

GROUNDS FOR RE-APPRAISING THE EAST ANGLIAN
MANUSCRIPTS OF EARLY FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

by


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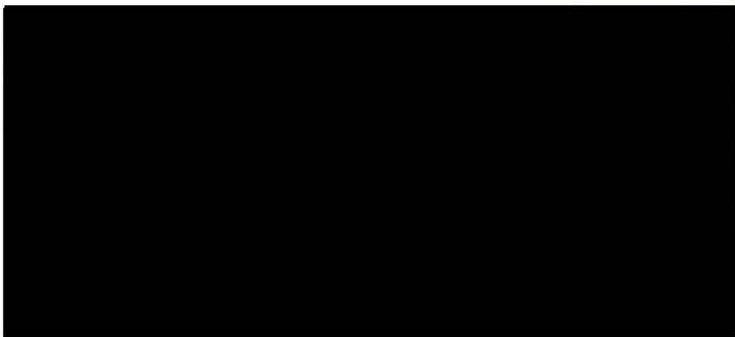
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ABSTRACT

The subject of this thesis is a re-appraisal of some of the traditionally accepted ideas about the East Anglian period of English illumination, c.1300-1350. Formerly the term East Anglian has implied that the artistic centre of gravity for England is in the eastern counties, particularly within the Diocese of Norwich. However, research undertaken in recent years has suggested that this hypothesis cannot be wholly maintained. For example, the workshop which illustrated the Tickhill Psalter group of manuscripts employed the same kind of decoration which is said to typify the East Anglian school, but this workshop began with no stylistic connection with any East Anglian workshop. Hence a rationale for this style is sought outside its regional environment, and is found in the Court. The evidence for this conclusion is reached principally through an examination of the patronage and through an iconographic and stylistic comparison of the manuscripts with documented Court works.

The approach adopted investigates the manuscripts firstly through workshop groups based on stylistic similarities; such matters as date, provenance and patronage are discussed. This method reveals that, within a single workshop, there is a wide range of decorative possibilities, and that this varies in each manuscript

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according to the nature of the patron. It also reveals that certain affinities can be drawn between the manuscripts commissioned by a common class of patronage. Secondly, three classes of patrons are outlined: the noble elite, the gentry and minor ecclesiastics, and religious institutions. It is shown that the most sumptuous manuscripts had been made for the noble elite and that they range in a descending order of sumptuousness through the gentry and minor ecclesiastics, to the ones made for religious institutions. This indicates that the most lavish books had been made for some of the most prominent people in the realm, with direct connections with the Court. Thirdly, a comparison is made between these manuscripts and the types of marginal decoration found in the Court manuscripts of the 1280's, and also figural and applied architectural styles of other works associated with the Court. These lines of investigation accentuate the amazing variety of manuscripts that have been categorized at one time or another as East Anglian, and suggest that their origin in the Court style of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is the real common factor amongst them.

Signature of Examiners



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INTRODUCTION

The history of English illumination from c.1300 to 1350 has generally been called the East Anglian period. In the broadest sense the name has been held to imply that the artistic centre of gravity for England is in the eastern counties, particularly the Diocese of Norwich. For instance, Saunders has written that:-

More than had ever been the case since Anglo-Saxon illumination centred in Winchester, one part of the country seems to have dictated the style of book decoration for the whole of England. But in this case the Eastern counties were artistically active, while the Southern counties had now sunk into insignificance.

This does not mean that all the manuscripts of this period had been made in East Anglia, although a great many have been assigned to this district, but rather it is felt that the majority of those manuscripts made in other parts of the country follows an East Anglian lead. They are called East Anglian in that they share the same kinds of stylistic and iconographic features.

Following such a pattern, scholars have noted that there can be discerned basically two distinct stylistic trends, one of which shows little affinity with the manuscripts described specifically as East Anglian. The East Anglian style, which contains few full-page illustrations, depends on decorative marginal schemes consisting of bar-borders which often sprout long, spiky protrusions, naturalistic and semi-naturalistic vegetation, birds and animals, grotesques, genre scenes,

Biblical and romance allegories, elaborate line-endings and heraldic arms.² The majority of these manuscripts are Psalters and the initial of the first word of psalm I, the B of Beatus, is usually elaborately decorated. Almost always it contains either the Tree of Jesse with the sleeping Jesse at the bottom of the B, or a scene of King David playing his harp. Another peculiar feature that appears in nearly all the manuscripts is a long seaweed-like leaf, probably a corruption of an oak leaf, and christened by Cockerell³ 'the serrated cabbage leaf'.

The other major style, which has no known geographical centre, is largely dependent on full- or half-page illustrations, where a figure type, based on French or English Court models, is the primary criterion. Although these manuscripts display many of the same elements found in the East Anglian manuscripts, these elements remain a subordinate part of the design, never tending to over-richness. No suitable epithet has been applied to these manuscripts but they are most often referred to as the Queen Mary Psalter group, after the Queen Mary Psalter (B.M. Roy. MS. 2 B. vii), probably the most outstanding of these works.⁴

Although this original approach of dividing the manuscripts into two roughly defined categories has aided scholars in the past to classify the manuscripts from this period, it has also hindered them in many respects. Instead of using such a framework as a working outline, it has tended to become frozen into a rigid classification. Each

manuscript has been studied in its relationship to one or other of these groups, whereas there has been little re-examination of the validity of the groups themselves. This is particularly the case with the East Anglian group. A manuscript is examined according to a standard set by this style at its apogee, of how East Anglian it is or is not, and how it fits into the chronological sequence.

A recent dissertation on the Psalter of Robert de Lisle (B.M. Arundel 83) by Sandler⁵ confronts this problem but does not solve it. In Chapter I she attempts to relate the De Lisle Psalter to the two groups. Formerly the majority of scholars⁶ had stated that it was an East Anglian production but after re-examining its relationship, she concludes that "it cannot be placed in the orbit of either of these schools".⁷

Another case in point, but which has more important consequences for a rigid classification, is the findings of Egbert in a series of articles written during the late 1930's⁸ and which led to the publication of his monumental study of the Tickhill Psalter (New York, Public Library, Spencer Coll., MS. 26) and its related manuscripts in 1940.⁹ Although other scholars had noted connections between some of these manuscripts,¹⁰ Egbert's conclusions had not been foreseen and the full ramifications have yet to be felt, because in his study he postulates the appearance of a third group, which, although iconographically like the East Anglian manuscripts, develops independently of that school.

He has shown that the Tickhill Psalter workshop¹¹ can be detected first in connection with the Court, both through a similarity in style with the works from the Court school and from the fact that its first commission is a Psalter made for Isabella of France, the Queen of Edward II.¹² Yet internal evidence suggests that it was made in the Midlands and the patronage of following manuscripts supports the idea that this workshop worked in that vicinity. The workshop is next connected with the Tickhill Psalter, a manuscript made for John Tickhill, the Prior of Worksop Abbey in Nottinghamshire, and which displays a marked increase in different types of marginal decoration. This brings it into line with the type of decoration found in East Anglian books; but as of yet there is no apparent stylistic connection between the illuminators in this workshop and those in East Anglia. Thus, as the Psalter was produced independently of the East Anglian group, and yet it shares certain stylistic features with it, one should look outside East Anglia for the rationale of this style.

One of the reasons for this oversight stems from the problem that, before the acquisition of the Tickhill Psalter by the New York Public Library and the subsequent investigations by Egbert, this manuscript was virtually unknown. Although historically it is not that crucial, categorically it is. Millar had investigated the Psalter of Queen Isabella and noted similarities between it and the later manuscripts of the Tickhill Psalter group.¹³ However, these later manuscripts display some iconographic and stylistic connections with

certain East Anglian manuscripts, which Egbert also notes.¹⁴ But Millar had knowledge only of the Psalter of Queen Isabella and the later manuscripts, and not the Tickhill Psalter. Therefore, not being aware of its independent development, he interpreted this workshop as beginning in the Court school and then immediately influenced by East Anglian prototypes. This interpretation does not violate the concept of the pre-eminence of the East Anglian manuscripts in this period nor the concept of the two categories.

Egbert suggested solving the problem of how to fit the Tickhill Psalter group into the already existing framework by creating a third major division,¹⁵ together with the East Anglian and the Queen Mary Psalter groups. He showed that the remainder of the Tickhill Psalter workshop is affiliated with a group of closely inter-related families, based predominantly in the Midlands, and for which it executed at least five books and part of a sixth.¹⁶ During this liaison the workshop moved into the northern part of Yorkshire and finally into East Anglia where many of these families also held lands. It is at this time that the Tickhill artists must have come into contact with some of those working on the East Anglian books, because now there begin to appear features not found earlier in this workshop but which are traceable to certain East Anglian prototypes. What appears to have happened is that some East Anglian artists had joined the workshop. Egbert notes that gradually "the relationship between our Tickhill Psalter group and the East Anglian school seems to have

become closer and closer until finally the two combined into one, a union marked by the short-lived triumph of the East Anglian manner and the final disappearance from English illumination of the characteristic style of the Tickhill Psalter".¹⁷

However, such a hypothesis does not answer a most fundamental question, namely, how is it that there exist at the same time two independent schools which are decorating manuscripts in an incredibly similar fashion. A profitable line to pursue is to investigate what origins the East Anglian and Tickhill Psalter groups have in common. Could it be that both groups stem from a common source which spreads to various parts of England, and that the differences between groups result from variations within particular workshops and foreign influences on each workshop?

The need for understanding a common ground between these two groups becomes even more apparent when investigating the East Anglian school itself. Pächt has written that the term 'school' must be interpreted in the widest sense because "what binds the East Anglian group of miniatures together, is not so much a common style, as a common tradition and particularly a common system of decoration. In fact, one can distinguish at least three different styles and still more hands."¹⁸ These three different styles are as different from each other as the Tickhill Psalter group is from any one of them. There is little community of style in the East Anglian school and the common system of decoration that binds them together can also be seen in the Tickhill Psalter group.

The ultimate origins for this decorative system can be traced to many sources, but the direct derivation comes from the Court school begun by Henry III and carried on under his son, Edward I. By the end of the thirteenth century the Court set the taste for the realm.

Wormald points out that:-

This Court style must have been very influential, so that by the end of the thirteenth century it was the predominant one. The development of English painting in the first half of the fourteenth century is really the working out of this purely Gothic style.¹⁹

He adds that "a Court origin of the East Anglian school would not, I think, be entirely out of the question."²⁰ In discussing English Gothic painting styles, and wall painting in particular, Tristram²¹ also outlines the importance of the Court school. He shows that the period from 1200 to 1350 can be divided into two basic periods. The first, from 1200 to 1250, is a time when regional schools prevail and the Gothic style is still in a state of transition from the Romanesque period. The second, which extends from 1250 to 1350 and encompasses the East Anglian period, sees the formation of what he calls a 'national style'. It results from two principal causes, the new social conditions of the upper levels of society from whom the patrons were drawn, and the impact of the Court school. He writes:-

The rise of the independent lay painter at this time is traceable in such lists of names as sometimes occur in the Westminster Accounts of Expenditure, an examination of which shows that, with comparatively few exceptions, by the last quarter of the century the craftsmen were now independent laymen, and drawn from many parts of the country; and this further suggests that many were itinerant craftsmen. Work on wall paintings, which obviously

had to be done on the spot, was probably executed by such wayfarers, and they must have ranged far and wide. It is clear that such an interchange between main centres and the provinces must have brought about a close contact, which contributed to the rapid spread of new ideas and formulae. In this diffusion of ideas the Court painter must have played an important part, for we learn from the accounts that Henry III's painters worked in the king's palaces, castles and manors in many parts of the country . . . Its (the Court) influence was not confined, as is usually the case, to a centre and its immediate neighbourhood, but its activities extended, to some degree as far as the borders of Wales and Scotland, and even to Ireland, while there is no reason to suppose that the work executed in comparatively remote places by royal command was greatly inferior to that carried out elsewhere, or even that it was of a very different character. But we might have anticipated the gradually increasing interdependence of one part of the country upon the rest, whether through overlapping of the spheres of influence of the great artistic centres or through the agency of the wandering painters, had as one of its results the formation of a general style; and this makes it more and more difficult in the thirteenth century to classify²² work belonging to one district rather than to another.

This can be seen not only in wall paintings but also in embroidery, sculpture, effigies, monumental brasses, tombs, furnishings and architecture; the ideas formulated at Court were carried out into the provinces, both through artists working directly for the Court and independent artists working for the nobility of all types and ecclesiastics. So widespread was it in all fields of artistic endeavour that it has to be accounted for as a major contributing factor in creating an English 'national style'.

A major gap in terms of the English 'national style' is in manuscript illumination. When the majority of the other fields of artistic production are dependent on the Court style, scholars seem to have doubted the full role also played by the Court in subsequent

illumination. The majority of writers, like Wormald, have acknowledged that the origin of the East Anglian school is in the Court style, but they commonly hold that after its inception, it grew as an independent phenomenon influencing other parts of England rather than being influenced by a relatively constant flow of ideas and attitudes from the Court.

An examination of the manuscripts made in the Court circles of Henry III and especially Edward I will reveal the dominant role they played in the formation of a national style of illumination during the early fourteenth century. Although there are only three principal manuscripts which can be definitely attributed to members of the royal family, they nevertheless can be seen as setting the precedent for the direction which subsequent illumination will take.

The earliest is the Douce Apocalypse, c.1270 (Bodl. Douce MS. 180), made for Edward and his wife, Eleanor of Castile, before he became king. It shows little of the marginal decoration associated with the East Anglian books but the figure style, based on Parisian models, illustrates the mature Court type that will dominate illumination until the 1320's. The figures are tall and graceful, swinging back at the shoulders, forward at the hips, and through their gesticulating hands and mincing gestures, they display an air of mannered and refined elegance.²³ The influence of this model is particularly evident in the Queen Mary Psalter and its related manuscripts. However, even though there appear variations on this type, some of which only have a little in common with the courtly prototypes, they are still

dependent on this formula traceable back to such books as this one.

The second book, the Alphonso Psalter, c.1281-1284 (B.M. Add. MS. 24686) was commissioned as a wedding gift for the intended marriage between Alphonso, the eldest son of Edward I, and Margaret, the daughter of the Count of Holland. Unfortunately Alphonso died in 1284, and presumably because of it, only the first quire (ff. 3-18) was executed at this time, while the remainder was completed after the turn of the century. This quire not only displays the Court figure type but also signifies the beginnings of the mature marginal schemes that will become so pronounced after 1300. For instance, on the Beatus page (f. 11) full borders, naturalistic foliage, birds, animals and heraldic arms can be seen. In the variety of motifs represented, this book is a step ahead of any previous manuscript and the appearance of heraldic arms in the borders is a novelty. Rickert succinctly points out its importance:-

Whether the earlier style of the Alphonso Psalter was influenced directly by northern French or Flemish illumination, or whether the new, freer style was the invention of English artists under the influence of the Westminster Retable is a matter for conjecture. But the fact remains that with the Alphonso Psalter, the East Anglian style is fairly launched.²⁴

The same can be said for the third manuscript, a decorated *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor (B.M. Roy. MS. 3 D vi), executed for Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, a cousin of Edward I, and presented by Edmund to Ashridge College, which he had founded in 1283. The manuscript must therefore date between 1283 and 1300, when Edmund

died. Each book begins with a bar border, and the pages are decorated with leaves, flowers, birds, animals and heraldic arms.

The continuation of Court ideas is not only manifested in the general attitude to such a decorative system, but also through the recurrence of specific motifs which further indicate that the Court was the direct source for this system. For instance, there appears in both the Alphonso Psalter and the Petrus Comestor a five-lobed leaf type in varying colours of blue and orange, and with its centre lightened to almost a white dot. This same type appears in the Ormesby Psalter (Bodl. Douce MS. 366), one of the principal East Anglian manuscripts. Perhaps not a very unusual feature in itself, but it is on the basis of this leaf type that Cockerell and others²⁵ have suggested a stylistic affinity with the Ormesby Psalter, the Bromholm Psalter (Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1523), and a Gregory Moralia Super Job (Camb. Emmanuel Coll. MS. 112), which all contain this motif. This suggests that both the East Anglian and Court manuscripts had been executed in a close proximity, and it draws the East Anglian manuscripts closer into the orbit of the Court. This is further indicated by the fact that, after the death of Alphonso, his Psalter passed into the hands of his sister Elizabeth and her husband John, Count of Holland, for whom the manuscript was completed. At a subsequent date it passed into the hands of Humphrey de Bohun, the second husband of Elizabeth, for on the end flyleaf there is a prayer referring to his death at Boroughbridge in 1322.

