itself, invariably represented as marble in Italian examples, is wooden and thus typically English in form. Although the Virgin's head is broadly Italianate, she is unveiled and wears a crown, which again is Northern in conception. Whereas in Italian examples the Virgin is solidly seated on her throne (even in Duccesque Madonnas, where a formal relationship with English types is more apparent) in the Bohun miniature she balances precariously on the edge of the seat and is less corporeal in form. Censing angels are a commonplace in Italian painting and the patterned dress of the Virgin may have been similarly inspired. The rich effect created by the delicate pouncing of the gold ground in the miniature could be seen as a translation of the elaborate pastiglia and stucco of Italian panels. There are certain French parallels but these are apparently later in date than the Auct. D.4.4 miniature.12

Turning to the third full-page miniature, that of the Raising of Lazarus (Fig. 402), the iconography must surely derive from Italy, although it has not been possible to isolate a

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9 For one example see Van Marle (1935), 293-313, fig. 3, depicting a small Crucifixion of the school of Simone Martini from the S'Heerenberg collection Van Heek, which shows Christ on the cross and the Virgin and St John on either side. For further instances of this iconography see Cecchi (1930), pls xxvii, cxxiv and De Wald (1930), pl.86.

10 For the Pisano pulpit see Mellini (1969), pl.88, for the Circle of Duccio panel see White (1979), fig. 117 and for the Lorenzetti Crucifixion see Cecchi (1930), pls xxxviii, xi, xli, and De Wald (1930), pl.50. The thieves bound to the cross in this manner also occur in the Evreux Hours (for an illustration see New York (1957) or Avril (1978), p.6) and the Fitzwarin Psalter (see my Fig. 60).

11 For illustrations of Simone and Daddi see White (1966), pls 100, 117, and for Lorenzetti see Cecchi (1930), pls vi, lxxxi, cx, cxxvi and De Wald pls 9a, 16, 21, 27. Presumably images of this type were fairly common in Italian painting of this date and a panel by a lesser known follower (see for example De Wald (1930), pls 62-67) could have been equally influential.

12 See Meiss (1967), fig. 34 (f. 78v, the Hours of Turin); fig. 50 (f.120, the Hours of Turin); and fig. 180 (p.11, Brussels MS. 11060). The dating of the miniature in Auct. D.4.4 is discussed in Chapter 11.
precise source. The figure of Christ demonstrates well the manner in which the English Artist depicts drapery tightly drawn around the arm, forming a curvature, a widespread motif in Italian painting and evident, for example, in the various depictions of Christ before His Accusers in Duccio's *Maestà*, of 1307. The semi-diaphanous quality of much of this drapery is analogous to the English Artist's earliest works (the final campaign in the Vienna Psalter and the first campaign in the Exeter Psalter) and recalls the treatment of the garments in the Gorleston Crucifixion and the first campaign in the Vienna Psalter, which lie in the background of this illuminator's style (Figs 17, 19, 37, 39, 57).

General elements of Italian painting were therefore important for this artist but with the exception of the palette and technique they were presented in an Anglicised form. However, because Italian models had interested English painters from as early as *ca* 1310 the source of these Italian forms tends to be obscured by the indigenous style.

There is a consensus of opinion which places considerable emphasis on Lombardy as a potential source for the English Bohun style. One scholar has followed the lead of the other, reaffirming this view, but without providing fresh stylistic evidence to support it. Rickert bases her assumption on two premises: on the parallels she sees between Egerton 3277 and the St Stephen's Chapel paintings, which she suggests are under Lombard influence, and those between the first fifty folios in Vienna 1826* and Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Lat. 23215; but neither is sufficiently convincing. There are no tangible parallels between the Munich Hours and the English Bohun Artist. The kite leaves she mentions could have derived from English manuscripts but they are more likely the result of a development within Italy itself. Marks and Morgan offer no counter-hypothesis to the Lombard one, although they concede that the precise sources of the 'Italianate Bohun' style have not been identified. Simpson also claims that the new figure style which appears in the Vienna Psalter and 'can be seen in its maturity' in Egerton 3277 'certainly has its origins in Lombard painting', and stresses (as did Rickert) the political contacts between the two countries. Simpson has noted a similarity between

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13 This was first suggested by Plchů (1943), 57, n.4. Joanna Cannon tells me that although she knows of no existing example an X-ray photograph taken of the panel representing this subject in Duccio's *Maestà* (now in Fort Worth Art Museum, Kimbell, Texas) has revealed that it was the artist's original intention to have Lazarus rising horizontally from a recumbent position, Western in origin (as in Auct. D.4.4) and not in the vertical, Byzantine manner chosen. For discussion of this panel, see Deuchler (1979), 545-46, figs 10 and 11. I am indebted to Dr Cannon for a discussion of the problems raised in connection with the three miniatures in Auct. D.4.4 and for directing me to useful bibliographical material.

14 For illustrations from the *Maestà*, see White (1979), figs 35-39 and Deuchler (1984), figs 104-107, 109. There is clearly room for further research into these problems, but it seems doubtful that a precise source for the more general characteristics of Italian art, as reflected in English painting, will emerge.

15 Rickert (1965), p.168; Rickert (1952), pp.74-75. Without further investigation into this subject, which is not within the scope of this thesis, I would not wish to dismiss the possible significance of Lombard painting in the case of the St Stephen's Chapel frescoes.


the 'Italianate Bohun style' and that of the Lombard illuminator Giovanni de Grassi. Although there is a general correspondence, this artist's work post-dates by a number of years the appearance of this small-scale style in the Bohun manuscripts.

In the context of the English Artist it has to be conceded that no precise correspondences with particular Italian artists exists in all elements of style. However, it is possible that the atelier of Niccolò da Bologna, active during the second half of the fourteenth century, was instrumental in transmitting elements of Italian painting to this English illuminator. Once formed, the style of Niccolò and his workshop changed little. D'Ancona notes how difficult it is to follow a stylistic development in Niccolò's works, which form an extensive oeuvre. The Pseudo-Niccolò, as first defined by Ciaccio and identified by Cassee as Andrea da Bologna, who worked prior to 1350 (as well as after) painted in a closely related, though slightly hardened version of Niccolò's style. A substantial body of manuscripts by Niccolò can be assigned to the 1350s, a formative period for the English Bohun illuminator. Production continued until around the year 1400, witnessing to a very long career.

D'Ancona in his discussion of Niccolò's earlier works was of the opinion that the book of hours at the Benedictine Abbey of Kremsmünster, MS. cim.4 was probably not the work of Niccolò but of the Pseudo-Niccolò. It is evident that Niccolò did not always sign his work and the Kremsmünster Hours can be attributed to Niccolò on stylistic grounds. His earliest dated as well as signed work is a Decretals of 1353, Vatican Lat. 1456 (Fig. 698). D'Ancona refers to a series of Antiphonars made for San Michele in Bosco di Bologna, now in the Estense Library in Modena, at least one of which is earlier in date than the Vatican Decretals. Similarly, Vitale da Bologna, active in Bologna from ca 1330 to 1370 (and who may have influenced Niccolò), could have been inspirational

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19 D'Ancona (1969), 19. This article includes a valuable discussion of the career of Niccolò da Bologna in its various phases, a list of his works and bibliography. For additions to his oeuvre, see Aechlimann (1969). For further discussion and bibliography see Salmi (1957), pp.20-22 and more recently Gibbs (1979), especially 564, n.17, and Cassee (1980), p.261, for references to this illuminator.
20 See Cassee (1980), pp.14-17, for a useful synopsis (Ciaccio is mentioned on p.14) of bibliography to date, and pp.30-32 for her identification of this illuminator as Andrea da Bologna. The activity of the Pseudo Niccolò, as seen in Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MSS A.24 and A.25 can be dated as early as 1343 (p.20).
21 According to Cassee (1980), p.22 and D'Ancona (1969), 1, Niccolò was born around 1330 and there is documentation for him to the year 1402. For the products of his early phase, see D'Ancona (1969), 17-19. See also Salmi (1957), pp.20-22.
22 The colophon, giving the scribe's name, dates the writing of the text to 1349; and since there is no apparent reason to suggest otherwise the illumination was probably carried out soon after.
23 Cassee (1980), pp.24-25, assumes this to be the case and Robert Gibbs who is at present engaged on a study of this illuminator is also of this opinion. I am grateful to him for the loan of his negatives of this manuscript.
25 D'Ancona (1969), 18. Modena, Estense Library, Cod. Lat. 1008 - a,q.1,6 is dated 1351. Two of the Antiphonars contain his name, and his hand can be identified in another two. Cassee (1980), p.22, n.56, however, takes issue with D'Ancona and others over this dating.
for the English Artist. Another possible candidate from this region is the panel painter Simone dei Crocefissi, a contemporary of Niccolò and one of Vitale's followers. It would seem that Bolognese influence is more readily apparent in the Copenhagen Hours, Copenhagen Lives and Egerton 3277, the latest works in the chronology, although it is discernible at an earlier date. The Kremsmünster Hours contains a number of decorative, stylistic and iconographic elements which might be compared with these works. Several borders are composed of wide, rectilinear shafts, interspersed at regular intervals with barbed quatrefoils containing variously positioned heads (Figs 676-679). These recall the opening folio in Copenhagen 547 (Fig. 413), although here the heads are replaced by angel musicians. It is in the Copenhagen manuscripts that greater characterisation of the faces was first noted (Figs 418, 420, 422, 424, 438) and ecclesiastical robes with decorative gold edgings introduced. The figure of Simeon in the Kremsmünster Hours can be compared broadly with that of Simeon in the scene of the Presentation in the Temple in the Copenhagen Hours (Figs 422, 677). A similar analogy can be drawn for the elderly Magi in each manuscript (Figs 420, 676). The small-scale depiction of nude figures, seen from various angles (including ambitious backviews) can be paralleled in the Kremsmünster manuscript (Figs 417, 429, 680). It is possible that the growing corporeality of the figures and the fluidity of their draperies has a Bolognese origin. But the extreme delicacy and lightweight qualities of the Copenhagen figures are vastly different from the heavy Bolognese types. However, in Niccolò's narrative illustration, such as that on ff. 161v and 162 in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 10072 (Figs 683, 684), where the figures are reduced in scale, correspondence with the work of the English Artist and his close imitator, the Egerton Artist, is more evident (Figs 413-438, 520-530). A further development is the extension of the narrative outside the initial which in some way relates to that inside (Figs 414, 424, 426, 430). Comparison can be made with the Kremsmünster Hours (Figs 678-680) and a Missal Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS. 97 111 (2115) (Figs 681, 682).

It has been noted that of the Bohun manuscripts Copenhagen Thou 547 and Egerton 3277 contain architectural motifs which possibly indicate greater awareness of modelling in three dimensions; but these structures never appear as convincing, perspectivally, as those in Bolognese illumination (Figs 676-680) (with the exception of a building in the lower margin in Copenhagen 547 (Fig. 413)). Nor is the typical acanthus leaf decoration of the Italian type ever taken up by the English Artist.

27 It is of interest that D'Ancona (ibid.) suggests that Ambrosiana Cod. B.42 inf., signed and dated 1354, is under the influence of both Vitale and Simone, and that Niccolò's work relates to the second phase of activity of these two painters. See also Vavala (1929), 449 and (1930), 1.
28 Many of the features about to be described occur throughout the manuscripts of Niccolò da Bologna's workshop.
29 These devices are also found, for example, in Vat. Lat. 1456 (see my fig. 698 and Cassee (1980), fig. 8); and Vat. Lat. 2534 (see ibid., fig. 23). For further examples from the Kremsmünster Hours see ibid., figs 38, 49, 62, 84. For these devices in the work of Andrea da Bologna, see ibid., figs 2-4.
What may be as much an iconographic as stylistic influence from Niccolò da Bologna is the adoption of a head type, mainly (but not exclusively) used for depicting God. Although evident in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 147, 148, 152-154, 156), it is fully developed in the Copenhagen manuscripts (Figs 224, 426, 430, 434). The head often takes a semi-profile form, but it is also seen facing forward. It is nimbed, has almond-shaped eyes and sometimes a prominent, well-drawn ear; the face is softly modelled and has a small dark beard. The head can be surrounded by a cloud formation or rays of glory. The often repeated head of Christ in the Munich Missal (Figs 683, 684) is of the type described. In an English example, however, the artist has failed to understand the correct positioning of the ear (Fig. 427, lower border). Bolognese Decretal manuscripts contain a preponderance of such heads in small initials (up to six per page in certain instances). Vatican Lat. 1401, by Niccolò, has many finely executed examples, in which the ears are always fairly prominent. Certain other iconographic motifs, such as the half-length Man of Sorrows, evident for the first time in the Bohun group in Egerton 3277, may have a Bolognese origin (Fig. 525). It occurs as early as 1329 in the Archiginnasio, Bologna, Fondo Ospedali nr. 72 (Fig. 685), where it can be found on f. 3 beneath the miniature of the Madonna della Misericordia.

Although Rickert places great emphasis on the political relations between Lombardy and England there is equally strong support for a Bologna-England transfer. Pächt was aware of Bologna's importance for European miniature painting. Its influence was widespread in the fourteenth century, having penetrated the papal court and Central and Western Europe as a result of the transportation of treatises on canon and civil law. This was effected by export and the passage of scholars returning home to various parts of Europe after a period of study at the University of Bologna. Niccolò was a considerably influential figure in Italian manuscript painting, and the products of his atelier would have been widely known. His output was prolific, and it is conceivable that these books reached England in sufficient quantity to have influenced the English Artist, who could

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30 In this manuscript of sixty folios there are 106 heads in initials. Of those manuscripts which I have had the opportunity to examine, this phenomenon occurs in: Vat.Lat. 1436, Vat.Lat. 2538, Vat. Lat. 2639, the latter with fifty-two initials containing heads within the space of twelve of its folios, and Milan, Ambrosiana Cod. C.96 inf.

31 This iconography may ultimately derive from Siena. It occurs in the central panel of the predella of the S. Caterina polypytch of 1319 in Pisa, Museo di San Matteo. There may be an earlier Bolognese example than the one quoted, but a full investigation of this question lies outside the scope of this thesis.


33 Pächt (1943), 55 ff.

34 For the transfer of books by students, see Cassee (1980), pp.9-10. Alexander (1980), 151-52, refers to a mandate of Bishop Hamo which clarifies the purpose of these law books and why they existed, and still survive, in such numbers in cathedral libraries. See also Pächt (1943), 55-57 and Salmi (1957), p.21.

35 Salmi (1957), p.22, notes that this illuminator was a dominant power at this time, exercising a vast influence in the Emilia, the Romagna and the Veneto. For the importance of Bolognese art at this time, see also Gibbs (1979), especially 563.
well have had access to this material. A further channel for the conveyance of books, which was probably more commonplace than we realise, was that of Avignon where the Roman Curia was then based. Alexander has pointed out that Italian panels were being shipped from Tuscany to Avignon, and that Italian illuminators were working in France. Some were almost certainly Bolognese. English ecclesiastics, such as William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich until his death in 1355 and founder of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, spent time there. It is of interest that the foundation charter of Trinity Hall (Fig. 687) was illuminated by an English artist, who was under Italian and French influence (the latter evolved as a direct result of the 'Queen Mary' models which were evidently available to this workshop). The resulting style — a synthesis of Italian, French and indigenous English elements — recalls Simone Martini's work at Avignon (Fig. 688). Although Avignon may not have been significant for the transmission of artistic ideas during the Giottesque episode, as defined by Pächt (a view held by Panofsky), it could have served as a more effective catalyst by ca 1340-60. Some indication that these Italianisms were possibly conveyed to England via an Avignonese channel is suggested by a French book of hours, executed in Avignon around 1385, now Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 10527. It contains five full page miniatures which are in the style of panel paintings (Figs 689-691) and recall those in Auct. D.4.4 by the English Artist (Figs 399,401). It is also of interest that the borders in the Paris manuscript feature a number of forms, which recall those in the central Bohun manuscripts (Fig. 692); they are not fully evident, however, in the example illustrated.

That the main thrust of Italian influence came via North Italian examples is indisputable, but it seems to have had its origin in the Emilia Romagna rather than the region of Lombardy. It should also be noted that the border decoration which appears in manuscripts of the Naples region of ca 1350 may also have influenced the English Artist. On the other hand, there may have been no direct contact with Naples, and the forms in question could have progressed naturally out of the English tradition of border ornament.

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36 The implications of this statement are discussed in Chapter 11.
37 Alexander (1980), 149, who refers to Meiss's findings.
38 One manuscript illuminated by Niccolò da Bologna remains in Avignon today, Musée Calvet, MS.136, the Missal of Clement VII. Admittedly, this was probably illuminated in Italy and brought to Avignon by Clement VII. Bertrand de Deux, owner of the missal illuminated by Andrea da Bologna (see Cassee (1980), p.21), was also in Avignon.
39 For Bateman, see D.N.B., iii (1885), 393-97. Anthony Bek II (see D.N.B., iv (1885), 136-37), whom Bateman succeeded as Bishop of Norwich in 1343/4, was also in Avignon. Archbishop Langham (see D.N.B., xxi(1892), 99-100) went to Avignon in 1369, after resigning the archbishopric; he died there.
40 For discussion of this illuminator, see Chapter 2.
42 For further discussion of this manuscript see Paris (1981), no.315. Oxford, Keble College MS. 15 is by the hand of the Avignon miniatures, for which see Parkes (1979), pp. 41-46.

244
(ii) Italian influence on other manuscripts ca 1340-1400

It is not difficult to find parallels in Bolognese illumination for certain other Italianate features in English art of ca 1340-1400, quite apart from those apparent in the Bohun manuscripts. Earlier Bolognese illumination of ca 1300-50, precursors to both Andrea and Niccolò, in which Byzantine influence is still strong (Figs 685,686), is characterised by a more schematic modelling of the faces: heavy shading occurs around the eyes, down the nose, on the cheeks and under the chin. It may have been manuscripts in which this cruder modelling of the flesh occurs that inspired one of the artists of the Luttrell Psalter, although there it is somewhat misunderstood (Figs 80,81,83,693). A negroid appearance is created, emphasised by thick lips, and a nose which in profile is often drawn in one continuous line with the forehead. These elements, and the pseudo-volcanic fissures which occasionally appear, are reflected in varying degrees in the style of Vienna Hand B (Figs 53-56), the lectern Bible leaves (Figs 75,77,78), Hand C of the Vienna Psalter (in particular ff. 63v and 143) (Figs 166,168), and as a result had a formative shaping on the style of the English Artist in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 147-154).

Manuscripts such as Egerton 2781, Douce 131 and the Zouche Hours appear not to have been untouched by Bolognese influence, but whether this was transmitted directly, or via a Flemish intermediary, is not possible to establish. The rear view of a horse, as seen in the miniature on 49v in the Zouche Hours (Fig. 694), has a parallel in the Adoration of the Magi page in the Kremsmünster Hours (Fig. 676). The preoccupation of the main artist in Douce 131 (Vienna Hand A) with green modelling of the flesh, undoubtedly derives from Italy. Green facial shading is also used (though not consistently) by two of the artists in Egerton 2781 of about the same date, while another miniature by a further artist in this book shows remarkable aerial views of figures (Fig. 697) which can have derived only from Bolognese examples (Figs 678,686,695). A single rather isolated, yet precise, parallel with Bolognese miniature painting can be seen in the skilfully modelled and foreshortened male nude which appears in the stave of one of the initials in Douce 131 (Fig. 9). A closely related example, with similarly rendered backbone and muscle structure occurs in the initials on ff. 3 and 4 in Vatican Lat. 1389, by Andrea da Bologna.

For illustrations of Neapolitan illumination see D'Ancona (1925), pls xliii, xliv and Pächt and Alexander (1970), no.169, pl.xvi, featuring MS. Canon. Liturg. 151, a psalter. Further study of Neapolitan illumination is needed, especially with respect to dating, before this art can be positively cited or disregarded as a source.

This question has already been studied by Pächt (1943), 55-57.

For one such example see Salmi (1957), pl. viii, showing an initial from a gradual, f.73 in Cod. Lat. 1004, in the Estense Library, Modena.

For a discussion of this illuminator's career see Chapter 2.

These works (see Chapter 2) have been dated to ca 1340.
Also occurring in Bolognese manuscripts are semi-nude figures, with the lower part of the body exposed from the rear and with cloak flowing loosely from the shoulder, types which relate to the climbing men in the pre-1350 campaign in the Vienna Psalter and manuscripts of the central Bohun workshop. These forms, as shown earlier derive from the Ormesby Psalter. Pächt, in turn, has demonstrated that they have an origin in Bolognese and classical examples. Contorted figure poses, such as that of the Apostle on the right of the Virgin in the Ascension miniature in the Fitzwarin Psalter (Fig. 61), and the seated soldier in the Betrayal miniature in the Zouche Hours, with the ball of his foot exposed (Fig. 66), seem to be misconceptions of certain contrapposto figures characteristic of Niccolò da Bologna, his forerunners and contemporaries (Fig. 698). Similar ambitious poses occur in the Beatus initial of the St Omer Psalter (Fig. 16), in one of the miniatures in the Vatican Hours (Fig. 116) and the Salvum me fac initial by Hand C in the Vienna Psalter (Figs 16, 116, 136).

Many of these elements, particularly the variously foreshortened heads, encountered from as early as ca 1300 in Bolognese illumination (Figs 678, 686, 695), are appropriated by the Egerton Genesis Master (Fig. 643). They are especially evident in the blocky figures of the Derby Psalter (Fig. 696). Pächt has convincingly shown that the iconography used by this artist in the Genesis manuscript partly derives from North Italian examples. Regarding style, he discusses not only Giotto in connection with the Egerton Genesis Master, but hypothesises that Niccolò da Bologna may have been influential. It is likely that the majestic figures of the Egerton illuminator have their origin in the Bolognese school of illumination (Figs 638, 639), thus perpetuating the tradition already established by the main hand of the Ormesby Psalter (Figs 3, 13), whose sculptural figures may originate from that source. This hypothesis is strengthened by the presence in the Derby Psalter of monochrome figures in the staves of the initials (Figs 638, 642(a)), close in type to those which frequently occur in Bolognese manuscripts. Important for the Flemish Bohun Hand and his contemporaries in Flanders were the hooded grotesques and open-beaked storks which feature in the staves in Bolognese books.

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48 Examples of this type can be found on f. 203 in Vat. Lat. 1411, f. 27 in Vat. Lat. 2193 and f. 1 in Milan, Ambrosiana Cod. C.96 inf.

49 Pächt (1943), 54-56.

50 These forms occur in Bolognese manuscripts, datable to the 1340s and earlier, as in Vat. Arch. Cod. Cap. St Petri 63B (see Cassee (1980)), but the example illustrated is of f. 179 from Vat. Lat. 1456, dated 1353, and by Niccolò da Bologna.

51 For reference to these unusual forms see Salmi (1957), p.21, and Cassee (1980), pp.82-83. Early fourteenth-century manuscripts in which foreshortened heads occur include Modena, Estense Library Lat. 1004 and Lat. 1021 (see ibid., fig. 73). For further illustrations of these forms in the work of Niccolò da Bologna, see ibid., figs 23, 78.

52 Pächt (1943), 61 ff.

53 For further illustrations of the work of the main Ormesby Psalter illuminator, see Cockerell and James (1926), pls Ormesby vii-xiv.

54 For example, f.3v in Vat. Lat. 1389 contains a climbing man painted in blue monochrome.

It may be possible to see in the final campaign in Exeter 47 a reflection of the more monumental aspects of Bolognese miniature painting. The Giottesque figure types and voluminous draperies, some with loop-like folds (Figs 671-673,675,683,684), bear an affinity to those of Hand A (Figs 496(b),503-506), and the greater characterisation in the faces, especially evident in the single heads of saints in the Exeter memoriae, recall various heads in initials in Bolognese manuscripts. The plain gold grounds to the initials and the more strident pigments which are a feature of the third Exeter campaign may similarly derive from this source (Figs 500-506). Considering that Exeter Hand A worked in the 1390s his style might also be compared with that of Bohemian illumination of this date, as seen in the astronomical treatise executed for Wenceslas (Figs 699,700). However, rather than testifying to Bohemian influence in this instance, the affinity probably stems from each illuminator’s contact with Italian models. Hand A’s work assumes an international flavour.

(iii) The question of Bohemian influence

The Bohemian question lies largely outside this study, for it is concerned with works by the Liber Regalis illuminator, Rickert’s Hand B in the Carmelite Missal, who has not been discussed. His style, however, cannot have conceivably developed out of English sources. An idiosyncratic feature enters English painting in the last quarter of the fourteenth century which is not easily explained except by reference to Bohemian painting. However, Bohemian influence is strongly denied by Simpson, even though there is no precedent for the Liber Regalis style in England, as Gibbs acknowledges in his review of Simpson’s study. Bohemian influence cannot be disregarded on the grounds of a lack of documentation to support it. No documents have come to light which explain the influence of Italian painting on English artists, but its presence, although often obscured by the English style, is undeniable. In relation to Italian influence, Pächt has aptly commented that ‘the works of art themselves are the sole witnesses to this contact,

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56 In Salmi’s description of the palette of Bolognese illumination he uses such adjectives as ‘violent’, ‘discordant’ and ‘gaudy’ (see Salmi (1957), pp.20, 22). If the introduction of scanthus decoration (as in the final campaign in Exeter 47) is to be seen as a foreign import, rather than an internal development (as suggested in Chapter 8), Bolognese and not Lombard influence would be more logical given the other parallels drawn.

57 For discussion and further illustrations of these and related manuscripts associated with the Wenceslas atelier, see Krása (1971).

58 Flemish or Dutch influence cannot be disregarded at this date (a date for the third campaign in Exeter 47 will be forwarded in Chapter 11), or a different Italian source is feasible.

59 For Rickert’s Hand B see Rickert (1952), pp.76-80, 91-92. For her specific references to Bohemian influence see pp.77, 78, 79, 88, 89. See also Wright (1986).


but they speak an unmistakable language.** It is in this light that Bohemian influence should be viewed. Nor can Bohemian influence be satisfactorily dismissed on the premise that the Bohemians were unpopular in England:** Anne of Bohemia was well liked and presumably it would have been members of her circle in a position to commission books.** There are some remarkably close similarities between the Liber Regalis illuminator and Bohemian manuscript painting of the middle years of the fourteenth century. Given that there are clear parallels with Bohemian art and no obvious English precursors, this alien style cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence or idiosyncrasy on the part of the artist.**

(iv) Italian influences: conclusion

It would appear that despite the analogies drawn in this chapter it is only in fragmentary aspects of style and iconography that it is possible to point to correspondences between the work of the English Artist (and other English illuminators) and Italian painting, in particular that of Bologna. Above all this shows itself in the treatment of the heads, the palette, and to a degree the technique, as well as isolated iconographic elements, but not in the figure or drapery style or the border types. This underscores Panofsky's conclusion that the English illuminators of the so-called Italianate period were satisfied with the 'appropriation of single motifs or the general compositional pattern', and that Italian influences appeared as 'sporadic inroads rather than as a continuous permeation'.** Although the English Bohun Artist painted in a broadly Italian manner, there is much about his style which suggests that it developed naturally out of the English tradition, as writers before Rickert had concluded.** Like his native predecessors, he extracted elements from Italian painting but at no time embraced these forms fully, as did Bohemian and Catalan painters of the period. English illuminators remained too faithful to the indigenous tradition to be won over entirely to Continental prototypes. For this to have occurred it would have required the presence of Italian miniaturists in England, for which there is no stylistic or documentary evidence. Defining the precise nature and extent of this influence is highly problematic, but it is clear that the Bohun illuminator, and his immediate predecessors never lost sight of their English

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63 Pächt (1943), 51.
65 Simpson's dismissal of Bohemian influence on the basis of the unpopularity of Bohemians in England is weakened by her acknowledgement (Simpson (1980), p.137) that despite this, 'relations between the Imperial court and Richard seem to have remained friendly' and that 'gifts must have been exchanged'. It is precisely in this way, by the importation of Bohemian panels and manuscripts, rather than the presence of Bohemian artists in England, that this influence probably manifested itself.
67 Panofsky (1953), pp.25, 30.
68 Millar (1928), pp.25, 27; James and Millar (1936), p.3; Pächt (1943), 57; Wormald (1943), 74.
origins. As appropriately noted by Marks and Morgan ‘although Italian influence occurs frequently in English fourteenth-century painting ... it is almost always assimilated into English traditions of style, composition and subject-matter’.9 This is as true for the period of the central Bohun workshop as it was for the pre-1350 Italianate phase. Although the influence of Trecento painting in England can be described as ‘episodic’, Panofsky’s claim that by 1340 ‘this Italianistic episode was over, having no more effect upon the further development of English painting’70 and Pächt’s view that ‘there is no evidence to be found of a renewed influx of Italian elements’71 are put in question by the stylistic evidence presented in this chapter.

Bologna had been important for the principal hand in the Ormesby Psalter and was to be important again for the Egerton Genesis Master. The Italian elements in the central Bohun manuscripts therefore appear to be a natural extension of this. With the exception of a few notable examples, the Bolognese miniature was probably the strongest underlying continuous channel of Italian influence on English manuscript painting in the fourteenth century.72

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70 Panofsky (1953), pp.25, 26.
71 Pächt (1943), 57.
72 For the period ca 1310-80, with the qualification that certain Italianisms of a more general nature were derived from no particular region.

249
CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE ARTISTS AND THEIR PATRONS

Dating, Chronology and Ownership of the Bohun Manuscripts

In chapters one to eight of this study an attempt has been made to place the Bohun manuscripts in a chronological sequence but, with the exception of the first campaign in the Vienna Psalter, precise dates have not as yet been advanced. Where dating evidence exists it will be examined in the light of the conclusions which have been drawn from the detailed stylistic analysis undertaken above. Consideration will also be given to the place of production of the central Bohun manuscripts.

The first three chapters of this study focused on the earliest material in the Bohun Psalter in Vienna (ff. 7-49v) and it was argued that Vienna Hands A and B, and possibly C, were active in the 1340s. Their work, which represents what appears to have been three rapidly successive but abortive attempts to complete the book, was apparently abruptly interrupted by the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348-49; this all but wiped out artistic activity in Cambridge where it has been suggested their workshop was located. The Psalter was not completed until after 1350, and a date has yet to be postulated for the unfinished gatherings.¹ It was observed that towards the final folios of illumination in this manuscript the softly modelled style of Hand D (the English Artist) was being transformed. The more monumental, linear tendencies which emerged were reflected in two of the folios in a psalter fragment, Royal 13.D.i* and in ff. 20-77 (the first campaign) in Oxford, Exeter College MS. 47, a further psalter of Bohun ownership. It was suggested that some explanation for these stylistic aberrations might be sought in the work of Vienna Hand E (the Flemish Hand) who can be assigned illumination in all three psalters. It was concluded that the two folios in the Royal Psalter occupy a transitional position between the final gatherings in the Vienna Psalter and the earliest in the Exeter Psalter. It was also observed that discrepancies in the Exeter folios, between a style relating more closely on the one hand to Royal 13.D.i* (f. 34), and on the other hand to the earlier work by the English Artist in the Vienna Psalter (f. 33v), seem to herald a fresh phase of development for this innovative illuminator; the two Royal folios and the final quires in the Vienna Psalter, where it is possible to detect the emergence of both stylistic trends, confirm that it is the work of his hand alone. This new phase is then

¹ The Vienna Psalter's method of illustration, which deviates from that of the later products of the group, further supports that it stemmed from a different workshop tradition. Whereas the other psalters contain narrative cycles, mostly unrelated to the text (see James and Miller (1936), pp. 7-8), the Vienna Psalter illustrates the content of each psalm. The storytelling tendency in the post-1355 Bohun manuscripts may have been partly inspired by the St Stephen's Chapel cycle of paintings, for which see Tristram (1955), pp. 206-219.
reflected in the *Beatus* pages of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.4 and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 38-1950. A chronology – Vienna 1826* (final campaign), Royal 13.D.i*, Exeter 47 (first campaign) – was proposed. In Chapter 5 it was suggested that if it could be established at what point the Flemish Hand arrived in England this might give an approximate date for the foundation of the workshop which comprised the two illuminators. From a study of the manuscripts assignable to the Flemish Hand while still in Flanders and of other related contemporary and source material, it was determined that the Flemish Hand probably arrived in England in the early 1350s. At this point it was decided to refer to those books in which the two illuminators (English and Flemish) collaborated as the central Bohun workshop. If the Flemish Hand arrived at the time projected it would point to a date of between 1350 and 1360 for the three psalters (Vienna, Exeter and Royal). A date of *ca* 1350-55 for the earlier illumination of the final Vienna campaign is strongly supported by the style of the English Artist which clearly lies in pre-Black Death illumination. This miniaturist’s access to the first campaign in the Vienna Psalter, and possibly also the Astor Psalter-Hours of Bohun ownership, readily explains the continuity of the stylistic tradition.