This establishes the fact that it never left Court circles. Yet the style in which it was finished is so similar to the Ormesby Psalter that it led Rickert to say that "the latter part of the illumination is done in a style which we shall find characteristic of manuscripts made in Norwich".²⁶ Perhaps it would be more correct to say the reverse, that the style at Norwich is characteristic of the Court.

The continuation and development of the style of the 1280's can be seen immediately in the Windmill Psalter, c.1280-1300 (Pierpont Morgan MS. 102). In many ways it is extremely close in style and execution to the Alphonso Psalter and the Petrus Comestor. This is particularly noticeable in the figure style which, like the other two books, is extremely close to contemporary Parisian types. Millar²⁷ has pointed out that one of the distinctive features of Maître Honoré, one of the leading illuminators who worked for the king of France at this date, is the putting of tufts of hair above the foreheads of balding men. This feature can be seen in some of the prophets on the Beatus page (f. lv.); and because this manuscript is roughly contemporary with Honoré, it must have been produced in close contact with the latest French ideas. As the principal recipient of these ideas seems to be the English Court, it furthers the evidence that this manuscript might well have been made in close contact with the Court, though this cannot be demonstrated conclusively as the patron is unknown.

Decoratively, however, the Windmill Psalter strongly foreshadows the East Anglian manuscripts. The lavish use of ornament particularly visible on the Beatus page illustrates a disregard for restraint which will be characteristic of English illumination some ten or twenty years hence. Even though it develops beyond the Court works, the ornament remains dependent on the basic types popular in those manuscripts. It differs in that it lacks the restraint said to typify Court works, but it does not differ in kind, and this is largely true of the East Anglian manuscripts also.

This last hypothesis is even more evident when comparing two contemporary manuscripts, the Huth Psalter (B.M. Add. MS. 38116) and the Salvin Hours (B.M. Add MS. 48985). These two books show a use of marginal decoration, but in kind and quality they are quite unlike the Court manuscripts, the Windmill Psalter, and the majority of the East Anglian manuscripts. They contain genre scenes and grotesques, but in their conception they are in an archaic style for this date, harking back to a style more current at the middle of the thirteenth century, as can be seen in the work of William de Brailes, the Rutland Psalter (Belvoir Castle), and the Bible of William of Devon (B.M. Roy. MS. I D.i), all of which contain similar marginal schemes. They lack the current innovations in naturalistic leaves, flowers, and animals, and even the popular non-naturalistic leaf conventions, like those described in the Alphonso Psalter and the Petrus Comestor. They also do not con-

tain heraldic arms either in the margins or line-endings. Their flat, dry style is quite unlike the polished Court works and the East Anglian manuscripts which are stylistically similar to the Court manuscripts. For the purposes of this study they serve to illustrate that, although this decorative system is not confined to the Court school, it is of an altogether different nature and one which will not appear in English illumination after 1300. It would be impossible to say that such examples as these did not iconographically influence later manuscripts in some respects, because the elaborate Tree of Jesse in the Salvin Hours in many ways resembles the East Anglian ones, but it does not appear that the fourteenth-century artists were following this style or general conception. Thus the argument that the Court school is the model 'par excellence' should be seriously considered.

It should be pointed out that the term 'Court school' needs to be understood in the widest sense because it was not established as a specific Court workshop. The Court school of illuminators can best be described as a group of professional artists who were closely working in the Court style, particularly well exemplified through a comparison with those extant remains in the Westminster precinct. This was the case in Paris where the workshop of Maître Honoré executed works on commission for the French king, so one can reasonably expect that a similar situation might have occurred in England. A further piece of evidence is supplied by the Tickhill

Psalter workshop because, although we do not know precisely how that workshop was formed, we do know that its earliest traceable work is the Psalter of Queen Isabella and that it later functioned as an independent workshop of professional artists, which moved from place to place seeking employment and carrying with them ideas they had learned at Court. In all likelihood it might have begun as an independent workshop which had connections with the Court, but no official capacity.

This is particularly important because other professional illuminators undoubtedly carried the ideas that they too had learned working within Court circles into other parts of the country, such as East Anglia. During the last quarter of the thirteenth century and throughout the fourteenth, illuminators were at least as mobile as other artists. A large proportion of illumination had long since passed out of the hands of the monks and was now being executed by professional lay artists, just as was the case with much wall painting. One of the principal reasons for the need for professional artists was the rise of private patronage. Warner noted that the majority of books from this period "were destined to become the property of princes, nobles, great ladies and other private patrons, both religious and secular, and doubtless in many cases they were not actually used as books of devotion but were valued simply as works of art, the possession of which was a source of legitimate pride."²⁸ Randall points out:-

The demand for books necessitated a proportionate increase in the number of professional illuminators, whose background and training inevitably wrought changes in the traditional workshop milieu. Travelling about with greater mobility in response to opportunities for work, the illuminators were able to effect the rapid trans-migration of styles and ideas to the principal centres of production. The resulting homogeneity clearly evident in miniature painting has proved a serious impediment to the localization of manuscripts . . . ²⁹

However, these professional artists did not execute works only for private patrons; they also carried out the majority of monastic illumination, carrying their ideas into the cloister and thereby creating an even more homogeneous style. Often a workshop can be seen working for a private secular patron and then its style can be traced into a monastery - such was the case with the Psalter of Queen Isabella and the Tickhill Psalter. We know that this last book belonged to John Tickhill according to a Latin inscription written on the first vellum folio, which reads, "Pray for the soul of Brother John Tickhill (or Tikyll) Bachelor of Divinity, and formerly the Prior of the Monastery of Worksop, who wrote this book with his own hands and also gilded it. May his soul rest in peace. Amen".³⁰ However, Egbert pointed out that "gilded" must refer only to a few of the minor decorated initials, and none of the principal illumination, which is the work of a definite workshop whose style is in many cases unconnected with Worksop.³¹ Cockerell points out a similar case with a Psalter made for Ramsey Abbey, not far from Peterborough. He notes "a monk whose portrait appears with the words 'Grafham

honoretur' at the foot of the last page of the Kalendar".³² He may have been a scribe or an illuminator but Cockerell is not convinced. He, like most other scholars, advocates the idea of a secular artist. He goes on to say:-

It is likely that the scribes were still in most cases monastic, though this is not certain. Dr. James has made the interesting discovery that the miniatures in the Psalter at Brussels were copied from paintings, now destroyed, in the choir of Peterborough Cathedral; but whatever deductions can be made from this, I suspect that in the fourteenth century the best artists were laymen, who contracted for given pieces of work, and moved from place, at the beck and call of various patrons. In France this certainly was the case, and it would be rash to assume that it is to the monks that we owe the decoration of the Gorleston, Diquai and St. Omer Psalters and the Breviary of Stowe 12.³³

It may therefore be suggested that the East Anglian style is not simply a regional phenomenon. Instead it has been indicated that, although one cannot conclusively prove the existence of a Court school of illumination during the early fourteenth century, curiously enough the Court continues to exert a strong influence on the development of illumination. Because of it, the East Anglian period should be re-appraised, especially the pre-eminence of an East Anglian 'school'. What common ground those manuscripts share with the Tickhill Psalter group of manuscripts and the Queen Mary Psalter group is that in some manner they are following a Court precedent. Although East Anglia appears to have been artistically active at this time, it does not mean that it is the cause of a particular style. Undoubtedly reciprocal influences existed, but if any one particular cause can be said to "dictate the style of

book decoration for the whole of England",³⁴ it should be the Court.

This thesis will attempt to examine this problem firstly by reviewing the major manuscripts and workshops. It will be shown that there are considerable differences in the decoration and sumptuousness of the manuscripts commissioned by the different classes of patrons. Secondly, a comparison of these manuscripts will show that the books of highest quality had been commissioned for the noble elite, that those executed for the gentry and minor ecclesiastics on the whole are not as ambitious, though on occasion may be, and that the ones made for ecclesiastical institutions are the most modest. It will also be shown that the gentry connected with the manuscripts were either newly created barons or had gained a more important status in the ruling of the country and that they wished to emulate the older noble elite. Finally, it will be indicated that the model is the Court, and particularly the style of the Court school of Edward I. This will be shown firstly through a comparison of the marginal decoration of the Court manuscripts with the books from the East Anglian period, and then through a comparison with figure and applied architectural styles, not only in manuscripts, but also in sculpture, tombs and wall paintings connected with the Court. As the bulk of the activity takes place within the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the majority of the discussion will deal with the manuscripts from this period, although those from the second quarter will also be considered.

CHAPTER I

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS

As the regional ethos for the appearance of the East Anglian school can be largely discredited in favour of the influences exerted by the Court, the system of using the East Anglian and Queen Mary Psalter groups will be of little aid, largely because this thesis will attempt to discover what features the manuscripts have in common rather than how they differ. However, it is first necessary to examine such problems as date, provenance and patronage in order to understand the cultural milieu in which they were produced. The method of approaching this problem will be through an examination of the principal workshops formed by the stylistic affinities of various works.

The Ormesby Psalter (Bodl. Douce MS. 366) and Related Manuscripts

The Ormesby Psalter is one of the earliest manuscripts which is believed to have been executed in East Anglia. Where and for whom it was originally begun has not been clearly established. The manuscript seems to have remained in unbound quires, with work intermittently carried out for various patrons for nearly a quarter of a century, until it was eventually acquired by a Benedictine monk, Robert Ormesby, and given in an unfinished state to Norwich Cathedral.

Nicholson suggests that a stylus mark at 1289 in the cá-

lendar might indicate that it was written at a date between 1285 and 1290.¹ Cockerell confirms this date, stating that it was probably written during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.² Very little of the decoration was executed at this time and it is not until c.1310 that any significant work was begun. At this date Cockerell suggests that the pages of the principal psalms were decorated with full borders.³ Where this took place has not been determined; however, this state of decoration aligns the Ormesby Psalter with three other books of a suggested East Anglian provenance. These are the Bromholm Psalter (Oxford, Bodl. MS. Ashmole 1523), a Gregory Moralia Super Job (Camb. Emmanuel Coll. MS. 112), and the Dublin Apocalypse (Trinity College Dublin, MS. K. 4. 31).

The relationship of the Ormesby Psalter to these manuscripts indicates the first principal workshop with which this Psalter can be attached. There is no documentary evidence for the existence of such a workshop, but certain stylistic and iconographic evidence supports the view that all these books must have had a common origin. Stylistically Cockerell examined the Gregory Moralia and noted that it contained "beautiful initials and marginal decoration so similar in style to many of those in the Ormesby Psalter as to justify the conclusion that the same artist worked on both volumes".⁴ He also concluded that the Bromholm Psalter "was decorated by the same hand as the Gregory". James, who examined that Psalter, divides the work into two distinct periods, the earliest just after 1300. He notes

that "the characteristic feature of all the borders is bold leaf work: on the larger leaves the lights of the surface are heightened with white".⁵ These are identical to the ones in the Ormesby Psalter. Millar was the first to perceive the "unquestionable relationship"⁶ of the Dublin Apocalypse with these other volumes and in the same year Wardrop also observed these affinities:-

Several points of resemblance would suggest the relation of the Dublin Apocalypse to the Bromholm Psalter . . . The approximation of the physical types is noticeable, and the treatment of the draperies is identical; similarly shaped crowns adorn the heads of kings and angels, and a device common to both books is the frequent introduction of a conventional cloud with scalloped edges. The same stipple treatment of the earth may be observed in each case. The correspondences of the Dublin Apocalypse and the Bromholm Psalter are in fact so striking that they were decorated by one and the same hand

The same treatment of draperies, scalloped clouds and similar rounded facial types with rounded or squared jaws can be seen also in the Ormesby Psalter.

Iconographically, these books also contain motifs which are not found in other contemporary manuscripts. Pächt,⁸ who analyzed the East Anglian manuscripts according to certain Italianate influences appearing in England at this time, divided those manuscripts into three groups: a purely Gothic pre-Italianate style; a style influenced by Trecentesque innovations, especially those of Duccio; and a style "distinctly Gothic in its general make-up, sharply defined, linear and rhythmic, sculptural rather than painterly in its

modelling", and which differs from the first category in the "modelling of the figures, the border decoration and the type of drolleries",⁹ particularly this last feature, which includes certain Italian iconographic motifs. This third group is the Ormesby Psalter and its related manuscripts.

The example that Pächt¹⁰ singles out is the figure of the trumpeter to the left of the large initial of psalm 109 (f. 147v.) in the Ormesby Psalter. He relates this figure to the classical trumpeter who preceded the triumphal processions in late Roman times. James noted similar Italian iconography in the Bromholm Psalter, as he notes that there appears "small detached gold studs of the kind familiar in Italian manuscripts of the period."¹¹

Of these four volumes, only the Bromholm Psalter has an unquestionable destination, as it was made for the Cluniac monastery of Bromholm in Norfolk. The provenance of the Dublin Apocalypse is unknown but its probable iconographic prototypes suggest that it could have been decorated in the neighbourhood of Peterborough.¹² It gives no hint who the patron may have been, but as it contains religious tracts and directions for church services at the end of the manuscript, there is a strong possibility that he was an ecclesiastic. James has written:-

It is not very common that we find such an elaborately pictured Apocalypse as this accompanied by other religious tracts. Their presence here, and the fact that one of them consists of liturgical directions makes it

more than probable that this book belonged to an ecclesiastic, nay, a monk of high rank.¹³

Neither is it known specifically for whom the Gregory Moralia was made, though the Benedictines depicted in the margins have led Cockerell to believe that it was for a Benedictine house.¹⁴

Even though these three books appear to have been commissioned by ecclesiastics, there is little evidence to suggest that this was the same for the Ormesby Psalter. Not only is the subsequent patronage secular, but also there is much evidence to suggest that the initial patron was a layman of high rank. Cockerell believed that it could have been a Warenne.¹⁵ Within the line-endings of the quires illuminated at this time, the most frequent arms that appear are those of Warenne, which occur one hundred and twenty-six times, followed by the arms of Newmarch, which appear sixty-one times. Egbert makes the suggestion that:-

On the basis of the evidence offered by this heraldry, it seems possible that the Ormesby Psalter was originally begun for the proposed marriage of a Warenne with someone related to the Newmarch family, and the fact that the illuminations of the manuscript were left unfinished at this time, doubtless indicates that the marriage never took place.¹⁶

As the next patrons are connected with these two families, this may well have been the case.¹⁷

On this evidence certain preliminary assumptions can be drawn about these four volumes. Firstly, the diverse patronage suggests that the workshop was composed of secular professional artists

who sought commissions from various quarters. Secondly, and more significantly, is that even though all these books appear to be the product of a single workshop, there is quite a wide difference between the amount of decoration in these volumes. The Gregory Moralia and the Bromholm Psalter have little marginal decoration, other than the characteristic five-lobed leaf and the occasional partial bar-border; the former also adding Benedictine monks. All the representational scenes are confined to the initials. The Dublin Apocalypse, on the other hand, is not at all characteristic of the East Anglian decorative manner. It contains no marginal decoration but is restricted to large illustrations set inside various shaped octofoils with rectangular frames. None of these books contain grotesques, heraldry, naturalistic flowers, leaves, birds and animals or genre scenes, which are the most characteristic features of the Ormesby Psalter and the other elaborate East Anglian manuscripts. It may be no coincidence that only the Ormesby Psalter is likely to have had a secular patron, and one who was one of the most important noblemen in England. But it does indicate that within a single workshop there can be detected considerable differences in the decorative programmes, and these differences rule out the possibility that the artists could only work in a consistent manner. Such adaptability suggests that the artists are not developing from a less decorated to a more elaborate manner but instead it appears that the changes are made in response to the particular patron who commissioned the

manuscript. It further suggests that it is indeed the patron's requirements that cause a change in what is to be represented, and not necessarily those of the artist's.