(i) The Bohun workshop and patronage up to 1372/3

Does the available documentary evidence support these conclusions? Both the Vienna and Exeter Psalters contain the name Humphrey in various forms in the *memoriae.* Most writers in the past have assumed that the Exeter Psalter was commissioned for Humphrey, the seventh earl of Hereford, and that the Vienna Psalter was completed for the seventh earl (giving a date of after 1361) or for Thomas of Woodstock (at some time after 1374 or 1376). But it has been shown that stylistic evidence points to the Vienna Psalter having been started before the Black Death for the sixth earl of Hereford and completed for him before his death in 1361; this would give a date of between 1350 and 1360 for the completion of the work. The statement by Marks and Morgan that the decoration in the Vienna Psalter was not completed until after 1374 on account of the so-called presence on f. 141 of the arms of Thomas of Woodstock is without substance, since the shield in question is not that of Woodstock but of Edward the Black Prince. Moreover, it is clear that the label of three points argent is over-painted, and there is no bordure of

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2 In the Vienna Psalter it occurs on ff. 151v, 152v, 153 and 155 (they are all mostly erased) and in the Exeter Psalter it is found six times between ff. 118 and 122.


argent which would be necessary for the Woodstock arms. The Exeter Psalter, of which the historiated initials on ff. 20-77v are completely in the style of the latest material in the final Vienna campaign, suggest that this manuscript was at least begun, if not finished, for the sixth earl. Support for the psalter text (including the references to Humphrey on ff. 20-126) having been completely written out at the time of the first campaign, is found in the minor decoration (verse initials and line-fillers), which is in the exact style of that of ff. 20-77v (designated the first campaign). Therefore, whereas the first campaign in the Vienna Psalter appears to have broken down as a result of the death of the illuminators, work on the Exeter College manuscript was apparently halted by the death of the patron, the sixth earl, in 1361, a date perfectly compatible with the style of ff. 20-77v. If this hypothesis can be accepted it would secure a date of ca 1350-55/60 for the completion of the Vienna Psalter, which as shown is marginally earlier in style than the first campaign in Exeter 47, now dated ca 1355-60/61. This dating for the latest material in the Vienna Psalter and the earliest in Exeter 47 is supported by the analogy of the style to the Job and Tobit cycles in the St Stephen's Chapel paintings of 1350-55, whilst a date of towards 1361 for the first campaign in Exeter 47 is further strengthened by the importation of Flemish brasses at this time, particularly that to Alan Fleming of 1361.

The two manuscripts which have been placed next in the chronology, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS. 38-1950 and Oxford, Bodleian MS. Auct. D.4.4 (discussed in Chapters 6 and 7), both of which witness to a developing sense of naturalism on the part of the English Artist, evidenced in the Beatus page of each manuscript, must logically fall therefore within the patronage of the seventh earl, son of William of Northampton and nephew of the sixth earl who died childless. On grounds of style it was concluded that they were sister books, executed at much the same time. The name Humphrey occurs in certain of the memoriae at lauds in the Hours portion of the Bodleian manuscript; although the Fitzwilliam Psalter is devoid of references to Humphrey, a date can be arrived at on the basis of the heraldry. Sandler has suggested a date of ca 1380 by interpreting the heraldry as referring to the ‘alliance between members of the Bohun family and the Lancastrian branch of the royal family’, but the presence of the arms of Castile and Leon, Duchy of Lancaster and John of Gaunt, in conjunction with those of Bohun of Hereford and Bohun of Northampton, point to a date between September 1371, when John of Gaunt lay claim to the throne of Castile and Leon, and 1372-73 when

5 The shield is placed on a ground of burnished gold which should not be confused with a bordure of silver.
6 For the sixth earl, see G.E.C., vi (1926), 471-72.
8 For the seventh earl, see G.E.C., vi (1926), 473-74. For Northampton, see G.E.C., ix (1936), 664-67.
9 On ff. 225, 225v, 226v, 227, 227v in the form of servus [or familiaris] tuus Himfridis.
10 Sandler (1985), 367.

252
Humphrey, the seventh earl of Hereford, earl of Essex and of Northampton, died—a date which is more acceptable on grounds of style. Sandler has failed to see that the prayer, 'O intemerata... et esto michi peccatori' on f. 230v of this manuscript, on account of which she assigns the commission to a male owner, 'presumably Henry', was added in the fifteenth century (ca 1410-20), as was the historiated initial containing the head of the Virgin. This text, therefore, has no relevance for any fourteenth-century owner and the manuscript could well have contained a reference to Humphrey in the portion now excised. Furthermore, Sandler in suggesting that the 'companion volume', the Bodleian Psalter-Hours, was made for Henry's bride, implies that that, too, dates to ca 1380, ignoring the references to Humphrey in the memoriae, for which no explanation is given.

The close stylistic relationship which Fitzwilliam 38-1950 bears to Auct. D.4.4 argues for approximately the same date of between 1371 and 1373 for the two books. That the first campaign in Exeter 47 precedes them both is further secured by the presence in that manuscript of a small number of pages of decoration by the Flemish Hand (discussed in Chapter 4), showing an earlier manifestation of his style, closer to Royal 13.D.1* than to the ornament in either Auct. D.4.4 or Fitzwilliam 38-1950; the growing involvement of the Flemish Hand in these manuscripts and the interaction of the two illuminators has been shown to support the suggested chronology. Furthermore, since the style of the added miniatures in Auct. D.4.4 agrees with that of the Beatus page, which forms an integral part of the manuscript, it can be postulated that little time separated the production of each; the inserted leaves may therefore date to soon after Humphrey's death in 1372-73 and probably no later than 1375.

A possible lull in artistic activity in the early to mid 1360s might be explained by a number of factors: Humphrey's youth, that he was much 'beyond seas' at this period, and that production may not have begun until he had drawn inspiration from libraries possibly seen on his travels, such as those of the Visconti, Charles V and others. It has to be acknowledged, however, that certain manuscripts, now no longer extant, may have been commissioned by him during the 1360s for presentation as gifts. During the last years of his life, coinciding with the proposed date of his commissions, Fitzwilliam 38-1950 and Auct. D.4.4, he appears to have been suffering from ill health. It could be

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11 For details of the shields in question see Appendix X (i), (ii). Although Castile could possibly refer to Eleanor of Castile, mother-in-law of the Humphrey who died in 1321-22, its appearance in the context of the Duchy of Lancaster arms suggests rather a connection with John of Gaunt. Regarding the heraldry in the Bohun manuscripts I am much indebted to Nicholas Rogers for his advice and discussion.


13 See Chapter 6 where I give details about the truncated fourteenth-century litany.

14 Sandler (1985), 367-68.

15 G.E.C., vi (1926), 473.

16 Ibid., 474.
argued that the combined effect of his confinement at Pleshey in the later years and awareness of impending death motivated the production of these books which, judging from their style, appear to have been completed not long before he died.

(ii) The Bohun workshop after 1372/3

In Chapter 7 both Copenhagen MS. 547 and MS. 517 were found to be particularly closely related, and although strongly reminiscent of works produced at an earlier stage in the English Artist’s career witness to a freedom and vitality of style unparalleled in the oeuvre of this illuminator. Here it was also shown that the Pommersfelden fragment occupies a transitory position, midway stylistically between Auct. D.4.4 and the apparently later Copenhagen books (the latter produced at much the same time). Furthermore, it was noted that the differences between each manifestation of the English Artist’s style in the two Exeter campaigns are sufficiently marked to suggest a break in artistic activity and thus a later date for ff. 9-19v (second campaign) than for ff. 20-77v (first campaign). Moreover, the border decoration in ff. 9-19v shows a later synthesis of forms, testifying to an admixture of ornament, derived both from his own earlier repertoire and that of his Flemish collaborator. The precise position in the chronology of this material is difficult to establish, however, since the figure style was shown to have points of contact with that in the Beatus pages of Auct. D.4.4 and Fitzwilliam 38-1950, on the one hand and the major initials in Egerton 3277 on the other, while the border decoration shows more of an affinity with the Egerton manuscript. Unfortunately it is not possible to place the border decoration in a precise sequence because that in the closely comparable manuscripts (Auct. D.4.4, Fitzwilliam 38-1950, Pommersfelden 348, Copenhagen 547 and 517) is so strongly governed by the model established by the Flemish Hand. On balance, therefore, the second campaign in Exeter 47 appears to postdate the Copenhagen manuscripts, although this is by no means certain.

Although both Copenhagen 547 and Pommersfelden 348 contain heraldic devices, nothing specific can be gleaned from them for dating purposes, except that the presence of the eagle of the king of the Romans on f. 4v in the Pommersfelden fragment might be taken to have greater relevance after the betrothal (1380-81) or marriage (1382) of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia. However, it could equally be argued that ties with the Empire had already been established by this date.17 So whereas the illumination in Pommersfelden may well date to around 1380, its transitional position in the stylistic chronology (midway between the additions in Auct. D.4.4 and the Copenhagen books) makes possible a date any time between 1373 and 1380. The apparent dearth of production which this suggested dating engenders (there seems to have been a greater

output around 1370 and then again around 1380) might be explained by a lull in artistic activity following the seventh earl's death in 1372-73. It is also necessary to take into account the loss of manuscripts which could have been produced between those dates. The Pommersfelden fragment, clearly once part of a larger book (a psalter or book of hours), highlights this possibility. Although some missals or other service books in the Bohun style were undoubtedly produced, none survives.

In Chapter 8 it was concluded that there was not sufficient evidence to assign the major initials in Egerton 3277 to the English Artist despite a number of enigmatic parallels with his style, but to a close imitator, the Egerton Artist. Similarly, the stylistic adaptability of the English Artist, and the affinity of the finer illumination in the third campaign in Exeter 47 (that of Hand A) to the Bohun style, raised the question whether the English Artist was here taking up the work for a third time at a later stage in his career. However, a number of features suggested a change of some magnitude and it was concluded that this material was the product of three collaborating illuminators of a different workshop who were drawing heavily on the forms and techniques of the two central Bohun artists, as evidenced in the two earlier Exeter campaigns, particularly the first. It would appear that no works after the two Copenhagen books and the second campaign in Exeter 47 can be definitely assigned to the English Artist.

Although the preparation of the text and minor decoration (verse initials and line-fillers) in Egerton 3277 could well date to around the time of the first Exeter campaign (i.e. ca 1360), the minor historiated initials by the Flemish Hand are later, the major ones by the English Artist's close follower and the calendar by the Flemish Hand, prepared after the decoration of the psalter-hours text, later still. The Egerton manuscript, therefore, witnesses to three stages in the development of the style of the Flemish Hand. Egerton 3277 was found to occupy a position in the chronology midway between the style of the second Exeter campaign, to which the Copenhagen books relate, and the third Exeter campaign which contains a number of late elements by artists of a different workshop.

If the two manuscripts in Copenhagen date to around 1380, then Egerton 3277 and the two overpainted miniatures in Royal 20.D.iv, both occupying the same but a later position in the stylistic sequence, point to a date after 1380. This has the support of documentary evidence. We learn from the sixth earl's will, written in 1361, that he had an illuminator in his employ, named Brother John de Tye, to whom he bequeathed £10 to pray for him. It was undoubtedly this same John de Tye (friar) who is mentioned in a special

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18 The calendar in Egerton 3277, like that in the Vienna and Exeter Psalters, marks the completion of the work.
19 Nichols (1780), p.50. The sixth earl was clearly a keen patron of artists since, in addition to an illuminator, he had a painter (presumably on walls) named Peter in his service. See C.P.R., xvi (1916), 274, 279. A Peter Peyntour was bequeathed ten marks in Humphrey's will (see Nichols (1780), p. 52).
dispensation granted by Bartholomeus Venetus, the prior general of the Austin friars in Rome, to call (to Pleshey presumably) one Henry Hood and train him in the art of illuminating manuscripts for a period of a year – from 1384 to 1385. By 1389-90 Hood was in Rome. The implications are clear: John de Tye, undoubtedly the English Artist, had been an illuminator for the sixth earl and continued to be employed in that capacity by successive members of the Bohun family until around 1384-85, when he was charged to train Henry Hood, surely identifiable as the Egerton Artist. Sandler's hypothesis that John de Tye might be identified as the artist of the Fitzwilliam Psalter (i.e. the Flemish Hand), which she believes to have been illustrated by a single miniaturist, is not tenable on account of his origin in Flanders. Possible confirmation of John de Tye's identity as the English Artist is provided by the fact that he was already in the employ of the sixth earl from ca 1350-55, before the arrival of the Flemish Hand around 1355-60. Moreover, it is obvious from the disposition of some of the miniatures in the Bohun manuscripts that the English Artist was the senior miniaturist of the two, since a hierarchical division of labour is suggested in a number of cases: in the Fitzwilliam and Bodleian manuscripts the Flemish Hand leaves the opening page (the Beatus) to the English Artist, who also paints the full-page miniatures in Pommerfelden 348; and in the remaining books the Flemish Hand is relegated to working on the minor historiated initials or border decoration. Although it is clear that the Flemish Hand's output was as prolific as that of the English Artist (and therefore of equal importance) the division of labour indicates that the latter was the chef d'atelier, the miniaturist whose style in Sandler's view 'lies outside the Bohun mainstream'. It is the main artist of the Copenhagen Hours (i.e. the English Artist) whom Sandler has identified as Henry Hood and who, according to her 'appears nowhere else in the Bohun manuscripts'.

As an apprentice Henry Hood's style is likely to have been close to that of his master – John de Tye – the English Artist. In Chapter 8 it was noted how similar the major initials in the Egerton Psalter-Hours were to the style of the English Artist, but that certain subtle differences marked out this material as being by a different illuminator. If,

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20 Concessimus Fratri Johanni Tye provinciæ Anglie, quod possit vocare et retinere fratrem Henricum Hood per annum tantum ipsum instruendo in arte illuminandi libros, qui non sit ab eo amovendus nisi hoc sua demerita (seu) utilitas persuaderet ('We allow Brother John Tye of the English province to summon Brother Henry Hood for one year only [for the length of a year] to instruct him in the art of illuminating books, who may not be removed from him unless fault or need should prompt this'). See Roth (1961-66), ii, p. 223 (document 559). I am grateful to Michael Gullick for first drawing my attention to these references, the implications of which were discussed in a paper I gave to the London Medieval Seminar (under the direction of Julian Brown) in February 1984 before the publication of L.F. Sandler's note (Sandler (1985), 364-71).


22 Sandler (see Sandler (1985), 367) does not see that the Beatus page is by a different illuminator (the English Artist).

23 For a detailed division of hands see Appendix VII (iii) in this study.

24 Sandler (1985), 370.

25 Ibid., 371.
as seems certain, this attribution is correct (it would make good sense to put an apprentice on a manuscript which had already been worked on but then laid aside), it closely pinpoints the execution of the major illumination in Egerton 3277 to the year 1384-85, the known span of Henry Hood's employment at Pleshey. The close stylistic affinity of the added miniatures in the Romance (again this may have been a practice piece) to the illumination in Egerton 3277 argues for the same date. The fact that the two extant examples of this artist's work mark the same stage in his career is fully reconcilable with what is known of Hood's activity at Pleshey; he may have stayed after 1385, until leaving for Rome in 1389, but there is no existing stylistic or documentary evidence in support of this.

It would appear that after the work done around 1380 on the two Copenhagen books the scribes of these manuscripts, who can also be identified in Auct. D.4.4 and the Pommersfelden fragment, were apparently no longer available. Judging from the Bohun manuscripts (their hands have not been identified elsewhere), their scribal activity was confined to the years ca 1370-1380, since the work done at Pleshey after this date consists of the completion of unfinished manuscripts (Egerton 3277, Exeter 47) or overpainting (Royal 20.D.iv), the only new commissions emanating from a different workshop.

On the basis of the heraldry Sandler has argued for a date 'after 1356 and before 1373' for Egerton 3277, but this ignores the style of the major initials which are demonstrably later; the maturity of this style has long been recognised. Furthermore, the heraldry cannot be used to date the manuscript, except in a general way, since nine of its major folios, including the Beatus page, which might have revealed much as to ownership, are now excised. With this proviso only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the heraldry remaining. One of the arguments used by Sandler for dating the manuscript to the 1360s is based on the false assumptions that the armorial range is narrower than that in Auct. D.4.4 and Copenhagen 547 and that the Lancastrian arms are absent. This hypothesis cannot be sustained in the face of the loss of so many major folios, a loss which she acknowledges, and a late rather than early date is suggested by the innovative incorporation of some of the heraldic motifs into a narrative context. Rather than referring to the Battle of Poitiers, as Sandler hypotheses (this involves a contrived identification of the seated king at the bottom as Charles the Bad), perhaps a more plausible interpretation of the imagery in the left-hand border on f. 68v (Fig. 523), is one which sees it as illustrating the descent of the title to the throne of France,

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26 Sandler (1985), 371. See National Art-Collections Fund (1944), where it was considered to have been sufficiently late on stylistic grounds to have belonged to Henry IV who did not ascend to the throne until 1399. Earlier in this chapter I suggested that the manuscript was probably prepared ca 1360 (i.e. the text written and the minor verse initials and the line-fillers executed) but that further work on the manuscript was halted by the death of the sixth earl in 1361.

27 See Sandler (1985), 370-71 for her view.
symbolised by David's sword of kingship in the adjoining miniature: the upper king might represent the last Capetian Philip IV with France Ancient; the second might be Edward III with France and England quarterly (seated as befits a conqueror astride a lion) and the third could be Richard II in parliament robes, who succeeded in 1377. The FitzAlan whose effigy is depicted on f. 142 at the matins of the dead (Fig. 529), and whose funeral is being conducted at the beginning of vespers of the dead on f. 145v (Fig. 530), probably represents Richard, earl of Arundel, who died in 1376 and not, as suggested by Sandler, Edmund, earl of Arundel, who died fifty years earlier. A reference to the earl of Arundel would have greater significance for the Bohun family in 1384-85, than ca 1360, since Richard FitzAlan was the father of Joan de Bohun, dowager countess of Hereford. These references to Arundel, taken with the arms of Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, which occur on f. 123 (Fig. 526) may be referring to the Lords Appellant; the son of the earl who died in 1376 (also named Richard), brother of Joan de Bohun was, like Beauchamp, one of the original Lords Appellant. These references, alongside the Bohun arms, may indicate a connection with Joan's daughter, Eleanor de Bohun, who married the third leading Appellant, Thomas of Woodstock, some time before 24 August 1376. Given the context and the proposed date of the manuscript, the representation of a woman clad in the arms of England and Bohun on f. 131v is therefore likely to be either Eleanor or Joan de Bohun, and not as Sandler has hypothesised Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I, who married the fourth earl of Hereford in 1302, or Mary de Bohun, as put forward in the British Library catalogue. Moreover, it was around the suggested time of production of the Psalter-Hours that Thomas was created duke of Gloucester, clearly a high point in the lives of Thomas and Eleanor.

Two further factors support a late position in the chronology for Egerton 3277: firstly, iconographic elements, such as the Man of Sorrows depicted in the border on f. 114 (Fig. 525), appear for the first and only time in the context of the Bohun manuscripts; secondly, a later date is assured by its affinity in certain points of style (indicated in earlier discussion) with the Lytlington Missal of 1383-84 and related manuscripts. Even without the identification of Henry Hood as the chief illuminator of the Egerton Psalter-Hours, however, the style alone argues for a date in the mid 1380s, post-dating the two books in Copenhagen of ca 1380.

28 I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for this suggestion.
29 Sandler (1985), 370.
30 For Beauchamp see G.E.C., xii (1959), pp. 375-78.
31 For Richard FitzAlan, the thirteenth earl of Warwick, see G.E.C., i (1910), 244-45.
32 For discussion of the Three Lords Appellant, see Goodman (1971).
34 Robes for the Order of the Garter were prepared for Eleanor as Countess of Buckingham in 1384 and as duchess of Gloucester in 1386. See G.E.C., v (1926), 727.
35 See Chapter 9.
Patronage of the Bohun workshop after 1372/3

Now that it can be assumed with some certainty that the Bohun workshop was situated in Pleshey Castle it is necessary to conjecture how it was administered after the death of the successive earls of Hereford. There is stylistic evidence that the two artists (English and Flemish) who had worked for the sixth earl, continued to do so for the seventh; but for which if any single member, did they work after his death in 1372-73? At this point the question of patronage becomes far more conjectural. Past writers have drawn attention to the fact that although begun for Humphrey, Auct. D.4.4 was probably completed for the younger of his co-heirs, Mary de Bohun, an hypothesis based on the identification of Mary de Bohun as the donor on f. 181v, supported by Mary Magdalene. Although both the diminutive size of the donor figure and the presence of Mary Magdalene deem it likely to be Mary's 'portrait', two other female members of this family, Eleanor, Mary's sister and co-heir to the seventh earl's estate, and their mother, the dowager countess of Hereford, must also be considered. In this light, some consideration should be given to the heraldic dress worn by the female donor who wears a sideless cote-hardie with the arms of Bohun over a dress with red lions rampant on a gold ground. This feature alone is not sufficient to identify her precisely as Mary, since the arms here are used in a genealogical, rather than legal, distinguishing way, thus reinforcing the importance of the Bohun family and its royal and noble connections. Mary and Eleanor would have used Bohun, both before and after their marriage, and although they would have impaled their arms with those of their husbands on seals, on decorative items (such as garments), it would have been better aesthetically to have their paternal arms alone. Moreover, the red lions rampant could possibly refer to the arms of Arundel (gules a lion rampant or). Apart from Auct. D.4.4, however, Copenhagen 547, Royal 20.D.iv and Egerton 3277 have also become associated with Mary's patronage; but less documentary evidence exists to support this than there is for either Joan, her mother, or Eleanor, her sister. Admittedly, no will survives for Mary, who died young in childbirth, but there is no evidence of her use of books such as exists for the other two Bohun ladies and Thomas of Woodstock. It is known that Joan possessed books because at the tournament held at Pleshey in 1397...

37 As noted a similar figure also occurs in Egerton 3277, and in Copenhagen 547, the latter as yet to be discussed in this context.
38 See Appendix X (iii). The Bohun manuscripts are not decorated by a few boldly placed coats of arms proper to the person for whom the book was intended; impaled shields, the proper coat-of-arms of a married woman, never appear in the Bohun manuscripts.
39 It is to be noted that the Bohun heiresses were by virtue of their inheritance, equal or even superior in importance to their husbands.
40 Eleanor and Mary were the co-heirs of the Bohun estate and Joan received a third in dower. See G.E.C., vi (1926), 474-77.
Henry, her grandson (later Henry V), received from her a missal and breviary. As the dowager countess of Hereford, wife of the seventh earl who had inherited the Pleshey workshop from his uncle, it is necessary to include her in the circle of possible patronage.

In the case of Eleanor de Bohun her will is clear evidence of her high regard for books, both liturgical and secular. In all, she bequeathed eleven: a Bible (in two volumes), five works of devotion, two chronicles, a law book, a book on philosophy and a romance. Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS. 18.6.5, had an inscription (now erased) bearing her name; and we also learn that Isabel, duchess of York, bequeathed to Eleanor a manuscript with the arms of Northampton.

In the case of Thomas, her husband, some reference must be made to the inventory of his goods and chattels confiscated for alleged treason in 1397, for he appears to have possessed one of the finest lay collections in England of religious and secular books. At the same time it has to be conceded, although unlikely, that other such libraries may have existed, of which no record was made since their owners were not subject to confiscation. Conversely, as Clarke points out, inventories are by no means complete; they refer to goods seized in particular places, although there would have been valuable possessions in other castles and manors, and much must have been hidden away by members of the family or appropriated by dishonest officials. Furthermore, it cannot be established with certainty which of the books listed he inherited from his wife's family, the Bohuns, commissioned for himself, acquired second-hand, or which may have come into his hands by less laudable means, via other confiscations.

Some of the books in the inventory are described as being old, but that even these may be some indicator of his tastes (therefore not inherited) is evident from the fact that he purchased a Roman de la Rose (now British Library Royal MS. 19.B. xiii) from the executors of Sir Richard Sturry. Support for his having built up a sizeable collection during his lifetime seems to be evident, however, from the fact that Edward the Black Prince purchased three psalters from the sixth earl's estate. If items of this sort had been sold at this time, even given that the seventh earl would have made additions, it casts

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41 Wylie, iii (1896), p.228. That he retained them for life is confirmed by a reference in Henry's will of 1415 to these books which he bequeath to the bishop of Durham: Item Legamus reverendo Patre Thomae dumelensi episcopo missale et portophorium quae habuimus de Dono, charissimae Aviae nostrae, Comitissae Herefordiae, et suut eiusdem scripturae. See Rymer, ix (1729), p.291.
42 As stated earlier, although no missal illuminated in the Bohun style has survived (books of this kind being for public use, and thus more prone to destruction) there can be little doubt that some were produced in the Bohun workshop. The one bequeathed by Joan, however, could well have come to her as a gift or by inheritance from other than a Bohun source.
43 Nichols (1780), pp.181-83. The personal nature of her will regarding these items contrasts with that of Guy de Beauchamp.
47 There will be further discussion below of the sixth earl's will.
some doubt on Thomas having acquired a considerable amount by inheritance. To add to certain items which Thomas must have acquired from the library of the seventh earl (and possibly others), there are the manuscripts which from stylistic evidence show that they were unfinished at the death of the sixth earl (of those extant, Exeter 47 and Egerton 3277). These remained in the workshop for completion at a later date. Gloucester’s interest in books is also reflected in his literary talents. As Constable of England he wrote (before 1390) a treatise addressed to Richard II on the order of battle in the Court of Chivalry. Thomas may therefore have been a keen book collector, but not exclusively of illuminated volumes, and it is quite likely that the inventory of more personal items (as opposed to the chapel books), represents primarily his collection and that of Eleanor, his wife. This has some support in a further inventory taken of his books in his London house which may, as suggested by Goodman, reflect the couple’s reading habits. Whatever the case, and it is now impossible to establish, both the Pleshey and London inventories (particularly that taken at Pleshey) are of considerable intrinsic value and interest: the duke’s library at Pleshey contained eighty-four volumes of ‘Livres de diverses rymances et estoires’, besides ‘divers old French quires without titles’ and ‘divers pamphlets and rolls in a coffer’. The list of books of the chapel (libri pro capella), some of which could well have been supplemented by books produced in the Pleshey workshop ca 1350-85, includes a range of liturgical books for the mass and office.

Gloucester was married to Eleanor some time before 1376-77 and was living at Pleshey by that date, and possibly as early as 1374, when there is evidence that they were betrothed. On 10 June 1376 Thomas was appointed Constable of England (this position he gained as a result of his marriage, as it was an hereditary title of the Bohun family), and on 24 August the following year was granted an annual sum of a thousand marks to maintain this office from the Bohun lands until he received livery of the inheritance of Eleanor de Bohun. In June 1380 (Eleanor had come of age in May of that year), Thomas had livery of her purparty of the Bohun estates.

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48 This puts in question Sandier’s hypothesis (Sandier (1985), 366) that these two books were sold by William of Monkland out of the sixth earl’s estate in 1362.
49 Twiss (1871), pp.300-329.
50 Goodman (1971), pp.80-81. See also Appendix XI (ii).
51 Dillon and Hope (1897), 281-82 and 300-303.
52 Ibid., 280 and 298, and 276-308 for discussion and full transcription of the inventory. See also Clarke (1937), p.121, Goodman (1971), pp.79, 80, and Appendix XI (i), (ii) in this study.
53 C.P.R. (1370-74), 472; C.P.R. (1374-77), 337. See also G.E.C., v (1926), 720, 727. The grant was confirmed, 17 July 1377, by Richard II; she is called his wife by 8 February 1376-77 (see C.C.R. (1374-77), 523).
54 C.P.R. (1374-77), 279. He was moreover created earl of Buckingham in 1377; see G.E.C., v (1926), 721.
55 G.E.C., v (1926), 720. Pleshey was hereditary with the office of Constable of England.
56 C.C.R. (1377-81), 390-94. See also G.E.C., v (1926), 721. Some suggestion of Gloucester’s position at Pleshey can be construed from a reference made by Roskell (see Roskell (1965), p. 129) that a number of ex-Bohun retainers were taken over by Gloucester.
The two Bohun illuminators (John de Tye and the Flemish Hand), only a fraction of whose work may now survive, were without doubt working at Pleshey when the seventh earl died in 1372-73. There is clear evidence that Thomas was ordering illuminated books from a London workshop in the 1390s, almost certainly occasioned by the death of the two Bohun illuminators and the apparent departure from Pleshey by 1389 of Henry Hood. It is surely the case, therefore, in view of his interest in books, that Thomas took advantage of the artists at Pleshey from at least 1376 and possibly earlier. It is not likely that Eleanor and Thomas should suddenly become interested in commissioning manuscripts late in the fourteenth century, at a time when it was necessary to make a positive effort to look to London for illuminators when, from ca 1374 to ca 1385, there was a workshop close at hand. The London-produced manuscripts of the 1390s merely reflect, it seems, a continuing interest after the demise or departure of their resident illuminators. By ca 1380, when on stylistic grounds it can be estimated production was well under way again (judging from extant copies there appears to have been a lull ca 1373-80), Eleanor was fourteen and Thomas twenty-five. Both were therefore of an age to initiate commissions, although it seems likely that Thomas was the entrepreneur.

Eleanor's will shows that she retained a number of personal belongings, including books, at the time of the confiscation in 1397. Confiscated goods were restored to their rightful owners on Henry IV's accession to the throne in 1399, but since there was little time between this event and Eleanor's death, it seems more likely that the property in question did not leave Eleanor's possession in 1397 (it could have been amongst that she had been allowed to retain), for if it had there is a strong likelihood that it would have become widely dispersed by this date.

It can be seen, therefore, that although there is less actual evidence for Mary as patron she has attracted the greater number of books to her name. To a degree the patronage of the workshop may have rested on who was resident at Pleshey at this time. Although Thomas and Eleanor seem to have the strongest claim, this does not necessarily exclude Joan or Mary, since there are clear indications that they continued to live at Pleshey until at least 1380 when, according to Froissart, a great lady of Arundel (presumably Joan, countess of Hereford, daughter of Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel) abducted Mary de Bohun from Pleshey to Joan's estate at Rochford, where she married Henry of

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57 See Chapter 9 for discussion.
58 For an interesting account of Pleshey during Thomas's time there see Gough (1863), passim.
59 She was allowed to keep goods and chattels to the amount of £180.18s. See Gough (1803), p.148. Among these were her wearing apparel and two chariots, with some other small articles valued at £19.4s.4d. Eleanor was promised livery of the moiety of the Bohun estates in November 1397. See C.C.R. (1396-99), 182-83, 253, 317, 336.
60 According to Ross (1956), 575, 'it is by no means unlikely that the severity of the treason sentences of 1397-78 contributed to the indifference with which the English nobility regarded Richard's desposition in 1399'.

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Bolingbroke, son of the duke of Lancaster, late in 1380. If Froissart can be believed it was this marriage which defeated Gloucester's intentions to confine Mary to a nunnery so that he would receive the entire Bohun inheritance. Joan retained custody of Mary until 1383-84, the year she came of age. That she and her mother were living at Rochford in 1382 is confirmed by a reference that Mary gave birth to a boy that year who subsequently died. But whether Joan continued to live at Rochford after Mary's departure in 1383-84, or whether she lived from then on at Pleshey, is a matter of speculation. It is only conjecture on Wylie's part that she was present at the tournament held at Pleshey in 1397, but she was definitely living there in 1399 during the incident in which the earl of Huntingdon was murdered. Joan may, in fact, have taken up residence again at Pleshey after Thomas's death, when there is some evidence to suggest that Eleanor, broken-hearted after the death of Thomas, was then living at the convent of minoresses at Aldgate; but this is somewhat contradicted by her will of 1399 which was signed at Pleshey.

However, it cannot necessarily be argued that because Thomas and Eleanor were living at Pleshey, with Mary and Joan possibly elsewhere, that they had exclusive call (although admittedly likely) on the resident illuminators. The atelier could have served various members of the Bohun family, or Mary and Joan could have acquired manuscripts produced there, either as a result of their own commissions, or as gifts from Thomas and Eleanor; but if this were the case it is unlikely that there was this sort of exchange around the time of Mary's 'abduction' from Pleshey in 1380-81, which had displeased Thomas.