Whatever the case might have been, the decoration at this point came to an end and was not resumed until c.1320. At this time the border to the twenty-sixth psalm (f. 38) was completed and another Beatus page (f. 9v.) was added.¹⁸ The latter is the most elaborate page of manuscript, with a reclining Jesse at the foot of the page, from whom springs his root extending up both sides of the page and filling the large B that occupies about half of the page. Originally the page contained the first verse under the B but, other than the words *(B)eatus qui non*, the rest of the verse was painted over and the kneeling figures of an ecclesiastic and a Benedictine monk (Robert Ormesby) were added after the Psalter had been given to Norwich. To the bottom left of the B is a kneeling, praying knight and opposite him is a woman in the same position. He displays on his surcoat the arms, *gules a bend argent*, of Foliot of Gressenhall, while the woman's dress displays *three cinquefoils or*, of Bardolf of Wormegay. These arms also appear in the line-endings on f. 154r. and Egbert¹⁹ has noticed that the decoration of this page is extremely similar to that of the Bardolf-Vaux Psalter (Lambeth Palace MS. 233), the Bardolf of that book being a relative of the one connected with the Ormesby Psalter. This not only suggests that the artists who executed the decoration at this time had secured com-

missions through the relatives²⁰ of one family, but that possibly the Ormesby Psalter was in the possession of the Bardolf family.

The occasion for continuing the decoration appears to have been another intended marriage, this time between members of the Bardolf and Foliot families. Exactly who they were is obscure because the marriage never took place and the names have not been recorded.²¹ It is probable that the Foliot was one Sir Richard Foliot, the only male in that family alive in 1320. His father, another Sir Richard, had married Joan Brewes, the widow of James Bohun, and had died before July 23, 1317, so it could not have been him. This would have made his son, the Sir Richard in question, the head of the family even though he was still a minor.²² However, he married Elizabeth Segrave before 1325, and he died in that year, and if it was this Sir Richard who is connected with the Ormesby Psalter, he never received the book as the marriage never took place. Such a state of affairs could have happened, as the decoration of the book came to a halt soon after 1320.

A point that is instructive to note is that, although different hands and stylistic idiosyncracies indicate that the 1320 work was executed by a different workshop from the 1310 work, the general character of the designs is essentially the same.²³ It is perhaps important also to note that the present patrons are likewise from the secular upper class. In fact, they are related to the

earlier suggested ones. Egbert has pointed out that:-

The Bardolf and Foliot families were respectively related to the Warennes and Newmarches, whose arms occur so prominently in the earlier portions of the decoration of the book and it would thus seem probable that the work on the volume, originally begun for a marriage between a Warenne and a Newmarch, a marriage which never took place, was resumed for a proposed wedding of relatives of those families, in this case a Foliot and a Bardolf.²⁴

Again, such evidence suggests that this type of decoration suits the taste of this class of people and may even have been indicated to the artists that this is what was wanted.

The Ormesby Psalter was then acquired by Robert Ormesby and subsequently given to Norwich Cathedral priory.²⁵ It was finally bound, a Norwich calendar and paschal table were added (ff. 1-8), and the decoration was completed, including the original Beatus page (f. 10r.).²⁶ The work at this time has been criticized as inferior to the rest of the manuscript.²⁷ The only part which is comparable to the earlier work is the scene of David playing his harp in the B of the Beatus page. However, the style is quite different from the earlier manner, as this figure displays the Trecentesque innovations that were appearing in England at this time.²⁸ For instance, the figure of David displays a far greater degree of modelling, especially in the face. Previously, facial features had been indicated through line drawings with the highlights and shading applied afterwards. Here, line drawing is absent and the features are indicated through tonal modulations. The eyes, too, have lost their linear definitions, and

instead of representing the previous oval type of eye, the whites are blended into the cheeks and forehead while the pupils stand out as dark dots. The hair and beard have also lost their stylized curves, and instead there is an attempt to represent hair as composed of many different hairs.

This raises another important issue in the development of the fourteenth-century styles, and which needs re-examination. In establishing an East Anglian school, many scholars have established such places as Norwich, and Gorleston on the Suffolk border of Norfolk, as probable centres of illumination. For instance, Saunders has written:-

The county of Norfolk, with Norwich as its centre, was, indeed, entering in the late thirteenth century on a period of artistic prominence which continued until the sixteenth century . . . Paintings were executed in the Cathedral in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Entries in the court rolls of Norwich between 1285 and 1298 give nine painters resident there, of whom several were local Norfolk men. . . Few wall paintings of this period have been discovered, and it is permissible to wonder whether some of these painters were not employed on book illumination.²⁹

However, in the case of the Ormesby Psalter, its best illumination was carried out at a time when the manuscript was in the hands of private patrons, who do not seem to have been connected with Norwich. It is also the earlier style and not the one connected with Norwich that is characteristic of the best East Anglian work.

The Gorleston Psalter (B.M. Add. MS. 49622)

Like the Ormesby Psalter, the Gorleston Psalter is one of the earliest manuscripts believed to have been made in East Anglia, and like the other book, it is one of the chief examples of the East Anglian style. It displays the same wealth of marginalia, including grotesques, semi-naturalistic and naturalistic foliage and naturalistic flowers. There are birds and animals, genre, Biblical and romance scenes in the margins, and a vast amount of heraldic arms. It was originally planned to have no full-page illustrations, but at a later date a full-page Crucifixion (f. 7) was added.

Although these two books are similar in this respect, the Gorleston Psalter does not seem to have originated from any of the workshops of the Ormesby Psalter. It has been classified by Pächt³⁰ in his purely Gothic, pre-Italianate group, and it contains none of the Italianate drolleries or sculptural treatment of the figures of the Ormesby Psalter. If one compares the faces on the Beatus page (f. 8) with those of psalm 109 of the Ormesby Psalter (f. 147v.), it will be seen that the figures of the Gorleston have long, drawn out faces with pinched cheeks. The technique, although linear, is painterly in the modelling rather than sculptural.

Unlike the Ormesby Psalter, this book seems to have been executed by one workshop except for the added Crucifixion scene. The decoration is relatively consistent throughout and no interruption in the work can be detected. When this took place is indicated by

some of the heraldic arms. It could not have been earlier than 1299 due to the association of the arms of England and France on the Beatus page and the decoration probably did not extend much beyond 1306.³¹

Where this manuscript was made is a point of contention. An entry written in gold next to March 8 in the Calendar³² records the dedication of the Church of Gorleston (St. Andrew's) and, on the basis of this evidence, the Psalter has been connected with that place.³³ Cockerell³⁴ notes that the Calendar is the Sarum type used at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and as the writing is consistent, the citation is probably an original one. He³⁵ also suggests further evidence that connects it with St. Andrew's, Gorleston. The name of St. Andrew appears in gold and there are careful representations of this saint on the lower margins of ff. 11v. and 175r., and in an initial on f. 23. However, he feels that, even though it is connected with Gorleston, it was not written for ecclesiastical use. Instead, it appears to have been written for a layman and executed at his expense. Cockerell's³⁶ reasoning stems from the constant appearance of a layman throughout the decoration. In the first miniature scene (f. 11v.) a young man and a monk kneel on either side of a crucified St. Andrew. A similar pair appears in many initials and the layman also appears alone, but he is depicted as old and bearded. On f. 70v. he sits on a cushioned bench and reads a book on a lectern. Beside him is placed a shield, *per pale or and vert a lion rampant gules*, which also appears prominently on f. 68r.

These are the arms of Roger le Bigod, the fifth Earl of Norfolk and the marshall of England from 1270 to 1301. From this evidence Cockerell believes that the Psalter was originally made for Bigod.

What the relationship was between Bigod and St. Andrew's is a mystery. He was not one of the benefactors and the shields of many of the benefactors do not appear in the Psalter.³⁷ Not only this, but there is little other connection with Gorleston other than its mention in the calendar.³⁸ After Bigod died, it became the property of Norwich Cathedral instead, and remained there during the remainder of the Middle Ages. It must have arrived there at a date similar to the Ormesby Psalter, as Cockerell notes that:-

A Litany applicable specially to that Church with double invocations of St. Benedict and St. William was added.... later in the fourteenth century. It is identical (except for two extra collects) with the added Litany in the Ormesby Psalter and must have emanated from the same source,³⁹ the invocations and petitions being very numerous.

The Gorleston Psalter is historically connected with three other books. Two of these, a Psalter formerly in the Public Library at Douai but which was totally ruined by damp during the First World War, and a Breviary in the British Museum (MS. Stowe 12), have extremely similar calendars. Except for the omission of the dedication of the Church at Gorleston, they contain the same entries as the other book, but they also include other material which places them at a later date, such as the inclusion of two chronological notes which appear in both books; one citing the coronation of Edward II (1307) and the other the death of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster on March

22, 1322. Both books cannot be earlier than the latter date.

As they were executed at a later date, there is little evidence to support the view that they originated from the same workshop as the Gorleston Psalter, although they may have been made in the general vicinity of where that book was, perhaps Norwich at this date. This is evident in some of the marginal decoration, but even more so by the fact that the full-page Crucifixion in the Gorleston Psalter (c.1325) was undoubtedly executed in the same workshop as the Douai Psalter. In turn, these two are related to a Psalter made for a member of the St. Omer family of Mulbarton, Norfolk (B.M. Add. MS. 39810).

The style of the Douai and St. Omer Psalters, the Crucifixion scene in the Gorleston Psalter and also the later additions to the Ormesby Psalter, form the Trecentesque stylistic group described by Pächt.⁴⁰ Even though these Italian innovations are ephemeral, having appeared in England c.1322 and having largely evaporated by 1330, they mark what can be described as the second flowering of the East Anglian style, which, although it maintains the earlier decorative type of system, sees a modification of the figure style and spatial conceptions.

The figure type that had prevailed within the first two decades of the fourteenth century was based on the mannered Court figure type that can be seen in the Court manuscripts of the thirteenth century and in the paintings in the Westminster precinct. The form

that appears c.1320-1325 however, even though it retains attenuated proportions and the hip-shot pose, contains a more naturalistic rendering of the physical features. This type, which has already been discussed briefly in conjunction with the Ormesby Psalter, is very well exemplified by the portrait heads set into the medallions in the borders on f. 7 of the St. Omer Psalter.

The new concept of spatial depth is perhaps even more revolutionary because, as Pächt points out, "the whole character of the miniature as book decoration"⁴¹ has been transformed. Through the creation of illusionistic space the figures have been set as actors on a stage and they no longer exist as ideographic, schematic characters. In discussing an initial containing the Last Judgement in the St. Omer Psalter (f. 120), Pächt points out:-

The whole pictorial idea is clearly based on the gradual penetration of the spectator's eye into the imaginary depth behind the page-surface. Along this line a strange vision unfolds itself: rows of graves receding up to the horizon, and in this vast churchyard, the host of dead rising suddenly from their tombs, in answer to the trumpet's call. As our eye proceeds into the depth we see the various stages and episodes of the Resurrection in close succession: in the first row appears a head; in the second a torso, further back a whole body has emerged and one corpse has decided on coming out legs foremost. They all move with the greatest agility, fleshless figures, apparently unbound by earthly gravity. The artist, combining all these elements, achieves an uncanny effect, well suited to this eschatological theme.⁴²

As revolutionary as these ideas are, they do not violate the established decorative system. These scenes are either self-

contained in a separate miniature, such as in the Gorleston Psalter's Crucifixion, or they are fitted into an existing formula. The Last Judgement scene, for instance, is placed inside the initial which acts as a decorative frame and thereby does not disrupt the harmony between the decoration on the surface of the page and the illustration which illusionistically penetrates beneath it. Instead of abandoning this earlier system, it is carefully integrated with it and, in this respect, the books are also conservative in their outlook.

It might be asked why this older formula was retained and was still employed over the next two decades, long after the Trecentesque influences coming directly from Italy had ceased to exert a comparable influence, as they had on the work of the 1320's. Could it be that this conservative nature is due to the dictates of the patron whose tastes preferred a certain kind of decoration, one which was perhaps interlinked with the accepted taste of his class? A possible answer to this question can be arrived at once we know for whom these books had been made.

A brief examination of the patrons reveals that, even though patronage does not come solely from the secular nobility, these books were executed for a wealthy clientele and were intended for private use. As we have seen, the St. Omer Psalter was commissioned by a member of the St. Omer family and Thompson⁴³ believed that it had been made for a Sir William de St. Omer. The Douai Psalter on the other

hand appears to have been commissioned by a cleric. The only mark of ownership is a note relating that this manuscript was given by the Vicar of Gorleston to an Abbot named John. Warner⁴⁴ has provisionally identified this figure as John of Aylesham, the Abbot of Hulme from 1325 to 1346. Even though it appears to have been executed for an ecclesiastic, the nature of the inscription indicates that it was a personal gift from one man to another and that it was not necessarily intended for institutional use. Although these two patrons are not of an equal rank with Warenne and Bigod, their books are executed in the same highly decorated manner. However, there is almost a twenty-year gap between them, and this could indicate that what was the fashion of the noble elite had become the accepted taste of the knights and wealthy ecclesiastics by 1320-1325.

Arundel 83 (B.M. Arundel MS. 83)

Another manuscript formerly believed to have come from East Anglia is the manuscript Arundel 83 in the British Museum. Actually, it is two different manuscripts bound into one and both have different origins. According to a dated inscription of 1590, they were then in the possession of William Howard and were united by him into one volume. The first part (ff. 1-116), comprised of a Psalter and a fragmentary Book of Hours, is perhaps the earlier of the two, dating from the first decade of the fourteenth century. Herbert noted that

"the arms on the first page of the . . . manuscript seem to indicate that it was made either for Sir William Howard, who died in 1308 and was buried at East Winch near Lynn, or for Alice Fitton, his wife".⁴⁵

This Howard was a relative of the later one, so that it is more than likely that it was made for him. It is preceded by a series of full-page illustrations of an allegorical nature and a similar set precedes the second manuscript. The Psalter itself is decorated with the 'East Anglian' formula of genre scenes, birds, animals, various types of foliage and heraldic arms. The style is extremely similar to the Gorleston Psalter and could possibly have had a common origin.⁴⁶

The second part of the manuscript (ff. 117-135) has survived in an extremely fragmentary condition. All that remains is a calendar, twenty-four pages of miniatures which include a narrative cycle of the Life of Christ, a Madonna and Child, a Crucifixion, and twelve allegorical and schematic illustrations. Unfortunately the text has been lost and it is not known whether it included decorative marginal schemes.

From two inscriptions it is known to have belonged to Robert de Lisle. The first in red, written at the end of the book and dated 1339, states that it was to pass successively to his daughters, Audery and Alborou, and then to the nuns of Chicksands in Bedfordshire. The second note, written in the margin of the calendar next to November 25, states that *sus cest jour* the book passed to Audery and then repeats the remainder of the original

agreement in the end papers. It ends by saying *Escrit de ma meyn*, which suggests that the inscription was written by de Lisle himself.⁴⁷

The problem of when it was written and illustrated has been the source of much debate. The dates given range between 1285 and the 1330's.⁴⁸ Also, some scholars have isolated at least two artists, but Rickert⁴⁹ was the first to make a chronological distinction between them. This has been corroborated by Sandler⁵⁰ who assigns the earlier work to the 'Madonna Master'. She has shown that his work relies strongly on the paintings in Westminster Abbey, especially the sedilia paintings c.1308. This similarity was first pointed out by Noppen, who stated that it "was illuminated by an artist who was, at least, greatly influenced by if not actually trained at Westminster."⁵¹ He shows that in the six scenes of the early Life of Christ (f. 124) the left hand figure of the three kings "seems almost to be a copy of one of the Westminster sedilia figures",⁵² and that Mary in the Crucifixion (f. 132) is almost identical to the figure of Saint Faith in St. Faith's Chapel in the Abbey. Writing later, Wormald drew the same conclusions, especially pointing out the similarities between the Three Living and Three Dead (f. 123) in the Psalter with the kings on the sedilia.⁵³ However, Noppen's dating is too late, suggesting that they must have been executed sometime earlier than 1340 by an artist who "in or about 1310, was a young student. Such a man would have been much influenced by the then completed Westminster works . . ."⁵⁴ Wormald on the other hand dates them almost contem-

porary to the sedilia paintings, c.1308-1310.⁵⁵ In view of the second distinguishable style, that of the Majesty Master, this is perhaps a more correct date. Rickert⁵⁶ has suggested that these later paintings show definite Italianate influences which are not visible in the work of the Madonna Master.⁵⁷ As these influences had appeared from the 1330's onward, two datings can be given - that of the Madonna Master c.1308 to 1310, and that of the Majesty Master c.1330 to 1340. Sandler has pointed out that the second artist must have worked as late as this because there is a close stylistic and iconographic similarity with the workshop of Jean Pucelle, especially with the work of the younger assistants such as the Masters of the Miracles of the Virgin.⁵⁸

The provenance of the De Lisle Psalter has been equally as controversial. Stylistically it has been suggested to have originated from East Anglia even though there is this Westminster connection. Because the majority of artists at this time worked on an itinerant basis, Noppen's suggestion that the Madonna Master was trained at Westminster could support such a contention, because this artist could have carried these ideas to those counties. Further, it has been held that Robert de Lisle came from East Anglia, for Herbert points out that "his family association with Mundford in Norfolk supports the evidence of style in favour of an East Anglian provenance".⁵⁹ His great-grandfather had held lands in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire. However, an East Anglian connection

cannot be maintained with Robert de Lisle. Sandler points out that he did not inherit the property in Norfolk but that it passed from his grandfather to his uncles and cousins.⁶⁰ He is not from the East Anglian line of the family; instead he held lands in Yorkshire, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire, the Isle of Ely, and possessed property in London. He was called to parliament by Edward II in 1311 and served this monarch and Edward III until 1339. It could very well be that while he was in London he had this Psalter made for himself and that there is no connection whatsoever with East Anglia. The possibility that the De Lisle Psalter was made there is supported by the appearance of a Miscellany and Bestiary in St. John's College, Oxford (MS. 178). This volume, which was definitely made in a Westminster workshop, contains a miniature in a style so similar to the Madonna Master that it might even be by the same artist.⁶¹ This evidence ratifies the conclusion that the De Lisle Psalter is a London production.

From this evidence, the point can be made that both the Howard and the De Lisle Psalters were made for secular upper class patrons. The Howard displays the same kind of marginal schemes found in the Gorleston and Ormesby Psalters, while the De Lisle Psalter closely follows Court models.

The Peterborough Psalters and Related Manuscripts

Although not strictly within the confines of East Anglia, the Abbey of Peterborough emerged as a centre for manuscript illumination during the last decade of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. It had had an active scriptorium in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, but there is little evidence to support the view that it was still functioning at this date.⁶² Instead, like the majority of fourteenth-century illumination, the manuscripts connected with Peterborough were undoubtedly the products of a workshop of professional artists. This is particularly evident when comparing two Psalters from Peterborough of about the same date because, although they show some stylistic affinities with each other, they are more closely related to other manuscripts with no Peterborough connection whatsoever. This is especially the case with the Psalter at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which is very similar to the Queen Mary Psalter (see below). A situation must have arisen whereby a number of artists were attracted to Peterborough seeking employment and stylistic differences indicate that more than one group came. The Abbey was a centre in the sense that it attracted artists to this vicinity but it cannot be called a centre in the sense that there was an official Peterborough workshop or a definite Peterborough school. The manuscripts which were ordered by local patrons and which show similarities with the Peterborough ones probably result from

these patrons seeking out the itinerant artists who had made their reputation by working at Peterborough.

The earliest manuscript is a Psalter (Brussels, Bib. Roy. MS. 9961-2) which was begun during the last decade of the thirteenth century but, as the decoration appears to have been carried out intermittently, the work probably extended into the fourteenth century. It follows the East Anglian decorative system and has often been described as the first mature manuscript in this style.⁶³ However, it still retains a picture book element, as the text is interspersed with full-page miniatures. It is an extremely sumptuous book and is written throughout in blue and gold.

Research on this manuscript was begun by Leopold Delisle,⁶⁴ who was the first to connect it with Peterborough. However, there is much evidence to indicate that it was not intended for institutional use. James⁶⁵ connected it with Godfrey of Croyland, the Abbot of Peterborough from 1299 to 1321 and it has been assumed to have been personally made for him at his request.⁶⁶ The subsequent history of the Psalter reveals that it most probably was a personal possession of Godfrey's because he gave the volume away soon after its completion. Also, the nature of how it came to leave Peterborough sheds some interesting light on the meaning of the value of such works and the circles of society in which such a book circulated. James, quoting Walter de Whittlesey's History of Peterborough, notes:-

We read of Abbot Godfrey de Croyland (1299-1321) that he entertained two Cardinals with great magnificence, and that to one of them named Gaucelin he gave *quoddam psalterium literis aureis et assuris scriptum et mirabiliter luminum* ('a certain psalter written in letters of gold and azure and marvellously illuminated'). This Gaucelin was Gaucelin d'Euse, a Frenchman, and nephew of Pope John XXII, by whom he was raised to the Cardinalate in 1316: he died Bishop of Albano in 1348.⁶⁷

Also connected with Peterborough are a group of manuscripts that are related to the Queen Mary Psalter group. The best known is a combined Psalter and Bestiary (Camb., Corpus Christi Coll. MS. 53), which contains few of the East Anglian elements found in the other Peterborough Psalter. The psalms and canticles are decorated with only ten historiated initials and only the Beatus page has a decorated border, all of which are modest in comparison with the other book. Its chief artistic merit lies in a set of twenty-four full-page miniatures⁶⁸ - twelve of the Life of Christ and the Virgin, interspersed by twelve pairs of Apostles and Prophets.⁶⁹

The contents of this manuscript undoubtedly connect it with Peterborough. From f. 180v. to 184r. a chronicle of England from Brutus to the death of Edward I is written in French, and in the same hand, beginning on f. 185, there is a chronicle of Peterborough which continues to the death of Abbot William de Wodeford (d. 1299). Also, the calendar and litany have the characteristic Peterborough saints and festivals. Moreover, the precise patron is known, for according to an inscription on the flyleaf, the manuscript was written for Hugo de Stiucele, the Prior of the Abbey. In addition, the

calendar contains the obit of Stiucele on October 5/6. James⁷⁰ could not find a list of priors but concluded that Hugo's tenure must have been between 1299 when Walter de Wallingford was prior and 1321 when one Alexander de Wistow held that office. As the chronicle of Peterborough ends at 1299, and the history of England at the death of Edward I, it must have been written and decorated at some time during Hugo's tenure. Also, as the calendar gives the death date of John de Warenne on the 27 of September, 1304, a date soon after this is perhaps correct.

The nature of the commission for this book may have been similar to that of the Brussels Psalter. It contains much material that is unusual in a liturgical manuscript, and this suggests that it was not intended for institutional ceremonial use, but rather that it was a private possession of the Prior's. The appearance of a complete Bestiary is rare⁷¹ at this date and Rickert points out that "this is the first time that the whole book has been incorporated as an integral part of the contents of a liturgical manuscript".⁷² The inclusion of the two chronicles is also rare. The book ends with a poem which James notes "embraces texts which are quite unconnected with the Church service".⁷³ It is unfortunate that little biographical material has survived concerning the manuscript's owner because presumably he would have been of some importance and wealth to have commissioned such a work.

There are two other manuscripts which are so similar to this Psalter as to suggest that they are all from the same workshop. These are a Sarum Horae in the Cambridge University Library (MS. Dd. LV 17) which, according to Millar,⁷⁴ was executed for an Alice of Reydon, and another Psalter connected with Peterborough Abbey made during the early part of the century (Bodl. MS. Barlow 22).⁷⁵ The Hours of Alice of Reydon has a prefixed series of twelve pictures that are almost identical to the ones of the Cambridge Psalter, which indicates that the same artist probably worked on both of the Psalters. Millar observed:-

The composition of most of the twelve pictures preceding the text agree remarkably with those of the Peterborough Psalter, and it is particularly instructive to compare the Ascension pictures.... The artist has obtained variety by reversing the bodies of most of the figures (the central figure of the Virgin is the same in both cases) and some of the faces, and by adding one extra figure in the Sarum Horae. This will be seen at once if one of the two plates is examined in a mirror, when it will be found that the ascending Christ, as reversed in the mirror, agrees in every detail with the others, even to the fold in the robe; the draperies are varied slightly in the case of the right hand figure, who does not hold a book in the Peterborough Psalter.⁷⁶

Millar⁷⁷ also points out that Alice of Reydon died in 1310, which indicates that it must have been begun before this date and hence brings it into line with the Psalter at Cambridge.

The Queen Mary Psalter and Related Manuscripts

The Queen Mary Psalter is one of the most outstanding manuscripts of this period, containing some 319 leaves and a series of

illustrations of a uniformly high quality, all apparently by the same artist.⁷⁸ It opens with an unusually long series of Old Testament scenes⁷⁹ (ff. 1-66) beginning with the Fall of Satan and the Creation and ending with the death of Solomon. There are two-hundred and twenty-three scenes, with generally two to a page. On f. 67 there is a full-page Tree of Jesse. This is followed by four miniatures containing the three Marys, St. Anne and three husbands, the Virgin and Child, and Christ Enthroned (f. 68); and then two miniatures, each with six compartments, containing pairs of apostles and prophets. The calendar begins on f. 71v. and each month is illustrated with scenes from the zodiac and labours of the month. The Psalter proper begins on f. 85 and extends to f. 280r. Each page contains a miniature illustrating the Life of Christ in the top half of the page, while beneath the text are no less than four hundred and sixty-four bas-de-page scenes including "real and imaginary creatures from medieval bestiaries; tilting, hunting and hawking scenes, and other field sports; games and pastimes of all kinds; banquets, music and dancing; drolleries and grotesque monsters; and, finally, a long series of Miracles of the Virgin and Lives and Passions of the Saints."⁸⁰ The Psalter illustrations differ from the prefixed miniatures in that they are set within the central panel of an architectural frame with cusped borders. The backgrounds are either diapered or burnished. The Psalter is followed by the canticles (ff. 280-302),

which are illustrated with scenes from the Passion, and finally the book ends with the litany (ff. 302-318) adorned with miniatures of the various saints.

Such an ambitious Psalter must have been executed to the order of some wealthy patron, but the manuscript contains no evidence of whom this may have been. The only entries in the calendar other than the feasts of the great churches and those of the apostles are the martyrdoms and translations of St. Thomas Becket and St. Edward the Confessor. Both of these are in gold and, because the Confessor receives equal treatment, Warner has suggested that the "manuscript had some connexion with the reigning Plantagenet family, by whom he was held in peculiar honour".⁸¹ It might have belonged to Edward I or Edward II or one of their queens. Warner rules out the possibility that it had been made for Westminster Abbey, of which St. Edward was the patron saint because the calendar is not Benedictine, or monastic at all. He notes that "the ignorant and careless errors" in the calendar "suggest an inexpert lay scribe",⁸² which further indicates that the patron was a layman. Where it was made is also unknown, but Rickert has suggested that "it seems to have been most directly influenced by the Westminster Retable and probably was made in London."⁸³ If it had been made for a Plantagenet, this is quite probable.

Connected with this Psalter are a group of manuscripts that are not only stylistically related but in which the hand of the prolific Queen Mary Master can be detected in varying degrees. These

include a Psalter made for Richard, a monk of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury (N.Y. Glazier Coll. MS. G. 53),⁸⁴ an Apocalypse with a French text (B.M. Roy. MS. 19 B. XV),⁸⁵ a Bible (Camb. Univ. Lib. MS. Dd 1. 14),⁸⁶ a Psalter now at Oxford (MS. Bodl. Douce 79),⁸⁷ a Somme le Roy at St. John's College, Cambridge (MS. S. 30),⁸⁸ and a Missal formerly in the collection of Henry Yates Thompson (MS. 44).⁸⁹ Other than the Psalter made for Richard of Canterbury⁹⁰ no patron for any of the other manuscripts has been discovered. This has hindered the understanding of the localization of this workshop and consequently its geographical movements cannot be isolated with any exactness nor the geographical distributions of its patrons. Even though the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury was made for a monk, there is little possibility that it was made at Canterbury. The errors noted in conjunction with the Queen Mary Psalter would not have occurred if that book had originated in a monastic scriptorium, and therefore one can safely assume that the workshop was not monastic. Warner has observed that:-

It would be rash to assume on the evidence of the Calendar that it came from the scriptorium of St. Augustine's or that its illuminator was necessarily a monk of that house. Even if it was written there, it may nevertheless have been illuminated by a stranger; and if it was written elsewhere especially for brother Richard's use, care would no doubt be taken to make its Calendar conform to that of the community for which he was a member, probably by copying it from one supplied by him for the purpose.⁹¹

There is a possibility that this workshop was located in the southern part of England but this cannot be proven. Brother Richard's Psalter

went to Canterbury and the Queen Mary Psalter may have been made in London. This might also have been the case with the Apocalypse, as it is included in the catalogue of 1524 of the Library at Westminster Palace.⁹² Like the Queen Mary Psalter it might also have been a royal commission. The Missal however shows a possible Salisbury connection,⁹³ while there is a possibility that the Somme le Roy is allied with the Peterborough group represented by the Corpus Christi College manuscript. It is impossible to say, however, how itinerant these artists were. The whole workshop may have moved from one part of the country to another seeking employment, or it could have been centred in one place which, from time to time, some of the artists left, carrying with them the ideas and even copy books of the parent workshop. This may have been the relationship between this workshop and the Peterborough one because certain stylistic and iconographic affinities with the Queen Mary Psalter can be seen in the Cambridge Psalter. This is particularly obvious in a comparison of the Annunciation, Nativity, Resurrection and Majesty scenes. Indeed, the illustrations are so close that Saunders believed these two workshops to be one and the same. She notes that:-

A comparison of the figure of the Christ in the Coronation of the Virgin in this Psalter with that of the High Priest in the Presentation scene in the Queen Mary's Psalter will shew the strong resemblance in the drawing of the face in the two manuscripts, although the style is hardly similar enough to shew the hand of the same artist. These fully coloured pictures on a gold background alternate with pages by another hand, containing each a figure of an Old Testament

and New Testament character, on a plain ground, executed as tinted drawings, like the more sketchy pictures in Queen Mary's Psalter, although the figure drawing is considerably more mannered and less skilful than in the masterpiece; the pointed eyebrows and mincing gestures being exaggerated in some of the figures to the point of absurdity. The manuscript, therefore, reproduces both the unusual types of painting which are found in the Queen Mary's⁹⁴ Psalter, and must emanate from the same workshop.

This workshop which is connected with Canterbury, possibly London and possibly Peterborough, brings into line all the manuscripts in the categorical 'Queen Mary Psalter school'. It has no East Anglian connections, and it is partly because of this, and partly because of the fact that the decoration of its manuscripts depends largely on self-contained illustrations (which is not a prominent feature in the East Anglian books), that the latter have been called East Anglian while these manuscripts have been categorized into a separate group. However, as it was stated in the introduction, the term 'Queen Mary Psalter school' should be understood in a categorical sense only because, although the layout is conceived somewhat differently from the other system, the Queen Mary Psalter manner does not offer a truly different mode of decorating the page. The Queen Mary Psalter itself contains elements from the other manuscripts, with naturalistic leaves sprouting from the corners of the frames of the illustrations, naturalistic flowers in the illustrations, bas-de-page scenes of saints, genre activities and aristocratic pastimes. Moreover, the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury does not follow the format of this

so-called school, and instead is decorated with modest marginal schemes. Also, it will be shown that all these manuscripts share the same figure type and that the differences from one workshop to another can be attributed to the different personal styles of the artists in the various workshops rather than different figural conceptions. The Queen Mary Psalter group differs from the East Anglian and other groups in that these features are organized within illustrations while the others are organized according to marginal schemes.

The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts

Outside East Anglia, the independent development of the marginally decorated system can be most clearly seen in the manuscripts of the Tickhill Psalter group. This workshop can be constructed primarily through four pieces of evidence: there is a community of style and iconographic formulae; in some manner they are all connected with Augustinians, whether they were commissioned by an Augustinian house, written by an Augustinian or ordered by patrons of Augustinian houses who were members of the secular nobility; the secular patrons who ordered manuscripts were all inter-related either by blood or through marriage which indicates a close source of patronage; and finally the location of these patrons is predominantly in the north Midlands.

The workshop began working for members of the Court and its entourage, perhaps recruiting its artists from those who worked on

Court commissions. Doubtless this is indicated by the fact that its first commission was the Psalter made for Queen Isabella and stylistically it is more closely related to Court manuscripts of the 1280's, such as the Alphonso Psalter, than any other manuscript from this period.⁹⁵ It has no full- or half-page miniatures and instead relies on marginal schemes. It contains bar-borders and the bottom of the pages are illustrated with Biblical and genre scenes. There are one hundred and two heraldic arms, mostly of the prominent baronial families in England, but there are few grotesques and the foliage is limited to recurring stylistic types. The lack of ostentatious grotesques is in keeping with the elegant, mannered character and style of the book, which has a delicacy of execution similar to the French royal manuscripts such as those executed by Maître Honoré. Although not stylistically related to the same workshop as the Queen Mary Psalter, it displays the same kind of elegance and Saunders has suggested that there is also influence of Maître Honoré in this manuscript.⁹⁶ Both of these examples can perhaps be seen as representative of the taste preferred in royal circles.