(iv) The books and their owners after 1372/3

It is now appropriate to consider each of the books in turn, which on stylistic grounds have been estimated to fall within the period in question (ca 1373-85), and to calculate the most likely member of the Bohun family to have owned each manuscript using, where applicable, any heraldic or documentary evidence. Owing to the tortuous nature of much of this evidence (it is generally insufficiently specific and could be applied to a number of members of the family), it is usually only possible to come down in favour of the most likely owner. The shields, for example, often do not identify the intended individual, and

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61 Between July 1380 and February 1381 (see G.E.C., vii (1929), 417-18). For details of Joan's dower, of which Rochford must have formed a part although it is not mentioned, see C.C.R. (1374-77), 22-25, 28.
62 Froissart, ii, p.623. See also Armitage-Smith (1904), p.338; Goodman (1971), pp.89-90 (he states incorrectly that the marriage took place at Arundel Castle); and Tuck (1985), p.155. As a result, Woodstock and Bolingbroke (later Henry IV) shared the Bohun inheritance and according to Tuck (1973), p.8, arrangements for its partition led to a dispute between them which continued until 1395.
63 Armitage-Smith (1911), xi.
64 Wylie, iv (1898), pp.133-34.
66 Wylie, i (1884), p.103.
attempts to match up certain books mentioned in wills with extant copies is fraught with hazards, since the books in question are fairly standard devotional texts. It could be thought that to reverse the process and to calculate the original patron by virtue of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century owners, descendants either of Mary and Henry, on the one hand, or Eleanor and Thomas, on the other, might yield results, but this is not necessarily valid because it is often possible to make a case in equal favour of both lines of descent. The following suggested identifications are therefore made with these reservations in mind.

Just as there has been scope to challenge some of the accepted views concerning the possible patrons of the various Bohun manuscripts, it is also necessary to question certain identifications which have been made of extant Bohun books with those itemised in wills and other documents.

Egerton 3277 has already been discussed in some detail and the suggestion made that although the text was probably prepared for the sixth earl around 1360 (some of the underdrawing may also have been done at this time) it was possibly completed for Eleanor (by Thomas), or for Eleanor herself. Mary is not likely to have been the owner, although Joan, her mother cannot be entirely excluded, Gloucester’s probable involvement in the commission is supported by the political connotations of some of the heraldry. If indeed the kneeling figure of a woman on f. 131v in Egerton 3277 was intended to be Eleanor, rather than Mary, or Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I, then it may well be that the ‘book with psalter, primer and other devotions...which book I have often used’, listed in Eleanor’s will and bequeathed to her daughter, Joan, is not the Edinburgh manuscript, as traditionally thought, but the Egerton Psalter-Hours. Some doubt is cast on its being the Edinburgh book by the wording of the will. First, it is described as having had an elaborate binding (now lost) with enamelled arms, which is not easily reconciled with the illuminated pages within, which are full of empty shields. Second, the book was the one she had often used which may (although not necessarily) imply that it was more than just a few years old. The dating advanced for this manuscript makes it no earlier than 1390, with a more likely date of ca 1395. As such it would only have been in her possession for approximately four years. If, on the other hand, the book can be identified as Egerton 3277, a date of ca 1385 having been suggested, during Henry Hood’s apprenticeship at the castle workshop, this would have given Eleanor fourteen years’ use of the book. She would thus have been about twenty years of age when it was presented to her, in the year of Woodstock’s elevation to the duchy of Gloucester.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Nichols (1780), pp.182-83.
⁶⁸ Millar (1928), p.27.
⁶⁹ ‘Item un livre ove le psautier, primer & autres devocions, ove deux claspes d’or, enamaillez ove mes armes, quele libre jay plus usse, ove ma benoison’. See Nichols (1780), p.183.
Another book which, like Egerton 3277 and Edinburgh Adv 18.6.5, conforms with the description of 'le psautier, primer & autres devocions', is Auct. D.4.4, but it was concluded earlier that Mary, rather than Eleanor, probably inherited this manuscript after her father's death. If Egerton 3277 were the one inherited by Eleanor's daughter, Joan, then Joan died soon after her mother (on the Monday after the Assumption in the first year of Henry IV's reign) and, presumably, it then passed to Anne (later Anne Stafford), elder of Eleanor's two surviving daughters. Nothing is then known of its provenance until ca 1800 when the manuscript belonged to the family of Lowther, earls of Lonsdale. That it descended via this side of the family is to some degree supported by the lack of later royal ownership, unlike Exeter 47 and Royal 20.D.iv. The possibility that the book itemised in Eleanor's will is no longer extant cannot be ignored however.

Royal 20.D.iv, the Romance containing the two overpainted miniatures probably executed by Henry Hood between 1384 and 1385, may have passed directly into the royal collection via the duchy of Lancaster. The inserted arms point with little doubt to ownership by Mary de Bohun between 1380 and 1388, by virtue of her marriage to Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby in 1380-81, whose father John of Gaunt maintained from 1372 until 1388 a claim on the kingdom of Castile and Leon in right of his wife. Apart from the Bohun arms inserted on ff. 1 and 102v and those of England before 1340 on f. 1, the arms of Castile and Leon occur on ff. 295 and 301, again inserted. The Romance could well have been a hurried gift (the two miniatures have been added to an already existing manuscript) to Mary, possibly on the occasion of her coming of age in 1384-85 and thus the official year of her marriage.

A question mark hangs over the original ownership of Copenhagen 517 (it contains no heraldic devices), unless the text of the Lives (specifically those of the Virgin and St Mary Magdalene) might be interpreted as having a special significance for Mary, rather than Eleanor. But this must remain conjectural, since the subject-matter (in addition to the Virgin and Mary Magdalene it has St Margaret) is sufficiently popular to have had a wide appeal. It could thus have been commissioned by either Eleanor or Joan. Some marginal support in favour of Mary - though again tentative - might exist by virtue of its close stylistic relationship to Copenhagen 547, for which there is perhaps stronger evidence in favour of ownership by Mary. Apart from the appearance of Bohun three times and England, after 1340, once, which is not exceptional, the only other coat of arms is that of

71 For further details see London (1970), p.381.
73 The additions in this manuscript, like the second campaign in Exeter 47 and the major illumination in Egerton 3277, although containing the arms of England before 1340 are demonstrably late on stylistic grounds and call into question Sandler's inference that in the case of the Egerton Psalter-Hours this may be one of the reasons for dating it early (i.e. to ca 1360).
74 See Appendix X (i), (ii) for a description of these arms.
75 Although possibly never bound as one they are intimately related and are now found in the same library.
John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, Mary's father-in-law. But if the book were made for Mary it is puzzling that the arms of Castile and Leon, as in the Romance, or indeed those of her husband, Henry of Bolingbroke, are not also included, unless these arms occurred in a part of the manuscript now no longer extant (the manuscript could once have comprised a psalter-hours for instance). Both Copenhagen 547 and 517 have been estimated to date to ca 1380. If made for her before her marriage in 1380-81 the reference to John of Gaunt in MS. 547 would have no particular relevance to Mary. A date soon after her marriage when Thomas (who appears to have had charge of the workshop) was apparently displeased by the stealthy manner in which it had been effected in his absence, similarly tends to put Mary's ownership in question. Although the evidence is not wholly conclusive in favour of Mary, the inclusion of the Gaunt shield does seem to support that the manuscript was made for her some time between 1380 and 1384 when, though still in the care of her mother, she was effectively John of Gaunt's ward. No stronger claim for ownership can be made here for either Eleanor or Joan. The later provenance of the two Copenhagen books serves to strengthen Mary's likely possession of them since it was Mary's daughter, Philippa, who married King Eric of Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and the books could feasibly have reached Scandinavia by this channel.

The illumination in Pommersfelden MS. 348 is datable on stylistic grounds to ca 1375-80, transitional between Auct. D.4.4, of ca 1372/3-75, and the two Copenhagen books of ca 1380. As a fragment of only fifteen folios its heraldry, like that in Egerton 3277, which as noted lacks a number of key folios, cannot be taken as fully representative. That it was written out for Humphrey, the seventh earl, before his death in 1372-73, but not illuminated for him is suggested by the presence of his name five times in the memoriae (on ff. 2, 3v, 4, 5 and 7). The arms, apart from those directly associated with the Bohun family, like those in Egerton 3277, seem to be broadly political. Bearing in mind the suggested date of ca 1375-80, Thomas may have had some hand in the commission, as seems to have been the case with Egerton 3277. It may even be possible to identify it as the small book of prayers, listed amongst the chapel books, in the 1397

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76 Confirmation that good relations between John of Gaunt and Gloucester had been restored by 1383, if temporarily marred, is evidenced in John of Gaunt's attendance at the christening of Thomas's daughter, Anne. On 6 May 1383 (see Goodman (1971), pp. 90, 179 n.3) payments were made for presents, the total cost of which was a sizeable £96.3s.5d.

77 The duke paid yearly sums to Joan de Bohun for Mary's maintenance until she came of age in 1384. See Armitage-Smith (1911), p.xi and Wylie, iv, (1898), p.132.

78 Mary de Bohun died in 1394 giving birth to Philippa, Henry IV's seventh child. See Wylie, ii (1894), p.436. It is Wylie (ibid., p.454) who states categorically that Philippa's book of hours, which had belonged to her mother, Mary de Bohun, can be identified as the one in the Copenhagen Library but there is no actual evidence for this however attractive the proposal.

79 There are three shields of this kind on f. 4v: St George, which may be a reference to the Order of the Garter, the kings of the Romans and the counts of Holland (this may possibly refer to Elizabeth de Bohun's husband, count of Holland and Zeeland who died in 1299). See Appendix X (i), (ii) for full details of the heraldry in this manuscript.
inventory of Thomas's confiscated goods, or one of the same type described in the list of more personal volumes.\footnote{See Appendix XI (i).} This, however, is extremely tenuous, and nothing is known of the book's whereabouts between its definite Bohun provenance and possession by Franz von Schönborn (1655-1729) in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

A date (ca 1360-61) and intended ownership (the sixth earl, Humphrey de Bohun) for the initial campaign in Exeter 47 have been forwarded. A further abortive attempt to complete the manuscript (this is suggested on stylistic grounds) was made some time between 1380 and 1385.\footnote{This portion (ff. 9-19v), as stated, has correspondences with the additions in Auct. D.4.4 (of ca 1375) and Copenhagen MSS. 547 and 517 (of ca 1380), as well as Egerton 3277 (of 1384-85).} A number of key folios, including the Beatus, have been excised, and those which remain in the portion comprising the second campaign (alternately Bohun and England before 1340) do not give any precise indications of ownership. Further information might be gleaned, however, from a consideration of the third campaign (ff. 79-126v). Although both the first and second campaigns can be assigned to the English Artist, and thus located to the Pleshey workshop, the third campaign, manifestly later in style, was executed by a different, apparently London-based workshop. This raises the question for whom the manuscript may have been completed and at what point it left the Pleshey workshop. On stylistic grounds the illumination of the final campaign could date to after Thomas's death in 1397. Moreover, the style is not that of the Edinburgh Psalter-Hours Artist, nor of his immediate milieu,\footnote{See Chapter 9.} as might be expected if it were a Woodstock commission. In fact, although Exeter Hand A (the principal miniaturist of the third campaign) participated in Hatfield MS. 290, probably of the 1390s, his style has been shown to stand somewhat apart from the main stream of English painting of the decade and looks towards post-1400 illumination. Furthermore, it is questionable that Eleanor (she died in 1399), living as a vowess since the death of her husband, Gloucester, would have had the manuscript completed. These considerations, taken with the fact that the third campaign could well date to ca 1400, give rise to the speculation that the manuscript was probably no longer in the hands of the duke and duchess of Gloucester. Mary's ownership of the book is equally improbable, since the style of the final campaign does not permit it to date to before her death in 1394, unless she came by it after the completion of the second campaign. But she is hardly likely to have taken possession of the book in loose quires. The most convincing hypothesis is that work on the book was drawn to completion under the patronage of Joan, who was apparently living again at Pleshey by 1399,\footnote{Gough (1803), p.23; Wylie, i (1884), pp.103-104.} or Henry of Derby, created duke of Hereford
in 1397 and king of England from 1399. The book could have come into Derby's hands by a variety of means: by inheritance, via Mary, if the admittedly doubtful conjecture that it came into her possession at an earlier date is accepted; as a gift from Joan (or one of Eleanor's children); or via the confiscation of 1397. If the unfinished manuscript had been seized along with Thomas's other goods in 1397, it may well have come into Henry's hands by this channel when he ascended the throne, at the time when possessions confiscated by Richard II were restored to their rightful owners (some would no doubt have already become dispersed). Existing evidence suggests that either Joan or Henry had the book completed in London; the work of Exeter Hand A is certainly mainline in quality. Joan, outliving most other members of her family, opens up a number of variables and makes the channels of inheritance and subsequent dispersal complex; further speculation then becomes futile. Marginal support in favour of ownership by Henry is provided by the fact that in the sixteenth century the manuscript was owned by Henry VIII's first queen, Katherine of Aragon; it could thus have always been a royal book and descended to Katherine via the Lancastrian kings. Apart from Henry V, two other sons of Mary de Bohun and Henry of Derby were Humphrey, duke of Gloucester and John, duke of Bedford, both important collectors of books. The later ownership by Katherine of Aragon, however, does not necessarily obviate ownership by Joan who, when she died in 1419 may have bequeathed the book to her grand-daughter Anne Stafford. There continued to be close links with royalty, even after the death of Joan: Anne Stafford, who seems to have continued to live at Pleshey, was cousin to Henry V.

Of the books mentioned in Eleanor's will it may be possible to identify the 'well and richly illuminated' psalter 'with clasps of gold enamelled with the arms of her father' which she bequeathed to her son, Humphrey, and which must remain henceforth the property of her heirs. Of extant manuscripts there are two possible contenders: the Vienna and Fitzwilliam Psalters. It is unlikely to have been the former, however, since this appears to have been one of the three psalters bought for the Black Prince from the sixth earl's estate (of extant copies this is the only manuscript which was in a completed state when the earl died in 1361), unless it made its way back to the Bohun family and can, in turn, be identified as the one bequeathed by Isabel, duchess of York in 1392 to Henry, see G.E.C., vii (1929), 417-18. The share of Mary de Bohun's possessions which she brought her husband was added to the duchy of Lancaster by her son, Henry V, in 1414. See also Armitage-Smith (1894), p.lxxxi.

C.P.R., Henry IV, i, 28, 37, 134.
See Appendix X (ii).
See Appendix X (iii) which shows the line of descent from Mary and Eleanor after the death of the seventh earl of Hereford.
Anne Stafford and Henry V were co-heirs of the Bohun estate which was finally divided between them in 1421. See G.E.C., vi (1926), 476; and Gough (1803), pp.25, 156.
Nichols (1780), p.181.
As noted earlier, the shield in the lower border on f. 141 has a label of three points argent painted over the arms of England and France quarterly (i.e. the arms of Edward, prince of Wales).
Eleanor, it would appear that Humphrey, the seventh earl, at no time owned the Vienna Psalter. The bequest makes reference to the arms of her 'lord and father' (the seventh earl), suggesting that she inherited the psalter directly from him. The Fitzwilliam Psalter is the most likely manuscript of those extant for two reasons. Firstly, there is a specific reference in the will to her father's arms which were enamelled on the clasps and the fabric cover which was studded with mullets. These are the charges which distinguish Bohun of Northampton from Bohun of Hereford, and thus point to the seventh earl. Of extant Bohun manuscripts the Fitzwilliam Psalter is the only one which contains the arms of Bohun of Northampton; indeed, they appear ten times in this book. The second reason for identifying the psalter now in the Fitzwilliam Museum as the one itemised in Eleanor's will arises from an examination of its fifteenth-century provenance. Eleanor's son, Humphrey, died in 1399, the same year as his mother. The Psalter probably then reverted to Anne Stafford, the elder of the two surviving daughters, who may have had the text modified around 1420 (this date is suggested by the single historiated initial) to include a ferial litany, new calendar and certain prayers. Joan de Bohun, however, may have owned the book for some twenty years between the death of Eleanor in 1399 and her own death in 1419; after this date it could have then passed to her grand-daughter. This is perhaps the more likely hypothesis, since Anne Stafford's possession of the manuscript, ca 1420, may well have prompted the additions of that date. That Anne at some point gave the book to her relative, John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells, later archbishop of Canterbury, is evident from his arms which were added on f. 1; those of Margaret of Anjou were inserted at the same time. The appearance of these arms together makes it possible to deduce, furthermore, that the book was given by Stafford to Margaret at some point between her marriage in 1445 and his death in 1452. The appearance of Burneby obits confirms this suggested direction of the gift from Stafford to Margaret, rather than the reverse, since Thomas Burneby was sewer to queen Margaret in the late 1440s to early 1450s. The Stafford connection, moreover, supports the line of descent postulated from Eleanor, rather than one from Mary de Bohun.

The books produced in the London workshop or workshops for Eleanor and Thomas all date to the 1390s. Clearly, after the death of their resident illuminators they were forced to look to the capital which had become a flourishing centre of production by this

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91 Goodman (1971), p.79. For Isabel, see G.E.C., xii, part 2 (1959), pp.898-99; she was sister-in-law to the Black Prince.
92 Nichols (1780), p.181.
93 See Appendix X (ii). They also appear in the Astor Psalter-Hours, but this, as shown, is not a product of the same workshop.
94 Apart from Anne there were two other daughters, Isabel, professed in the House of Minoresses without Aldgate, and Joan who died on the Monday after the Assumption in the year 1400.
95 Unfortunately no will survives for Joan de Bohun and Anne Stafford's presumably more detailed will, referred to in the shorter one which survives (see Nichols (1780), p.279), is apparently no longer extant.
96 See Griffiths (1981), pp.258-59. I am grateful to Nicholas Rogers for this reference. A sewer was a household servant responsible for setting the table.
time. These books comprise Eleanor's psalter-hours (Edinburgh, Adv MS. 18.6.5),
Thomas's two-volume Bible in English (Egerton MSS. 617 and 618), the *Polychronicon*
(MS. Bodley 316), presented to the college of secular priests which they founded at
Pleshey in 1394, and possibly also assignable to their joint patronage, a book of hours
(Keble College MS. 47).

(v) The Bohun family and the Austin friars

This study cannot be concluded without further discussion of the Bohun illuminators,
John de Tye and Henry Hood, in the context of the Austin friars. The occurrence in
fourteenth-century painting of ecclesiastics as illuminators, resident in the home of their
patron, is perhaps not as exceptional as it appears at first sight, for there is a substantial
body of evidence supporting strong links between the Bohun family and the mendicant
orders, especially the Austin friars.

In 1354 the sixth earl of Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, had given the Austin friars of
London money to rebuild their church on a lavish scale, and it was here where he was
subsequently buried before the high altar. Almost exactly one hundred years earlier, in
1253, the second earl of Hereford (also Humphrey de Bohun) had been the original
founder of the London convent of Austin friars, almost the first foundation of this order
in England. Apart from the London Austin friars, the sixth earl in his will, dated 9
October 1361, bequeathed smaller sums of £10 each to the London houses of the three
other mendicant orders: Dominican, Franciscan and Carmelite; the same sum was also
given to the four orders of mendicants in Oxford and Cambridge to pray for his soul, and
other religious establishments received bequests. As noted earlier, Humphrey also left
£10 to friar John de Tye, 'our illuminator', a bequest which follows immediately after
that to brother William de Monkelane (William of Monkland), 'our confessor', who is
also named as one of the earl's executors. The importance of Monkland is paramount,
since he is the first individual mentioned after the long list of bequests to religious
establishments. John de Tye appears next; both friars are singled out above close

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97 Gloucester was first buried here; see Gough (1803), pp.86, 143 and p.86 ff. for various accounts of his
death. For details concerning the founding and running of Pleshey College, see ibid., p.169 ff. See also
Goodman (1971), pp.82-84.

98 These manuscripts are discussed in Chapter 9.

99 Gwynn (1940), pp.78, 108-9; Gough (1803), p.9; Stow (1603), p.185. According to Stow this church
remained one of the finest in the city for the next two centuries.

100 Gwynn (1940), p.135.

101 Nichols (1780), pp.47-48; Gwynn (1940), p.110. See also Palmer (1884-85), p.206. For details of
further bequests see Nichols (1780), p.48 (Benedictine abbey of Walden, Essex, the Augustinian priory
of Llanthony, near Gloucester), p.49 (Benedictine priory of Brecon, the Dominicans of Chelmsford, the
Cluniac priory of Monkton Farleigh, Wilts., the Benedictine priory of Hurley, Berks., the Augustinian
priory of Notley, Bucks., and the Augustinian priory of Stonely, Hunts.).

102 Nichols (1780), pp.46, 50.
members of the family and other notables.  

To brother William of Monkland the earl orders that one hundred pounds in silver be paid, with a dish of hampered silver from which the earl used to drink, a small silver pot, six spoons, and six silver saucers; and that this friar should be permitted to dwell wherever he may most conveniently pray for the earl’s soul. Humphrey, moreover, devoutly begs the prior provincial and the whole order to grant him the favour that brother William may be allowed to remain in this convent (which is not named) all the days of his life, that he may have a fine and honourable bedchamber in it, and that he may be cared for as a master of divinity. It would appear that this executor took full charge of any books the sixth earl had to disperse (it was Monkland who was paid £20 for three psalters bought for the Black Prince from this earl’s estate). Although Humphrey’s will is detailed and lengthy, apart from the bequest of a missal and antiphoner to the chapel within the castle of Pleshey, there are no further references to books.

It was William de Monkland whom Luigi Torelli conjectured was the young man of royal blood and a member of the family of Hereford and Essex who entered the convent of the Austin friars at Huntingdon. If brother William was the member of the earl’s family who had renounced his claim to the family estates and honours, Gwynn conjectures that Monkland was the son of Edward de Bohun, the third son of the fourth earl of Hereford who died at Boroughbridge in 1322. Edward would have been next in line of succession after his elder brother John died without heirs in 1336, but Edward had died fighting the Scots in 1334. If he had had heirs, and there is a record of his having been married, this would mean that his eldest son (possibly the William in question) would have succeeded to the earldoms of Hereford and Essex in 1336, the position occupied instead by the sixth earl Humphrey, his uncle, who was, as shown, a leading patron of the Austin friars. If this hypothesis can be accepted, this would explain the sixth earl’s particular affection for (and debt to) Monkland, his confessor. After Humphrey’s death William would still have been the rightful heir to the Bohun estates, rather than his

105 There is a further reference to a John Luminour, to whom forty shillings are bequeathed, but it is arguable whether this represents a further bequest to John de Tye.
106 Nichols (1780), p.50 and for the above paraphrase see Gwynn (1940), p.110.
107 For the entire will see Nichols (1780), pp.45-56.
108 Ibid., p.50.
109 Torelli (his Seccoli Agostiniani in 8 volumes was published at Bologna between 1659 and 1686) gives his name in the Italian form, Guglielmo Monchelaio; for further details see Gwynn (1940), pp.107-108. The other two executors named in the earl’s will, brother William Wilhale and brother Geffrey de Berdefeld, were also Austin friars; see Nichols (1780), pp.46-47 and Gwynn (1940), p.109 for the instructions given to these friars.
110 Gwynn (1940), pp.111-113.
111 For details of Edward see D.N.B., under the fourth earl; Holmes (1957), p.22 (but Holmes erroneously refers to Edward as being William’s brother, although Humphrey comes between them in age). Gwynn (1940), pp.111-12, had no information on Edward; the knowledge, however, of Edward’s death in 1334 would have given further strength to his hypothesis.
112 Holmes (1957), p.22.
cousin Humphrey, the seventh earl, son of William de Bohun (the fifth son of the fourth earl) who died in 1360. Humphrey (the sixth earl) being William of Monkland's eldest surviving uncle may have taken a special interest in him since his father's death at which time he would have been very young.

John de Tye, Humphrey's illuminator, could well have been a member of the same convent as William of Monkland, possibly that of Huntingdon, the one mentioned by Torelli; an association which might be construed, alone, from their close proximity in the earl's will. Presumably, the convent would not have been far from Pleshey, and a location in Huntingdon, close to Cambridge, would make good sense in the light of the strong stylistic affinity borne by the English Bohun Artist (John de Tye) to the possibly Cambridge-based illuminators of the dismembered portion of the lectern Bible and related manuscripts. It is possible that in the early 1350s when the sixth earl was casting around for an illuminator to complete the Vienna Psalter, after the initial campaign was halted by the Black Death of 1348-49, it was Monkland who brought John de Tye into contact with Humphrey de Bohun. Indeed, Tye and Monkland were probably approximately the same age. If William of Monkland's father were Edward de Bohun, who died in 1334, this would give Monkland an estimated age of between twenty and twenty-five in the early 1350s. John de Tye, who was still alive in 1384, was probably also in his twenties at this date; this would make him about fifty-five at the time of his death. As shown, he is not identifiable working in any manuscript, datable to after ca 1380-85. Although not documented, there may have been a similar affiliation on the part of the Flemish Hand (who it has been shown was working in Flanders ca 1340-50) with the Austin friars, or some other religious order; contact with the earl could thus have been engendered in this way. This illuminator is understandably not mentioned in the sixth earl's will: he worked little on the Exeter Psalter and even less on the Vienna Psalter, both of which were clearly the sixth earl's commissions, the Exeter Psalter having probably been terminated by his death. The Flemish Hand assumes a more prominent rôle during the patronage of the seventh earl and his successors, and is still working in the 1380s, possibly marginally outliving his only collaborator — the English Artist — during his long sojourn in England; his latest datable work is the calendar portion of Egerton 3277, giving him an estimated age of sixty at his death.

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111 See Gwynn (1940), p.107, who consulted Torelli's Secoli Agostiniani.
112 Nichols (1780), p.50.
113 Huntingdon was one of the houses of the Cambridge Limit; see Roth, i (1966), p.222.
114 See Chapters 2 and 3 for discussion.
115 See Chapters 1, 2 and 3 for discussion.
116 When the Plague was at its height the Austin friars were permitted by the King to enlarge their house at Cambridge by an acre and a half; see C.P.R. (1348-50), p.353 and Gwynn (1940), p.75.
117 For discussion of the Flemish Hand's early career, see principally chapters 4 and 6.
118 His apparently earliest extant work is the Flemish hours in the Bodleian (Lat. liturg. f. 3), for which a date of ca 1345 has been suggested.
It is evident that the Austin friars continued to retain the high esteem of the Bohun family after the sixth earl's death in 1361. John Erghome, friar of the York convent, dedicated his text of Vaticinia Johannis Bridlington to Humphrey, the seventh earl of Hereford. An Austin friar, named Thomas de Bradefeld, received an annual salary from his 'illustrious lord', Thomas of Woodstock. Thomas continued to employ John de Tye at the castle workshop and encouraged the residence of another, Henry Hood, in 1384-85. Although Thomas's daughter, Anne, was buried in the church of Llanthony (Augustinian Canons) her second husband, Edmund Stafford, slain at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403, was buried in the church of the Austin friars at Stafford.

Now that the intimate relationship between the Bohun family and the Austin friars has been explored, the special significance being that both the sixth earl's illuminator (John de Tye) and confessor (William of Monkland) were members of this order, it helps to explain the choice of detailed iconographic cycles (mostly of Old Testament narrative) for the illustration of the Bohun manuscripts. These cycles deviate little from the Vulgate text but the selection of what are fairly obscure points in the narrative, which have no apparent visual source, can more readily be understood given the clerical backgrounds of these two friars, both close at hand to the sixth earl at Pleshey.

In an attempt to assess the origins of the English and Flemish Bohun artists it has been shown that although both remained faithful to their indigenous styles, the English Artist was especially receptive to influence from illuminated Bolognese law manuscripts; while certain refinements discernible in the Flemish Hand's style seem to have resulted from direct contact with his collaborator – the English Artist – and contact of a less immediate kind with Parisian illumination. The Austin friars may well have acted as mediators here. It is feasible that Italian Decretals were conveyed by Italian friars visiting this country, or by English friars returning after a stay in Italy. The Frenchification of the Flemish Hand's style could have evolved from the presence of Parisian manuscripts in the library at Pleshey, since the inventory taken of its contents in 1397 indicates that it was well stocked with manuscripts of the type which could have influenced this illuminator, such as Romances and illustrated chronicles. Some of these books may have been confiscated by the English at such battles as Crécy in 1346 and Poitiers in 1356. However, refinements of the type suggested are not evident in the style of the Flemish

119 Gwynn (1940), p.135.
120 For further details see ibid., and Roth, ii (1961), p.235.
122 See chapter 10 for discussion.
123 For the activity of Italian friars in Oxford and Cambridge in the 1350s see Gwynn (1940), pp.96 ff.; Innocent VI, acting at the request of the prior general Thomas of Strassburg, made Paris, Oxford and Cambridge the sole Studia generalia of the Austin friars in 1355. Decretal manuscripts feature in the Pleshey inventory of 1397, for which see Appendix XI (i).
124 For the inventory see Appendix XI (i).
Hand until ca 1370 during the patronage of the seventh earl who may have either enlarged or initiated the collection of French manuscripts of this type, which Thomas of Woodstock seems to have had a hand in developing. As Goodman notes, Gloucester's experience of international diplomacy brought him into contact with Charles VI's uncles of Berry and Burgundy. Eleanor in her will bequeathed to her son, Humphrey 'a Chronicle of France in French, with two clasps of silver enamelled with the arms of the duke of Burgundy.'

Patronage by the Bohun family of the mendicant orders, other than the Austin friars, has already been touched on. Elizabeth de Bohun, wife of William of Northampton, owner of the Astor Psalter-Hours, was buried in the church of the London Black Friars in 1356. It was Elizabeth who bequeathed the generous sum of £50 to the Cambridge Dominicans; she also left £20 to the friars of this order in Chelmsford and 100 marks to those in Oxford. The Astor Psalter-Hours, as noted earlier, although probably illuminated in Cambridge, is of Dominican use, having the dedication of their house in Shrewsbury, where the text of the manuscript was probably prepared.

It was suggested earlier in this chapter that Monkland may have acted as a mediator in setting up commissions. Perhaps such practices were more widespread than has hitherto been realised. Possibly the art of illuminating in the fourteenth century was not so much in the grasp of secular workshops, and ecclesiastical establishments (not exclusively mendicant) acted as catalysts, either producing the work in their houses (writing the texts and possibly also illuminating them), or providing itinerant illuminators. This hypothesis has some support, although tentative, in the liturgy and the patronage. It is also clear that patronage during this period was largely determined by the interrelationships between the various noble families who, in turn, patronised these religious establishments.

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129 Nichols (1780), p.181.
127 See n.101 in this chapter.
126 G.E.C., ix (1936), p.667. She donated a missal to this house; see Nicolas (1826), p.60.
125 See Chapter 1 for discussion of this manuscript.
130 Certain manuscripts with which the Fitzwalr Art (Vienna Hand B) can be associated, namely Harley 2888 and Liturg. 198 have clear Augustinian associations (see Chapter 2). There are Benedictine connections with some of the Egerton Genesis Master's works (the Derby and Ramsey Psalters); his access to Decretal manuscripts could have been effected in this way. The apparently Norwich-produced books of the Italianate phase of the 1330s have Benedictine affiliations (see Chapter 1, n.29). The Psalter of Simon de Montacute is an episcopal commission; the Astor Psalter-Hours is obviously Dominican, and traces of mendicant saints are apparent in the calendars of such manuscripts as Walters 105, Dublin F.5.21 and Egerton 2781, which are otherwise pure Sarum. Earlier in the fourteenth century the Tickhill and Fenland groups provide examples of Augustinian and Benedictine patronage, respectively. A notable example from the early fifteenth century is the Dominican, John Siferwas, artist of the Shezbour Missal. Laurence of Antwerp (see Chapter 5) was priest of a church in Antwerp and the Abbey of St Trond, near Liège, was connected in some way with commissions, while Gilles Li Muisis was associated with the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter at Tournai. Further examples could be advanced but detailed examination of this question lies outside the scope of this study; but I hope to pursue it at a later date.
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to date and localise the various manuscripts produced for three generations of the Bohun family between 1340 and 1400. The sequence of production proposed has been found to have the support of existing documentary evidence. The results of this study can be summarised as follows.

The Black Death of 1348-49 had a catastrophic effect on manuscript painting which had become centralised by the 1340s, and Cambridge (its suggested location) suffered a large-scale extermination of illuminators. Indeed, the fact that it was necessary for the sixth earl to install his own artists at Pleshey, one of whom was imported from Flanders, and the heavy reliance on pre-Black Death models on the part of the English Artist (alias John de Tye), support the hypothesis that English illumination had not merely reached a low ebb but had virtually died out in the intervening years after the Pestilence and before the completion of the Vienna Psalter ca 1355. Moreover, with the possible exception of a single miniaturist, no illuminators active after the Black Death can be positively identified in pre-1350 material. It would appear that it was the third quarter of the fourteenth century rather than the 1340s which was not a highly productive period for illumination. It is the use of pre-Black Death models by post-1350 illuminators, rather than the survival of the artists themselves, which has suggested in the past that the Pestilence occasioned no actual interruption.