The next manuscript executed by this workshop is the Tickhill Psalter. It was ordered by John Tickhill, the Prior of Worksop in Nottinghamshire, an Augustinian House. As John was Prior from 1303 to 1314, the book was presumably executed within these dates. Stylistically it is very similar to the Psalter of Queen Isabella and

also displays strong affiliations with the current French styles. Egbert has shown that several of the grotesques from the Isabella Psalter are identical to the examples in this book and therefore he believes there must have been a common copy book.⁹⁷ Like the other manuscript, many of the bar-borders of the Tickhill Psalter end in sprays of stylized trefoil leaves which strongly recall Parisian work, especially that of Honoré. However, this Psalter adds new features not represented in the other book. For instance, the Isabella Psalter contained very few naturalistic flowers but the Tickhill includes such examples as columbine, ground ivy, germander, veronica, hazel, forget-me-not and quince. It also includes the unusual feature of having figures holding long, waving scrolls which do not contain inscriptions.

This workshop is next employed on a series of manuscripts executed for a group of closely inter-related families. This extends from a period between c.1308-c.1320 and eventually brings the workshop into East Anglia. From heraldic evidence it has been determined that the first of these, a Book of Hours (Camb., Fitzwilliam MS. 242), was executed for a marriage of Sir Richard Grey to Joan Fitzpayn, daughter of Sir Robert Fitzpayn and Isabel Clifford. The will of Sir Richard Grey's father cites that the marriage took place in 1308, and if this book had been executed as a wedding gift, it must have been illuminated before this date.

Egbert⁹⁸ notes that many of the human heads and interlaces are identical with examples in the Tickhill Psalter and therefore must emanate from the same workshop. However, stylistically it makes advances in new directions. The figures recall the Queen Mary Psalter and the Peterborough Psalter at Cambridge. This is particularly obvious in the two full-page miniatures - that of the Trinity (f. 28) recalls the same scene in the Queen Mary Psalter (f. 299), while the Annunciation is extremely similar to the one in the Peterborough manuscript (f. 15v.). Also, genre scenes are included in the lower margins instead of Biblical ones, such as the magnificent hunting scene on f. 29, which brings to mind a very similar scene in the lower margin of the Beatus page (f. 14) of the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels. This manuscript differs from its predecessors in that the marginal decoration, composed of heraldic shields, birds, animals and grotesques, has greatly increased in size and tends to dominate the page. This is accompanied by an increased amount of grotesques which, as amusing as they are, distort the sense of 'good taste' and decorum which had prevailed in the earlier works, the Isabella Psalter and the Tickhill Psalter. This led Egbert⁹⁹ to point out that this manuscript is closer to the East Anglian works than to the previous works from this workshop. However, there is no connection with East Anglia as of yet, and the similarities with the Queen Mary Psalter group suggest that this workshop is developing independently of East Anglian influences.

The next manuscript connected with this workshop and tentatively associated with this family group is an Apocalypse (B.M. Roy. MS. 15 D. ii), written in Anglo-Norman and preceded by the poem *La lumière as lais*. It may have been written for Sir Adam Welles (d. 1311) or his son, Sir Robert Welles. The Apocalypse has also been known as the Greenfield Apocalypse and was attributed by Warner¹⁰⁰ to Greenfield Priory, a House of Cistercian nuns near Alford, Lincolnshire. However, Egbert has since supplied evidence to show that the book probably never was connected with that convent. Instead he suggests that it might have been ordered for another wedding:-

It is worth noting that Sir Robert Welles married between June 29, 1314 and December 16, 1315, the widow of Sir Robert Clifford, whose arms appear prominently in the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours doubtless because of the fact that he was related to Isabel Clifford, the mother of Joan Fitzpayn. It is therefore tempting to suggest that these two stylistically similar volumes, the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours of the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Welles Apocalypse, were executed by the same illuminators in the neighbourhood of Nottingham for related families, and that the Welles Apocalypse was either produced in 1314 or 1315 for the wedding of Sir Robert Welles to the widow of Sir Robert Clifford, or more likely, was brought into the possession of the Welles family by the bride.¹⁰¹

Egbert himself admits that this evidence is only circumstantial but, considering the link with the Welles family and the others of this group, and the stylistic connection between this Apocalypse and the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours and subsequent manuscripts commissioned by relatives, such a possibility is not unreasonable.

The decoration of the Welles Apocalypse closely follows the other manuscripts, especially the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours. It contains

the same trefoil sprays of rounded leaves sprouting from the borders. It has numerous small initials decorated with human heads and interlacing with patterns that are almost identical to the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours. The Annunciation of the Psalter is so similar to the one in the Hours that Egbert suggests that "there can be no doubt"¹⁰² that all these manuscripts were executed by the same workshop.

A third manuscript¹⁰³ associated with these families, and decorated by the Tickhill Psalter artists, is a Psalter written and decorated for another wedding, this time for members of the Bardolf and Vaux families. The groom is probably Sir William Bardolf but the bride has not been identified, being only connected with the Vaux and Moel families. Egbert points out that the Bardolfs were related to the Greys of Codnor "by the marriage of Henry, first Baron Grey¹⁰⁴ of Codnor and great grandfather of Sir Richard Grey, to Iseude Bardolf". He also points out that the Bardolfs were related to the Welles family, which further aligns the patronage of these families.

The same trefoil leaf is used and on the bottom of the Beatus page (f. 15) are two grotesques which are identical to those on ff. 55v. and 29r. of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours. However, within this manuscript the breakdown of the original Tickhill Psalter style can be witnessed by the appearance of a style and decoration common in East Anglian works, especially that of the Ormesby Psalter. That this should appear in conjunction with the Bardolf-Vaux Psalter is not unexpected because the Bardolfs held land at Wormegay in Norfolk,

and it is with the same Bardolf family that the Ormesby Psalter is connected. This workshop, which also worked on the Ormesby Psalter, must have recruited artists from the suggested East Anglian workshops because soon after the Tickhill style gives way to one more East Anglian in nature.

However, before the workshop moved into East Anglia it executed a combined Breviary, Missal and Psalter¹⁰⁵ for the Augustinian Canons of Guisborough Priory. Stylistically it shows some of the same East Anglian tendencies as the Bardolf-Vaux Psalter, thus dating the work 1310/20. That it was possibly made at a similar date as that Psalter is further indicated by the fact that among the benefactors of Guisborough Priory were the Bardolfs of Barningham, relatives of the same Bardolf family, and who may well have borne the cost of the manuscript.

The last work executed by this workshop is the so-called Brewes-Norwich Commentaries on the Liber Sextus (Camb., St. John's Coll. MS. A. 4). Stylistically it is closest to the Bardolf-Vaux Psalter, but even more so to the decoration of the early 1320's in the Ormesby Psalter. There is the frequent appearance of the serrated cabbage leaf form found in the majority of the East Anglian manuscripts, and which had not appeared previously in any other of the books associated with this workshop. Although stylistically this manuscript shows little resemblance to the Tickhill Psalter, genealogically the patrons are connected with the Bardolfs and Greys of

Codnor. Egbert believes that this Psalter had been written and decorated for Robert Brewes and his wife Katherine Norwich. He points out that:-

It is significant that the elder brother of Robert Brewes' grandfather, Richard Brewes, was that Sir William Brewes who not only was related to the wife of William Bardolf, for whom the Bardolf-Vaux Psalter at Lambeth Palace was probably executed, but who was also the grandfather of Richard Foliot.... In addition, through the Bardolfs Sir William Brewes was distantly connected by marriage to the Greys of Codnor.¹⁰⁶

The Manuscripts of the Second Quarter of the Fourteenth Century

Except for the manuscripts influenced by the Trecentesque innovations and the later additions to the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, the workshops and the patrons of the manuscripts discussed so far only occupied the first two decades of the fourteenth century. The remaining manuscripts that date from the period 1320/25 to 1350 are very few in number. Of these rather little investigation has been undertaken and consequently the dates given are for the most part arbitrary and the stylistic connections between the books are vague. Generally they follow the decorative systems formulated during the first two decades, but there is a gradual breakdown of this earlier conception. This is particularly noticeable in the attempt to include new material into the older iconographic formulae. This occurs in two general ways: there is a greater emphasis on illustrative pictures in the margins at the expense of the purely decorative

elements, and there is an increased amount of ornament on every page, as if the artists were trying to go beyond the earlier achievements by increasing the quantity of illustrations and decorative motifs.

Such is the case with the Luttrell Psalter (B.M. Add. MS. 42130), made for Sir Geoffrey Luttrell who died in 1345. More than any other manuscript this Psalter contains the largest amount of marginal illustrations and grotesques. The scenes represented include such subjects as daily life and agricultural pursuits, games, home life and travels, saints and Biblical stories, animals and fables, romance stories and aristocratic pastimes. The grotesques on the other hand have increased not only in amount but also in size. Millar notes that they dominate "to nightmare proportions"¹⁰⁷ and that the great proliferation of them creates a vulgar effect which is quite distant from the mannered restraint of the earlier Court works.

However, it is not only in what is represented that the Luttrell Psalter differs from the earlier manuscripts but also how the illustrations are employed. Formerly, illustrative matter had been confined largely to the lower margins and if there was a sequence of events, there was some sense of order. In comparing this book to the Queen Mary Psalter, Rickert points out that:-

There the pictures are confined to delicately drawn vignettes in the bottom margins. In the Luttrell Psalter the pictures are not only in the bottom margins, but run up the sides and across the top of the pages as well, or even, as in the case of the often reproduced Travelling

Coach for Ladies, across two facing pages. The scale of these scenes and also the monstrous, often hideous and vulgar grotesques is disproportionately large in relation to the borders, and even the motifs in the borders usually are too large and coarse to be beautiful . . . Certainly some pages are better than others, but too often even a reasonably good initial and border are spoiled by a repulsive grotesque.¹⁰⁸

Yet no matter how 'stylistically decadent' this manuscript can be shown to be in relation to previous works, it was nevertheless commissioned by a nobleman and follows the older system.

Another feature that occurs in the second quarter of the fourteenth century is the appearance of a crude but vigorous style, linear in technique and flatly coloured with little indication of shading. These manuscripts, which comprise the bulk of the extant manuscripts from this period, are primarily illustrated books rather than illuminated manuscripts. There is little use of gold and in some of them the illustrations are more akin to wall paintings in their general compositions than to miniatures.

An example of a manuscript in this style is the so-called Taymouth Hours of c.1325 (B.M. Yates Thompson MS. 13). Although the figure style adheres to the mannered poses of the earlier Court works, and of the kind that can be seen in the Queen Isabella Psalter and the Queen Mary Psalter, it is stiff and awkward in comparison and the figures have been executed in a mechanical fashion. Its chief merit is a series of three hundred and seventy-three scenes, primarily in the lower margins which include religious subjects, fables (such as

the story of Theophilus selling his soul to the devil and of how a lady is rescued from Woodhouse or the Wildman), and there is a particularly interesting set of scenes instructing a lady how to hunt both rabbits and stag and also how to hunt with a hawk. These scenes are quite unconnected with the text and the nature of the subjects suggest that the owner was a lady of high rank. Millar notes that it seems to have been executed for a royal lady, perhaps a queen "who is represented in the four miniatures, while it was apparently in Scotland at an early date".¹⁰⁹ It may have been executed for a Scottish queen, but as the lady appears without heraldic decoration no positive conclusions can be drawn.¹¹⁰

Another example of a manuscript in this style but which is quite unconnected with the above book is a treatise written by Walter de Milemete entitled *De Nobilitatibus, Sapientiis et Prudentiis Regum* (Concerning the Nobility Wisdom and Prudence of Kings), which was accompanied by a Latin translation of the Pseudo-Aristotle tract, *De Secretis Secretorum*, and presented by Walter to Edward III on the occasion of his accession to the throne. Again, the figures are flat and linear and they are awkward in their execution.

The nature of the gift is recorded by a rubric on the first page which states that it was written in 1326 and outlines that this book is intended as a guide for those things that a king should treat with nobility, wisdom and prudence, "in honour of the illustrious Lord Edward by the Grace of God, King of England, beginning to reign

in the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1326".¹¹¹

Little is known about Walter other than he was a royal clerk. James notes that Milemete's phraseology indicates that:-

It was a safe gift to make to the heir-apparent of the kingdom: there were no allusions to contemporary politics, and the precepts contained in the text could not be but useful to one who was marked out as the next occupant of the throne.¹¹²

The work appears to have been a piece of flattery that would put Walter into a favourable light with the sovereign. Therefore, perhaps it would not be too presumptuous to suggest that he would have wanted to present a manuscript that would conform to the king's taste, and there is evidence which suggests that could well have been the case. First of all, the decoration appears to have been consciously aristocratic in its symbolism, and secondly, its format loosely follows the marginal decorative system. Its decoration includes a large amount of heraldry. James notes that there is a "lack of method in the disposition of the coats; and a good many of them appear to be purely imaginary".¹¹³ This haphazard arrangement strongly suggests that they are not meant to evoke any specific shields but merely that they are part of the required imagery of a knight. Also, it has illustrations which are chiefly concerned with the life of the king. Rickert lists such scenes as "the king with his knights, the king in Court and council, and the king in battle".¹¹⁴ Such a manuscript as this, even though it was not commissioned by a member of the nobility,

perhaps tells us more directly about that class and what kind of manuscript they ordered, than what can be inferred by the actual ones owned by the aristocracy.

Thus, in reviewing the manuscripts from the East Anglian period, it has been shown that the majority of them not only were the possessions of private individuals, but for the most part they were owned by members of the nobility of all types, and ecclesiastics. Socially and politically these patrons were connected with the Court, so that it is more than likely that the style of these manuscripts is executed in accordance with the taste of the Court. These connections between the Court and the various classes of patrons are investigated in more detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PATRONS

The previous examinations of the East Anglian period have been concerned primarily with the artistic considerations of the manuscripts. Much has been done in tracing their general development in this period, in establishing stylistic and iconographic groups and in the formation of workshops based on stylistic criteria. Although these investigations are by no means complete, there are other lines which should be pursued in order to gain a broader understanding of the period. One of these is a fuller enquiry into the nature of patronage than has been carried out in the past, and especially the relationship that exists between the kinds of artistic activity and the patron involved.

It was pointed out earlier that during the Gothic period most patronage came from individuals of high rank, replacing the major institutions such as the monasteries that predominated during the Romanesque period. How much the taste of this different class of patrons dictated the character of book decoration has not been fully explored, but Porcher has commented on a similar situation in contemporary France:-

The arts fell into new hands, as though new teams of artists had long been preparing to succeed the old. Only one explanation is possible: the patrons and clients changed, the arts followed. Art lives on programmes and programmes depend on commissions, on the people who distribute them,

whether individuals or officials, single or in groups. Behind every work of art lies the patron who is called into being. ¹

In England the patronage of the manuscripts from this period can be classified basically under three broad headings: the noble elite, the landed gentry together with wealthy minor ecclesiastics, and institutions.

The first category includes the magnates and prelates of the realm. The lay aristocracy is limited basically to the royal family and the great feudal families, many of whom had held lands since the Norman Invasion. Aside from the monarchy, the only patrons of the East Anglian manuscripts who properly fit into this group are Roger le Bigod and John de Warenne.

The Bigods are recorded in the Domesday Book in 1071 to have held extensive lands in Norfolk.² Roger Bigod is said to have held most of the land after the king, second to him was William de Warenne,³ an ancestor of John de Warenne. In either December 1140 or January 1141, Hugh Bigod was granted the Earldom of Norfolk and it remained in his family until the death of Roger le Bigod, the fifth Earl of Norfolk and the man connected with the Gorleston Psalter. Roger's uncle, who had been the fourth Earl, had Roger appointed the marshall of England at a request to the king in 1270.