The Vienna Psalter, the earliest of the Bohun manuscripts, is crucial for the understanding of the development of English manuscript painting in the problematic years of the middle of the fourteenth century. It offers not only a glimpse of this art in the years immediately prior to the Black Death, it testifies to the barren state of illumination immediately after and is a unique witness to the period between 1350 and 1355 when English manuscript painting was again revived by virtue of the sixth earl’s patronage of John de Tye. The artists here called ‘central’ (John de Tye, the Flemish Hand and later the Egerton Artist, alias Henry Hood) do not work for other patrons; they produced manuscripts exclusively for the Bohun family between ca 1350 and ca 1385.

Although recovery from the barren years of the aftermath of the Plague can be directly attributed to the Bohun family, judging from extant material lay workshops of the kind which produced illuminated books for a wider public were not fully restored until the formation of the Lytlington Missal workshop of the 1380s, the sources of which lie in some Westminster charters of the 1370s. This atelier, serving a wide clientele, and others which became established in the capital, continued to produce manuscripts well into the 1390s and even into the first decade of the fifteenth century, until they were finally eclipsed by the imported style of the International Gothic period. As far as it is possible
to determine it would appear that little illumination of quality (except for the products of
the Egerton Genesis Master and the Westminster charters) was produced outside the
patronage of the Bohun family between ca 1350 and 1380. London seems to have
dropped as a centre of manuscript production from around 1335 until the early 1370s.

A detailed analysis of the careers of Lytlington Hands A, B and C and the Edinburgh
and Holkham Artists led to an understanding of the central Bohun workshop, reinforced
the dating and location proposed and confirmed that it was this circle of artists whom
Eleanor de Bohun and Thomas of Woodstock patronised after the death of their resident
illuminators.

It has been shown that whereas the origins of John de Tye’s style, though tempered by
Italian (specifically Bolognese) influence, lie in English miniature painting of the 1340s,
the Flemish Hand (as his name suggests) received his training in the Tourmai region of
Flanders, also in that decade. He migrated to England around 1355 (a detailed study of
the so-called manuscripts of Louis de Male pointed to the approximate date of his
departure from the Low Countries and the foundation of the central workshop). After a
period of ten to fifteen years, his style matured; this resulted from influence from John de
Tye and contact with Parisian illumination gained, presumably, from books housed in the
library at Pleshey Castle. Similarly, the Flemish Hand influenced the production of these
books, most notably in the design and layout of the subject-matter. Of the two
illuminators, however, the English Artist was possibly marginally senior on account of his
being native to England, the first to join the sixth earl after the Black Death and, at the
end of his career, the artist chosen to teach Henry Hood the art of illuminating. The
English Bohun style was widely imitated in the late fourteenth century and echoes of it
were still being felt during the first decade of the fifteenth.

It is particularly fortunate that documentary evidence survives which enables two of
the Bohun illuminators to be identified as Austin friars; this makes more explicable the
Bohun family’s patronage of the mendicant orders and raises the question of whether the
Cambridge workshop of the pre-Black Death period was in some way connected with the
mendicants. Sandler has stated that ‘the knowledge of the names of these artists [John de
Tye and Henry Hood] leads toward the solution of the unresolved problems of the dates,
origins and stylistic continuity of the Bohun manuscripts...’.

However, her identification of the Flemish Hand as John de Tye and the dating of both Exeter 47 and Egerton 3277
in their entirety to before 1361 illustrate the danger of drawing conclusions from
documentary evidence without a detailed study of the careers and workshop practices of
these illuminators which, in turn, would have revealed the various breaks in campaign, a
fundamental requirement for understanding this complex material.

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1 Sandler (1985), 365.
The charting of individual artists' development has been crucial in determining a chronology for this otherwise largely undatable material. Factors both of scale and subject-matter can affect the style of a miniaturist. However, with rigorous scrutiny it is usually possible to distinguish between the work of a single artist developing and that of more than one hand. Close analysis of the techniques of each illuminator, particularly of John de Tye, whose style develops considerably overall, has been fundamental for the correct interpretation of this material, since it is evident that the majority of Bohun manuscripts suffered at least one interruption during production. This discovery has important implications for the chronology of these works which have been misdated in the past. Each manuscript has been viewed as a stylistic entity when, in fact, a number of years may have separated the inception from the maturation of the project; Exeter College MS. 47, begun ca 1360, but not completed until ca 1400, is an extreme example of this phenomenon. The location of this workshop within the castle at Pleshey, producing books exclusively for the Bohun family, explains the extraordinary way in which these artists could function, whereby they could leave manuscripts in an unfinished state for long periods and add to them at will.

A revised dating forces a more critical appraisal of patronage. Certain misconceptions had arisen concerning ownership of the Bohun manuscripts, most of these commissions being assigned to Humphrey, the seventh earl, and his daughter, Mary de Bohun. There are instances, as has been shown, where a book changed possession within the family before its completion. It is now clear that the circle of patronage was wider and the process of execution more complicated than originally thought.
APPENDIX I: CODICOGONY

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 38-1950

Vellum, ff. i-iii + 243 + iv-vi; page size 169/170 x 118/119mm; written space 96/98 x 61/63mm; 18 lines; collation: 1-5, 6, 7-27, 28 wants 4 after f. 217, 29, 30, 31-32; some catchwords; pricking from f. 218.
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 517 4°

Vellum, ff. 1-38; page size 176 x 130mm; written space 109/110 x 69/70mm; 20 lines collation: 1-4⁴, 5⁵, catchword visible at end of gathering 4.
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Thott 547 4°

Vellum, ff. 1-66; page size 176 x 130mm; written space 108/109 x 67/68mm; collation: 1-8r, 9v; 20 lines.
London, British Library, Egerton MS. 3277

Vellum (f.i paper) ff. iii + 170; page size 342/343 x 232/233mm; written space approx. 210/218 x 120/134mm; 24 lines; collation: 1⁴, 2⁵ wants 1 before f. 7, 3⁴ wants 8 after f. 20, 4-5⁴, 6⁴ wants 2 after f. 37, 7⁴, 8⁴ wants 7 after f. 56, 9-11⁴, 12⁴ wants 2 after f. 83, 13⁴ wants 2 after f. 90, 14⁴, 15⁴ wants 3 after f. 106 and 8 after f. 110, 16⁴ wants 1 before f. 111, 17⁴ wants 8 after f. 124, 18⁴ wants 1 before f. 125, 19⁴, 20⁴ wants 3 after f. 141, 21-23⁴.

half actual size

281
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. D.4.4

Vellum ff. xii-274 (first and final leaves paper); page size 168/169 x 115/118mm; written space 97/99 x 61/62mm; 18 lines; collation: 1° (f. 1 paper), 2°, f. xii (single thicker vellum leaf), 3-24°, 25° single thicker vellum leaf (f. 181) inserted after f. 180 (stub visible between ff. 176-177 at the opening of this gathering) 26-30°, 31°, 32°, 33° wants 1, 2 after f. 229, leaves 9, 10 pasted together, 34° wants 9 after first unfoliated leaf (leaves 8 and 10 unfoliated), 35-37°, 38 three leaves (wants leaves after f. 270), 39 three added thicker vellum leaves.

actual size

282
Oxford, Exeter College, MS. 47

Vellum, ff. 1-127; page size 286 x 190/195mm; written space 181 x 101mm; 22 lines; collation: 1st, 2nd wants 1 before f. 8, 8 after f. 14, wants gathering 3, 4th wants 1, 2 before f. 15, 8 after f. 19, 5th wants 1 before f. 20, 5 after f. 22, 6-7th, 8th wants 4 after f. 44, 9th, 10th wants 2 after f. 57, 11th wants 8 after f. 70, 12th wants 1 before f. 71, 13th wants 4 after f. 80, 7 after f. 82, 14th wants 8 after f. 90, 15th, 16th wants 6 after f. 103, 17th, 18th wants 1 before f. 114, 6 after f. 117, 19th.
Schloss Pommersfelden, MS. 2934 (348)

Vellum, ff. 1-15; page size 172/173 x 125/127mm; written space 111/112 x 67/68mm; 20 lines; collation: 1⁰ wants a leaf before f. 1, 2⁰.

actual size
Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek Cod, 1826*

Vellum, ff. 1-160; page size 280/282 x 194/197mm; written space 184 x 102/103mm; 23 lines; text partly palimpsest, different scribe from f. 143 on; collation: 1⁰, 2-4⁰, 5⁰ wants 8 after f. 37, 6⁰, 7⁰, 8-9⁰, 10⁰ wants 8 after f. 71, 11-13⁰, 14⁰ wants 6 after f. 100, 21⁰, 22⁰ wants 4 after f. 160.

half actual size
APPENDIX II : CALENDARS

The following abbreviations are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>bk</td>
<td>black</td>
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<tr>
<td>bl</td>
<td>blue</td>
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<td>gold</td>
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<td>festum principale</td>
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<td>novem lectiones</td>
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<td>memoria</td>
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<td>majus</td>
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<td>noc.</td>
<td>cum noctumo</td>
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<td>Oct.</td>
<td>Octave</td>
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<td>pr.</td>
<td>principale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transl.</td>
<td>Translation</td>
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</table>

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 38-1950

**January**

1  bl  Circumcision minD lix
2  bk  Oct. Stephen liii
3  bk  Oct. John Evangelist liii
4  bk  Oct. Innocents liii
6  bl  Epiphany prD.
8  bk  Lucianus & companions mem.
13 r  Oct. Epiphany med. lec. lix. Hilary
14 bk  Felix liii
15 bk  Maurus liii
16 bk  Marcellus liii
17 bk  Sulpicius liii
18 bk  Prisca liii
19 r  Wulfstan lix
20 r  Fabian & Sebastian lix
21 r  Agnes lix
22 r  Vincent lix
25 r  Conversion of Paul lix. Proiectus mem.
27 bk  Julian liii
28 bk  Oct. Agnes
30 bk  Batildis liii

**February**

1 bk  Brigid liii. r Vigil
2 bl  Purification D lix

286
3 bk Blaise liii
5 r Agatha lix
6 bk Vedast & Amandus liii
10 bk Scholastica liii
14 bk Valentine liii
16 bk Juliana liii
22 r Peter's Chair lix
23 bl Vigil
24 bl Matthias infD. lix

March

7 bk Perpetua & Felicity liii
12 bl Gregory infD. lix
18 r Edward lix
20 r Cuthbert lix
21 r Benedict lix
25 bl Annunciation minD. lix
27 bl Resurrection prD.

April

3 r Richard lix
4 bl Ambrose infD. lix
14 bk Tiburtius & Valerian liii
19 bk Alphege
23 r George liii
25 bl Mark infD. r Greater Litany
28 r Vitalis liii

May

1 bl Philip & James infD. liii
3 bl Invention of Cross minD. r Alexander, Eventius & Theodulus mem.
6 r John at Latin Gate liii
7 bk John of Beverley (added)
10 bk Gordian & Epimachus liii
12 bk Nereus, Achilleus & Pancras liii
19 r Dunstan lix
25 r Aldhelm lix. r Urban med.lec.
26 bl Augustine of Canterbury infD. lix
28 bk Germanus liii
31 bk Petronilla liii

June

1 bk Nichomedes liiii
2 bk Marcellinus & Peter liii
5 bk Boniface & companions liii
8 bk Medard & Gildard liii
11 r Barnabas lix
12 bk Basilides, Cirinus, Nabor & Nazarius liii
14 bk Basil liii
15 bk Vitus, Modestus & Crescentia
16 r Transl. Richard lix. bk Cricus & Julitta med.lec.

287
18 bk Mark & Marcellian liii
19 bk Gervase & Prothase liii
20 r Transl. Edward lix
22 r Alban lix
23 bk Etheldreda liii. r Vigil
24 bl Nativity of John Baptist minD. lix
26 bk John & Paul liii
28 bk Leo liii noc. r Vigil
29 bl Peter & Paul D. lix
30 r Commemoration of Paul lix

July

1 bk Oct. John Baptist liii
2 bk Processus & Martinian liii. Swithun mem.
4 r Transl. & Ordination Martin lix
6 bk Oct. Peter & Paul lix
7 bl Transl. Thomas of Canterbury minD. lix
10 bk Seven Brothers liii
11 r Transl. Benedict lix
15 r Transl. Swithun & companions lix
17 bk Kenelm liii
18 bk Amulph liii
20 r Margaret lix
21 bk Praxedis liii
22 r Mary Magdalene lix. bk Wandregisil mem.
23 bk Apollinaris liii
24 bk Christina liii noc. r Vigil
25 bl James infD. lix. bk Christopher & Cucufas mem.
26 r Anne lix
27 bk Seven Sleepers liii
29 bk Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus & Beatrice liii
30 bk Abdon & Sennen
31 bk Germanus liii

August

1 r Peter's Chains. Machabees mem.
2 bk Stephen, P.M. liii
3 r Invention of Stephen & companions liii
5 bk Oswald liii
6 bk Sixtus, Felicissimus & Agapitus liii
7 bk Donatus liii
8 bk Ciriacus & companions liii
9 bk Romanus liii noc. r Vigil
10 bl Laurence lix
11 bk Tiburtius liii
13 bk Hippolytus & companions liii
74 bk Eusebius liii. r Vigil
15 bl Assumption of Virgin prD. lix
17 bk Oct. Laurence mem.
18 bk Agapitus mem.
19 bk Magnus mem.
23 bk Timothy & Apollinaris liii. r Vigil
24 bl Bartholomew infD. lix
27 bk Rufus liii

288
28 bl Augustine infD. lix
29 r Decollation of John Baptist lix. bk Sabina mem.
30 bk Felix & Adauctus liii
31 bk Cuthburga liii

September

1 r Giles lix. bk Priscus med. lec.
4 r Transl. Cuthbert lix
5 bk Bertin liii noc.
8 bl Nativity of Virgin majD. lix
9 bk Gorgonius mem.
11 bk Prothous & Jacintus mem.
14 bl Exaltation of Cross D. lix. r Cornelius & Cyprian med. lec.
15 r Oct. Nativity of Virgin lix
16 r Edith lix
17 bk Lambert liii
20 r Vigil
21 bl Matthew infD. lix. bk Laudus
22 r Maurice & companions
23 bk Tecla
25 bk Firmin
26 bk Cyprian & Justina
27 bk Cosmas & Damian
29 bl Michael
30 r Jerome infD. lix

October

1 r Remigius, Germanus & Vedast lix
2 bk Leodegar liii
6 bk Faith liii
7 bk Mark, Marcellus & Apuleus liii
9 r Denis, Rusticus & Eleutherius lix
10 bk Gereon & companions liii
11 bk Nichasius & companions liii
13 r Transl. Edward the Confessor infD. lix
14 bk Calixtus liii
15 r Wulfram lix
16 r Michael on Mons Tumbe lix
21 bk Eleven Thousand Virgins liii
23 bk Romanus liii noc.
25 bk Crispin & Crispinian liii. Transl. John of Beverley
27 r Vigil
28 bl Simon & Jude infD. lix
31 bk Quintin liii noc. r Vigil

November

1 bl All Saints majD. lix
2 r All Souls
3 bk Winefred (added)
6 r Leonard lix
8 bk Four Crowned Martyrs liii
9 bk Theodore liii
11 r Martin lix
13 bk Brictius. r Martin mem.

289
This calendar was added in the early fifteenth century, most probably in the late 1410s or 1420s.

London, British Library Egerton MS. 3277

January

1 g Circumcision
2 r Oct. Stephen
3 r Oct. John Evangelist
4 r Oct. Innocents
5 r Oct. Thomas of Canterbury
6 g Epiphany
8 bk Lucianus
14 bk Felix
15 bk Maurus
16 bk Marcellus
17 bk Sulpicius
18 bk Prisca
19 bk Wulfstan
20 r Fabian & Sebastian
21 r Agnes
22 r Vincent
25 bl Conversion of Paul
27 bk Urban
28 bk Oct. Agnes
February

1  bk  Brigid
2  g  Purification
3  bk  Blaise
5  r  Agatha
6  bk  Vedast & Amandus
10  bk  Scholastica
14  bk  Valentine
76  bk  Juliana
22  pu  Peter’s Chair
24  pu  Matthias

March

7  bk  Perpetua & Felicity
12  pu  Gregory
18  bk  Edward
20  r  Cuthbert
21  r  Benedict
25  g  Annunciation
27  pu  Resurrection

April

3  r  Richard
4  r  Ambrose
14  bk  Tiburtius & Valerian
79  bk  Alphege
23  r  George
25  pu  Mark
28  bk  Vitalis

May

1  pu  Philip & James
3  pu  Invention of Cross
6  r  John at Latin Gate
10  bk  Gordian & Epimachus
12  bk  Nereus, Achilles & Pancras
19  r  Dunstan
25  bk  Aldhelm
26  r  Augustine of Canterbury
28  bk  Germanus
31  bk  Petronilla

June

1  bk  Nichomedes
2  bk  Marcellinus & Peter
5  r  Boniface
7  bk  Transl. Wulfstan
8  bk  Medard & Gildard
9  r  Transl. Edmund of Canterbury
11  pu  Barnabas
12  bk  Basilides
July

1  r  Oct. John Baptist
2  bk  Processus & Martinian
4  r  Transl. Martin
6  r  Oct. Peter & Paul
7  g  Transl. Thomas of Canterbury
10 bk  Seven Brothers
11 bk  Transl. Benedict
15 bk  Transl. Swithun
17 bk  Kenelm
18 bk  Arnulph
20  r  Margaret
21 bk  Praxedis
22 pu  Mary Magdalene
23 bk  Apollinaris
24 bk  Christina. r Vigil
25 pu  James
26  r  Anne
27 bk  Seven Sleepers
28 bk  Samson
30 bk  Abdon & Sennen
31 bk  Germanus

August

1  bl  Peter’s Chains
2  bk  Stephen, P.M.
3  r  Invention of Stephen
5  r  Oswald
6  bk  Sixtus
7  bk  Donatus
8  bk  Ciriacus & companions
9  bk  Romanus. r Vigil
10 pu  Laurence
11 bk  Tiburtius
14 bk  Eusebius. pu Vigil
15 g  Assumption of Virgin
18 bk  Agapitus
19 bk  Magnus
22  r  Oct. Assumption
23 bk  Timothy. r Vigil
24 pu  Bartholomew
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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>bk Rufus</td>
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<td>r Decollation of John Baptist</td>
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**September**

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>r Transl. Cuthbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>bk Bertin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>g Nativity of Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>bk Gorgonius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>bk Prothus &amp; Jacinctus</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>bl Exaltation of Cross</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>bk Edith</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>bk Lambert</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21</td>
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<tr>
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**October**

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<td>bk Mark, Marcellus &amp; Apuleus</td>
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<td>r Denis &amp; companions</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>bk Gereon &amp; companions</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>r Transl. Edward the Confessor</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>bk Wulfram</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>r Michael on Mons Tumbe</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>pu Luke</td>
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<tr>
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<td>bk Frideswide</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>bk Romanus</td>
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<tr>
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<td>28</td>
<td>pu Simon &amp; Jude</td>
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**November**

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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>r All Souls</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>r Leonard</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bk Four Crowned Martyrs</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>bk Theodore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>pu Martin</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>bk Bricius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>r Machutus</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>r Edmund of Canterbury</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>Catherine</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>December</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>pu Nicholas</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>g Immaculate Conception</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>bk O Sapientia</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>pu Vigil</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
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**Oxford, Bodleian MS. Auct. D.4.4**

**January**

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<td>6</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>r Oct. Epiphany. r Hilary</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>r Conversion of Paul</td>
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<tr>
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**February**

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**March**

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<td>Gregory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Edward, K.M.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>Cuthbert</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Benedict</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Annunciation</td>
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**April**

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<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Ambrose</td>
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<td>Tiburtius, Valerian &amp; Maximus</td>
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<td>Mark</td>
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**May**

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<td>Philip &amp; James</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>John at Latin Gate</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>Gordian &amp; Epimachus</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Nereus, Achilleus &amp; Pancras</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>Dunstan</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Aldhelm</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Augustine of Canterbury</td>
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<td>Germanus</td>
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**June**

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<td>Boniface &amp; companions</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>Medard &amp; Gildard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Transl. Edmund of Canterbury</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Barnabas</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor &amp; Nazarius</td>
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<td>Botulph</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Gervase &amp; Prothase</td>
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295
July

1 bk Oct. John Baptist
2 bk Processus & Martinian
4 r Transl. Martin
6 r Oct. Peter & Paul
7 bl Transl. Thomas of Canterbury
10 bk Seven Brothers
11 r Transl. Benedict
15 r Transl. Swithun
17 bk Kenelm
18 bk Armulph
20 r Margaret
21 bk Praxedes
22 bl Mary Magdalene
23 bk Apollinaris
24 bk Christina. r Vigil
25 bl James
26 r Anne
27 bk Seven Sleepers
28 bk Sampson
29 bk Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus & Beatrice
30 bk Abdon & Sennen
31 bk Germanus

August

1 r Peter's Chains
2 bk Stephen, P.M.
3 r Invention of Stephen & companions
5 bk Oswald
6 bk Sixtus, Felicitissimus & Agapitus
7 bk Donatus
8 bk Ciriacus & companions
9 bk Romanus. r Vigil
10 bl Laurence
11 bk Tiburtius
13 bk Hippolytus & companions
14 bk Eusebius. r Vigil
15 g Assumption
17 bk Oct. Laurence
18 bk Agapitus
19 bk Magnus
22 r Oct. Assumption
23 bk Timothy & Apollinaris. r Vigil
24 bl Bartholomew
27 bk Rufus
28 r Augustine
29 r Decollation of John Baptist
30 bk Felix & Adauclus
31 bk Cuthburga

September
1 r Giles
4 r Transl. Cuthbert
5 bk Bertin
7 r Vigil
8 g Nativity of Virgin
9 bk Gorgonius
11 bk Prothus & Hyacinth
14 bl Exaltation of Cross
15 r Oct. Nativity of Virgin
16 bk Edith
17 bk Lambert
20 r Vigil
21 bl Matthew
22 r Maurice & companions
23 bk Tecla
25 bk Firmin
26 bk Cyprian & Justin
27 bk Cosmas & Damian
29 bl Michael
30 r Jerome

October
1 r Remigius & Germanus
2 bk Leodegar
6 bk Faith
7 bk Mark, Marcellus & Apuleus
9 r Denis & companions
10 bk Gereon & companions
11 bk Nichasius & companions
13 r Transl. Edward
14 bk Calixtus
15 r Wulfram
16 r Michael on Mons Tumbe
18 bl Luke
21 bk Eleven Thousand Virgins
23 bk Romanus
27 r Vigil
28 bl Simon & Jude
31 bk Quintin liii. r Vigil

November
1 bl All Saints
2 bl All Souls
6 r Leonard
8 bk Four Crowned Martyrs
9 bk Theodore
11 r Martin
13 bk Brichtus
15 r Machutus
16 r Edmund of Canterbury
17 r Hugh
18 bk Oct. Martin
This calendar was added in the fifteenth century.

Oxford, Exeter College MS. 47

January

1 bl Circumcision
2 bk Oct. Stephen
3 bk Oct. John Evangelist
4 bk Oct. Innocents
5 bk Oct. Thomas of Canterbury
6 bl Epiphany
13 r Oct. Epiphany. bl Hilary
14 bk Felix
15 bk Maurus
16 bk Marcellus
17 bk Sulpicius
18 bk Prisca
19 bk Wulfstan
20 bk Fabian & Sebastian
21 bk Agnes
22 bk Vincent
25 r Conversion of Paul
27 bk Julian
28 bk Oct. Agnes
30 bk Batildis

February

1 bk Brigid
2 bl Purification
3 bk Blaise
5 bk Agatha
6 bk Vedast & Amandus
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23 bk Etheldreda. r Vigil
24 bl Nativity of John Baptist
26 bk John & Paul
28 bk Leo. r Vigil
29 bl Peter & Paul
30 r Commemoration of Paul

July

1 bk Oct. John Baptist
2 bk Processus & Martinian. Swithun
4 bk Transl. Martin
6 bk Oct. Peter & Paul
7 bl Transl. Thomas of Canterbury
10 bk Seven Brothers
11 bk Transl. Benedict
15 bk Transl. Swithun
17 bk Kenelm
18 bk Amulph
20 r Margaret
21 bk Praxedes
22 r Mary Magdalene
23 bk Apollinaris
24 bk Christina. r Vigil
25 bl James. bk Christopher & Cucufas
26 r Anne
27 bk Seven Sleepers
28 bk Sampson
29 bk Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus & Beatrice
30 bk Abdon & Sennen
31 bk Germanus

August

7 r Peter's Chains
2 bk Stephen P.M.
3 bk Invention of Stephen
5 bk Oswald
6 bk Sixtus, Felicissimus & Agapitus
7 bk Donatus
8 bk Ciriacus & companions
9 bk Romanus. r Vigil
10 bl Laurence
11 bk Tiburtius
13 bk Hippolytus & companions
14 bk Eusebius. r Vigil
15 r & bl Assumption of Virgin
17 bk Oct. Laurence
18 bk Agapitus
19 bk Magnus
22 r Oct. Assumption. bk Timothy & Simphorian
23 bk Timothy & Apollinaris. r Vigil
24 bl Bartholomew
27 bk Rufus
28 r Augustine
29 r Decollation of John Baptist
30 bk Felix & Adauctus
31 bk Cuthburga
September
1  bk  Giles
4  bk  Transl. Cuthbert
5  bk  Bertin
8  bl  Nativity of Virgin
9  bk  Gorgonius
11  bk  Prothius & Jacinctus
14  r  Exaltation of Cross
16  bk  Edith
17  bk  Lambert
20  r  Vigil
21  bl  Matthew
22  bk  Maurice & companions
23  bk  Tecla
25  bk  Firmin
26  bk  Cyprian & Justina
27  bk  Cosmas & Damian
30  r  Jerome

October
1  bk  Remigius & Germanus
2  bk  Leodegar
6  bk  Faith
7  bk  Mark, Marcellus & Apuleus
9  r  Denis & companions
10  bk  Geron & companions
11  bk  Nichasius & companions
13  r  Transl. Edward the Confessor
14  bk  Calixtus
15  bk  Wulfram
16  r  Michael on Mons Tumbe
18  bl  Luke
21  bk  Eleven Thousand Virgins
23  bk  Romanus
25  bk  Crispin & Crispinian
27  r  Vigil
28  bl  Simon & Jude
31  bk  Quintin. r Vigil

November
1  bl  All Saints
2  r  All Souls
6  bk  Leonard
8  bk  Four Crowned Martyrs
9  bk  Theodore
11  r  Martin
13  bk  Bricius
15  bk  Machutus
16  r  Edmund of Canterbury
17  bk  Hugh
18  bk  Oct. Martin
20  r  Edmund, K.M
22  bk  Cecilia
23  r  Clement
24  bk  Chrysogonus
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Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1826*

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October
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6  ca  Faith
9  r  Denis & companions
10 bk  Gereon & companions
11 r  Nichasius & companions
13 ca  Transl. Edward the Confessor
14 bk  Calixtus
15 r  Wulfram
16 ca  Michael on Mons Tumbe
18 bl  Luke
21 r  Eleven Thousand Virgins
23 bk  Romanus
25 r  Crispin & Crispinian
27 bk  Vigil
28 g  Simon & Jude
31 bk  Quintin. Vigil

November

1  g  All Saints
2  bl  All Souls
6  ca  Leonard
8  bk  Four Crowned Martyrs
9  r  Theodore
13 ca  Brictius
15 bk  Machutus
16 bl  Edmund of Canterbury
17 ca  Hugh
20 bl  Edmund, K.M.
22 ca  Cecilia
23 bl  Clement
24 bk  Chrysogonus
25 bl  Catherine
26 r  Linus
29 bk  Vigil
30 g  Andrew

December

6  bl  Nicholas
7  r  Oct. Andrew
8  g  Immaculate Conception
13 ca  Lucy
20 bk  Vigil
21 bl  Thomas
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APPENDIX III : OBITS

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 38-1950

Feb., margin: The nativity of Elysebeth walton the 29 daye of Februa[rye] be[ing] Shrove
tews[day] circa horam sextam post meridiem.

Apr., margin (in Feb. hand): m^d^ q^d^ vij^0^ die mens' Aprilis fuit obitus margarete walton
nup[er] vxor Joh[ann]i walton[on] A^0^ d[omi]ni 1580 circa horam meridiem die perit' cuius
Anime p[ro]piciet' deus.

Natiuitas margaretae walton filiae Joh[ann]is walton xvij^0^ die Aprilis A^0^ 1583 [erased
section].

19 Apr. (in Feb. hand): md the xixth Aprilis worke began at L mylnes as thro daye 1592.

May, margin (in a fine mid-late 15th cent. hand, in red): med' q[uod] iiij^0^ die mensis
maj A^0^ D[omi]ni Mccccclxxj^0^ fuit obitus margaretae walton filiae Joh[ann]is walton

15-17 May (in same hand as obit of Prince Edward, in red): Obitus henrici viij^1^ Regis
angl' + ff[ra]nc'.

[Henry VI was murdered on 21 May 1471; the scribe has misread xvi for xx1 in his
source].

16 May. (in Feb. hand): Henricu[s] walton filius Joh[ann]is walton fui[t] nat' xvij^0^ d... ...
Anno 1591 circa hora[m] quartam ante meridiem.

9 June (in a neat mid 15th century hand, not that of the May obits): Obitus georgij
b'neby. [of Northants. and Leics., d. 1429].

June, margin (in Feb. hand): M^d^ that the newe mylnes at Longford were rered y^c^ fyft
daye of [J]une Anno domini 1592 Edward wrught being the head mylne wrytht ... Ric'
Orme [ov]seer of the worke.

Aug., margin (in hand related to that of recipe on f. iii): M^d^ q^d^ Regina margaret' obijt ij^0^
die Augusti [recte 25 Aug.] cui' a[n]i[m]e p[ro]piciet' deus Anno d[omi]ni Mill(es)imo
CCCCC^III^ lxxxij^0^.


Sept., margin (in Feb. hand): martha walton fuit natus x^0^ die Septembris Anno 1584 circa
hora[m] sextam post meridiem.

14-17 Sept. (in 9 June hand): Obit' Joh[ann]is ducis bedford' regentis regnui[m] francie
14... [John, duke of Bedford d. 15 Sept. 1435].

Oct., margin: 1624 Sondaye the 14th Alles walton the dastef of henrye walton was Born
the 14 of October 1624 and Crissnead the 4th of november 1624.

anne ducisse bedford' regent' regnui[m] francie. 1432.

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1 See C.F.R., xv (1935), 237; C.P.R., 1422-1429 (1901), 474.
2 This hand also added the feasts of John of Beverley, Transl. John of Beverley and Winefred.

307
Oxford, Exeter College MS. 47

1 Jan., Hac die inter 3am et 4am ante ortum solis natus fuit primogenitus Henricus princeps HenRici viij.

12 Jan., Hac die fuit batizatus primogenitus Henrici viij.

18 Jan., Hic nupciatus est rex H' viijus.

28 Jan., Hic natus est rex Henricus viijus.

Jan., lower margin: The Noble king harry the viij was borne festo Agnetis secundo anno do\textsuperscript{l} 1456 and wedded queen Elisabeth festo s\textsuperscript{an}c\textsuperscript{t}e prisce virginis A\textsuperscript{O} do\textsuperscript{l} 1485 after the compteng of England.

18 Mar., Hoc die nata est d\textsuperscript{omi}ni maria tercia filia henrici vij A\textsuperscript{O} do\textsuperscript{l} 1495.

16 June, [Be]llum de Stoke.

17 June, ..... de Blak... contra rebelles corne.. all 1497...

June, lower margin: The xvi\textsuperscript{t} day of Juyn the yere of our lord (\textit{added}, littera dominicali G) m\textsuperscript{O}ccccclxxvii\textsuperscript{O} king harry the viij had the victori apon his rebelles in batail at Stoke bisydes Newarck wher and whan was slayn John therl of lincoln and oth[e]r.

Aug., lower margin: The viij\textsuperscript{t} day of August the yeer of our lord m\textsuperscript{I}ccccclxxxv littera dominicali b landed king harry the viij\textsuperscript{t} And the xxii\textsuperscript{th} day of the same monthe he wan[ne] the feeld whan[ne] king Richard the third was slayn.

20 Sept., Nat\textit{v}itas Arthuri j\textsuperscript{o}geniti Regis he[n]rici se\textsuperscript{t}i.

Sept., lower margin: The xx\textsuperscript{th} day of Septemb\textit{e}r in the mornyng the first hour[e] after mydnyghte was borne Prince Arthure the firstbegoten child of king harry the viij\textsuperscript{t} and queen Elizabe[th] Anno do\textsuperscript{l} 1486 littera dominicali A.

30 Oct., Hac die Rex Henricus vijus coronatus est Apud westmonasterium Anno do\textsuperscript{l} 1485.
APPENDIX IV: LITANIES

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 38-1950

Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James, Thomas, Philip, James (added in margin), Matthew, Bartholomew, Simon, Jude, Matthias, Barnabas, Mark, Luke. Innocents.
Feria secunda letania (added).
Stephen, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Fabian, Sebastian, Cosmas, Damian, Primus, Felician, Denis and companions, Victor and companions.
Feria tercia letania (added).
[From this point onwards the original litany has been erased and excised, and replaced ca 1420 by a standard Sarum ferial litany].
Thomas, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, John, Paul, Marcellinus, Peter, Vitus, Modestus, Adrian, Nichasius and companions, Eustace and companions.
Feria quarta letania
Laurence, Tiburtius, Valerian, Prothas, Hyacinthus, Abdon, Sennen, Timothy, Apollinaris, Saturninus, Maurice and companions, Gereon and companions.
Feria quinta letania.
Vincent, Gervase, Prothas, Timothy, Simphorian, Felicissimus, Agapitus, Alban, Gorgonius, Achilles, Hippolytus and companions, Lucianus.
Feria sexta letania.
Quintin, Christopher, Lambert, George, Marcellus, Theodore, Valentine, Chrysogonus, Felix, Adalactus, Boniface and companions, Kilian and companions.
Sabbato letania.
Calixtus, Urban, Magnus, Menas, Rufus, Valerius, Processus, Martinian, Mark, Marcellian, Gordian and companions, Pancras and companions.
Feria secunda letania.
Silvester, Leo, Jerome, Augustine, Isidore, Julian, Gildard, Medard, Albinus, Eusebius, Swithun, Birinus.
Feria tercia letania.
Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose, Remigius, Donatian, Eligius, Audomar, Sulpicius, Paternus, Patrick, Dunstan, Grimbal.
Feria quarta letania.
Hilary, Martin, Bricitius, Amandus, Vedast, Germanus, Ausbert, Wulfram, Ampilph, Silvinus, Taurinus, Culbert.
Feria quinta letania.
Nicholas, Audoen, Romanus, Laudus, Machutus, Sampson, Placidus, Columbanus, Anthony, Macharius, Richarius, Ethelwold.
Feria sexta letania.
Benedict, Maurus, Majolus, Giles, Wandregesil, Wulmar, Philibert, Bertin, Winnoc, Judoc, Petroc, Botulph.
Sabbato letania.
Feria secunda letania.
Mary Magdalene, Mary the Egyptian, Margaret, Scholastica, Petronilla, Genevieve, Praxedis, Soteris, Prisca, Tecla, Affra, Edith.
Feria tercia letania.
Felicity, Perpetua, Columba, Christina, Eulalia, Euphemia, Eugenia, Gertrude, Ragenfledis, Batildis, Anastasia, Etheldreda.
Feria quarta letania.
Agatha, Susanna, Brigid, Barbara, Marina, Martina, Felicula, Juliitta, Sapientia, Fides, Spes, Caritas.

1 Procter and Wordsworth, ii (1879), cols 250-260.
Feria quinta letania.
Cecilia, Faith, Austreberta, Emerentiana, Potentiana, Oportuna, Sophia, Juliana, Beatrix, Crescentia, Walburga, Ememilda.
Feria sexta letania.
Lucy, Catherine, Sabina, Justina, Eufraxia, Fausta, Monegundis, Aldegundis, Radegund, Piencia, Benigna, Walburga.
Sabbato letania.
Agnes, Benedicta, Martha, Helen, Euprepia, Candida, Basilissa, Babina, Ursula, Victoria, Corona, Sexburga.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek MS. Thott 547 4°

Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthias, Barnabas, Matthew, Thomas, James, Simon, Jude, Luke, Mark. Innocents.
Stephen, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Vincent, Fabian, Sebastian, Denis and companions, Alban, Eustace and companions, Edmund, Thomas, George, Quintin, Oswald, Alphege, Gervase, Prothase.
Silvester, Hilary, Remigius, Martin, Nicholas, Gregory, Francis, Dominic, Ambrose, Germanus, Dunstan, Cuthbert, Julian, Benedict, Giles, Botulph, Leonard, Blaise.
Mary Magdalen, Mary the Egyptian, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha Agnes, Cecilia, Lucy, Tecla, Scholastica, Radegund, Margaret, Catherine, Christina, Juliana, Fides, Spes, Caritas.

London, British Library Egerton MS. 3277

First litany (f. 107)
Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James, Philip, Bartholomew, James, Thomas, Matthias, Simon, Mathew, Jude, Barnabas, Mark, Luke. Innocents.
Stephen, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Vincent, Valentine, Marcellinus, Crispin, Crispinian, Rusticus, Eleutherius, Maurice and companions, Denis and companions, Nichasius and companions, Julian and companions, Alexander.
Mary Magdalene, Mary the Egyptian, Felicity, Perpetua, Lucy, Agatha, Agnes, Anastasia, Margaret, Euphemia, Petronilla, Catherine, Helen, Etheldreda, Faith, Radegund, Genevieve, Scholastica, Prisca, Tecla, Affra, Edith, Anne, Susanna, Elizabeth, Ursula.

Second litany (f. 137v.)
Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Mathew, Simon, Jude, Matthias, Barnabas, Luke, Mark. Innocents.
Silvester, Gregory, Martin, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Nicholas, 'Omnes sancti pontifices et confessores', 'Omnes sancti doctores', Francis, Benedict, Anthony, Dominic, 'Omnes sancti monachi et heremite', 'Omnes sancti sacerdotes et levite'.
Mary Magdalene, Agnes, Lucy, Cecilia, Agatha, Catherine, Margaret, Clare, Elizabeth. This is a Franciscan litany.²

² Cf. Douai Abbey MS. 5, f. 241.
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Auct. D.4.4

Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James, Thomas, Philip, James (contemporary addition), Matthew, Bartholomew, Simon, Jude, Matthias, Barnabas, Mark, Luke. Innocents.

Stephen, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Fabian, Sebastian, Cosmas, Damian, Primus, Felician, Denis and companions, Victor and companions.

Silvester, Leo, Jerome, Augustine, Isidore, Julian, Gildard, Medard, Albinus, Eusebius, Swithin, Birinus.

Mary Magdalene, Mary the Egyptian, Margaret, Scholastica, Petronilla, Genevieve (added in margin), Praxedis, Sotheris, Prisca (added in margin), Tecla, Affra, Edith.

This is a standard Sarum litany.3

Oxford, Exeter College MS. 47

(Litany begins imperfectly) ... Jude, (illegible), Mark, Luke. Innocents.

Stephen, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Vincent, Valentine, Peter, Marcellinus, Crispin, Crispinian, Rusticus, Eleutherius, John & Paul, Maurice and companions, Denis and companions, Eustace and companions, Hippolytus and companions, Julian and companions, Nicholas and companions, Alexander.


Mary Magdalene, Mary the Egyptian, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Agnes, Anastasia, Margaret, Euphemia, Catherine, Helen, Etheldreda, Fides, Spe, Radegund, Lucy, Scholastica.

This litany is comparable with the first one in B. L. Egerton 3277; the two depend on a common archetype.

Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1826*

Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Thomas, James, Jude, Matthias, Barnabas, Mark, Luke. Innocents.

Stephen, Linus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Thomas, Laurence, Vincent, Fabian, Sebastian, Denis and companions, Maurice and companions, Hippolytus and companions, Edmund, Cosmas, Damian, Marcellinus, Peter.

Silvester, Hilary, Martin, Nicholas, Edmund, Cuthbert, Ambrose, Giles, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Benedict, Germanus, Leonard, Dunstan.

Mary Magdalene, Mary the Egyptian, Agatha, Anne, Agnes, Cecilia, Lucy, Petronilla, Scholastica, Christina, Anastasia, Catherine, Margaret, Frideswide, Juliana, Fides, Spe, Caritas.

3 Procter and Wordsworth (1879), cols 250-255.
APPENDIX V:
THE TEXTUAL CONTENTS OF SCHLOSS POMMERSFELDEN MS. 2934 (348)


f. 1v. De beato petre. Antiphona. Sancte petre princeps apostolorum ... intercede pro me seruo tuo. V. Tu es pastor. R. Tibi tradidit deus claves. Deus qui beato petro apostolo tuo colatis ... concede michi seruo tuo Hunfrido [lightly struck through and a K or R written by it] ut intercessionis eius.

f. 2. De beato paulo. Antiphona. Sancte paule apostole predicator ueritatis ... intercedite pro me. V. Tu es uas eleccionis. R. Predicator ueritatis. Deus qui multitudinem gencium beati pauli ... da michi obsecro seruo tuo.

f. 2v. De sancto andrea. antiphona. Imitator ihesu christi sub crucis patibulo me andrea fac consortem.


f. 3. De sancto thoma apostolo. antiphona. Quid uidisti me thoma. V. Thomas dubitando. R. Et de meo pectore. Omnipotens sempiterne deus innocencie ... ad te mentem famuli tui Hunfridi.

f. 3v. De sancto philippo. antiphona. Tanto tempore nobiscum. V. Domine ostende. R. Et sufficit. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui diligentibus te ... infunde in corde meo.


f. 4v. de sancto bartholomeo. antiphona. Audiens rex incredulus. V. Pellem pm pelle. R. Et cuncta que habet. Preces meas queso domine clementer exaudi et beati apostoli tui bartholomei.

f. 5. de beato simone. Simon zelois zelo dei. V. Non ueni. R. Sed peccatores. Beati apostoli tui et evangeliste mathei ... michi tribue.

f. 5. de beato simone. Simond zelois zelo dei. V. Gloria et honore. R. Et constituitisti. Deus qui populum christianum ... da michi seruo tuo Hunfrido.

f. 5v. de sancto mathia. Tu domine omnia nostri ostende. V. Cecidit sors. R. Et annumeratus est. Deus qui beatum mathiam apostolorum tuorum ... circa me tue pietatis.


f. 6. de sancto luca evangeliste. Lucas medicus sectator. V. Lex dei. R. Et non supplantabuntur. Interueniat pro me queso domine.

f. 6v. De beato marco evangelista. Marcus evangelista dei electus. V. Per piem intercessionem. R. Ab omnibus peccatis. Deus qui beatum marcum ... queso me famulum tuum Hunfridum.

f. 7. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui habundancia pietatis ... effunde super nos misericordiam.

Da michi queso domine et populo tuo diabolicita uitare contagia.

f. 7v. Galue [recte Salve] sancte Joachim... Anna sancta concipit. Orate pro nobis Joachim et anna. Ut digni. Deus qui beatos Joachim et annam pena sterilitatis ... concede quesumus ut eorum suffragis dono tue grace fecundemur in terra.

f. 7v. O doctor optime ecciesie sancte lumen beate Jeronime. Os iusti. Et lingua. Deus qui nobis per beatum Jeronimum.


f. 8v. Gracias tibi ago domine ihesu christe qui unum de sanctis angelis tuis michi ad custodiam. Angele qui meus es custos. Ne tibi comissionem. Omnipotens sempiterne deus clemenciam tuam suppliciter deprecor ut sicut angelum.


f. 13. Cum natus esset ihesus in bethleem.

f. 13v. In illo tempore. Missus est angelus gabriel.

f. 14v. In principio erat uerbum.
APPENDIX VI : LIST OF SUBJECTS

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 38-1950

f. 1. *Beatus vir*. Miniature: David killing the bear and the lion (1 Kg. 17:34–35). Initial B: David decapitates Goliath (1 Kg. 17:51). Bas-de-page: Monkeys fishing and cooking.

f. 29. *Dominus illuminatio*. Miniature: David greeted by the women of Israel (1 Kg. 18:6). Initial D: David harps to Saul (1 Kg. 16:23).

f. 46. *Dixi custodiam*. Miniature: David, assisted by Michol, escapes from Saul (1 Kg. 19:11–12). Initial D: Achimelech gives David Goliath’s sword and hallowed bread (1 Kg. 21:6, 9).

f. 61. *Quid gloriaris*. Miniature: Saul commands Doeg to slay the priests of Nobe (1 Kg. 22:17–18).

f. 61v. Initial Q: David slays the Philistines at CelIa (1 Kg. 23:5).

f. 62. *Dixit insipiens*. Miniature: David and his men at CelIa (1 Kg. 23:12-13; David’s servant speaks to Nabal (1 Kg. 25:4–9). Initial D: A servant speaks to Abigail (1 Kg. 25:14).

f. 78. *Salvum me fac*. Miniature: Abigail brings supplies to David (1 Kg. 25:18–23). Initial S: Nabal and Abigail (1 Kg. 25:37).

f. 99. *Exultate*. Miniature: The witch of Endor summons up Samuel (1 Kg. 28:11–12); the death of Saul (1 Kg. 31:4–5). Initial E: The Amalecite brings Saul’s diadem and bracelet to David (2 Kg. 1:10).

f. 120. *Cantate*. Miniature: The anointing and crowning of David (2 Kg. 2:4, 5:3). Initial C: David’s victories (2 Kg. 8).

f. 123. *Domine exaudi*. Miniature: David and Bathsheba (2 Kg. 11:2); David sends a message to Joab (2 Kg. 11:14). Initial D: the death of Urias (2 Kg. 11:17).

f. 142v. *Dixit Dominus*. Miniature: David confesses to Nathan (2 Kg. 12:13); the death of Bathsheba’s child (2 Kg. 12:15–1B). Initial D: David wearing the crown of Rabbath (2 Kg. 12:30).

f. 163v. *Ad dominum cum tribularer*. Miniature: Absalom reigns in Hebron (2 Kg. 15:10); the battle in the forest of Ephraim (2 Kg. 18:6). Initial A: Joab kills Absalom (2 Kg. 18:14).

f. 174v. *Confitebor*. Miniature: Amasa commanded to assemble the men of Juda (2 Kg. 20:4–5); Joab kills Amasa (2 Kg. 20:10). Initial C: Seba’s head is thrown to Joab (2 Kg. 20:22).


Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek MS. Thott 517 40

f. 1. Initial D: Assumption of the Virgin.
f. 10v. Initial S: St Mary Magdalene borne up by angels.
f. 22v. Initial A: St Margaret delivered from the dragon.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek MS. Thott 547 40

f. 6v. Lauds. Initial: The Visitation. Bas-de-page: The story of Theophilus.

London, British Library Egerton MS. 3277

f. 7. Ps. 4. Initial C: ?Saul offering the holocaust (1 Kg. 13:9).
f. 7v. Ps. 5. Initial V: Saul and his followers (71 Kg. 14:17).
f. 8. Ps. 6. Initial D: Saul slaughters the Philistines (1 Kg. 14:20).
f. 8v. Ps. 7. Initial D: The people slay sheep, oxen and calves (1 Kg. 14:32).
f. 9v. Ps. 9. Initial C: Saul's anointing (1 Kg. 15:1).
f. 11. Ps. 10. Initial I: Saul commanded to smite Amalec (1 Kg. 15:2-4).
f. liv. Ps. 11: Initial S: Saul captures Agag (1 Kg. 15:8).
f. 11v. Ps. 12. Initial U: Saul and Samuel (1 Kg. 15:20).
f. 12. Ps. 13. Initial D: Saul's rejection (1 Kg. 15:26).
f. 13. Ps. 15. Initial C: Samuel's arrival in Bethlehem (1 Kg. 16:4-5).
f. 13v. Ps. 16. Initial E: Samuel anoints David (1 Kg. 16:13).
f. 14. Ps. 17. Initial D: David harps, and the evil spirit departs from Saul (1 Kg. 16:23).
f. 16. Ps. 18. Initial C: Goliath comes out of the Philistines' camp (1 Kg. 17:4-7).
f. 16v. Ps. 19. Initial E: Goliath challenges the Israelites (1 Kg. 17:8-11).
f. 17. Ps. 20. Initial D: David killing the bear and lion (1 Kg. 17:34-35).
f. 17v. Ps. 21. Initial D: David challenges the Philistines (1 Kg. 17:45-47).
f. 19. Ps. 22. Initial D: David slays Goliath (1 Kg. 17:49-50).
f. 19. Ps. 23. Initial D: David decapitates Goliath (1 Kg. 17:51).
f. 19v. Ps. 24. Initial A: David brings Goliath's head to Jerusalem (1 Kg. 17:54).
f. 20v. Ps. 25. Initial I: David greeted by the women of Israel (1 Kg. 18:6-7).
f. 21. Ps. 28. Initial A: Achimelech gives David Goliath's sword (1 Kg. 21:9).
f. 21v. Ps. 29. Initial E: David and the servants of Achis (1 Kg. 21:11).
f. 22. Ps. 30. Initial I: David flees to the cave of Odollam (1 Kg. 22:1).
f. 23v. Ps. 31. Initial B: David and his followers at Odollam (1 Kg. 22:2).
f. 24. Ps. 32. Initial E: Saul and his servants at Gabaa (1 Kg. 22:6-8).
f. 24v. Ps. 33. Initial B: Doeg slays the priests of Nobe (1 Kg. 22:18).
f. 25v. Ps. 34. Initial J: David relieves Celia (1 Kg. 23:5).
f. 26v. Ps. 35. Initial D: David and Jonathan make a covenant (1 Kg. 23:16-18).
f. 27. Ps. 36. Initial N: The Philistines invade (1 Kg. 23:27).
f. 28v. Ps. 37. Initial D: Saul seeks David at Engaddi (1 Kg. 24:3).
f. 29v. Ps. 38. Initial D: Saul enters the cave at Engaddi (1 Kg. 24:4); David cuts off the hem of Saul's robe (1 Kg. 24:5); David calls to Saul (1 Kg. 24:9); David swears to Saul (1 Kg. 24:23).
f. 30v. Ps. 39. Initial E: the death of Samuel (1 Kg. 25:1).
f. 31. Ps. 40. Initial B: Nabal shearing sheep in Carmel (1 Kg. 25:2).
f. 32. Ps. 41. Initial Q: Nabal and Abigail (1 Kg. 25:3).
f. 33v. Ps. 42. Initial I: ?David and his followers (1 Kg. 25:13).
f. 33v. Ps. 43. Initial D: Abigail sends supplies to David (1 Kg. 25:18-19).
f. 33v. Ps. 44. Initial E: Abigail and David (1 Kg. 25:20).
f. 34v. Ps. 45. Initial D: Abigail prostrate before David (1 Kg. 25:23).
f. 35. Ps. 46. Initial O: Abigail riding upon the ass (1 Kg. 25:42).
f. 35. Ps. 47. Initial M: Saul and his chosen men in Ziph (1 Kg. 26:2).
f. 35v. Ps. 48. Initial A: David and Abisai in Saul’s tent (1 Kg. 26:7).

f. 36v. Ps. 49. Initial D: Saul speaks to David (1 Kg. 26:17-21).

f. 37. Ps. 50. Initial M: Saul blesses David (1 Kg. 26:25).

f. 38. Ps. 53. Initial D: The burial of Saul (1 Kg. 31:12-13).

f. 38. Ps. 54. Initial E: David goes up to Hebron (2 Kg. 2:2-3).

f. 39. Ps. 55. Initial M: The fight at Gabaon (2 Kg. 2:15-17).

f. 39v. Ps. 56. Initial M: Abner kills Asael (2 Kg. 2:23).

f. 40. Ps. 57. Initial S: Abner and David make a league (2 Kg. 3:12-13).

f. 40v. Ps. 58. Initial E: Abner promises the support of Israel and Benjamin (2 Kg. 3:18-20).

f. 41. Ps. 59. Initial D: Joab slays Abner (2 Kg. 3:27).

f. 41v. Ps. 60. Initial E: David follows Abner’s bier (2 Kg. 3:31).

f. 42. Ps. 61. Initial N: David weeps at the grave of Abner (2 Kg. 3:32).

f. 42v. Ps. 62. Initial D: Rechab and Baana kill Isboseth (2 Kg. 4:7).

f. 43. Ps. 63. Initial E: Rechab and Baana bring Isboseth’s head to David (2 Kg. 4:8).

f. 43. Ps. 64. Initial T: David commands the execution of Rechab and Baana (2 Kg. 4:12).

f. 44. Ps. 65. Initial J: David anointed King of Israel (2 Kg. 5:3).

f. 44v. Ps. 66. Initial D: David defeats the Philistines at Baal Pharisim (2 Kg. 5:20).

f. 44v. Ps. 67. Initial E: The Lord strikes the Philistines (2 Kg. 5:23-24).

f. 46v. Ps. 68. Initial S: David brings the ark into Jerusalem (2 Kg. 6:15); Michol sees David dancing (2 Kg. 6:16); David rebukes Michol (2 Kg. 6:21-22); Nathan tells David of his vision (2 Kg. 7:17). Margin: David playing the organ; David with harp and sword.

f. 48. Ps. 69. Initial D: David prays to the Lord (2 Kg. 7:18).

f. 48v. Ps. 70. Initial I: David’s victories (2 Kg. 8:1-3).

f. 49v. Ps. 71. Initial D: Joram congratulates David, and his father Thou sends David vessels of gold, silver and brass (2 Kg. 8:10).

f. 50. Ps. 72. Initial Q: David does judgement to his people (2 Kg. 8:15).

f. 51. Ps. 73. Initial C: The servants of David at the court of Hanon (2 Kg. 10:2).

f. 52. Ps. 74. Initial C: Joab and Abisai fight the Syrians and Ammonites (2 Kg. 10:13-14).

f. 52v. Ps. 75. Initial H: David fights the Syrians (2 Kg. 10:18).

f. 53. Ps. 76. Initial V: David sees Bathsheba bathing (2 Kg. 11:2).

f. 53v. Ps. 77. Initial A: Bathsheba is brought to David (2 Kg. 11:4).

f. 56. Ps. 78. Initial D: David makes Urias drunk (2 Kg. 11:13).

f. 57v. Ps. 81. Initial D: The death of David’s child by Bathsheba (2 Kg. 12:18-19).

f. 57v. Ps. 82. Initial D: David eats after the death of his child (2 Kg. 12:20-23).

f. 58. Ps. 83. Initial C: David comforts Bathsheba (2 Kg. 12:24).
f. 58v. Ps. 84. Initial B: ?the birth of Solomon (2 Kg. 12:24).
f. 59. Ps. 85. Initial I: Joab besieges Rabbath (2 Kg. 12:26).
f. 60. Ps. 86. Initial F: ?David takes the crown of the king of Rabbath (2 Kg. 12:30).
f. 60. Ps. 87. Initial D: David visits Amnon (2 Kg. 13:6).
f. 61. Ps. 88. Initial M: Thamar brings a mess to Amnon (2 Kg. 13:8).
f. 62v. Ps. 89. Initial D: Amnon ravishes Thamar (2 Kg. 13:14).
f. 63v. Ps. 90. Initial Q: Amnon drives Thamar away (2 Kg. 13:15).
f. 64. Ps. 91. Initial B: Absalom and Thamar (2 Kg. 13:20).
f. 64v. Ps. 92. Initial L: Absalom’s servants kill Amnon (2 Kg. 13:27-29).
f. 64v. Ps. 93. Initial D: David and his sons weeping (2 Kg. 13:36).
f. 65v. Ps. 94. Initial V: Joab and the wise woman of Thecua (2 Kg. 14:2-3).
f. 66. Ps. 95. Initial C: David and the woman of Thecua (2 Kg. 14:4-20).
f. 66v. Ps. 96. Initial D: David and Absalom kiss (2 Kg. 14:33).
f. 67. Ps. 97. Initial C: Absalom by the gate (2 Kg. 15:2); ?Absalom and his counsellors (2 Kg. 17:14); ?David and his troops (2 Kg. 18:1); The battle in the forest of Ephraim (2 Kg. 18:6-7). Margin: David playing the organ; musicians.
f. 67v. Ps. 98. Initial D: Joab kills Absalom (2 Kg. 18:14).
f. 68. Ps. 99. Initial J: The burial of Absalom (2 Kg. 18:17).
f. 68. Ps. 100. Initial M: David and Achimaas or Chusai (2 Kg. 18:28 or 31).
f. 68v. Ps. 101. Initial D: Joab makes David cease mourning (2 Kg. 19:5-7); David sits in the gate (2 Kg. 19:8); Semei falls down before David (2 Kg. 19:18); ?David spares Semei (2 Kg. 19:23). L. margin: The descent of the claim to the French crown from Charles IV to Edward III and Richard II. Bottom margin: a man and woman quarrelling over a money-chest.
f. 70. Ps. 102. Initial B: Seba sounds the trumpet (2 Kg. 20:1).
f. 70v. Ps. 103. Initial B: Joab kills Amasa (2 Kg. 20:10).
f. 72. Ps. 104. Initial C: People look at the dead body of Amasa (2 Kg. 20:11).
f. 73v. Ps. 105. Initial C: The wise woman of Abela speaks to Joab (2 Kg. 20:16).
f. 75. Ps. 106. Initial C: Seba’s head is thrown to Joab (2 Kg. 20:22).
f. 76v. Ps. 107. Initial P: Joab returns with the head of Seba (2 Kg. 20:22).
f. 77. Ps. 108. Initial D: Gad speaks to David (2 Kg. 24:11-13).
f. 78. Ps. 109. Initial D: Abisag is brought to David (3 Kg. 1:3); The sacrifice of Adonias (3 Kg. 1:9); Bathsheba and Nathan before David (3 Kg. 1:22); Solomon rides on David’s mule (3 Kg. 1:38). L. margin: Men climbing a ladder towards God the Father and God the Son. Below, a miser and his money.
f. 78v. Ps. 110. Initial C: Sadoc anoints Solomon (3 Kg. 1:39).
f. 79. Ps. 111. Initial B: The coronation of Solomon (3 Kg. 1:39).
f. 79v. Ps. 112. Initial L: Solomon at David’s death-bed (3 Kg. 2:1).
f. 79v. Ps. 113. Initial I: David buried with his fathers (3 Kg. 2:10). f. 80v Ps 114. Initial D: Solomon upon the throne of David (3 Kg. 2:12).
f. 80v. Ps. 115. Initial C: Adonias and Bathsheba (3 Kg. 2:13).
f. 81. Ps. 116. Initial L: Bathsheba pleads with Solomon (3 Kg. 2:19).
f. 81. Ps. 117. Initial C: Solomon instructs Banaias to kill Adonias (3 Kg. 2:25).
f. 82. Ps. 118. Initial B: Joab flees into sanctuary (3 Kg. 2:28).
f. 82. Initial I: Banaias slays Joab (3 Kg. 2:34).
f. 82v. Initial R: The burial of Joab (3 Kg. 2:34).
f. 83v. Initial A: Semei is slain (3 Kg. 2:46).
f. 83v. Initial L: The Lord appears to Solomon in a dream (3 Kg. 3:5).
f. 83v. Initial E: Solomon offers holocausts before the ark of the covenant (3 Kg. 3:15).
f. 83v. Initial M: Solomon and his governors, who provide victuals (3 Kg. 4:7).
f. 84. Initial D: The ark of the Lord is carried into the temple (3 Kg. 8:4).
f. 84. Initial I: The glory of the Lord fills the temple (3 Kg. 8:11).
f. 84v. Initial Q: Solomon before the altar of the Lord (3 Kg. 8:22).
f. 84v. Initial L: The Lord appears to Solomon again (3 Kg. 9:2).
f. 85. Initial I: The queen of Saba enters Jerusalem (3 Kg. 10:2).
f. 85. Initial F: Solomon and the queen of Saba converse (3 Kg. 10:3).
f. 85v. Initial M: Solomon and the queen of Saba exchange gifts (3 Kg. 10:10, 13).
f. 85v. Initial I: Solomon’s great throne (3 Kg. 10:18-20).
f. 86. Initial C: The navies of Solomon and Hiram go to Tharsis (3 Kg. 10:22).
f. 86. Initial V: Solomon and his wives and concubines (3 Kg. 11:3).
f. 86v. Initial P: The Lord is angry with Solomon (3 Kg. 11:9).
f. 87. Initial A: Ahias divides his garment, giving ten pieces to Jeroboam (3 Kg. 11:30).
f. 87. Ps. 119. Initial A: Jeroboam commands that the man of God be seized (3 Kg. 13:4); The prophet from Bethel and the man of God converse at the turpentine-tree (3 Kg. 13:14).
f. 87v. Ps. 120. Initial L: The prophet invites the man of God back (3 Kg. 13:18).
f. 87v. Ps. 121. Initial L: The Lord of the Lord comes to the prophet (3 Kg. 13:20).
f. 88. Ps. 123. Initial N: The man of God is slain by a lion (3 Kg. 13:24).
f. 88v. Ps. 124. Initial Q: The prophet brings back the body of the man of God (3 Kg. 13:29).
f. 88v. Ps. 125. Initial I: The burial of the man of God (3 Kg. 13:30).
f. 89. Ps. 126. Initial N: Jeroboam tells his wife to consult Ahias (3 Kg. 14:2-3).
f. 89. Ps. 127. Initial B: Jeroboam’s wife and Ahias (3 Kg. 14:4-6).
f. 89v. Ps. 128. Initial S: Elias is fed by ravens (3 Kg. 17:5-6).
f. 89v. Ps. 129. Initial D: Elias greets the widow of Sarepta (3 Kg. 17:10).
f. 90. Ps. 130. Initial D: The widow gives her dead son to Elias (3 Kg. 17:19).

f. 90. Ps. 131. Initial M: Elias lays the widow's son on his bed (3 Kg. 17:19).

f. 91. Ps. 135. Initial C: The prophets of Baal call upon their god (3 Kg. 18:26).

f. 91v. Ps. 136. Initial S: Elias prepares the bullock (3 Kg. 18:33).

f. 91v. Ps. 137. Initial C: Water is poured upon the burnt offering (3 Kg. 18:34).

f. 92. Ps. 138. Initial D: The fire of the Lord consumes the holocaust (3 Kg. 1B:38).

f. 93. Ps. 139. Initial E: Elias slays the prophets of Baal (3 Kg. 18:40).

f. 93v. Ps. 140. Initial D: Elias and his servant on Carmel awaiting rain (3 Kg. 18:42-44).

f. 94. Ps. 141. Initial V: ?Achab and Jezabel (3 Kg. 19:1).

f. 95. Ps. 143. Initial B: Elias slays the prophets of Baal (3 Kg. 19:7).

f. 95v. Ps. 144. Initial E: ?Elias at the mouth of the cave (3 Kg. 19:13).

f. 96v. Ps. 145. Initial L: Elias finds Eliseus ploughing (3 Kg. 19:19).

f. 97. Ps. 146. Initial L: Benadad besieges Samaria (3 Kg. 20:1).

f. 97. Ps. 147. Initial L: Messengers come to Achab (3 Kg. 20:2).

f. 97v. Ps. 148. Initial L: Achab and the ancients of the land (3 Kg. 20:7-8).

f. 98. Ps. 149. Initial C: A prophet comes to Achab (3 Kg. 20:13).

f. 98. Ps. 150. Initial L: ?Achab musters troops (3 Kg. 20:15).

f. 98v. Confitebor. Initial C: Achab musters the Israelites (3 Kg. 20:15); Benadad and the thirty-two kings drinking (3 Kg. 20:16); Achab's men slay the Syrians; Benadad and the kings flee (3 Kg. 20:20). Margin: David praying to God.


f. 99v. Exultavit cor. Initial E: The Israelites slay the Syrians (3 Kg. 20:29).

f. 100. Cantemus domino. Initial E: Aphec besieged (3 Kg. 20: 30).

f. 101. Domine audivi. Initial D: Benadad's servants beg for mercy (3 Kg. 20:32).

f. 102. Audite celi. Initial A: Benadad in Achab's chariot (3 Kg. 20:33).

f. 104. Te deum. Initial T: The prophet's companion slain by a lion (3 Kg. 20:36).

f. 105. Benedicte. Initial B: The prophet wounded by a man (3 Kg. 20:37).

f. 105v. Benedictus. Initial B: The prophet in disguise meets the king (3 Kg. 20:38).


f. 110v. Deus cui proprium. Initial D: The stoning of Naboth (3 Kg. 21:13, pt 2).

f. 110v. Deus qui corda. Initial D: Jezabel tells Achab to arise (3 Kg. 21:15).