Likewise, the Warennes were an established aristocratic family. They not only held extensive lands in Norfolk but were

also the Earls of Surrey. John de Warenne held that title until 1304 and was succeeded by his grandson, who also became the Earl of Sussex. The elder John married Alesia de Lusignan, the half sister of Henry III. Of their three children, Alice married Henry Percy in 1268 and Isabella married John Baliol in 1279, which made John the father-in-law of the king of Scotland. His son, William, however, was killed in a tournament, and was succeeded by his son John, who married Joan of Bar, the grand-daughter of Edward I in 1306.

Similar to the Bigods and Warennes are the abbots of the great monasteries such as St. Augustine's, Canterbury and Peterborough, who represent the top rank of the ecclesiastical aristocracy. Into this category can be placed Godfrey of Croyland, the abbot of Peterborough and perhaps also Hugo de Stiucele, the prior.

In comparison with the old feudal nobility, the role of the knights and landed gentry was rising in importance during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They contributed to what Wickson terms a consciousness of the 'community of the realm'. He notes that this concept had arisen from "the increasing growth of monarchical power and authority and the dependence of this authority for its strength on men of distinction within the localities, the knights and the gentry".⁴ He adds that:-

By associating all their free subjects with them in governing the country the Angevin kings transformed the members of the ancient communities of shire, hundred and vill into indispensable agents of national government. The use made by the Angevins of local communities was possible because

of the strength of the monarchy. There was nothing essentially democratic about thirteenth-century government, but from the very strength of the monarchy arose those forces which saw that English monarchy did not develop in the same way as that of France. In the thirteenth century the local communities of shire, hundred and vill became increasingly aware of their corporate existence and responsibility, an existence and responsibility that was essentially non-feudal because its origins were far older than feudalism and because in the thirteenth century it cut across feudal immunities and franchises. And they became aware of their importance in running the country as a community, the community of the realm, of which the monarch was as much a member as the free landowner. ⁵

Although they did not rival the older aristocracy, the more ambitious knights rose in favour under the king and often married into the older families. Many were given titles and many came to hold extensive lands as a result of ambition and through inter-marriages. Not only were they conscious of their new status, but with the emergence of parliament, many played a greater role in governing the country than just administering justice in the shires. Powicke points out that:-

We should expect that the summons of elected knights to parliament gave opportunities to the more active knights of the shire; and that the elections in the shire court would reflect neither the will of the sheriff nor the spontaneous desires of the body of suitors, but, rather, the interplay of local prestige, influential connexions, and a willingness to go to the king's court at the community's expense. ⁶

It was for members of this class that a large bulk of the manuscripts of the early fourteenth century was executed.

A good example of this new kind of knight can be seen in the rise of the Bardolf family who are connected with the Bardolf-

Vaux and Ormesby Psalters. Hugh Bardolf had been summoned to parliament from February 6, 1298/9 to June 2, 1302 "by writs directed Hugoni Bardolf whereby he may be held to have become LORD BARDOLF".⁷ The increasing prominence of the Bardolfs can be traced back to Hugh's grandfather, Doun Bardolf, who had married Beatrice Warenne, the daughter of William de Warenne. Through his inheritance on his grandmother's side he succeeded to the barony of Wormegay in Norfolk, and also was granted a moiety of the barony of Shelford in the county of Nottingham, where the Bardolfs had an important seat at Stoke Bardolf. His position was further enhanced through a marriage with Isabella Aguilion, the daughter and sole heir of Sir Robert Aguilion and Joan Ferrers, the latter of whom was the fifth of seven daughters of William Ferrers, the Earl of Derby. These holdings passed to his son Thomas in 1304. Thomas had been knighted with Edward II on the 22 May, 1306, at the same time as about one hundred other young and prominent knights. This tells us much about Thomas's social position. He was also present at the coronation of Edward II and was summoned to parliament from 26 August, 1307 to 23 October, 1330. He was succeeded by his son John, Lord Bardolf, in 1335, who in 1345 was made a knight banneret by Edward III. He married Elizabeth, the only daughter of Roger D'Amory by Elizabeth, third daughter of Gilbert de Clare II (Earl of Gloucester) and Joan, the eldest daughter of Edward I. Although this occurred later than the Bardolf connections with the manuscripts in question, it nevertheless reveals

the continuing aspirations of these families newly risen to the peerage.

Like the Bardolfs, the Foliots, whose arms appear with theirs in the Ormesby Psalter, were also a rising family. Sir Jordan Foliot was appointed baron by writ in 1295 and was called to parliament. From his mother, who was a d'Estuteville, he inherited Elsing, East Lexham and Weasenham in Norfolk. He held the manor of Gressenhall for eight and one-half fees from John de Warenne and the manor of Elsing at two fees from Gilbert de Clare II. His son Richard succeeded him in 1299 as the second Lord Foliot. In 1310 he married Joan Brewes, the daughter of Sir William Brewes who had also been newly appointed a baron by writ (1290) and it was for a later member of this same Brewes family that the Brewes-Norwich copy of the Commentaries on the Liber Sextus (now in St. John's College, Cambridge) was made. Also, Joan Brewes was the widow of James Bohun, which aligns both the Brewes and Foliots with that old feudal family. Sir Richard was succeeded by his son, another Sir Richard, with whom the Ormesby was probably connected. He died a minor in 1325 without issue, at which time the title lapsed.

Other families, such as the Greys of Codnor, the Cliffords, the Fitzpayns, the Welles, the De Lises had also assumed new positions of importance, some having been granted peerage and called to parliament. Others, such as William Howard, were apparently of little consequence before 1300; but even he was the progenitor of the family which

ultimately led to John Howard, the Duke of Norfolk under Richard III, and John's son, Thomas, who held the same title under Henry VIII. This family is perhaps a classic example of this new emerging class who were later to become some of the most powerful noblemen in the country.

Within the Church, patronage not only came from the upper echelons of the hierarchy and from the institutions themselves, but also from priors of smaller houses, vicars and (in the case of Richard of Canterbury) a monk with no designated position. From written inscriptions we know that the Tickhill Psalter belonged to John Tickhill, the Prior of Worksop, and that the sumptuous Douai Psalter was once the possession of the Vicar of Gorleston. Not only does this indicate that these men were probably independently wealthy, but also it gives us some idea of a class consciousness, if one can call this heterogeneous group a class. Before this date it is extremely rare to find books as sumptuous as these in their possession. In the case of Richard of Canterbury, that monk owned more than one book. The possession of these books suggests that they may have been a source of legitimate pride for him just as the Peterborough Psalter now at Brussels had functioned for Godfrey of Croyland. In this respect Richard of Canterbury can be looked upon as an ecclesiastical counterpart of the Bardolfs, Foliots and the other members of the landed gentry.

The third principal source of patronage from this period came from religious institutions, and in all known cases they appear to have been monasteries. Whether the manuscripts were commissioned by the institutions themselves, or whether they were paid for by patrons, has not been clearly determined, but from a cursory glance these houses have patrons from the noble classes, some of whom are connected with other manuscripts from this period. For instance, one of the principal patrons of Bromholm Priory was Edmund of Cornwall, who not only gave the Petrus Comestor to Ashridge College, but whose arms appear prominently in the Ormesby Psalter. As there is a stylistic relationship between the Ormesby Psalter and the Bromholm Psalter, and as other examples could be cited in which there are historical and stylistic connections between manuscripts executed for secular patrons and a monastic manuscript (e.g., the relationship between various Tickhill group manuscripts and the Guisborough Priory combined Breviary, Missal and Psalter, cited in Chapter One), it is possible that many of the famous manuscripts owned by monastic houses may have been paid for by the patrons.

Comparing these three basic sources of patronage with the manuscripts commissioned, three roughly defined divisions can be made which correspond approximately to the classes of patronage. Those which had been executed for the aristocratic elite, both the lay and ecclesiastical, fall into the category which includes the most sumptuous and highest quality manuscripts. Of those likely to have

been commissioned by secular patrons, the Queen Mary Psalter may have been commissioned by one of the Plantagenet kings or queens, the Ormesby Psalter is connected with John de Warenne, the Gorleston with Roger le Bigod, and the Psalter of Queen Isabella was made for Isabella of France, the Queen of Edward II. On the other hand, the Peterborough Psalters were made for an abbot and prior of one of the largest monasteries in England and they rank among the best manuscripts from this period.

In comparison, the manuscripts commissioned by the landed gentry and minor ecclesiastics range more widely, from such sumptuous manuscripts as the St. Omer, De Lisle and Douai Psalters that are comparable to any of the ones made for the aristocracy, to the more modest productions such as the bulk of the manuscripts executed by the Tickhill Psalter workshop and the less elaborate manuscripts of the Queen Mary Psalter workshop. The parallel taste exemplified in these manuscripts appears as a fitting expression for this class who wished to emulate the aristocratic life style which their new status had brought them. The series of commissions undertaken by the inter-related group of families of the Cliffords-Greys-Bardolfs-Foliots-Vaux and so forth, all of whom only recently had become peers, suggests that they were following such a lead. Their dependence on the taste of the magnates of the realm was extremely similar to the relationship which existed between the Flemish burghers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the con-

temporary aristocratic classes. Huizinga cogently points out that:-

The burghers . . . are always striving to imitate the forms of noble life. Nothing could be falser than to picture the third estate in the Middle Ages as animated by class hatred, or scorning chivalry. On the contrary, the splendour of the life of the nobility dazzles and seduces them. The rich burghers take pains to adopt the forms and tone of the nobility. Phillip of Artevelde, the leader of the Flemish insurgents, whom one would like to picture as a simple, sober revolutionary, kept a state like a prince's. His going to dinner is announced by music. His meals are served up on silver plate like that of a count of Flanders; he goes about dressed in scarlet and miniver, preceded by his unfurled peneon showing a sable scutcheon with three silver hats.⁸

A parallel for this kind of activity in the manuscripts can be seen in the contemporary penchant for building elaborate tombs. Stone points out that during the thirteenth century churches were being transformed into "mausoleums filled with the self-important memorials of the great of this earth", and that "the most important evidence of this trend is naturally provided by the royal church of Westminster Abbey where also the most advanced technical achievements of tomb making were taking place".⁹ For instance, the Westminster tombs of Edmund Crouchback, the Duke of Lancaster (d. 1296), William de Valence, the Earl of Pembroke and the half brother of Henry III (d. 1296), and his son Aymer de Valence (d. 1324), and particularly the form which their effigies took, can be seen imitated in the effigies of such knights as Sir Richard de Whatton in the parish church of Whatton, Nottinghamshire; Sir Roger de Kerdston buried at Reepham, Norfolk; and Sir Oliver Ingham buried in the parish church of Ingham,

Norfolk. But as well as three-dimensional carved effigies, monumental brasses were coming into vogue, as "the less exalted, equally eager for self-commemoration, demanded something cheaper and it was to satisfy this new market that the art of the brass engraver grew up".¹⁰ Of particular note, the brass of Sir Roger Trumington (c.1300) is similar to the figures of William de Valence and Edmund Crouchback, whereas the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings (d. 1347) at Elsing, Norfolk, owes very much to the Westminster tombs, especially that of Aymer de Valence. These tombs of the knights and gentry perhaps can be seen as imitations of the ones made for the magnates and the manuscripts can be understood in the same way.

However, when one compares the books from the above two classes with those commissioned by or for the religious institutions, there is an appreciable lack of profuse decoration in the latter. They have only occasional bar-borders, marginal decoration is limited largely to sprigs of leaves or the occasional appearance of ecclesiastics such as the Benedictines in the Gregory Moralia. They rarely contain grotesques and genre scenes, and never heraldry.

From this evidence the conclusion can be made that the most elaborate manuscripts of the East Anglian period were commissioned by the noble elite followed by those of the gentry, who seem to be imitating the artistocratic models, and finally the books commissioned for and by institutions are modest and conservative in their decoration. This conclusion suggests that the taste of the noble elite

dictated the style of illumination during this period and, because the focal point of this group is the Court, the Court can be said to be the ultimate model. This can be shown to have been the case by comparing the decoration of the East Anglian manuscripts firstly with the manuscripts commissioned by the royal family in the reign of Edward I and, secondly, with other documented Court works. This will be the subject of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER III

MARGINAL DECORATION IN THE COURT SCHOOL AND EAST ANGLIAN MANUSCRIPTS

One of the ways which enables us to see the continuation of the Court taste in the manuscripts of the early fourteenth century is the retention of the same kinds of marginal schemes that had been employed in the Court manuscripts of the 1280's. This is particularly the case with the manuscripts traditionally designated as the East Anglian group. However, even though the Queen Mary Psalter group primarily relies on the Court figure type and applied architectural styles, those manuscripts also contain a wide selection of decoration, especially in the bas-de-page illustrations of the Queen Mary Psalter. The types of marginal decoration that appear will be discussed under the following headings: the decorated border; plants, animals and grotesques; marginal illustrations; and heraldry. In each section the Court manuscripts will be discussed first, then the continuation of the idea into the fourteenth century will be shown.

The Decorated Border

The decorated border serves both as a decorative element and as a framework which encloses and orders the marginalia to some

degree. It varies from manuscript to manuscript and from page to page within a particular book depending on the importance of the page. For example, the Beatus page almost always receives the most elaborate border and also a comparable marginal scheme. The former might consist of a simple bar (similar to the bars in bar tracery) which may enclose the text and illustrations or it might be placed only in the left-hand margin, often with a long, spiky excrescence sprouting off the bottom of the bar. It might be a broad band containing meanders, interlacing, geometric frets or an intertwining bar that sprouts many coloured leaves and flowers and which is sometimes referred to as a bar-branch.¹

On the Beatus page of the Alphonso Psalter (f. 11), the border can be defined as a band rather than a bar, which runs completely around the page. It encloses a series of elongated hexagons in which a geometric design alternates with the leopards of England along the top and bottom, and probably the lion of Holland up the sides. The bands meet at the corners in a diamond-shaped pattern containing stepped meanders; the exception is the upper left-hand corner. They are further articulated with roundels placed midway in the borders, and which contain geometric patterns. The border encloses the historiated B which itself has been transformed into a decorated geometric frame for David playing his harp.

On the less important pages the border does not enclose

the text but is only placed in the left-hand margin. One of these more simple borders can be seen on f. 14. There a relatively simple bar extends from the small decorated initial beginning the third line of the text to the bottom of the page, where it curves gently beneath the text and terminates in a branch of stylized leaves. The vertical bar is broken midway by a decorative interlace pattern set on a gold ground. Patterns similar to this one will frequently appear in the manuscripts of the next century.

Similarly on the first page of the New Testament of the Petrus Comestor, the text is enclosed by a continuous bar border, but the filling between the shafts of the border is more elaborate than those in the Alphonso Psalter. It varies from diaper patterns to small squares to meanders and even has a series of fleurs-de-lis. At the corners the shafts are transformed into interlace patterns and then into branches terminating in a stereotyped leaf like the ones in the Alphonso Psalter. The interlacing is set onto a coloured ground with spiky, cusped borders and this feature also frequently re-appears in the East Anglian manuscripts, especially in the Ormesby Psalter. On the less important pages, as in the Alphonso Psalter, the borders do not enclose the text but are usually restricted to the left-hand and lower margins. Often they are not as regular, bending in broad graceful curves, resting on cusped, coloured grounds.

In the fourteenth century the complexity of the borders varies from the more elaborate ones in the manuscripts commissioned by the noble elite to the more modest ones in the majority of books made for the gentry and minor ecclesiastics, and even simpler ones in manuscripts executed for religious institutions. However, in all cases the development follows from the ideas formulated in the Court manuscripts. For instance, on the Beatus page of the Psalter of Queen Isabella (f. 7v.), the basic bar-border is retained in the upper, lower and left-hand margins. It is placed on a cusped, coloured ground, similar to those developments which took place in the Petrus Comestor. The left-hand border is ingeniously enclosed by stem-like exerescences (similar in nature to the one discussed in the Alphonso Psalter) which grow from the upper and lower bars, extending approximately one-third of the length of the text and which are joined by a stork that stands on the leaves of the lower stem and nibbles on the leaves of the upper. In the corners of the border the bars form curling stems and these recall the same use of this feature on the New Testament page of the Petrus Comestor. Also, the historiated B forms a decorative frame for the interior scenes and it is connected to the border like the B in the Alphonso Psalter.

On the Beatus page of the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels, an intertwining bar-branch weaves its way around the margins. It is placed on a brightly coloured background of gold, blue and red rectangles, forming a rectangular frame around the text. In the right-

hand margin the bar-branch intertwines, forming frames for individual scenes. On f. 74 this same feature is repeated, but the border is no longer a rectangular frame. Instead there is the broad cusped background previously described, although it is less regular. Again, it contains interlacing and winding bar-branches.

The Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters show similar developments. The pages beginning the principal psalms contain full borders and within either book no two are alike. On f. 147v. of the Ormesby Psalter there can be seen the same bar-branch type resting on broad cusped backgrounds of irregular patterns. The intricacies of the bars can be seen in the geometric forms in the corners of the borders which recall those in the Alphonso Psalter, and in the lower border where two winged dragons grow out of a tightly intertwined branch.

Similar borders can be seen in the margins of the manuscripts commissioned by the gentry and minor ecclesiastics. For example, the border of f. 29 of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours is composed of a bar set onto a cusped ground and the historiated initial forms an integral part of the border. The bar which extends down the left-hand side of the page contains a decorative zig-zag pattern which recalls the New Testament border of the Petrus Comestor. The borders of the Tickhill Psalter recall those of the Psalter of Queen Isabella, although the number of excrescences has increased.

In the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury the same kind of cusped border is used and similar interlace patterns to the Alphonso Psalter are set within the border. The Bromholm Psalter and the related Gregory Moralia have borders that are similar to the ones on the less important pages of the Ormesby Psalter.

During the second quarter of the fourteenth century this system of decorated borders still prevails. For instance, the Beatus page of the Douai Psalter (f. 1) contained a border which was similar to the one on the Beatus page of the Gorleston Psalter and the initial contained the Tree of Jesse which overflowed into the margins and intertwined completely around the text. The B, however, had been reduced to a mesh of interlacing, which had its roots in the bar frame formed by the B in the Alphonso Psalter. The Luttrell Psalter of the 1330's still follows this system. The majority of the borders are composed of slightly cusped, broad borders containing scrolling bar-branches, similar to those in the Psalter of Queen Isabella. However, the regular and monotonous progression indicates the mechanical and almost slavish continuation of this concept at this date.

Plants, Animals and Grotesques

Another feature which the manuscripts of the fourteenth century continued from those of the Court school is the use of plant and animal life and grotesques, both as decorative features and in

illustrating encounters, parodies and fables. Often the artists attained a high degree of naturalistic accuracy in depicting birds and animals, and leaves and flowers, but they were not restricted to following their models accurately. On the same page may occur vine or ivy leaves painted red or blue rather than green. Frequently they are intermingled with stylized or imaginary ones such as the serrated cabbage leaf, which may be a corruption of the oak. No differentiation is made between them and both the real and imaginary ones grow from the same branch. Likewise, realistic birds and animals are drawn, as well as incredible hybrid grotesques. They may be represented purely as ornament or they might be engaged in such activities as sword fights or chasing one another across the page.

On the Beatus page of the Alphonso Psalter at least eight different species of birds can be detected, such as the stork in the left-hand margin which catches an arrow in its beak, shot at him from the man standing on the roundel in the lower part of the border, and the delicate gull standing between the arms of England and Holland in the lower margin. Also vine leaves adorn the historiated B and imaginary ones are set around the gull. On f. 14v. similar vine leaves decorate the bottom of the vertical bar, but some are blue and some are red. Midway along the lower excrescence sprouts a grape vine with green and white leaves and bunches of red and blue grapes, while the excrescence terminates in green, red and gold stylized leaves.

A similar intermingling of natural and imaginary plants and creatures is depicted in the Petrus Comestor. On f. 234 small leaves grow from the bar-borders, and they include ivy and oak with acorns as well as a stylized form. Of particular note is the exquisite peacock in the middle of the lower bar. They in turn are offset by a rabbit playing a trumpet in the upper right-hand corner, while two exotic grotesques flank the peacock.

Similar features can be found in the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels. The border of the Beatus page in particular has been transformed into a forest of leaves. Although oak leaves predominate, other types can be discovered, such as the use of holly. In the lower margin there is an attempt to draw credible oak trees but on the whole the leaves are woven into arabesque patterns which create an artificial setting rather than a naturalistic one. Into this setting is placed a number of different birds and animals, some of which probably allude to fables like Reynard the Fox, such as the illustration of the cock and the fox in the upper left-hand corner.

On f. 147v. of the Ormesby Psalter the bar-branch weaves its way around the page sprouting leaves and flowers of various shapes, sizes and colours including the serrated cabbage leaf in the left-hand border above the initial. On other pages Cockerell² has identified daisies, marigolds and pimpurnels as frequently appearing and daisy buds are particularly noticeable all around the border of this page. Again, birds and animals abound and particularly

noteworthy are the four birds at each corner of the historiated initial. This folio also includes a row of alternating moths and ladybirds which creep up the right-hand border. At the top of the page a monkey rides on the back of a dog which chases a hare with an owl on its back.

Likewise, in the Gorleston Psalter the same kind of motifs appear. The borders are decorated with leaves of vine and oak, predominantly red and blue in colour. Holly is occasionally used and daisies, marigolds and pimpernels frequently appear as in the Ormesby Psalter. On the Beatus page vine and oak leaves growing from the interlacing bar-branches predominate. This Psalter also contains one of the most extensive series of animals parodying human behaviour and at many times appear to be directly lampooning the clergy, as on f. 47 where a fox is dressed as a bishop and is preaching to three ducks while he holds a throttled, flapping duck behind his back. He appears again on f. 49v., this time preaching to two ducks and he holds a dead duck in his left hand and a bishop's crook in his right. Also on f. 143 there is an elaborate funeral ceremony conducted by a group of rabbits.

Even the Queen Mary Psalter has initials which sprout branches with coloured leaves, and in the prefixed illustrations to the text sprigs of leaves sprout from the corners of the frame. Many of the bas-de-page scenes illustrate peacocks, storks, cocks, duelling grotesques, and contain many scenes from bestiary stories. On 157v.

a fox with a mitre and pastoral staff preaches to a crane, goose, duck and robin.

Again in the manuscripts commissioned by the gentry, minor ecclesiastics and religious institutions the same kind of decoration appears. On f. 29 of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours there appear an oak tree with over-size oak leaves and acorns, ivy and many different types of stylized leaves, of which the most prominent are a rounded trefoil type that grows on stems from the border and a larger type with whitened dots in each lobe. There appear lions, hares, a squirrel, boar, ram, magpies and in the upper margin two dogs chasing a hare. In the Bromholm Psalter and the Gregory Moralia, marginal decoration is chiefly limited to the stylized, five-lobed leaf common to the Ormesby Psalter group of 1310.

Marginal Illustrations

Like the examples of plants, animals and grotesques, there was a continued use of marginal illustrations. These are drawn primarily from religious sources, secular literature, daily life and parody, the last of which has been briefly discussed. More often than not these themes have no apparent connection with the text,³ especially in the case of the last three. Even the majority of religious themes do not illustrate the given text but either instruct through their implications, such as stories which illustrate the Life of Christ,

or present stories from apocryphal lore or Biblical history, such as scenes from the Life of David, the author of the Book of Psalms.

The latter was of peculiar interest throughout this period and specific stories from his life were depicted time and again. For example, the popular tale of David and Goliath appears on the lower border of the Beatus page of the Alphonso Psalter, the Peterborough Psalter at Cambridge and the Gorleston Psalter, and it appears to the left of the B in the Peterborough Psalter in Brussels. He sits crowned and playing his harp in the B of the Beatus page of the Alphonso Psalter, in both Peterborough Psalters, and in the original Beatus page and the historiated E beginning the eighteenth psalm of the Ormesby Psalter.

Another scene which is frequently represented is the Tree of Jesse. It appears in the B of the Beatus pages of the Windmill Psalter, the Latin text of the Isabella Psalter, the Gorleston Psalter, the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury, the Douai Psalter, the St. Omer Psalter and on the added Beatus page of the Ormesby Psalter.

The illustrations taken from daily life and secular literature generally deal with the aristocratic or chivalric life, genre scenes and allegories. As the first of these appears in isolated incidents, it is difficult for the iconographer to distinguish whether they allude to romances or ideal representations of the daily life of the aristocracy. "One wonders," writes Randall, "how many tournament scenes

refer to Arthurian legends and whether some of the representations of a knight and lion may not refer to a literary figure such as Bevis of Hampton."⁴ Whatever their particular source may have been, together they present an image of the chivalric ideals favoured by the upper class society.

In the Alphonso Psalter these images are numerous. In the lower margin of f. 13v., an elegant lady is seen walking three greyhounds. A man on a white horse holding out a white glove is shown on f. 14v. and it may refer to some romance, while in front of him a hawk is killing a duck, perhaps an allusion to the sport of hunting with a hawk. On the branch which grows from the bar-border on f. 17 an armoured knight slays a giant, and on f. 18 a mailed knight spears a griffon.

Similar sorts of images can be seen in many books from the East Anglian period, especially in those commissioned by the noble elite. In the lower margin of f. 74 of the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels, a knight is seen lying on the grass holding a mirror for his lady, who is braiding her hair. On f. 55v. of the Ormesby Psalter, the fable of the unicorn is illustrated. It was commonly believed that the only people who were safe from its harm were young virgins, and consequently the only way which it could be killed was by having it fall asleep at some maiden's feet where a knight could come up and spear it. Here a knight is shown in the process of thrusting his spear into the animal.

Perhaps the most extensive series of illustrations on the aristocratic life are in the bas-de-page scenes of the Queen Mary Psalter. Here are represented knights tilting, hunting, hawking, dining, in battle and even another maiden, knight and unicorn scene (f. 101). But one of the most splendid illustrations which exemplify this image is the inset miniature of the armoured Sir Geoffrey Luttrell on horseback, with his wife Agnes de Sutton and daughter-in-law Beatrice Scrope of Masham on f. 202v. of the Luttrell Psalter.

Although not as apparent, much of the religious iconography appears to be implicitly aristocratic. David is usually represented crowned and wearing all the finery of a medieval king. So are the series of kings in the right-hand border of the Beatus page of the Gorleston Psalter, and in the historiated B on f. 7v. of the Psalter of Queen Isabella, the Virgin is crowned and is represented as the Queen of Heaven.

However, the most frequent scenes are genre scenes. One of the most popular themes is the stag hunt which, although it was reserved for the upper classes, is often depicted as an undertaking by the peasants. It appears on the first page of the text of the Douce Apocalypse, on f. 17 of the Alphonso Psalter, on f. 14 of the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels, on f. 152 of the Queen Mary Psalter, f. 8 of the Gorleston Psalter and f. 29 of the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours. Other scenes, such as wrestling, sword fighting, ploughing, smith-work, musicians and the like appear more in the fourteenth century

than in the thirteenth, particularly in the Ormesby, Gorleston and Queen Mary Psalters. Evans suggests that their appearance is because:-

We are reminded that in fourteenth century England, as in eighteenth century France, agricultural pursuits were in fashion at the Court of the king who himself pursued them. Edward II enjoyed farming, smith's work, thatching and digging, and it does not seem idle to relate his tastes with the decorations of the Psalters. ⁵

Yet even in the wide range of activities from the humblest genre scenes to the aristocratic pursuits, the nobility is placed as the model 'par excellence' for all to emulate. Randall observes that:-

As might be expected, the nobility was generally presented in a most favourable light. The bourgeois element, on the other hand, was depicted as vacillating between the virtues of the aristocracy and the vices of the peasantry, with aspirations toward higher social status emerging as the single most reprehensible trait of the latter. Most merciless by far was the barrage of criticism directed at the regular clergy. ⁶

Heraldry

Of all the features of marginal decoration, heraldry perhaps has the greatest claim to be of extrinsic aristocratic symbolism. The coat of arms was the knight's badge and only he could bear arms. It had first been used as a decorative motif in Westminster Abbey, in connection with the translation of St. Edward the Confessor in 1269, and there is no mistaking the aristocratic stamp which it implied. Brieger has noted that:-

As a permanent reminder of those who had been present at the ceremony or had contributed to the building and its fitting, armorial shields carved in stone and painted and gilded were attached to the spandrels of the wall arcade in the choir aisles: the first use of heraldry in the decoration of a building. Beside the shields of Edward the Confessor and of Henry III, there were the shields of the earls of Winchester, Lincoln, Ross, Gloucester, Norfolk, Warenne and others, among them Simon de Montfort, the King's brother-in-law. Other shields proclaimed the position which the English crown held under Henry III: those of the Count of Provence, the father of the queen; of St. Louis, who had married the queen's sister; of the Emperor Frederick II, who had married Henry's sister; of Alexander III, the king of Scotland, who had married the king's daughter; and of Richard of Cornwall, the brother of the king and husband of the queen's sister, who for ten years had been German king and candidate for the Imperial crown.

Its meaning is largely self-evident. "In the original highly coloured condition," writes Stone, "these ranges of shields along the nave of one of the most important churches in England must have formed an overwhelming display of secular ostentation to the greater glory of the king, his relatives, and his baronial assistants."⁸ In terms of manuscript illumination, their presence may well have been viewed in a similar vein.

In illumination heraldry first appears in the Douce Apocalypse. It serves to denote ownership and to refer symbolically to specific people and ideas. In the historiated initial on the first page of the French text, a scene of the Trinity is flanked by a mailed knight bearing the arms of England differenced, and a lady who holds the arms of Castile. They refer to Lord Edward and Eleanor of Castile,

the owners of the manuscript. Also within the textual illustrations, the arms of Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare can be seen in the battle scenes, and on pages 87 and 88 even Satan bears the fanciful arms of *a fesse between three frogs, vert.*

In the Alphonso Psalter the arms of England differenced and Holland, signifying the intended owners, appear prominently in the lower margin of the Beatus page. On the first page of the New Testament in the Petrus Comestor appear the arms of Edward I; his son Edward;⁹ Richard of Cornwall, the brother of Henry III and the uncle of Edward I; and finally Edmund of Cornwall who gave this book to Ashridge College. In this case they do not denote ownership, but rather the patron, Edmund of Cornwall, and his relatives. No record survives showing whether the other three were connected with the college and the appearance of their arms may just indicate the patron's royal birth. This feature of including the arms of relatives who are not directly connected with the manuscript frequently appears in the fourteenth century.

During the East Anglian period the prominent positioning of heraldic arms is also used to denote ownership. It has been pointed out that this was the case with the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters. On the Latin Beatus page of the Psalter of Queen Isabella (f. 7v.) appear the arms of St. Edmund, England, France and the Empire. On f. 94 a queen kneels in the historiated initial and on either side of her appear the arms of England and France, indicating

the owner, Queen Isabella. Similarly in the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, in all of the full-page miniatures as well as in most of the large initials, a knight appears whose surcoat bears the arms of the Greys of Codnor, *Barry argent and azure*, differenced by *on a bend gules three mullets or*, while on many of these pages a lady is depicted bearing the same arms impaled with *Chequy or and azure, on a bend gules three lions passant argent*. They refer to Joan Fitzpayn, the wife of Sir Richard Grey, and who was the daughter of Sir Robert Fitzpayn who bore the arms *Gules, three lions passant argent, a bend azure*, and of Isabella Clifford, daughter of Sir John Clifford of Frampton-on-Severn, Gloucestershire, whose arms were *Chequy or and azure, a bend gules*. In the Bardolf-Vaux Psalter the arms which occur most frequently are those of Vaux which often appear in conjunction with Bardolf. Also in the miniature on f. 202v. of the Luttrell Psalter the mounted knight bears the arms of Luttrell, and, together with the inscription written above the miniature which reads *Dominus Galfridus Louterell, me fieri fecit*¹⁰ (Lord Geoffrey Luttrell had it made for myself), indicates that Luttrell was the original owner.

However, as in the Petrus Comestor, not all the heraldry refers to the owner or patron. Often it belongs to relatives, sometimes to important people in the realm whose connection with the owner is often obscure, and also imaginary ones which seem to exist with no other purpose than enhancing the chivalric aesthetic. For example, in the Ormesby Psalter the arms of Henry Percy appear thirty-

eight times. In 1268 he had married Alice, the eldest daughter of John de Warenne (1231-1304). Warenne's second daughter, Alice, married John de Baliol whose arms occur in one line-ending. Warenne's grandson, John de Warenne (1286-1347) married the only daughter of the Count of Bar, whose arms appear occasionally, while his sister married Edmund Fitzalan whose arms appear sixteen times. Harder to understand are the representations of the arms of Edmund of Cornwall, which appear sixty-eight times, and those of Gilbert de Clare which occur fifty-two times. It has been indicated that Sir Jordan Foliot held Elsing manner from Gilbert, but Foliot is not connected with the Psalter until 1320. According to Cockerell's¹¹ investigations the arms of De Clare were executed in the portions that were finished by 1310. The reason for the inclusion of other arms, such as Dreux (appearing thirty-nine times), Mowbray (eight times), Grendon (eight times), Pickering (five times) and others are even more obscure. In the genealogically related Grey-Fitzpayn Hours/Bardolf-Vaux Psalter group, the arms of the various families appear throughout but there also occur many with no apparent connection and others which are purely imaginary.