Miniature at Matins missing.

f. 111. Domine dominus. Initial D: The birth of St John the Baptist (Lk. 1:57).

f. 111v. Celi enarrant. Initial C: ?The circumcision of St John the Baptist (Lk. 1:59).

f. 112. Domini est terra. Initial D: The decree of Caesar Augustus (Lk. 2:1).

f. 112v. Sancta Maria virgo. Initial S: Nativity; the Virgin lays the Child in a manger (Lk. 2:7).
f. 112v. Sancta Maria piarum piissima. Initial S: Annunciation to the Shepherds (Lk. 2:8-14).


f. 114. Lauds. Initial D: Presentation in the Temple (Lk. 2:22); Simeon holds the Christ Child (Lk. 2:28); Christ and his parents arrive in Jerusalem for the pasch (Lk. 2:42); Christ among the doctors (Lk. 2:46). Margin: two representations of the Man of Sorrows (an allusion to Simeon's prophecy).

f. 114. Dominus regnavit. Initial D: John the Baptist preaching (Lk. 3:3).

f. 114v. Jubilate deo. Initial I: John the Baptist reproves Herod (Lk. 3:19).


f. 115. Deum misereatur. Initial D: The imprisonment of John the Baptist (Lk. 3:20).

f. 115v. Benedicite. Initial B: The first temptation of Christ (Lk. 4:3).

f. 116. Laudate dominum. Initial L: The second temptation of Christ (Lk. 4:5-7).

f. 116v. Cantate. Initial C: The third temptation of Christ (Lk. 4:9).

f. 117. Maria virgo semper. Initial M: Christ goes into the synagogue (Lk. 4:16).

f. 117. O gloriosa domina. Initial O: Jesus dismisses the devil (Lk. 4:13).

f. 117v. Benedictus. Initial B: Christ thrust out of Nazareth (Lk. 4:29).

f. 118. Concede nos. Initial P: St John the Baptist.


f. 118. Deus qui corda. Initial D: Pentecost.

Blessed Virgin and St John.

f. 119. Deus qui miro ordine. Initial D: St Michael.

f. 119. Perpetuis nos. Initial P: St John the Baptist.


f. 119v. Ecclesiæ mun. Initial E: St John the Evangelist.

f. 119v. Largire nobis. Initial L: Noli me tangere.

f. 120. Omnia sanctorum. Initial O: Coronation of the Virgin, witnessed by All Saints.

f. 120v. Deus a quo sancta desideria. Initial D: Christ and the faithful.

f. 120v. Prime. Initial D: Christ heals a man possessed of a devil (Lk. 4:35); Christ heals Simon's wife's mother (Lk. 4:39, pt 1); Simon's wife's mother ministers to them (Lk. 4:39, pt 2).
4:39, pt 2); Christ heals the sick at Capharnaum (Lk. 4:40). Margin: Resurrection; Doubting Thomas; Ascension.

f. 121. Veni creator spiritus. Initial V: Christ by the lake of Genesareth (Lk. 5:2).

f. 121. Deus in nomine. Initial D: Christ on Simon’s ship (Lk. 5:3).

f. 121v. Laudate dominum. Initial L: Christ tells Simon to let down his nets (Lk. 5:4).

f. 121v. Confitemini domino. Initial C: The miraculous draught Lk. 5:6-7).

f. 122v. In omnibus requiem. Initial I: Simon Peter, James and John follow Christ (Lk. 5:10-11).

f. 122v. Concede nos famulos. Initial C: Christ and the leper (Lk. 5:13).

f. 123. Terce. Initial D: The paralytic is let down from the roof (Lk. 5:19); the paralytic takes up his bed (Lk. 5:25); Christ calls Matthew (Lk. 5:27); Christ chooses the twelve apostles (Lk. 6:13). Margin: Virgin and Child; scenes from two Marian legends.

f. 123. Veni creator. Initial V: Christ receives the centurion’s message (Lk. 7:6).

f. 123v. Ad dominum cum tribularer. Initial A: Christ and the widow of Naim (Lk. 7:13).

f. 123v. Levavi oculos. Initial L: Christ raises the widow’s son to life (Lk. 7:14-15).

f. 124. Letatus sum. Initial L: The sinner wipes Christ’s feet with her hair (Lk. 7:38).

f. 124v. Ab inicio. Initial A: Christ asleep during the storm (Lk. 8:23).

f. 124v. Concede nos famulos. Initial C: Christ stills the storm (Lk. 8:24).

Sext and initial at beginning of None missing.

f. 125. Veni creator spiritus. Initial V: Jesus sets a child by him (Lk. 9:47).

f. 125. In convertendo. Initial I: Christ teaches His disciples to pray (Lk. 11:1).


f. 125v. Beati omnes. Initial B: The Samaritan brings the victim to an inn (Lk. 10:34).

f. 126. Et radicavi. Initial E: The Samaritan leaves the victim in the care of the host (Lk. 10:35).

f. 126. Concede nos famulos tuos. Initial C: People striving to enter by the narrow gate (Lk. 13:24).

f. 126v. Vespers. Initial D: The parable of the supper, the servant returns (Lk. 14:21); The parable of the supper, the poor and lame are brought in (Lk. 14:21-22); Christ eats with sinners, the parable of the lost sheep (Lk. 15:1-7); The parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk. 15:11-12). Margin: scenes from the legend of Theophilus.

f. 126v. Letatus sum. Initial L: The Prodigal Son goes abroad (Lk. 15:13).


f. 127. Nisi quia. Initial N: The Prodigal Son and his father are re-united (Lk. 15:20).


f. 127v. In convertendo. Initial I: The death of Lazarus (Lk. 16:22, pt 1).

f. 128v. Magnificat. Initial M: Christ heals the ten lepers Lk. 17:12-14).
f. 128v. Concede nos famulos. Initial C: The Samaritan gives thanks to God (Lk. 17:15-16).
f. 129. Compline. Initial C: Christ sees Zacheus in the tree (Lk. 19:5); Zacheus receives Christ (Lk. 19:6); Christ sends two disciples to find the colt (Lk. 19:30). Margin: Scenes of the saving of the usurer’s soul.

f. 129v. Usquequo. Initial U: The colt is brought to Jesus (Lk. 19:35, pt 1).
f. 129v. Judica me. Initial I: The colt is prepared for Jesus (Lk. 19:35, pt 2).
f. 130. Sepe expugnaverunt. Initial S: Clothes laid in Christ’s way (Lk. 19:36).
f. 130. Domine non est. Initial D: Christ weeps over Jerusalem (Lk. 19:41).
f. 130v. Sicut cynamomum. Initial S: Christ expels traders from the temple (Lk. 19:45).

f. 131v. De profundis. Initial D: Kneeling woman (?the book’s owner) before God.

f. 132. Fidelium deus. Initial F: Man kneeling in prayer. Outside the initial, a bishop.

f. 133. Domine ne in furore. Initial D: The chief priests give Judas money (Lk. 22:5); Christ sends Peter and John to prepare the pasch (Lk. 22:B); The Last Supper (Lk. 22:14); Agony in the Garden (Lk. 22:41-42). Margin: The Last Judgement.


f. 134. Domine ne in furore. Initial D: Christ led away by the soldiers (Lk. 22:54).


f. 135v. Domine exaudi. Initial D: Christ is mocked and struck (Lk. 22:63).

f. 136v. De profundis. Initial D: Christ led before Pilate (Lk. 23:1).

f. 137. Domine exaudi. Initial D: The Flagellation (Jn 19:1).


f. 140v. Deus cui proprium. Initial D: Simon of Cyrene helps carry Christ’s cross (Lk. 23:26).

f. 140v. Deus qui corda fidelium. Initial D: Christ and the women of Jerusalem (Lk. 23:27-8).

f. 140v. Ure igne. Initial U: The two thieves led out for crucifixion (Lk. 23:32).


f. 141. Deus a quo sancta desideria. Initial D: Lots are cast for Christ’s garments (Lk.
f. 141. Deus qui nos patrem. Initial D: Christ is offered vinegar (Lk. 23:36).


f. 142. Dilexi. Initial D: The women at the sepulchre (Lk. 24:1); An angel appears in the tomb (Mt 28:2-4); Two men appear to the women (Lk. 24:4); The women tell the disciples (Lk. 24:9). Margin: scenes of the death and burial of Richard FitzAlan.

f. 142v. Ad dominum cum tribularer. Initial A: Peter looks in the tomb (Lk. 24:12).

f. 142v. Levavi oculos. Initial L: The two disciples travelling to Emmaus (Lk. 24:13).

f. 143. De profundis. Initial D: Christ and the two disciples (Lk. 24:15).

f. 143. Confitebor. Initial C: Christ breaks bread at Emmaus (Lk. 24:30).

f. 143v. Magnificat. Initial M: Christ displays His wounds to the apostles (Lk. 24:39-40).

f. 144. Lauda anima. Initial L: Christ offered fish and a honeycomb (Lk. 24:42).

f. 144v. Deus cui proprium. Initial D: Peter and others go fishing (Jn 21:3).

f. 144v. Deus indulgenciarum. Initial D: Jesus greets the fishermen (Jn 21:4-5).

f. 145. Deus cui proprium. Initial D: Jesus instructs them where to cast their net (Jn 21:6).

f. 145. Deus venie largitor. Initial D: Christ manifests himself for the third time (Jn 21:14).

f. 145. Fidelium deus. Initial F: Christ gives Peter the charge of his sheep (Jn 21:15-17).

f. 145v. Verba mea auribus. Initial V: Noli me tangere (Jn 20:17); Christ shows His wounds to His disciples (Jn 20:20); Thomas places his hand in Christ's side (Jn 20:27); Christ blesses His disciples at Bethania (Lk. 24:50). Margin: Burial scenes.


f. 147v. Parce michi. Initial P: Peter and John heal the lame man at the Beautiful gate (Ac. 3:4-6).

f. 147v. Credo quod. Initial C: ?Peter and John with the people in Solomon's porch (Ac. 3:11-12).

f. 147v. Tedet animam. Initial T: Ananias before the apostles (Ac. 5:2).


f. 148v. Dominus regit. Initial D: An angel releases the apostles (Ac. 5:19).


f. 149v. Dominus illuminatio. Initial D: ?The choosing of the deacons (Ac. 6:5).

f. 150. Quantas habeo. Initial Q: Stephen's speech before the council (Ac. 7:2-53).


f. 151. Quis michi. Initial Q: Philip and the eunuch of Queen Candace (Ac. 8:28-30).

f. 151. Expectans. Initial E: Philip baptises the eunuch (Ac. 8:38).
f. 152. Beatus qui intellegit. Initial B: Saul given letters to the synagogues at Damascus (Ac. 9:1-2).


f. 153v. Spiritus meus. Initial S: Saul is led to Damascus (Ac. 9:8).


f. 155v. Te decet hymnus. Initial T: Peter cast into prison (Ac. 12:4).


f. 157. Laudate dominum. Initial L: Peter follows the angel (Ac. 12:8).

f. 157v. Cantate domino. Initial C: Peter and the angel leave the prison (Ac. 12:10).

f. 158. Laudate dominum. Initial L: Peter comes to himself (Ac. 12:11).

f. 158. Benedictus dominus. Initial B: Peter stands at the gate of Mary's house (Ac. 12:13).

f. 158v. Exaltabo te. Initial E: Unidentifiable scene of the arrest of an apostle and a group of people covered with blood.

f. 159v. Fidelium deus. Initial F: Unidentifiable scene of a seated woman, a standing man and a small boy.

f. 159v. Deus qui nos patrem. Initial D: Unidentifiable scene of a young boy, a man and a judge.


f. 160v. Deus qui beato petro. Initial D: St Peter holding a key.

f. 161. Deus qui multitudinem gencium. Initial D: St Paul holding a sword.

f. 161. Tuere queso domine me famulum tuum himfridum. Initial T: St John the Evangelist holding chalice and palm branch.


f. 161v. Esto domine plebi tue. Initial E: St James the Great.

f. 161v. Omnipotens sempiterne deus innocencie restitutor. Initial O: St Thomas holding a spear.

f. 162. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui diligentibus te. Initial 0: St Philip holding loaves.

f. 162. Da quesumus domine michi famulo tuo himfridi. Initial D: St James the Less holding fuller's club.

f. 162v. Preces meas queso domine. Initial P: St Bartholomew.

f. 162v. Beati apostoli tui et evangeliste. Initial B: St Matthew reading.

f. 162v. Deus qui populum tuum cristianum. Initial D: St Simon.

f. 163. Deus qui beatum mathiam. Initial D: St Matthias.
f. 163v. Deus qui beati barnabe. Initial D: St Barnabas.
f. 163v. Interveniat pro me queso domine. Initial I: St Luke holding ox.
f. 163v. Deus qui beatum marcum. Initial D: St Mark holding lion.
f. 164. Largire michi clementissime pater. Initial L: St Mary Magdalene, crowned, holding ointment pot.
f. 164. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui habundancia pietatis. Christ in majesty, displaying His wounds.
f. 164. Da michi queso domine et populo. Initial D: God above a group of people.
f. 164v. Deus qui beatos joachim et annam. Initial D: Sts Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate.
f. 164v. Deus qui nobis per beatum ieronimum. Initial D: St Jerome reading.
f. 164v. Deus qui confessorem gloriosum. Initial D: St Augustine.
f. 165. Omnipotens sempiterne deus clemenciam ... angelum. Initial O: A man offers his soul up to God.
f. 165v. Da nobis quesumus omnipotens deus sanctarum virginum. Initial D: St Ursula and her companions.
f. 168v. Confiteor deo. Initial C: A young man kneels before God.
f. 169. Recumbentibus undecim. Initial R: St Mark, with lion.
f. 169. Cum natus esset ihesus. Initial C: St Matthew, with angel.
f. 170. In principio erat verbum. Initial I: St John, with eagle.

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f. xii verso. Full-page miniature: Crucifixion with the two thieves, Mary and John.
f. 1. Beatus vir. Miniature: First day of Creation (Gen. 1:1-5); Second day of Creation (Gen. 1:6-8); Third day of Creation (Gen. 1:11-13); Fourth day of Creation (Gen. 1:14-19). Initial B: Creation of the beasts (Gen. 1:24-26). Bas-de-page: Creation of Eve (Gen. 2:21-22); Adam names the animals (Gen. 2:19-20).
f. 24v. Dominus illuminatio. Miniature: The Fall (Gen. 3:6); Adam and Eve hide from God (Gen. 3:8); God clothes Adam and Eve (Gen. 3:21); The Expulsion (Gen. 3:24). Initial D: Adam digging and Eve spinning.

327
f. 40. Dixi custodiam. Miniature: Adam, Eve, Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:1-2); The sacrifices of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:3-5); The murder of Abel (Gen. 4:8); God speaks to Cain (Gen. 4:9). Initial D: The death of Cain.

f. 54v. Quid gloriaris. Miniature: God instructs Noah to build the ark (Gen. 6:14-16); God instructs Noah to stock the ark (Gen 7:2-3); God shuts the door of the ark (Gen. 7:16); Noah releases the raven and the dove (Gen. 8:6-8). Initial: Noah and his family leave the ark (Gen. 8:18). Initial: Noah plants a vineyard (Gen 9:20).

f. 55v. Dixit insipiens. Miniature: Sem and Japheth cover Noah's nakedness (Gen. 9:23); The building of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:4); God stops the building of the tower (Gen. 11:6-7); God scatters the builders (Gen. 11:8). Initial D: Abram and his family leave Haran (Gen. 12:5).

f. 70. Salvum me fac. Miniature: Abram and Lot converse (Gen. 13:8); Abram and Lot divide the land (Gen. 13:9); Abram and Lot part (Gen 13:11); The battle of the kings (Gen. 14:1-10); Initial S: The capture of Lot (Gen. 14:12).

f. 88. Exultate deo. Miniature: God's promise of seed to Abram (Gen. 15:1-4); Abraham adores the three angels (Gen. 18:2); Sara laughs at the Lord's promise (Gen. 18:10); Lot and his family escape from Sodom (Gen. 19:16-17).

f. 88v. Initial E: Lot's wife is turned into a pillar of salt (Gen. 19:26).

f. 105. Cantate. Miniature: Birth of Isaac (Gen. 21:2); Expulsion of Agar (Gen. 21:14); Agar and Ismael at Bersabee (Gen. 21:15-19); God orders Abraham to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:2). Initial C: Abraham and Isaac journey to the mountain (Gen. 22:3).

f. 107v. Domine exaudi. Miniature: Abraham with fire and a sword, Isaac carrying wood (Gen. 22:5); Abraham prepares to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:10); The angel speaks to Abraham (Gen. 22:12); The burial of Sara (Gen. 23:19). Initial: The oath of Abraham's servant (Gen 24:9).

f. 122v. Dixit dominus. Miniature: Abraham's servant greets Rebecca at the well (Gen. 24:17); Abraham's servant gives jewellery to Rebecca in the presence of Laban (Gen. 24:30); The departure of Rebecca (Gen. 24:59); rubbed, unidentifiable scene. Initial: The marriage of Isaac and Rebecca.

f. 138. Ad dominum. Miniature: Isaac brings Rebecca into the tent of Sara (Gen. 24:67); Death of Abraham (Gen. 25:8); Birth of Esau and Jacob (Gen. 25:25); Isaac calls Esau (Gen. 27:1-4). Initial: Jacob and Rebecca prepare to trick Isaac (Gen. 27:14-16).

f. 146v. Confitebor. Miniature: Rebecca gives Jacob the savoury meat (Gen. 27:17); Isaac blesses Jacob (Gen. 27:25-29); Esau discovers his brother's deception (Gen. 27:32-35); Rebecca sends Jacob away (Gen. 27:42-43). Initial: Jacob's vision of the ladder (Gen. 28:12).

f. 181v. The book’s owner, presented by St Mary Magdalene, kneeling before the Virgin and Child enthroned.


f. 204. Initial: The Adoration of the Magi.

f. 204. Initial: Head of a bishop.


f. 233v. Initial: St Mark, with lion.

f. 234. Initial: St Matthew, with angel.

f. 234v. Initial: St Luke, with ox.

f. 235v. Initial: St John, with eagle.

f. 236v. Full-page miniature: Scenes and Instruments of the Passion, in eleven compartments, with the Crucifixion at top centre.

f. 238. Full-page miniature: Fifteen saints, in three rows: 1, St John the Baptist; 2, St Michael; 3, St Peter; 4, St Paul; 5, St John the Evangelist; 6, an archbishop (St Thomas of Canterbury?); 7, St George; 8, St Christopher; 9, St Leonard; 10, St Anne; 11, St Mary Magdalene; 12, St Catherine; 13, St Margaret; 14, a crowned nun; 15, St Ursula.

f. 243av. The Raising of Lazarus.

f. 244. Dilexi. Miniature: Satan comes before God (Job 1:6); The house falls upon Job’s children (Job 1:19); The Sabeans attack Job’s servants (Job 1:15); Fire from heaven strikes Job’s servants and sheep (Job 1:16). Initial: Job rends his garments (Job 1:20-21).

f. 248v. Verba mea. Miniature: Satan comes before God again (Job 2:1); Satan strikes Job with a grievous ulcer (Job 2:7); Job on the dunghill rebuked by his wife (Job 2:7-8); Job and his three friends (Job 2:11). Initial: God speaks to Job.
ff. 3-8v. Kalendar roundels of the Signs of the Zodiac and the Labours of the Month.

f. 9. Ps. 3. Initial D: Cain founds a city.

f. 9. Ps. 4. Initial C: Cain invents weights and measures.

f. 9v. Ps. 5. Initial V: God commands Noah to build the ark (Gen. 6:14-16).

f. 10. Ps. 6. Initial D: God commands Noah to enter the ark (Gen. 7:1-3).

f. 10v. Ps. 7. Initial D: The ark on the waters (Gen. 7:17)

f. 11v. Ps. 8. Initial D: Noah sends forth the dove after the raven (Gen. 8:8).

f. 12. Ps. 9. Initial C: The dove returns with an olive bough (Gen. 8:11).

f. 14. Ps. 10. Initial I: Noah and his family leave the ark (Gen. 8:18).

f. 14v. Ps. 11. Initial S: Noah planting a vineyard (Gen. 9:20).


f. 15v. Ps. 27. Initial A: Abraham's servant meets Rebecca (Gen. 24:17).

f. 16. Ps. 28. Initial A: Laban invites Abraham's servant to enter the house (Gen. 24:29-31).

f. 16v. Ps. 29. Initial E: Abraham's servant gives presents to Rebecca and her family (Gen. 24:53).

f. 17. Ps. 30. Initial I: Abraham’s servant returns with Rebecca and her maids (Gen. 24:61).

f. 18. Ps. 31. Initial B: Isaac takes Rebecca into the tent of Sara (Gen. 24:67).

f. 19. Ps. 32. Initial E: The death of Abraham (Gen. 25:8).

f. 20. Ps. 35. Initial D: Jacob and Rebecca prepare to trick Isaac (Gen. 27:14-16).

f. 20v. Ps. 36. Initial I: Isaac blesses Jacob (Gen. 27:23).

f. 22v. Ps. 37. Initial D: Esau discovers Jacob's deception (Gen. 27:33-34).


f. 24v. Ps. 40. Initial B: Rachel complains of her childlessness (Gen. 30:1).

f. 25v. Ps. 41. Initial Q: The birth of Dan (Gen. 30:6).

f. 26. Ps. 42. Initial I: Ruben brings mandrakes to his mother Lia (Gen. 30:14).

f. 26v. Ps. 43. Initial D: Lia gives the mandrakes to Rachel (Gen. 30:15-16).

f. 27v. Ps. 44. Initial E: Laban's bargain with Jacob (Gen 30:31-35).

f. 28v. Ps. 45. Initial D: Jacob and the rods (Gen. 30:37-39).

f. 29. Ps. 46. Initial O: Jacob tells his wives of his intention to leave Laban (Gen. 31:4-16).

f. 29v. Ps. 47. Initial M: Jacob leaves, Rachel steals her father's idols (Gen. 31:17-19).

f. 30. Ps. 48. Initial A: The flight of Jacob (Gen. 31:18).

f. 31. Ps. 49. Initial D: Laban is told of Jacob's flight (Gen 31:22).

f. 32. Ps. 50. Initial M: Laban's brethren, God warns Laban not to molest Jacob (Gen.

f. 33v. Ps. 51. Initial Q: Jacob and Laban meet (Gen. 31:25); Laban searches Rachel’s tent (Gen. 31:34-35); Laban and Jacob build the witness heap (Gen. 31:45-6); Jacob sends presents to Esau (Gen 32:13-16). Bas-de-page: Jacob wrestles with the angel (Gen 32:24); Jacob and Esau meet (Gen. 33:1-3); Sichem ravishes Dina (Gen. 34:2); The Sichemites agree to be circumcised (Gen. 34:22-24); the slaughter of the Sichemites (Gen. 34:25-27).

f. 34. Ps. 52. Initial D: Joseph recounts his dream to his father and brethren (Gen. 37:9-11); Joseph’s brethren conspire to get rid of him (Gen. 37:18); Joseph’s brethren strip him of his coat and cast him in a pit (Gen. 37:23-24); Joseph’s blood-stained coat is shown to Jacob (Gen. 37:31-33). Bas-de-page: Joseph is sold to the Ismaelites (Gen. 37:28); Joseph is sold to Putiphar (Gen. 37:36); Putiphar’s wife catches hold of Joseph’s garment (Gen. 39:12); Joseph is cast into prison (Gen. 39:20); Joseph with the butler and the baker (Gen. 40:6-8).

f. 34v. Ps. 53. Initial D: Pharaoh’s dream of fat and lean kine (Gen. 41:1-4).

f. 35. Ps. 54. Initial E: The release of Joseph (Gen. 41:14).

f. 36. Ps. 55. Initial E: Pharaoh appoints Joseph over the whole land of Egypt (Gen. 41:41).

f. 36v. Ps. 56. Initial M: Jacob sends his sons to Egypt (Gen 42:1-2).

f. 37v. Ps. 57. Initial S: Jacob’s sons before Joseph (Gen 42:6).

f. 38. Ps. 58. Initial E: Joseph’s brethren find their money in the sacks of wheat (Gen. 42:35).

f. 39. Ps. 59. Initial D: Benjamin is presented to Joseph (Gen. 43:15).

f. 39v. Ps. 59. Initial D: The cup is put in Benjamin’s sack (Gen. 44:2).

f. 40. Ps. 61. Initial N: The steward finds the cup (Gen. 44:12).

f. 40v. Ps. 62. Initial D: Joseph embraces Benjamin (Gen. 45:14).

f. 41. Ps. 63. Initial E: Jacob and his family come to Egypt (Gen. 46:6-7).

f. 41v. Ps. 64. Initial T: Joseph tells Pharaoh of the arrival of his family (Gen. 47:1).

f. 42. Ps. 65. Initial I: Joseph gives land to his family (Gen 47:11).

f. 43. Ps. 66. Initial D: The dying Jacob blesses his children (Gen. 49:28).

f. 43v. Ps. 67. Initial E: Pharaoh permits Jacob’s burial in Chanaan (Gen. 50:6).

f. 46. Ps. 69. Initial D: Moses brought to Pharaoh’s daughter (Ex. 2:9).

f. 46v. Ps. 70. Initial I: Moses kills the Egyptian (Ex. 2:11-12).

f. 48. Ps. 71. Initial D: Moses hides the body of the Egyptian (Ex. 2:12).

f. 48v. Ps. 72. Initial Q: Moses accused of the murder by the Hebrew (Ex. 2:14).

f. 50. Ps. 73. Initial U: Moses assists the daughters of Jethro (Ex. 2:17).

f. 51. Ps. 74. Initial C: Moses brought to Jethro (Ex. 2:20).

f. 51v. Ps. 75. Initial H: The marriage of Moses and Sephora (Ex. 2:21).

f. 52. Ps. 76. Initial V: The birth of Garsam (Ex. 2:22).
f. 53. Ps. 77. Initial A: Moses and the Burning Bush (Ex. 3:2-5).
f. 56v. Ps. 78. Initial D: Moses' rod becomes a serpent (Ex. 4:3).
f. 57. Ps. 79. Initial Q: Moses' hand becomes leprous (Ex. 6:4).
f. 58. Ps. 81. Initial D: The Plague of Hail (Ex. 9:23-5).
f. 58. Ps. 82. Initial D: The Plague of Locusts (Ex. 10:12-15).
f. 59. Ps. 83. Initial Q: The Plague of Darkness (Ex. 10:22).
f. 59v. Ps. 84. Initial B: Moses predicts the death of the firstborn (Ex. 11:4-5).
f. 60. Ps. 85. Initial I: Preparation for Passover (Ex. 12:3).
f. 61. Ps. 86. Initial F: The preparation of the lamb (Ex. 12:9).
f. 61v. Ps. 87. Initial D: Moses sprinkles blood (Ex. 12:22).
f. 64v. Ps. 89. Initial D: The slaying of the firstborn (Ex. 12:29).
f. 65v. Ps. 90. Initial Q: Pharaoh dismisses Moses and Aaron (Ex. 12:31).
f. 66. Ps. 91. Initial B: The Israelites take money from the Egyptians (Ex. 12:35).
f. 67. Ps. 92. Initial D: The Israelites strip the Egyptians (Ex. 12:36).
f. 67. Ps. 93. Initial D: The Exodus (Ex. 12:41).
f. 68. Ps. 94. Initial V: God speaks to Moses (Ex. 13:1).
f. 68v. Ps. 95. Initial C: Moses speaks to the Israelites (Ex 13:3).
f. 70. Ps. 99. Initial I: The Egyptians are drowned (Ex. 14:28).
f. 70. Ps. 100. Initial M: The canticle of Moses (Ex. 15:1).
f. 71. Ps. 102. Initial B: The Israelites come to Sinai, Moses goes up to God (Ex. 19:2-3).
f. 72. Ps. 103. Initial B: Moses sanctifies the people (Ex. 19:14).
f. 73v. Ps. 104. Initial C: Moses goes up Mount Sinai (Ex. 19:20).
f. 75v. Ps. 105. Initial C: Moses is given the tables (Ex. 24:12).
f. 77v. Ps. 106. Initial C: God shows Moses the likeness of the tabernacle (Ex. 25:9).
f. 79v. Ps. 107. Initial P: Moses sees the Golden Calf (Ex. 32:19).
f. 80. Ps. 108. Initial D: Moses destroys the Golden Calf (Ex 32:20).
f. 81. Ps. 110. Initial C: God speaks to Moses face to face (Ex 33:11).
f. 81. Ps. 111. Initial B: Moses brings the ark into the tabernacle (Ex. 40:19).
f. 81v. Ps. 112. Initial L: Moses places the lamps in order (Ex 40:23).
f. 82. Ps. 113. Initial I: The majesty of the Lord in the tabernacle (Ex. 40:33).
f. 84. Ps. 118. Initial B: God speaks to Moses (Lev. 8:1).
f. 84. Initial I: Moses presents Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8:2).
f. 84v. Initial R: Moses washes the feet of Aaron and his sons (Lev. 8:6).
f. 85. Initial A: Moses vests Aaron (Lev. 8:7).
f. 85. Initial L: Moses puts the mitre on Aaron's head (Lev. 8:9).
f. 85v. Initial E: Moses sprinkles the altar (Lev. 8:11, pt 1).
f. 86. Initial M: Moses anoints the altar (Lev. 8:11, pt 2).
f. 86. Initial P: Moses anoints Aaron (Lev. 8:12).
f. 86v. Initial B: Moses vests Aaron's sons (Lev. 8:13).
f. 87. Initial M: Moses offers the calf for sin (Lev. 8:14).
f. 87. Initial D: Aaron and his sons offer holocausts (Lev. 9:2).
f. 87v. Initial I: Aaron immolates the calf (Lev. 9:8).
f. 88. Initial Q: Aaron pours out the blood before the altar (Lev 9:9).
f. 88. Initial L: Aaron with the sacrifice without the camp (Lev 9:11).
f. 88v. Initial I: Moses and Aaron bless the people, fire devours the holocaust (Lev. 9:23-4).
f. 89. Initial F: Nadab and Abiu censing (Lev. 10:1).
f. 89. Initial M: Fire destroys Nadab and Abiu (Lev. 10:2).
f. 89v. Initial I: Moses speaks to Aaron (Lev. 10:3).
f. 90. Initial C: Misael and Elisaphan remove the bodies of Nadab and Abiu (Lev. 10:3-4).
f. 90. Initial V: God speaks to Moses and Aaron (Lev. 11:1).
f. 90v. Initial P: God speaks to Moses and Aaron (Lev. 13:1).
f. 91. Ps. 121. Initial L: Mary and Aaron speak against Moses (Num. 12:1).
f. 91. Ps. 122. Initial A: God speaks to Moses, Aaron and Mary (Num. 12:4).
f. 91v. Ps. 123. Initial I: Aaron and Mary face God (Num. 12:5).
f. 91v. Ps. 124. Initial Q: Mary struck with leprosy, Aaron confesses his fault (Num. 12:10-12).
f. 92. Ps. 125. Initial I: Moses prays for Mary (Num. 12:13).
f. 92v. Ps. 127. Initial B: The sabbath-breaker is arrested (Num. 15:32).
f. 93. Ps. 128. Initial S: The sabbath-breaker brought before Moses and Aaron (Num. 15:33).
f. 93. Ps. 129. Initial D: The sabbath-breaker is imprisoned (Num. 15:34).
f. 93v. Ps. 130. Initial D: God commands that the sabbath-breaker die (Num. 15:35).
f. 93v. Ps. 131. Initial M: The sabbath-breaker is brought out (Num. 15:36, pt 1).
f. 94v. Ps. 132. Initial E: The sabbath-breaker is stoned (Num 15:36, pt 2).
f. 94v. Ps. 133. Initial E: The schism of Core and his adherents (Num. 16:1-3).
f. 94v. Ps. 134. Initial L: Aaron and Core offer incense (Num 16:17-19).
f. 95v. Ps. 135. Initial C: God speaks to Moses and Aaron (Num 16:20).
f. 96. Ps. 136. Initial S: Moses separates the people from the followers of Core (Num. 16:26).
f. 96v. Ps. 137. Initial C: The followers of Core swallowed by the earth (Num. 16:31-33).
f. 97. Ps. 138. Initial D: Eleazer scatters the fire of the censers (Num. 16:37).
f. 98. Ps. 139. Initial E: The people murmur against Moses and Aaron, who flee into the tabernacle (Num. 16:41-43).

f. 98v. Ps. 140. Initial D: Moses and Aaron in the tabernacle (Num. 16:43).

f. 99v. Ps. 141. Initial V: Aaron takes up a censer (Num. 16:46).

f. 99v. Ps. 142. Initial D: Aaron stays the plague (Num. 16:48).

f. 100v. Ps. 143. Initial B: Moses receives the rods (Num. 17:16).

f. 101. Ps. 144. Initial E: Aaron with the flowering rod (Num 17:8-9).


f. 102v. Ps. 146. Initial L: Eleazer immolates the red cow (Num. 19:3).

f. 103. Ps. 147. Initial L: The sprinkling of the water of expiation (Num. 19:18).

f. 103v. Ps. 148. Initial L: The Brazen Serpent (Num. 21:9).

f. 104. Ego dixi. Initial E: Balaam blesses Israel (Num. 23:7-10).


f. 106v. Domine audivi. Initial D: The people commit fornication with the daughters of Moab (Num. 25:1).


f. 110. Te deum. Initial T: God speaks to Moses (Num. 25:4, pt 1).


f. 117. Initial: A man bound with the chain of sins prays to God.

f. 117v. Initial: Christ blessing.


f. 117v. Initial: A man praying for the dead.

f. 117v. Initial: The head of God above tombs.

f. 118. Initial: St Peter holding key.

f. 118v. Initial: St Paul holding sword.

f. 118v. Initial: St John the Evangelist holding cup.

f. 119. Initial: St Andrew holding saltire.

f. 119. Initial: St James the Great reading.

f. 119v. Initial: St Thomas.

f. 119v. Initial: St Philip holding six loaves.

f. 120. Initial: St James the Less with mallet.

f. 120v. Initial: St Matthew with angel.

f. 120v. Initial: St Simon reading.
f. 121. Initial: St Jude with open book.
f. 121. Initial: St Matthias reading.
f. 121v. Initial: St Barnabas holding book.
f. 122. Initial: St Mark.
f. 122. Initial: Sts Anne and Joachim meet at the Golden Gate.
f. 122v. Initial: St Jerome.
f. 123. Initial: St Augustine.
f. 123. Initial: St Mary Magdalene holding ointment pot.
f. 123v. Initial: Guardian Angel.
f. 124. Initial: St Ursula and her companions.
f. 124. Initial: Angel writing, accompanied by the lion of St Mark.
f. 124v. Initial: Angel of St Matthew writing.
f. 125v. Initial: Angel writing, accompanied by the ox of St Luke.
f. 126. Initial: Angel writing, accompanied by the eagle of St John.

Schloss Pommersfelden MS. 2934 (348)

f. 1. Initial S: Ascension.
f. 1. Initial D: Bust of Christ.
f. 1v. Initial S: Martyrdom of St Peter.
f. 2. Initial D: St Peter holding keys and church.
f. 2. Initial S: Martyrdom of St Paul.
f. 2. Initial D: St Paul with sword.
f. 2v. Initial H: St John the Evangelist in the vat of oil.
f. 2v. Initial T: St John the Evangelist with chalice and palm.
f. 2v. Initial I: St Andrew with saltire.
f. 3. Initial M: Martyrdom of St Andrew.
f. 3. Initial P: Martyrdom of St James the Great.
f. 3. Initial P: St James the Great as pilgrim.
f. 3v. Initial Q: Martyrdom of St Thomas.
f. 3v. Initial O: St Thomas with spear.
f. 3v. Initial T: Martyrdom of St Philip.
f. 4. Initial O: St Philip.
f. 4. Initial P: Martyrdom of St James the Less.
f. 4. Initial D: St James the Less.
f. 4v. Initial A: Martyrdom of St Bartholomew.
f. 4v. Initial P: St Bartholomew.
f. 4v. Initial U: Martyrdom of St Matthew.
f. 5. Initial B: St Matthew with pen.
f. 5. Initial S: St Simon causing idol's downfall.
f. 5. Initial D: St Simon.
f. 5v. Initial I: Martyrdom of St Jude.
f. 5v. Initial M: St Jude.
f. 5v. Initial T: St Matthias.
f. 6. Initial D: St Matthias.
f. 6. Initial M: Martyrdom of St Barnabas.
f. 6. Initial D: St Barnabas.
f. 6v. Initial I: Virgin dictating to St Luke.
f. 6v. Initial L: St Luke writing.
f. 6v. Initial M: Martyrdom of St Mark.
f. 7. Initial D: St Mark writing.
f. 7. Initial O: King with main-de-justice sceptre, looking at face of God in cloud.
f. 7. Initial D: A King.
f. 7v. Initial D: Sts Joachim and Anne.
f. 8. Initial D: St Jerome with books.
f. 8. Initial D: St Augustine teaching two bishops.
f. 8v. Initial O: Angel bearing up soul in napkin to God.
f. 9v. Full-page miniature: Scenes and Instruments of the Passion, in compartments. Down the centre: 1, Christ crucified between two thieves, with Blessed Virgin and St John; 2, Flagellation, with four torturers; 3, The Wound in the Side supported by six grieving angels, in the manner of an Assumption, above the tomb. In five compartments down each side a great variety of Instruments.
f. 10. Full-page miniature: Fifteen saints, under architectural ogee canopies, in three rows: 1, St John the Baptist; 2, St Michael; 3, St Peter; 4, St Paul; 5, St John the Evangelist; 6, an archbishop (St Thomas of Canterbury?); 7, St George; 8, St Christopher; 9, St Leonard; 10, St Anne; 11, St Mary Magdalene; 12, St Catherine; 13, St Margaret; 14, a Benedictine abbess, crowned, holding a book; 15, St Ursula.
f. 12v. Initial I: Haloed lion with scroll and St Mark writing.
f. 13. Initial C: Haloed angel of St Matthew seated writing.
f. 14v. Initial I: Haloed eagle with scroll and St John writing.
Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod, 1826*

The historiated initials to the psalms and canticles mostly illustrate or allude to the text. A full description of these is provided by James (see James and Millar (1936), pp. 33-44).

f. 7. Beatus vir. Initial B: David enthroned; the wicked man falls from the chair of pestilence. Bas-de-page: David and Goliath.

f. 25v. Dominus illuminatio. Initial D: David points to eye; Christ wards off his enemies.

f. 57v. Salvum me fac. Initial S: God speaks to Jonah; Jonah boards the ship; the storm; Jonah thrown into the sea; the great fish; Jonah emerges from the fish; Jonah under the ivy, at which the worm gnaws.

f. 85v. Cantate. Initial C: The crossing of the Red Sea, the Egyptians are drowned and the Israelites sing and dance.

f. 100. Dixit dominus. Initial D: David, Abisag and Bathsheba; The coronation of Solomon; The Judgement of Solomon, in two scenes.

f. 136. Te deum. Initial T: St Ambrose baptises St Augustine.


f. 139. Quicunque vult. Initial Q: Gnadenstuhl Trinity.


f. 150. Initial D: A man prays for the souls of his parents.

f. 150. Initial F: Tombs in a churchyard.

f. 150. Initial P: Six people praying.

f. 150v. Initial: The Ascension.

f. 151. Initial: St Peter with key and book.

f. 151v. Initial: St Paul with sword.

f. 151v. Initial: St John the Evangelist with palm.

f. 152. Initial: St Andrew with saltire.

f. 152. Initial: St James the Great dressed as a pilgrim.

f. 152v. Initial: St Thomas with lance.

f. 152v. Initial: St Philip with loaves.

f. 153. Initial: St James the Less holding a mallet.

f. 153. Initial: St Bartholomew holding a knife.


f. 153v. Initial: St Simon with cross.

f. 154. Initial: St Jude.
f. 154. Initial: St Matthias.

f. 154v. Initial: St Barnabas holding a flame.

f. 154v. Initial: St Luke, with ox.

f. 155. Initial: St Mark.

f. 155v. Initial: St Jerome.

f. 155v. Initial: St Augustine teaching.

f. 156. Initial: Man with Guardian Angel.

f. 156v. Initial: St Ursula and her companions.

f. 156v. Initial V: The Dove descends.


f. 158. Initial: St Christopher.

f. 158. Initial: St Sebastian.


f. 159. Initial: The angel of St Matthew.

f. 159v. Initial: St Luke seated writing, with ox.

f. 160. Initial: St John seated, with eagle.
APPENDIX VII : DIVISION OF HANDS, CHRONOLOGY AND DATING

(i) Suggested dating for the manuscripts discussed in Chapters 1 and 2

**ca 1335-40**

**ca 1340**
London, British Library, Add. MS. 42130 (Luttrell Psalter); London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS. 14 (St Omer Psalter).

**ca 1340-43**
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. 105 (Hours); London, British Library, Add. MS. 47680 (Secreta Secretorum), the later work; London, British Library, Egerton MS. 2781 (Hours); London, British Library, Harley MS. 2888 (Psalter); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 131 (Psalter).

**1343**
Cambridge, University Archives, Luard *33a (Charter).

**ca 1343-45**
Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS. F.5.21 (Hours); London, British Library, Royal MS. 1.E.iv (Pentateuch); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Liturg. 198 (Psalter).

**ca 1345**
Collection of the Viscount Astor (Psalter-Hours); Brescia, Queriniana Library, MS. A.V.17 (Psalter); Cambridge, St John’s College, MS. D.30 (Psalter of Simon de Montacute); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e.41 (Zouche Hours); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 765 (Fitzwarin Psalter).

**ca 1345-48/9**
Remaining leaves from lectern Bible (various libraries, including Lilly Library); the later work in the Luttrell Psalter (ff. 215v to end).

**1348/9**
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 48 (Carew-Poyntz Hours), f. 12 *bas-de-page* (some underdrawing), f. 12v *bas-de-page*; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826* (Psalter), ff. 7-49v (Hand A), ff. 50 and 57 (Hand B).

**ca 1345-53**
Rome, Vatican Library, Pal. Lat. MS. 537 (Hours).

**1353**
Cambridge, Trinity Hall, Muniments 77 (Charter).

**ca 1345-55**

(ii) Attributions to Vienna Hands A and B (arranged chronologically for each artist)

**Hand A**
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 131 (Psalter)
f. 1 (psalm 1), miniature: David slays Goliath, historiated initial: David plays the harp, border: Tree of Jesse; f. 81v (psalm 97), four clerics sing while a priest elevates the Host at an altar (initial only); f. 83v (psalm 101), king kneels in prayer before God Who appears in cloud above an altar (initial only); f. 96v, full-page miniature of the Judgement of Solomon; f. 97 (psalm 109), the Trinity (initial and border); f. 110 (psalm 119), donor kneels before the Virgin and Child (initial and border); f. 126 (psalm 137), woman in
black robe kneels in confession to seated monk (initial and border).

Cambridge, University Archives, Luard *33a (Charter)
Edward III gives charter to chancellor; above a demi-angel holds two shields (France and England quarterly, and University of Cambridge) (initial and border).

Brescia, Queriniana Library, MS. A.V.17 (Psalter)
f. 7 (psalm 1), miniature: David plays the harp on the upper floor of castle, a man stands at the gate of castle before a group of men, people look on from castle, historiated initial: Virgin and Child; f. 24v (psalm 26), David points to eye (initial and border); f. 36v (psalm 38), David points to mouth (initial and border); f. 47 (psalm 52), suicide of Saul (initial and border), the remaining decoration in the Psalter, including that to the initials by the other artist.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826* (Psalter)
ff. 7-49v (psalms 1-57).

Hand B

London, British Library, MS. Harley 2888 (Psalter)
f. 68 (psalm 68), Jonah and the whale; f. 84 (psalm 80), David plays bells; f. 98v (psalm 97), two clerics sing before a lectern; initials and borders including all the decoration from f. 57 onwards.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Liturg. 198 (Psalter)
f. 1 (psalm 1), f. 20v (psalm 26), f. 34 (psalm 38), f. 46 (psalm 51), f. 47 (psalm 52), f. 60 (psalm 68), f. 76v (psalm 80), f. 91v (psalm 97), f. 93v (psalm 101), f. 107v (psalm 109), initials and borders including all the remaining decoration.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 765 (Psalter)
ff. 7-20, cycle of fourteen full-page miniatures; f. 23 (psalm 1); David plays the harp (initial and border), f. 47v (psalm 26), f. 65v (psalm 38), f. 80 (psalm 52), f. 95 (psalm 68), f. 113v (psalm 80), f. 132 (psalm 97), f. 150 (psalm 109), f. 207 (Dilexsi), decorative initials and borders. The minor decoration in the rest of the Psalter is also by this artist.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 48 (Book of Hours)
f. 12 (Creation of Adam), some of the underdrawing of the bas-de-page miniature; f. 12v (Creation of Eve), bas-de-page miniature only.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1826* (Psalter)
f. 50 (psalm 58)* initial and border; ff. 50v, 57, 57v, verse initials and line-fillers including those on f. 50.
(iii) Division of hands and suggested dating for the Bohun manuscripts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Hand</th>
<th>Folios (where applicable)</th>
<th>Campaign</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS. 1826*</td>
<td>Vienna Hand A</td>
<td>ff.7-49v</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>ca 1345-48/9</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vienna Hand B (Fitzwarin Artist)</td>
<td>ff.50,57</td>
<td>First¹</td>
<td>ca 1348/9</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vienna Hand C</td>
<td>ff.58v, 63v 85v, 143v²</td>
<td>First¹</td>
<td>ca 1348-50⁹</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vienna Hand D (English Artist, alias John de Tye)</td>
<td>ff.1-6 51-160⁴</td>
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<td>ca 1350-55/60</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vienna Hand E</td>
<td>ff.1-6 (minor initials)</td>
<td>Second</td>
<td>ca 1355-60</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Royal MS.13.DJ*¹</td>
<td>Vienna Hand D (English Artist)</td>
<td>ff.16v, 18</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Vienna Hand E (Flemish Hand)</td>
<td>f.20 and minor decoration (ff.1-46)</td>
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<td>ca 1355-60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Exeter College MS. 47</td>
<td>English Artist</td>
<td>ff.20-78v</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>ca 1355-60/61</td>
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<td>Flemish Hand</td>
<td>ff.20-126 (verse initials and line-fillers), borders on ff.21,21v.22, 23,24,25</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>ca 1355-60/61</td>
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<tr>
<td>London, British Library, Egerton MS.3277</td>
<td>Flemish Hand</td>
<td>ff.7-170 (verse initials and line-fillers)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS.38-1950</td>
<td>English Artist</td>
<td>f.1⁷</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1370-72/3</td>
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<td>ff.1v-217v⁸</td>
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<td>Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Auct.D.4.4</td>
<td>Flemish Hand</td>
<td>ff.1v-274, with exception, of below</td>
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<td>ca 1370-72/3</td>
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<td>English Artist</td>
<td>ff.xii v, 1,181v, 243v⁹</td>
<td>Additions</td>
<td>ca 1372/3-75</td>
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341
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Hand/Artist</th>
<th>Pages/Initials/Decoration</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<td>Schloss Pommersfelden,</td>
<td>Flemish Hand</td>
<td>ff.1-8v, 11-14v</td>
<td>ca 1375-80</td>
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<tr>
<td>MS.2934(348)</td>
<td>English Artist</td>
<td>ff.9-10v</td>
<td>ca 1375-80</td>
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<td>Copenhagen, Kongelige</td>
<td>English Artist</td>
<td>ff.1,6v 14v,18,20,22v,</td>
<td>ca 1380-84</td>
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<td>24v,28v,32v,43 (historiated</td>
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<tr>
<td>547 4°</td>
<td></td>
<td>initials and borders),</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Flemish Hand</td>
<td>ff.2v-66v, but only the</td>
<td>ca 1380-84</td>
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<td>minor decoration on ff.18,20,22v, 24v,28v,32v,43.</td>
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<td>ff.1,10v, 22v</td>
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<td>517 4°</td>
<td>Flemish Hand</td>
<td>ff.1v-10, 11-22, 23-38, 10v</td>
<td>ca 1380-84</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(line-filler), 22v (3-line</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>initial, verse initial and</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>line-filler).</td>
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<td>Oxford, Exeter College,</td>
<td>English Artist</td>
<td>ff.9-19v</td>
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<td>London, British Library,</td>
<td>Flemish Hand</td>
<td>ff.7-170 (minor psalm</td>
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<td>Egerton Artist</td>
<td></td>
<td>ff.29v,46v,67, 68v,78,87,98v, 114,120v,123,126v, 129,133,142,145v (historiated initials and borders).</td>
<td>Third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(alias Henry Hood)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Flemish Hand</td>
<td></td>
<td>ff.1-6v</td>
<td>Third</td>
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<td>Location</td>
<td>Artist(s)</td>
<td>Folios/Pages</td>
<td>Hand(s)</td>
</tr>
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<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oxford, Exeter College, MS.47</td>
<td>Exeter Hands A, B, and C</td>
<td>ff.79-126 (historiated initials and borders)</td>
<td>Third</td>
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1. Represents the second and third attempts to complete the psalter, but designated the first campaign since suggested date is close to that conjectured for ff.7-49v, 50 and 57.

2. Also the underdrawing (and possibly some of the underpainting) of the following folios: 51-56 (gathering 8), 58-64 (gathering 9), 65-71 (gathering 10), ff.144, 149 (gathering 20).

3. This material could marginally post date the Black Death.

4. With the exception of the material by Vienna Hands B and C in this portion.

5. Although there is no evidence that this is a Bohun manuscript, it is vital to the chronology of the central shop as both the English and Flemish artists can be identified in it.

6. Except the borders for which the Flemish Hand was responsible.

7. On f. 163v the English Artist overpainted the face of Christ in the miniature and that of the standing knight in the initial, as well as the heads in the three-line initials on ff. 167, 168 and 168v.

8. At this point the litany was mutilated and converted into a ferial litany; the text from here on is of the fifteenth century.

9. On f. 88v the English Artist overpainted the female figure in the initial, the entire figure of a Benedictine monk seated on a grassy bank on f. 119v, the crowned female saint in the bottom register, second from the right, and the drapery of the Virgin being taught to read by St Anne of f. 238.

10. The text of this manuscript, however, was probably prepared ca 1360/1, immediately before the death of the sixth earl.

11. See following section (iv) in this appendix for a division of hands of this material.
(iv) Oxford, Exeter College, MS.47, ff.78-126 (the third campaign), Exeter Hands A, B and C (division of hands)

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Hand</th>
<th>Missing Leaves</th>
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<td>78</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>78v</td>
<td>English Artist</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td>English Artist²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>79v</td>
<td>A (initial)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td>B (border)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80v</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>81v</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>?A or B</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>?A or B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82v</td>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>English Artist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83v</td>
<td>English Artist</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

¹ There are remnants of the first campaign in this gathering.

² There is retouching by Exeter Hand B.
Gathering | Folios | Hand | Missing Leaves
--- | --- | --- | ---
14 | 84 | A | 
| 84v | A | 
| 85 | A | 
| 85v | A | 
| 86 | A | 
| 86v | A | 
| 87 | B | 
| 87v | B | 
| 88 | B | 
| 88v | B | 
| 89 | A | 
| 89v | A | 
| 90 | A | 
| 90v | A | 

(8) | | | ? A

345
<table>
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<td>98v</td>
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Gathering  Folios  Hand  Missing Leaves

18  (1)  -  -  ?C

2  114  C  ?C
    114v  C

3  115  C
    115v  C

4  116  C
    116v  C

5  117  C
    117v  C

6  -  -  ?C

7  118  C  ?C
    118v  C

8  119  C
    119v  C

349
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350
APPENDIX VIII: THE ASTOR PSALTER-HOURS

Collation

flyleaf (f. 1), 16-2 (ff. 2-5, wants 1 and 6), 212 (ff. 6-17), 312-1 (ff. 18-28, wants 4), 4-712 (ff. 29-76), 812-1 (ff. 77-87, wants 6), 9-1512 (ff. 88-171), seven leaves (ff. 172-178).

Calendar

January and February missing.

March

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>bl</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>Edward, K.M. 'provincie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>Cuthbert 'provincie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Benedict simp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>Resurrection</td>
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April

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<th>Name</th>
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<td>r</td>
<td>Richard 'provincie' simp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>bl</td>
<td>Ambrose D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>(in a mid fifteenth-century cursive hand) Vincent totD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>Tiburtius and Valerian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>(in 5 Apr. hand) Adalbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>George simp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>(in 5 Apr. hand) Mark totD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>bk</td>
<td>Vitalis</td>
</tr>
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May

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<td>pk</td>
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</tr>
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15 bk Vitus and Modestus
16 bk Ciriacus and Julitta
18 bk Mark and Marcellian liii
19 r Gervase and Prothase simp
22 bk Alban liii
23 bk Etheldreda 'provincie'
24 bl Nativity of John Baptist totD
26 r John and Paul simp
28 bk Leo'
29 g Peter and Paul totD
30 bl Commemoration of Paul

July

1 r Oct. of John Baptist
2 bk Processus and Martinian. Swithun.
6 r Oct. of Peter and Paul
7 r Translation of Thomas of Canterbury simp
8 bk 'Anniversarium sepulfiorum in cymiteris nostris'
10 bk Seven Brothers liii
13 g 'Dedicatio ecclesie predicatorum Salopie' totD
17 bk Alexius liii
20 r Margaret simp
21 bk Praxedis liii
22 g Mary Magdalene totD
23 bk Apollinaris liii
24 bk Christina bl Vigil
25 bl James D bk Christopher and Cucufas
27 bk Martha liii
28 bk Nazarius, Celsus and Pantaleon liii
29 bk Felix and Faustinus liii
30 bk Abdon and Sennen liii
31 bk Germanus liii

August

1 r Peter's Chains simp
2 bk Stephen liii
3 r Invention of Stephen simp
5 g Dominic totD
6 bk Felicissimus and Agapitus
7 bk Donatus
8 bk Cyriacus and companions
9 pk Vigil
10 pk Laurence semiD
11 bk Tyburtius
12 r Oct. of Dominic simp
13 r Hippolytus and companions simp
14 bk Eusebius
15 g Assumption totD
17 r Oct. of Laurence simp
18 bk Agapitus
20 r Bernard simp
22 r Oct. of Assumption simp
23 bl Vigil
24 bl Bartholomew D
27 bk Rufus
28 g Augustine the Great totD

352
29 r Decollation of John Baptist simp
30 bk Felix and Adauctus

September

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October

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<td>r</td>
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November and December missing.

Obits and memoranda

Litany

Peter, Paul Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Phillip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Jude, Matthias, Mark, Luke, Barnabas. Innocents.
Silvester, Hilary, Martin, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Nicholas, Dominic, Dominic, Thomas, Francis, Jerome, Benedict, Anthony, Bernard, David.
Mary Magdalene, Martha, Felicity, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecilia, Catherine, Margaret, Winefred.

List of Subjects

f. 53. Beatus vir. Initial B: Tree of Jesse.
f. 70v. Dominus illuminatio. Initial D: David, seated, pointing to eye.
f. 91v. Dixit insipiens. Initial D: David watching the Fool commit suicide.
f. 101v. Salvum me fac. Initial S: Above, Christ in Majesty attended by angels with Instruments of the Passion; below, David in the water.
f. 115. Exultate. Initial E: David playing bells.
f. 127v. Cantate. Initial C: Three clerics singing at a lectern.
f. 140v. Dixit Dominus. Initial D: Blessed Trinity. God the Father and God the Son seated, Dove above.

Heraldry

Badlesmere
Argent a fess between two bars gemelles gules (f. 53).
Argent a fess between two bars gemelles and a canton gules (f. 26).

Bohun, earl of Hereford
Azure a bend argent between two cotises and six lions rampant or (ff. 53, 70v).

Bohun, earl of Northampton Azure on a bend argent between two cotises and six lions rampant or three mullets gules (ff. 53, 70v, 91v, 101v, 115, 127v, 140v).

Mortimer
Barry of six or and azure, an inescutcheon argent, on a chief or, gyroned azure, two pallets azure (ff. 26, 53).

Elizabeth (1313-8 June 1356), 3rd daughter of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, Lord Badlesmere, married firstly Edmund de Mortimer (d. 1331/2), and secondly, in 1335, William de Bohun, earl of Northampton.

1 Indicates a feast peculiar to the English Province of the Dominican Order.
2 A terminus post quem is provided by the canonisation of St Vincent Ferrer on 29 June 1455.
3 The title 'pape' has been erased.
4 Partially erased.

354
APPENDIX IX: THE EDINBURGH PSALTER-HOURS

ff. 148, 225 x 152 mm. Text area 140 x 39+9+39 mm. 32 lines, double columns. Ruled in red.

Calendar

January

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<td>r</td>
<td>Oct. Epiphany. bk Hilary</td>
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February

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March

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355
April

3 bk Richard
4 r Ambrose
14 bk Tiburtius & Valerian
19 bk Alphege
23 r George
25 r Mark D lix
28 bk Vitalis

May

1 bl Philip & James
3 r Invention of Cross bk Alexander & Eventius
6 r John at the Latin Gate
7 bk (added in early-mid fifteenth-century hand) John of Beverley
10 bk Gordian & Epimachus
12 bk Nereus, Achilleus & Pancras
19 r Dunstan
25 bk Aldhelm
26 r Augustine of Canterbury
28 bk Germanus
31 bk Petronilla

June

1 bk Nichomedes
2 bk Marcellinus & Peter
5 bk Boniface & companions
8 bk Medard & Gildard
9 bk Transl. Edmund of Canterbury
11 r Barnabas
12 bk Basilides, Cyrinus, Nazarius & Nabor
14 bk Basil
15 bk Vitus & Modestus
16 bk Transl. Richard
18 bk Mark & Marcellian
19 bk Gervase & Prothase
20 bk Transl. Edward
22 r Alban
23 bk Etheldreda r Vigil
24 bl Nativity of John Baptist
26 bk John & Paul
28 bk Leo r Vigil
29 bl Peter & Paul
30 r Commemoration of Paul

July

1 bk Oct. John Baptist
2 bk Processus & Martinian. Swithun mem.
4 r Transl. Martin
6 r Oct. Peter & Paul
7 bl Transl. Thomas of Canterbury
10 bk Seven Brothers
11 bk Transl. Benedict
15 bk Transl. Swithun
17 bk Kenelm

356
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**September**

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**October**

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<td>18</td>
<td>r</td>
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**November**

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<td>17</td>
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<td>Hugh. bk Anian</td>
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<td>Saturninus &amp; Sisinius. r Vigil</td>
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**December**

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<td>13</td>
<td>bk</td>
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<td>O Sapiencia</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>Vigil</td>
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358
Obits in Calendar

2 Jan. Hic nat' e' Dorothea Terell, A° do[min]i M°CCCOlvi°
11 Jan. ob' A. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
17 Jan. ob' h. (in mid fifteenth-century hand) (?Humphrey de Bohun, d. 16 Jan. 1372/3).
21 Jan. ob' J. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
24 Jan. ob' R. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
9 Feb. ob' J. B. (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
23 Feb. ob' j m (in mid-late fifteenth-century hand)
7 Mar. ob' m. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
24 Mar. ob' C. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
6 Apr. ob' W. ?P. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
14 Apr. Nat' ? XV M (in mid-late fifteenth-century hand)
16 May ob' A. M. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
22 May ob' A. M 2. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
7 June ob' A. R. (in mid fifteenth-century hand) (?Anne of Bohemia, d. 7 June 1394).
17 June Nat' h. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
26 June Nat' A. B. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
22 June hic fuit nat' Jacob' tyrrel a[n]no d[omi]ni mioCCCm°xlvo° (?in 21 Feb. hand)
(Sir James Tyrell of Gipping, ex. 1502).
1 July ob' M. B. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
1 July Nat' est h' joh' tyrrell a[n]no [domi]ni m[i][lesim]o CCCm° xlvo° (in 21 Feb. hand)
5 July Nat' est h' maria Terell' A° do[min]i M°CCCOlvo°(in 2 Jan. hand)
21-22 July hic nata est Alicia Tyrell Anno d[omi]ni mill[les]imo CCCm°xlvi°mo°(?in 21 Feb. hand)
3 July ob' m t. (in mid-late fifteenth-century hand)
7 Aug. Ob' h. S. (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
15 Aug. ob' P. (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
19 Aug. ob a ?c (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
2 Sept. ob h b(in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
3 Sept. ob J. G. (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
8 Sept. ob' T. G. (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
13 Sept. p. h. ao. 1388 (in early fifteenth-century hand)
30 Sept. erased note.
3 Oct. ob' A (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand) (?Eleanor de Bohun)
11 Oct. ob' j c (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
16 Oct. ob' n de B C (in early-mid fifteenth-century hand)
1 Nov. ob R. B. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
3 Nov. ob R. ?d (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
23 Nov. Ob' H. B. (in mid fifteenth-century hand)
13 Dec. ob' E. P. (in mid-late fifteenth-century hand)
16 Dec. ob' J. A. (in mid-late fifteenth-century hand)
23 Dec. ob' J. (in mid-late fifteenth-century hand)
28 Dec. ob' M. C. de D. (in mid-late fifteenth-century hand)

Litany

Stephen, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Fabian, Sebastian, Cosmas, Damian, Primus, Felician, Denis & companions, Victor & companions.

Silvester, Leo, Jerome, Augustine, Isidore, Julian, Gildard, Medard, Albinus, Eusebius, Swithun, Birinus.

Mary Magdalene, Mary the Egyptian, Margaret, Scholastica, Petronilla, Genevieve, Praxedis, Sotheris, Prisca, Tecla, Affra, Edith.

Added clause, in a hand of ca 1400: vt viam fam[ul]i tui tihme disponsas et o[mn]ia op[era] ci' dirigas (this presumably refers to Eleanor's husband, Thomas of Woodstock, d. 8 or 9 Sept. 1397, and thus provides a terminus ante quem for the MS.).

The litany is of standard Sarum type (see Froster and Wordsworth, ii (1879), pp. 250-55.

Contents

ff. 3-8v. Calendar in blue, red and black.
ff. 9-13v. Seasonal variants to Hours of the Virgin.
ff. 16-33v. Hours of the Virgin (use of Sarum). Hours of the Cross interspersed.

Memoriae at Lauds: Holy Ghost, Holy Trinity, (Holy Cross, added), John Baptist, Relics, All Saints, Peace.

Memoriae at Vespers: Holy Ghost, Holy Trinity, John Baptist, Relics, All Saints, Peace.

ff. 33v.-34 Salve Regina.
ff. 34-37 Seven Penitential Psalms.
ff. 41-47 Litany of St Anselm and other devotions, mostly added.
ff. 48-59v. Vigils of the Dead.
ff. 60-60v. Commendation of Souls.
ff. 60v.-65 Psalter of St Jerome.
ff. 65-68v. Prayers to be said during Mass, with rubrics in Anglo-Norman. The prayer on f. 86, which names Eleanor, is worded so as to indicate a date between 1389 and 1399.
ff. 138v.-143v. Various devotions, that on f. 138v. naming Eleanor.
ff. 144-145v. Devotions added in various fifteenth-century hands, including memoriae of SS. Augustine of Canterbury, Ethelbert of Kent, Alban and Dunstan.
List of Subjects

f. 9. 8-line init. D (Vespers in Advent). Two prophets speaking to two men, a youth and a woman.
f. 9v. 8-line init. E (Matins in Advent). Annunciation. Angel with scroll kneels at Left Virgin at lectern at Right. Lily-pot between them.
f. 18v. 8-line init. D (Lauds of Virgin). Last Supper. St John asleep on Christ’s breast.
f. 25v. 8-line init. D (Sext of Virgin). Carrying of Cross. Christ is naked but for loincloth, and is assisted by Simon of Cyrene.
f. 26v. 8-line init. D (None of Virgin). Christ, crucified between two thieves, being offered sponge on reed.
f. 28. 8-line init. D (Vespers of Virgin). Longinus, pointing to eye, piercing Christ’s side. St John and Virgin on Left, centurion and soldier on Right.
f. 32. 8-line init. C (Compline of Virgin). Deposition.
f. 33. 3-line init. H (Compline of Cross). Entombment.
f. 34. 8-line init. D (Penitential Psalms). Last Judgement. Christ seated on rainbow displaying His wounds. The dead arise as two angels blow trumpets.
f. 60v. 8-line init. U (Psalter of St Jerome). St Jerome writing at the dictation of an angel.
f. 69. 8-line init. B (Beatus vir). David harping to Saul; the evil spirit departs (1 Kings 16:23).
f. 78. 8-line init. D (Dominus illuminatio). The anointing of David (2 Kings 5:3).
f. 84. 8-line init. D (Dixi custodiadem). David confronting a sinful king.
f. 89v. 7-line init. D (Dixit insipiens). David worshipping God; suicide of Saul, in front of an idol.
f. 95. 8-line init. S (Salvum me fac). David, in water, praying to be rescued by God.
f. 102v. 8-line init. E (Exultate). David harping, accompanied by musicians playing trumpets, psaltery and tambourine.
f. 109v. 8-line init. C (Cantate). David instructing one of three singers at lectern.
f. 118. 8-line init. D (Dixit dominus). God the Father, with orb, and God the Son, with marks of Passion, seated on bench holding the Dove between Them.
APPENDIX X: HERALDRY

(i) Armorial

Anjou, Margaret of, queen of England (d. 1482).

Azure three fleurs de lis or (France Modern) and Gules three lions passant guardant or (England) quarterly, impaling Quarterly of six: 1, Barry of six (recte eight) argent and gules (Hungary); 2, Azure semy de lis or, a label of three points gules (Anjou Ancient); 3, Argent a cross potent between four crosses crosslet potent or (Jerusalem); 4, Azure semy de lis or, a bordure gules (Anjou Modern); 5, Azure semy of crosses crosslet fitchy, two barbels haurient addorsed or (Bar); 6, Or on a bend gules three alerions displayed argent (Lorraine), ensigned with a closed crown.

Fitzwilliam 38-1950, f. 1 (added).

Fitzwilliam 38-1950 was given to Queen Margaret by Archbishop Stafford at some time between her marriage in 1445 and his death in 1452.

Bardolph.

Gules three ?sexfoils or.

Egerton 3277, ff. 142, 145v.

If the charges are intended as cinquefoils, these would be the arms of Bardolph. Thomas, son and heir of Lord Bardolph, served in Thomas of Woodstock's retinue in 1378.

Beauchamp, earls of Warwick.

Gules a fess between six crosses crosslet or.

Egerton 3277, f. 123.

Bohun, earls of Hereford and Essex.

Azure a bend argent between two cotises and six lions rampant or.

Fitzwilliam 38-1950, ff. 1 (twice), 5, 29, 46, 62, 78, 99, 120, 123, 142v, 163v, 207.

Copenhagen 547, ff. 1 (twice), 6v, 14v.

Egerton 3277, ff. 29v, 99v, 120v, 131v, 133, 145v.

1 But only six bars are shown on Oxford, Jesus College MS. 124 a prayer roll executed for Margaret of Anjou.


362
These arms, borne by the Bohuns since the 1230s, were used, *inter alia*, by John de Bohun, 5th earl of Hereford (d. 1335/6), Humphrey de Bohun, 6th earl (d. 1361), Humphrey de Bohun, 7th earl (d. 1372/3), and the 7th earl's daughters and coheiresses, Mary and Eleanor.

Bohun, earl of Northampton.
Azure on a bend argent between two cotises and six lions rampant or three mullets gules.

This differenced version of the arms of Bohun, used by William de Bohun, earl of Northampton (d. 1360) as early as 1330, is in Fitzwilliam 38-1950 to be interpreted as a reference to Humphrey de Bohun (d. 1372/3) as earl of Northampton. Between his father's death in 1360 and that of his uncle a year later Humphrey would have used these arms.

Butler, earls of Ormond.
Or a chief indented azure.

Eleanor, daughter of Humphrey, 4th Earl of Hereford, married in 1327 as her first husband James le Botiller, earl of Ormond (d. 1337/8).

Castile and Leon.
Gules a castle or (Castile) and Argent a lion rampant gules (Leon) quarterly.

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4 Ellis, ii (1981), P1066.
These arms were assumed by John of Gaunt when he laid claim to the crown of Castile and Leon on his marriage to Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, in September 1371. They are shown alone on his Great Seal of Castile and Leon.\(^3\) On the seal he used in England from 1371 to 1388 they are impaled with his arms as duke of Lancaster.\(^4\) After 1388, when he renounced his rights in the kingdom of Castile and Leon, the impalement was reversed.\(^7\) The presence of these arms in Fitzwilliam 38-1950, in conjunction with those of Bohun, earl of Northampton, points to a date between September 1371 and 1372/3 for this manuscript.

Courtenay, earls of Devon.
Or three torteaux, a label of three points azure.

Fitzwilliam 38-1950, ff. 7v, 29, 78, 120, 142v, 174v.
Egerton 3277, f. 133.
Pommersfelden 2934, f. 2v.
Vienna Cod. 1826*, f. 7.

Margaret, daughter of Humphrey, 4th Earl of Hereford, married Hugh de Courtenay, earl of Devon, in 1325.

St Edmund.
Azure three crowns or.

Egerton 3277, ff. 142, 145v.

Edward, prince of Wales, son of Edward III.
Azure semy de lis or and Gules three lions passant guardant or quarterly, a label of three points argent.

Fitzwilliam 38-1950, f. 3.
Vienna Cod. 1826*, f. 141.

These arms were used by Edward of Woodstock, prince of Wales (d. 1376) and by his son Richard, earl of Chester, afterwards Richard II, from 1376 to 1377. The context of the shield in Fitzwilliam 38-1950 suggests that it may have been intended as that of John of Gaunt, with an ermine label, but was left plain argent in error.

\(^3\) Armitage-Smith (1904), p. 457 & fig. iv opp. p. 456.
\(^4\) Birch (1887-1900), no. 12694.
\(^7\) Ibid., nos. 12695-6.
England, kings of (before 1340).
Gules three lions passant guardant or.

Egerton 3277, ff. 29v, 120v, 133, 145v.
Exeter 47, ff. 9v, 10v, 11v, 12v, 13v, 14v.
Vienna Cod. 1826*, ff. 53v, 100 (twice), 113v.

These arms, which frequently occur in Bohun MSS. dating from after 1340, commemorate the marriage of Humphrey, 4th earl of Hereford to Elizabeth (1282-1316), daughter of Edward I, in 1302. Their son Edward (d. 1334) differenced the arms of Bohun by setting a lozenge gules charged with three lions passant guardant or upon the bend. Similarly, the alliance is commemorated on the seal used by Humphrey, 6th earl of Hereford, between 1337 and 1349, which incorporates a small circular countersunk compartment in which is a lion passant guardant over the Bohun shield.

England, kings of (after 1340).
Azure semy de lis or (France Ancient) and Gules three lions passant guardant or (England) quarterly.

Fitzwilliam 38-1950, ff. 1, 1v, 46.
Copenhagen 547, f. 6v.
Egerton 3277, ff. 68v, 99v.
Pommersfelden 2934, f. 2.
Vienna Cod. 1826*, ff. 7 (England 1st and 4th, France 2nd and 3rd), 141.

Edward III quartered the arms of England with those of France in February 1339/40. The transposition of the quarters in Vienna Cod. 1826* might point to a date soon after this, when there was still some uncertainty as to the marshalling of the arms. The quarters were similarly transposed in a window in the London Greyfriars, glazed before 1358.

FitzAlan, earls of Arundel.
Gules a lion rampant or.

Egerton 3277, ff. 142, 145v.

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8 Ellis ii (1981), P1058.
9 Birch (1887-1900), nos. 7534-6.
10 B.L., Lansdowne MS. 874, f. 102v.
John de Bohun, 5th earl of Hereford, married in 1325 as his first wife Alice, daughter of Edmund FitzAlan, earl of Arundel. Humphrey, 7th earl, married in 1359 Joan (d. 1419), daughter of Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel (d. 1375/6). In the same year Humphrey's sister Elizabeth married Richard FitzAlan (d. 1397).

France, kings of (France Ancient).
Azure semy de lis or.

Egerton 3277, ff. 23v, 68v.

Although France Modern (Azure three fleurs de lis or) was officially adopted in 1376, France Ancient continued in use for some time after this, and the arms of the king of England were not altered until the reign of Henry IV.¹¹

St George.
Argent a cross gules.

Egerton 3277, f. 114v.
Pommersfelden 2934, f. 4v.

Holland, counts of.
Or a lion rampant gules.

Pommersfelden 2934, f. 4v.

This may possibly refer to Elizabeth de Bohun's first husband John, Count of Holland and Zealand (d. 1299).

?Order of Knights Hospitaller.
Gules a cross argent.

Egerton 3277, f. 129.

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.
Azure semý de lis or (France Ancient) and Gules three lions passant guardant or (England) quarterly, a label of three points ermine.

Fitzwilliam 38-1950, ff. 1, 46.
Copenhagen 547, f. 6v.

Lancaster, earls and dukes of.
Gules three lions passant guardant or, a label of three points azure semy de lis or.


These arms were borne by Henry of Grosmont, earl (and later duke) of Lancaster (d. 1360/1). Although John of Gaunt, who married his daughter Blanche and succeeded to his title, and their son Henry, later Henry IV, used different arms as dukes of Lancaster, these arms were still employed on seals of the Duchy of Lancaster. The juxtaposition of these arms with those of John of Gaunt and of Castile and Leon in Fitzwilliam 38-1950 clarifies their meaning in this instance. It should be noted that Joan de Bohun’s mother Eleanor was a daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster.

Montfitchett of Essex or St Owen.
Gules three chevrons or.

Egerton 3277, ff. 142, 145v.

?f Nevile of Essex.
Azure a lion rampant or.

Egerton 3277, ff. 142, 145v.

Romans, kings of the.
Or an eagle displayed sable.

Pommersfelden 2934, f. 4v.

John Stafford, archbishop of Canterbury.
Or on a chevron gules a mitre or within a bordure engrailed sable.

Fitzwilliam 38-1950, f. 1 (added).

John Stafford (d. 1452) was the natural son of Sir Humphrey Stafford of Southwick, Wilts.

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12 For Henry’s arms as duke of Lancaster, see Birch (1887-1900), nos. 12685-6.
13 Ibid., no. 731.
(ii) Armorial arranged according to manuscript

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam 38-1950

f. 1  Bohun (twice), Castile and Leon, England (after 1340), John of Gaunt, Lancaster, Margaret of Anjou (added), John Stafford (added).

f. 1v  England (after 1340).

f. 2v  Castile and Leon.

f. 3  Edward, prince of Wales.

f. 4  Lancaster.

f. 5  Bohun.

f. 5v  Bohun earl of Northampton.

f. 7  Butler.

f. 7v  Courtenay.

f. 29  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton, Butler, Courtenay.


f. 62  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton, England (before 1340), Lancaster.

f. 78  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton, Butler, Courtenay.

f. 99  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton, England (before 1340), Lancaster.

f. 120  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton, Butler, Courtenay.

f. 123  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton, England (before 1340) (twice).

f. 142v  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton, Butler, Courtenay.

f. 163v  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton, England (before 1340) (twice).

f. 174v  Butler, Courtenay.

f. 207  Bohun, Bohun earl of Northampton.

Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 547 4º

f. 1  Bohun (twice).

f. 6v  Bohun, England (after 1340), John of Gaunt.

f. 14v  Bohun.

London, British Library, Egerton 3277

f. 23v  France

f. 29v  Bohun, England (before 1340).

f. 68v  England (after 1340), France.

f. 99v  Bohun, England (after 1340).

f. 114v  St George.

f. 120v  Bohun, England (before 1340).
f. 123 Beauchamp.
f. 129 ?Order of Knights Hospitaller.
f. 131v Bohun.
f. 133 Bohun, Courtenay, England (before 1340).
f. 142 ?Bardolph, St Edmund, FitzAlan, Montfitchett, ?Nevile.
f. 145v ?Bardolph, Bohun, St Edmund, England (before 1340), FitzAlan, Montfitchett, ?Nevile.

f. 1 Bohun, England (before 1340).
f. 102v Bohun.
f. 295v Castile and Leon.
f. 301v Castile and Leon.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.4
f. 1 Bohun, England (before 1340).
f. 169 Bohun (three times), Butler, Courtenay, England (before 1340), Lancaster.
f. 181v Bohun.

Oxford, Exeter College 47
f. 9 Bohun.
f. 9v England (before 1340).
f. 10 Bohun.
f. 10v England (before 1340).
f. 11 Bohun.
f. 11v England (before 1340).
f. 12 Bohun.
f. 12v England (before 1340).
f. 13 Bohun.
f. 13v England (before 1340).
f. 14 Bohun.
f. 14v England (before 1340).

Schloss Pommersfelden 2934 (348)
f. 1 Bohun (twice).
f. 2 Bohun (twice), England (after 1340).
f. 2v Butler, Courtenay.
f. 4v Butler, St George, Holland, king of the Romans.

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1826*

f. 6v Bohun.

f. 7 Bohun (twice), Butler, Courtenay, England (after 1340).

f. 25v Bohun.

f. 53 Bohun.

f. 53v England (before 1340).

f. 91v Bohun (twice).

f. 100 Bohun (three times), England (before 1340) (twice).

f. 113v England (before 1340).

f. 118v Bohun.

f. 129 Bohun.

f. 136 Bohun.

f. 137 Bohun.

f. 141 Bohun (twice), Edward, prince of Wales, England (after 1340).

f. 145v Bohun.

f. 159 Bohun.
(iii) Bohun Genealogy

Edward I m Eleanor of Castile
1239-1307

Humphrey de Bohun
E of Hereford and
Essex ca 1276-1321/2

m (2) Elizabeth (1) m John, Count of Holland
[1302] 1282-1316 [1296] and Zealand d 1299

James le Botiller m (1) Eleanor (2) Sir Thomas
E of Ormond
[1327] d 1363 [1344] de Dagworth,
Lord Dagworth,
d. 1350

James, E of
Ormond
1331-1382

Humphrey de Bohun,
E of Hereford and
Essex, E of Northampton
1342-1372/3

m [1359]
Joan, d 1419,
daughter of
Richard FitzAlan,
E of Arundel
(ca 1313-1375/6)

John of Gaunt
1340-1398/9
m Blanche 1347-69
daughter of Henry
of Grosmont, D of
Lancaster

Mary m [1381]
1369-1394
Henry, E of Derby, later
Henry IV 1366-1412/13

Henry V m Catherine of Valois
1387-1422 [1420]

Henry VI m Margaret of
Anjou
1421-1471 [1445]

Margaret m Hugh de Courtenay,
fl 1314- [1325] E of Devon
d. 1391 1303-1377

8 sons 9 daughters

Margaret m Hugh de Bohun,
E of Hereford
Essex ca 1305-1337/8
d 1350
died unmarried

James le Botiller m (1) Eleanor (2) Sir Thomas
E of Ormond
[1327] d 1363 [1344] de Dagworth,
Lord Dagworth,
d. 1350

James, E of
Ormond
1331-1382

Humphrey de Bohun,
E of Hereford and
Essex, E of Northampton
1342-1372/3

m [1359]
Joan, d 1419,
daughter of
Richard FitzAlan,
E of Arundel
(ca 1313-1375/6)

John of Gaunt
1340-1398/9
m Blanche 1347-69
daughter of Henry
of Grosmont, D of
Lancaster

Mary m [1381]
1369-1394
Henry, E of Derby, later
Henry IV 1366-1412/13

Henry V m Catherine of Valois
1387-1422 [1420]

Henry VI m Margaret of
Anjou
1421-1471 [1445]
APPENDIX XI: THE LIBRARY OF THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK

(i) Books in the possession of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, at Pleshey in 1397

Libri pro capella.

Item un bible de mesne volum ove claspe dargent p's lxvj s. viij d.
Item iiij larges livres cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes de laton conf entre eux la bible p's x li.
Item j bible de mesne volum bien escript cov'ez de drap dor de cipf ove ij claspes dor enamailez blanc p's c s.
Item un bible de petit volum cov'ez de vert quyf veil ove ij claspes dargent p's lxvj s. viij d.
Item un large missale novel de velym bien escript & esluminez cov'ez de blanc quyf ove ij claspes dargent endorreza p's vj li.
Item j large missale novel de velym cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes de laton p's vj li.
Item j autr missale vsez cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes de laton p's lxvj s. viij d.
Item j missale bien esluminez, dor cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes dargent p's iiij li. xiij s. iiij d.
Item j missale de mesne volum cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes darg endorreza p's vj li. xiij s. iiij d.
Item j portos de mesne volum cov'ez de velym de chev'el rouge ove ij claspes darg endorreza p's xl s.
Item j portos veil plus petit cov'ez de vel velpet ove j clas p dargent p's xx s.
Item j portos veil notez cov'ez de blanc quyf de mesne volum p's xiij s. iiij d.
Item j large portos novel sanz, note cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes dargen p's vj li. xiij s. iiij d.
Item j large portos notez cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes de laton p's vj li. xiij s. iiij d.
Item j portos de mesne volum notez cov'ez de blanc quyf veil p's xiij s. iiij d.
Item j gant portos notez cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes darg p's cvj s. viij d.
Item j large antiphoner notez cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes de laton p's iiij s. iiij d.
Item j large antiphoner notez cov'ez de quyf blanc ove claspes de laton p's c s.
Item j large antiphoner notez & bien esluminez cov'ez de blanc quyf p's iiij li.
Item j veil greyel de mesne volum cov'ez de blanc quyf sanz claspe p's xiij s. iiij d.
Item j veil greyel de petit volum cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes de laton p's vj s. viij d.
Item j petit greyel veil conf un sequensar ove claspes de laton p's vj s. viij d.
Item j legend large de p(ar)chemyn ove rouge cov'tour desoiiez p's iiij s. iiij d.
Item j petit sauter veil cov'z de rouge quyf p's iiiij s.

1 Extracted from Dillon and Hope (1897), 275-308.
Item j petit sauter ove les tables dargent en un cas
de quyf boill rouge p's
vj s. viij d.
Item j veile sauter de mesne volum del escriptur
de France p's
xx d.
Item j veil sauter groupez dengleis p's
xx d.
Item j veult sauter chescun psalme escript trois foitz p's
ij s.
Item j veult sauter glosez de latyn cov'ez de rouge p's
ij s. iij d.
Item j veult sauter del escriptur de Fraunce cov'ez de blanc p's
ij s.
Item j sauter bien escript & esluminez ove claspes
dargent endorrez p's
xiiij s. iij d.
Item j sauter de mesne volum bien esluminez ove j
clasp dargent p's
xiiij s. iij d.
Item j livre appeliez pontifical cov'ez de blu baudekyn
de damask ove claspes dargent endorrez p's
xl s.
Item j quaye cont j pontifical portatif ove j rolle de
confirmacions & aut's offices devesques p's
vi s. viij d.
Item j livre de div's s'vices notez cov'ez de quyf
ove courtes claspes dargent p's
xxvij s. iij d.
Item un marteloge de mesne volum sanz cov'tpr p's
ij s. iij d.
Item un Manuel novel cov'ez de rouge quyf p's
xx s.
Item un livre del s'vice du salutactn Marie & Elizabeth
p's
xx d.
Item un petit livre de div's orisons cov'ez de velvet
noir & rouge embroudez de signes pris
vj s'. viij d'
Item un veil sauter notez p's
ij s.

Livres de div's rymances & estories.

Item un livre de mesne volum de la Rimance de la Rose p's
vj s. viij d²
Item un bible en Engleys en ij gaîntz livres cov'ez de rouge quyf p's
xl s.³
Item un livre de ij gaîntz volumes en fraunceis de Titus
Livius cov'ez de rouge quyf p's
xl s.
Item un gross liv'e en latyn de cronicles des Popes p's
xx s.
Item un petit livre en Latyn q comence fruy en latyn de
questions de Divinite cov'ez de rouge quyf p's
xiiij d.
Item un gaînt livre en Fraunceis de les vij sages p's
xx s.
Item un livre cov'ez de blanc quyf appelle vagesse de
Chivalrie ove claspes dargent p's
ij s. iij d.
Item un livre Dengleis de les evangelies cov'ez de quyf
rouge p's
vj s. viij d.
Item un gaînt livre cov'ez de blanc quyf de Ector de Troie
x s.
Item un petit quayer cov'ez de drap dor dun Kalendre de
les Chapitres del bible versifiez p's
xij d.
Item un livre en Fraunceis de miracles nre dame p's
xij d.
Item un livre en Fraunceis appeliez Tresor p's
ij s.
Item un veil livre en latyn appeliez pontifical de
Istories de div's papes p's
ij s.
Item un gros livre Fraunceys de Merlyn p's
ij s. iij d.
Item un large livre des passioész de div's seintz p's
ij s.
Item un petit livre de Beux de Hampton en Fraunceis p's
xx d.
Item un livre en Fraunceis del vie de Seint Thomas de Cant
p's
xij d.
Item un livre de latyn de seint escripture appellez abies

² B.L. Royal MS. 19.B.xiiii.
³ B.L. Egerton MSS. 617, 618.
Item un livre en Francie appellez Tancet p's xx d.
Item un livre en Francieys de Histories del Evangelie p's iiij s.
Item un livre appellez Barthus de p[ro]pietate rer[u]m p's xx d.
Item un livre cov'ez de blanc quy't appellez les Cronicles Tryvet p's xx d.
Item un large livre appellez rac'hale divino[r]um en latyn cov'ez de blanc quy't p's xxvj s. viij d.
Item un large livre en Francieys appellez le Romance de Launcelot p's xij s. iiiij d.
Item un novel livre de les Evangelies glosez en Engleis x s.
Item un large liv're en Frafrouces t'sbi en esluminez, de la Rymance de Alex' & de les avowes al poun p's xvij s. viij d.4
Item j livre des Apocalipsc p's xx d.
Item ij larges livres de ley Cyville en latyn lun appellez Digeste veîl & l'autr Code p's vj s. viij d.
Item un veil livre francieys appellez Tancre p's xij d.
Item un veil livre de Cronicles Denglet're p's xij d.
Item un livre appellez Flos Historiar[um] p's xx d.
Item un petit livre Frafrouces del Reclus de Melans p's xij d.
Item un veil petit livre comenc A Dieu rent g'aces & m'cies p's xij d.
Item un petit livre de Decretals p's xx d.
Item un veil livre de Dic[tis] Poetar[um] p's xij d.
Item un livre plein de ymagerie appellez Speculu humane salutac[i]s p's xij d.
Item un g'ant quayer de Job glosez p's xij d.
Item un livre de mesne volum des Apocalipsc p's xx d.
Item un petit livre appellez Flour de Histories p's xij d.
Item un veil livre francieys appellez William March p's xx d.
Item un livre de latyn appellez Trip[ar]tita Historia p's xij d.
Item un livre de la Bataille de Troie en francieys p's vj s. viij d.
Item un veil quayer fysike p's vj d.
Item un livre appelle la lumer as leys en Francieys p's xx d.
Item un quayer de Seint Augstyn de Divinitee del Trinite p's iij s. iiiij d.
Item un livre de Istories del bible briemment compilez p's xij d.
Item un veile livre de Frafrouces appellez la gest de Fouke filzt Waryn p's xx d.
Item un petit blanc livre appellez Pastoral Gregorij p's xij d.
Item un livre Destau de Francie p's xij d.
Item un veil livre petit de Francieys doute le commencement faut p's iij d.
Item un quayer peynte appellez le Mirrour de Divinitee xij d.
Item div's veil quayers francieys saunz nouns p's xij d.
Item j petit livre de meditac[i]s de Seint Bernard ove j clasp dargent p's xx d.
Item j petit livre veil des estatutz Denglet're p's xx d.
Item j livre appelle la Corona de Tribulac[on] & les vies de div's seintz ove ij claspes darg enorrez. p's xiiij s. iiiij d.
Item j livre francieys de la vie de Alex' p's ij s.
Item j petit livre de oriso[s] cov'ez de rouge chev'el ove ij clasp blanc dargent p's xx d.
Item j livre de mesne volum de la sege de Troie cov'ez de rouge quy't & ij claspes dargent endorrez p's vj s. viij d.

Item j veil livre appellez Egidius de regie principû p's xij d.
Item j veil livre appellez p(ro)logus sô Ysodonî p's viij d.
Item j large livre esluminez de la vie de Alex cov'ez de quyf ove ij claspes darg enamailez p's iij s. iiiij d.
It un large livre rouge del Tretiz de Roy Arthur ove iiij claspes de latoñ p's ij s. iiiij d.
It un livre frauncéis dune Tretée de Mercy gⁿnt mcy p's xx d.
It j livre blanc Francaëys del ymage de mound cov'ez de blanc quyf ove claspes de latoñ p's xij d.
Item j livre appellez Elucidaï & aut's tretiz cov'ez de chev'el ove claspes darg endord vl s. viij d.
Item j livre frauncéis davowes faitz al poun p's xij d.
It j livre de boys de consolacion en frauncieos ove claspes darg endorre p's vl s. viij d.
Item j petit livre de Fysike ove claspes de cup' enorrez xij d.
Item j veil livre de latyn de Cronicles p's xij d.
Item j blanc livre appelle le Meistî de Sentences ove claspes de latoñ p's vl s. viij d.
Item j rouge livre appelle Maundevylle p's iij s. iiiij d.
Item j blanc livre de Cronicles Trivet ove claspes de latoñ p's iij s. iiiij d.
Item j livre fait de vices & vertues nient esluminez p's xij d.
Item j livre plein de Orisoû cov'ez de veil drap dor de Luk ove claspes darg endorre iij s.
Item j livre appelle Neustria sub clipeo ove claspes de latoñ pris xx d.
Item j livre gros appellez racionalë de divinor[um] ove claspes de latoñ p's xx s.
Item j rouge livre de Barlatham & Josephath ove j clasp p's de latoñ p's vl d.
Item j large livre de Godefray de Boilloû ove claspes darg endorre & enamailez p's xij s. iiiij d.
Item j large livre de vices & vertues en latyn ove claspes de latoñ p's iij s.
Item j large livre de Tretes amoireux & moralitez & de caroll frauncéis bien esluminez cov'ez de blu velvet ove bosses & claspes de cup' endorre & enamailez p's vl s. viij d.
It j veile livre de latyn & de frauncieux bien esluminez de div's p'ers al Seinte Crois ove claspes de latoñ xij d.
It div's paumfiletts & rolles en un coffre de petit value p's xij d.
Books in the London house of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, in 1397

- A book written in French called *Meistre des Istories* worth 13s. 4d.
- A book concerning nuns and their rule worth 10s.
- A book called *Vitae Patrum* worth 6s. 8d.
- A remnant of a 'sauter' glossed in French worth 10s.
- A book called *Godfrey de Boilon* worth 26s. 8d.
- A book called *7 Psalmes* glossed in French worth 3s. 4d.
- A bible in Latin worth 40s.
- Another in French worth 40s.
- A 'sauter' worth 13s. 4d.
- A book called *Legenda Aurea* worth 20s.
- A missal worth 26s. 8d.
- A missal with golden 'claspes' worth 10 marks.
- A 'primer' with golden 'claspes' worth 60s.

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5 *C.M.*, 1392-1399, no.372.
APPENDIX XII : LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS
(aranged according to geographical location)

Avignon, Musée Calvet, MS. 136 (Missal of Clement VII)

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS. 105 (Book of Hours).

Bloomington, Indiana, University of Indiana, Lilly Library, Ricketts MS. DeR 15 (Leaves from a Lectern Bible).

Bologna, Archiginnasio, Fondo Ospedale, nr 72 (Statutes).

Bologna, Museo Civico, MS. 633 (Matricola societatis mercariorum).

Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 93 (Book of Hours).

Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana, MS. A.V.17 (Psalter).

Bristol, Record Office (Charter of 8 August 1373).

Bristol, Record Office (Charter of 30 October 1373).

Bristol, Record Office (Charter of 20 December 1373).

Bruges, the Potterie (Charter of 1354).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 6426 (Antiphonary).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9217 (Missal).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 9427 (Breviary).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 11060-1 (Book of Hours).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 11142 (Chronique d' Ernoul).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 11195 (Vegetius, De re militari).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 13076-77 (Liber Secundus Chronicarum).

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, MS. 1V.119 (Gilles li Muisis: works in French poetry and prose).

Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 133 (Breviary).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 20 (Apocalypse).

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 79 (Pontifical).


Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 259 (Verse Life and Passion of Christ).


Cambridge, St John's College, MS. A.I. (Statutes).

377
Cambridge, St John’s College, MS. D.30 (Psalter of Simon de Montacute).
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.10.2 (Apocalypse).
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.10.15 (Verse Life and Passion of Christ).
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.11.3 (Missal).
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R.7.3 (Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica).
Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS. 17 (Dymok).
Cambridge, Trinity Hall, Muniments 77 (Foundation Charter of 1353).
Cambridge, University Archives, Luard *33a (Charter of 1343).
Cambridge, University Library, MS. Dd.4.17 (Hours of Alice de Reydon).
Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS. 4086 (Book of Hours).
Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS. 4500 (Breviary).
Christie’s Sale, 29 July 1566, lot 121 (Cuttings from a Gradual).
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 517 4° (Lives of the Virgin, St Margaret and St Mary Magdalene.)
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 547 4° (Bohun Book of Hours).
Courtrai, Bibliothèque Communale, MS. 135 (Liber Primus Chronicarum).
Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 171 (Douai Psalter).
Dublin, Trinity College, MS. B.3.2 (Psalter-Hours fragment).
Dublin, Trinity College, MS. F.5.21 (Book of Hours).
Durham, Cathedral Library (Charter of 1386).
Durham, Cathedral Library, MS. A.1.3 (Nicholas de Lyra, Postillae in Pentateuchum).
Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS. 18.6.5 (Bohun Psalter-Hours).
Ghent, University Library, MS. 233 (Ceremoniale).
Ghent, University Library, MS. 3381 (Breviary).
Ginge Manor, Oxfordshire (Astor Psalter-Hours).
Hatfield House, MS. 290 (Religious Treatises).
Hatfield House, MS. 292 (Psalter).
Holkham Hall, Norfolk, MS. 26 (Psalter).
Ipswich, Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office (Charter of the Burgesses of Ipswich).
Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. cim 4 (Book of Hours).
Liège, University Library, MSS 57 and 58E (Passionale).
Liège, University Library, MS. 138 (St Gregory, Biblical commentary).
Liverpool, University Library, MS. F.3.14 (Book of Hours).
London, British Library, Egerton MS. 2781 (Book of Hours).
London, British Library, Egerton MS. 3277 (Bohun Psalter-Hours).
London, British Library, Royal MS. 1.E.iv (Pentateuch etc.).
London, British Library, Royal MS. 2.B.vii (Queen Mary's Psalter).
London, British Library, Sloane MS. 2466 (Breviary).
London, British Library, Stowe MS. 12 (Breviary).
London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS. 14 (St Omer Psalter).
Longleat House, Wiltshire, Library of the Marquess of Bath, MS. 10 (Breviary).
Milan, Ambrosiana Cod. B.42 inf. (Liber decretalium).
Milan, Ambrosiana Cod. C.96 inf. (Seneca).
Modena, Estense Library, Cod. Lat. 1002 (Antiphonary).
Modena, Estense Library, Cod. Lat. 1004 (Gradual).
Modena, Estense Library, Cod. Lat. 1008 (Antiphonary).
Modena, Estense Library, Cod. Lat. 1021 (Gradual).
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 10072 (Missal).
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Lat. 23215 (Hours of Bianca of Savoy).
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, Acc. 54.1.2 (Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux).
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 107 (Tiptoft Missal).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 851 (Leaf prefixed to volume of various texts).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Liturg. 251 (Book of Hours).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Don. b. 5 (Missal).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 131 (Psalter).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Poet. a.1 (Poems and prose treatises in Middle English and Anglo-Norman, the Vernon Manuscript).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Fr. e.22 (Apocalypse).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e.41 (Zouche Hours).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. f.3 (Flemish Hours).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. Misc. 188 (Book of Hours).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Liturg. 104 (Book of Hours).
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Liturg. 198 (Psalter).
Oxford, Keble College, MS. 15 (Book of Hours).
Oxford, Keble College, MS. 47 (Book of Hours).
Oxford, Queen's College (Obituary Roll of Queen's College).
Oxford, Trinity College, MS. 8 (Missal).
Padua, Biblioteca Antoniana, Libro VII (Gradual).
Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS. A.24 (Liber decretalium Bonifacii VIII).
Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS. A.25 (Constitutiones Clementis V).
Pamplona, Archivo Real y General de Navarra, MS. 197 (Coronation ordo).
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 5218 (La Queste du saint Graal).
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 22 (Roman de la Rose).
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 152 (Bible Historiale).
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 1586 (Guillaume de Machaut, Works).
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 15397 (Bible of Jean de Sy).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 765 (Fitzwarin Psalter).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 8846 (Additions to the Utrecht Psalter).

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 10527 (Book of Hours).


Philadelphia, Free Library, MS. M66.2, M66.3 (Leaves from a Lectern Bible).

Pommersfelden, Schlossbibliothek, MS. 2934 (348) (Fragment of a Bohun Book of Hours).


Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 1389 (Liber decretalium).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 1401 (Constitutiones Clementis V cum glossis).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 1411 (Digestum vetus cum glossis).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 1436 (Accursius, Glossa in constitutionem feudorum).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 1456 (Liber primus decretalium).


Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 2534 (Johannes Andrea, Novelle).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 2538 (Liber decretalium).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 2639 (Giovanni de Legnano, Tracts).

Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Pal. Lat. 537 (Book of Hours).


Shrewsbury, Guildhall (Charter of 1389).

Sotheby’s Sale, 3 December 1968, lot 21 (Private Devotions in Latin and Catalan by Johannes de Ecclesia).

Sotheby’s Sale, 9 July 1969, lot 10 (Leaf from a Book of Hours).

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