CHAPTER IV

COURT STYLE ELEMENTS IN EAST ANGLIAN MANUSCRIPTS

As well as continuing many of the marginal schemes which had originated in the Court school of illumination, the manuscripts from the East Anglian period also display many of the features that were currently fashionable in other fields of courtly activity. Even though the actual style may differ from one workshop to another, the characteristic figure type which can be seen to varying degrees in all the manuscripts pre-dating the Trecentesque innovations, and even in a good many afterward, are derived from Court archetypes. Architectural forms also frequently occur, especially in scenes which are enacted under architectural canopies, and these recall in general terms the layout of French royal manuscripts such as the Psalter of St. Louis. In fact, the continuation of the Court style and figure type into the fourteenth century indicates quite definitely that the East Anglian manuscripts do not represent a totally new departure. Their stylistic origin in the manuscripts of Edward I's Court school and their close parallel to contemporary Court works testify that the form they take ultimately depends on the taste of the Court.

The influences of the Court style will be demonstrated in a three-fold investigation. Firstly, the characteristics of the style will be discussed; secondly, the usage of this style in the various arts and artifacts associated with the Court will be out-

lined in order to put illumination into the broader cultural milieu of the period and to show the pervasiveness of this style in all the arts associated with the Court; and finally, the continuation of the Court style in the manuscripts of the early fourteenth century will be discussed in some detail.

The essence of the Court style, whether architecturally, decoratively or figuratively, derives from a preoccupation with graceful elegance and refinement, assuming an air of slender fragility. The figures cast into mannered and almost affected poses adhere to the principles of decorum and an artificial and contrived aesthetic. A comparison between the Westminster Retable and the illustrations of the Douce Apocalypse not only illustrates this style but also shows the similarities between large scale painting and miniature works in different media, and presumably by different artists. For example, the scene of St. Peter holding the key of Heaven on the extreme left of the Retable may be compared with three illustrations: St. John in the Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem on page 41, the Fifth Vial of Wrath on page 66, and the First Rider of the Apocalypse on page 13.

In the Retable St. Peter stands under a trefoiled arch. His posture follows a slight S-curve imposed by his hip-shot stance, in which the thrusting out of one hip is counterbalanced by the return movement in the torso. In the Vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, St. John stands in an almost identical pose with the same internal rhythm. Both these figures display attenuated proportions, with the

bodies slender in relation to their respective heights. They can be likened to the contemporary innovations in bar tracery, where all the extraneous weight and mass have been cut away to reveal a delicate and almost insubstantial quality.

The heads in both works are small in relation to the rest of the body. The faces are composed of pinched cheeks, flat foreheads and unobtrusive, dainty facial features. Hair is wavy and ends in a series of Baroque curls. There are two types of beards - one is simply wavy, while the other is composed of twisting curls, which are pointed and completely stylized. St. Peter and St. John have the former whereas the First Rider of the Apocalypse displays the latter.

Like the beards, there are also two basic types of eyes. The first has a flat lower lid, as can be seen in those of St. John, and the second has a rounded lower lid, like those of St. Peter. In both, the upper lid is much more accentuated and drawn out on the extremities to meet the lower lid. With very few exceptions, the pupils are placed in the corners of the eyes, although occasionally they are placed in the centre of the upper curve, as can be seen in the eyes of the First Rider.

In the majority of cases, mouths are turned down at the corners, creating a rather lugubrious expression. This is the case with the Westminster panel, and only rarely is it alleviated in the

Apocalypse by a stereotyped "archaic smile". A good example of the latter can be seen in the angel who pours the Fifth Vial on page 66 of the Apocalypse.

The placing and positioning of the hands play an important role in creating a mannered figure. Constantly gesticulating, they border on affectation. St. Peter, for instance, holds the key with his left hand and points to the centre of the panel with the index finger of his right hand. The index finger is rigid, the centre two are partly enclosed, while the little finger is extended downwards. Looking at the Apocalypse, the same contorted and unnatural positioning can be witnessed. In the Fifth Vial of Wrath scene, the Damned point with the same double-jointed gestures.

Drapery falls into broad and ample folds. Assuming a relatively naturalistic form, it hangs rather than clings and is caught up into soft, broad, V-shaped folds. There are perceptible differences between highlight and shade, although this varies from miniature to wall painting. The technique of the Retable, for instance, is far more painterly and therefore the shading is much greater. The Apocalypse on the other hand is more linear and the transitions from fold to fold are marked by line rather than by colour.

In architecture a similar kind of refinement can be witnessed. Large expanses of surface area are broken into a gridwork

of shafts, mullions, pinnacles, gables and arches. Bar tracery replaces plate tracery, enabling large areas of the wall to be opened up and then filled in with slender mullions, with cusped lights and thinly cusped roundels in the head. These innovations create an overall surface decoration which dissolves the weight and solidity of the structure. The net visual effect is a form composed of a delicate yet intricate veil of lines. Examples of this style can be seen in the French Rayonnant manner in the west front of Reims Cathedral or in St. Louis' own chapel, the Ste. Chapelle, which can be likened more to a huge metalwork reliquary than to a piece of monumental architecture. Its introduction into England can be seen in the fabric of Westminster Abbey, after Henry III took over the financial responsibility for its rebuilding in 1245.

Because this style is preoccupied with surface decoration and rhythms, it can be applied as a surface decoration to other media.

Martindale notes that:-

. . . this type of decoration can equally well be found in the small reliquaries of goldsmiths. This is a reminder that the rayonnant style was primarily a decorator's style, concerned in architecture with the application of pattern rather than the manipulation of mass. Many of the motifs of the rayonnant style could be transferred effectively from the architect's drawing board to the illuminator's vellum. ¹

Thus, tombs, canopies, monuments, thrones, church fittings, frames for miniatures, and wall and panel paintings can be transformed into the same Rayonnant aesthetic. For instance, the Westminster Retable

affords an excellent example of how these motifs can be applied to a two-dimensional surface. St. Peter is placed under a trefoiled arch, surmounted by a crocketed gable ending with a finial. A turret rises on either side of the gable and it is surmounted by a gable terminating in a finial. A formation such as this can be applied not only to a frame but could conceivably be the basis for a transept facade or tomb canopy, and this style can be seen in the following works.

Tombs

Tombs supply an excellent medium for tracing the development of the Court style. As they were commissioned for or by a specific person, there can be no mistaking the source of patronage. In the case of Westminster Abbey, the tombs built during the reign of Edward I are all for members of the royal family. Those placed in the sanctuary behind the High Altar were reserved for kings and queens, notably Henry III, Edward I and Edward's queen, Eleanor of Castile. Those on the north side of the choir were for relatives. These include the tombs of Edmund, Duke of Lancaster (d. 1296), the brother of Edward I; his wife Aveline (d. 1276); Aymer de Valence (d. 1324), the son of William de Valence who was the half brother of Henry III; and formerly that of William de Valence (d. 1296).²

The tombs of Henry and Eleanor each have a bronze effigy

cast by the goldsmith William Torel. Both of these display the characteristics of the Court style. Henry's beard, eyes, nose and mouth recall St. Peter's. His hair, however, has lost the tight curls visible in SS. Peter and John. Instead it falls in loose waves with a highly exaggerated final wave before it turns back upon itself forming the characteristic Baroque curl. Eleanor's effigy follows the same formula. Her hair, like Henry's, also consists of loose waves, except hers does not terminate in the inverted curl but flows down along her shoulders in a series of sinuous undulating curves. Both these figures rest their heads on two pillows which, together with the tomb couch, are entirely chased with a series of lozenges which contain their respective coats of arms.

Neither of these tombs have full canopies and only Eleanor's has a recumbent canopy, placed over her head on the tomb couch. Those in the choir, however, have elaborate canopies. The earliest is that of Aveline of Lancaster. It consists of a trefoiled arch surmounted by a crocketed gable which terminates in a finial. The surface area of the tomb chest beneath has been broken up into a series of gabled trefoil arches which contain weepers in the niches beneath these miniature canopies. The Crouchback tomb (Edmund of Lancaster), which was probably built a few years later, is much more ornate. It is divided into three sections with the effigy lying under the central part. With all its added gables, pinnacles, ornamental buttresses

and so forth, the essential image of this delicate and metal-like style derived from Rayonnant prototypes is maintained. Evans has written:-

The tomb of Edmund Crouchback is a peculiarly English monument. The more closely it is examined, the more evidently it is seen to be thought of in terms of enamelled gold. Every background is of gilt gesso; the crests and the pinnacles are metallic in form and were once gilded; the lightness and the springing of the tabernacle belong rather to gold and silver than to stone. It has lost the architectural quality of emphasis by reservation and has gained instead a filigree richness. When all the images were still coloured, and the paintings on the plain parts were still visible, when the details of the canopy were still inlaid with stained glass, it could be seen to be a vastly enlarged shrine, translated from precious metal into stone, but with no modification in its decorative effect or indeed in its intention. The fact that the English gold work of the time has not survived must not blind us to its achievements alike in skill and scale.³

This description can also be applied to Aveline's tomb and more so to that of Aymer de Valence (c.1325).

In fact, there is little essential change at all throughout the reigns of Edward I and Edward II. The Court style's innate conservatism was not due to any insular inability to respond to change, but instead to maintain the status quo. Stone remarks that "this London style at the turn of the century was above all aristocratic and class-conscious. The deliberate product of the patronage of a rich and powerful monarchy, its determination to avoid any trace of vulgarity fought its love of glittering display."⁴

By the 1290's the Westminster style was taken up by nobles

and important ecclesiastics outside the royal family. A well known example is the tomb of Archbishop Peckham in Canterbury Cathedral (1296), which combines features from Aveline of Lancaster's tomb-chest and the canopies of the Crouchback tomb. The tomb of William of Louth, bishop of Ely, who died in 1298, so closely follows the Crouchback tomb that it may even be the work of the same sculptor. From drawings made by the antiquarian Edmund Gough, the tomb of Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, in old St. Paul's seems to have derived from the same prototype.

What is clearly evolving is that the nobles and ecclesiastics are following the taste set by the Court. Their dependence on the Westminster tombs is similar to the dependence of the manuscripts owned by the knights and gentry in the early fourteenth century on the taste of the noble elite and ultimately the Court.

Eleanor Crosses

Like the Westminster tombs, the Eleanor Crosses are documented Court works. On 28 November, 1290, Eleanor of Castile died of a fever at Harby in Nottinghamshire. Her body was taken to nearby Lincoln for embalming, and then carried in a funeral procession from there to its final resting place at Westminster Abbey. At each spot where the train stopped overnight, Edward raised a cross to the memory of his queen. There were twelve in all, but only those at Hardingstone,

Geddington and Waltham remain. However, exhaustive records of the building, expenditure and the masons involved have survived. These documents show that the masons for the most part were attached to the Court. For example, Charing Cross was executed by Richard de Crundale, the king's master mason. Michael of Canterbury, who later became the royal master mason, was put in charge of the Cheapside Cross, and the crosses at Dunstable, St. Albans, Stony Stratford, Woburn and Hardingstone were supervised by John of Battle, who also executed other work for the Court.

Of the three crosses that survive, the same London style can be seen. Again, they are conceived as work in a delicate and spiky metal work, translated into stone, and closely following the Westminster formula. For example, the Hardingstone cross is composed of three stages - octagonal in plan in the lower two, and square in the top. On each corner of the lowest stage there are thin ornamental buttresses rising into pinnacles, such as those in the Crouchback tomb. The sides of the octagon contain blind, crocketed gabled arches which are surmounted by a finial that projects into the second stage, like the canopes over the royal tombs. The gable and finial serve to break up the area behind and, together with the buttresses, provide an overall surface pattern and a smooth transition to the second stage. These canopies each surmount pairs of heraldic shields displaying the arms of Ponthieu, Castile, Leon and England, just as similar canopies along the tomb chest of Eleanor's tomb displayed these arms. The second

stage is composed of four canopied niches which enshrine four images of the queen. The architectural setting can be paralleled in the slightly later Crouchback tomb. Both have decorative buttresses with crocketed gables, pinnacles and finials, and both have the double gable system in receding planes terminating in finials.

The figures of the queen have the same hip-shot poses and wavy hair displayed in the effigy by Torel. However, the draperies are somewhat bulkier and heavier than the other Court works and tend to hang in sagging loops and tight little folds with tubular, voluted ends. This scheme tends to engulf the body rather than inform it. The style is not, however, a provincial idiom, because the sculptor, William Ireland, was a London sculptor. The change which takes place can be described as the beginning of the English Decorated sculpture. This is the opinion of Stone, who is not convinced that this work is representative of the Westminster style, either figuratively or architecturally, even though it owes a large debt to that school for its entire conception. He writes that:-

Were it not for firm documentation of this statue, there would be a strong temptation to ascribe it to a period some thirty years later when such a style was popular on both sides of the channel. But as it is, William Ireland must be given the credit for a work of great precocity. Some confirmation of this early date is derived from one of the few surviving figures from the west front of Salisbury, the destruction of almost all of whose statuary has created one of the most serious 'lacunae' in our knowledge of late thirteenth century sculpture. Structurally complete by 1266, it appears that the front was not immediately filled with statues, and certainly the few that survive seem to date from the 1290's at the very earliest. One is so close in style to the Hardingstone Eleanor as to suggest not merely that it is of the

same school, but that it is the work of William Ireland himself. If this is so then it follows that the simplified linear style of Wells statuary did not persist in the west but was replaced in the 1290's by mobile attitudes and romantic draperies. It was against this tendency, as evidenced by William of Ireland's work, that the court school was putting up its rearguard action. ⁵

As this is a documented Court work, there can be seen two styles, or a variant of the Westminster style, which is becoming richer and more elaborate. Given the amount of insular style in the late thirteenth century and the heterogeneous background of the sculptors and masons working for the Court, it is perhaps only reasonable not to find a strict uniformity of style. What is important is that both styles spring from a common patronage and the source for the basic ideas is in the Court school. The point should be borne in mind that the painting counterpart can be found in many of the East Anglian manuscripts, particularly in the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters, and that very similar developments can be seen in the sedilia paintings (1308) in Westminster Abbey by the king's painter, Master Walter. These paintings differ from such earlier Court works as the Douce Apocalypse or the Alphonso Psalter just as the Hardingstone Eleanors differ from the Westminster Eleanor. What they all have in common is that the basis of the style is the courtly model.

Wall Painting

A sufficient corpus of work survives to say that the Retable and the Douce Apocalypse are characteristic of Westminster painting

at least to 1308. The oldest extant work to display the Court style is probably the figure of St. Faith in the chapel of St. Faith which opens off the south transept. This work has been dated from the late 1250's to 1270. The figure stands under a canopy which is very similar to those of Retable, but it is less substantial and is conceived as a two-dimensional design. The pose is slightly curved and she is represented holding a book in her right hand while gesticulating with her left. The head is too small in relation to the rest of the body. The eyes follow the type seen in St. John, but as she stares full-face, the pupils are placed in the centre of her eyes. Hair is the wavy type and it is a combination of the type worn by the figures in the Feeding of the Five Thousand, one of the scenes in the centre of the Retable, and Torel's effigy of Eleanor. The drapery conforms to the standard type, falling into soft V-shaped folds, and hangs down so that it reveals the inside of the garment. On the whole, the figure is more wooden than the other Westminster paintings but this may well be due to its early date.

Slightly later in date are the wall paintings of the Incredulity of St. Thomas, and St. Christopher and the Infant Christ, both on the south wall of the south transept. They are extremely close to the figures of the Retable. Unlike the St. Faith figure, they have high foreheads and pinched cheeks, and the wavy hair is swept back into "snakey" locks. Both types of beards are evident. The Risen Christ displays the one composed of twisting curls, while

St. Thomas sports the simple curling type. A point perhaps worth noting is the contorted, almost double-jointed arms of Christ and St. Thomas; these are extremely similar to the arms of the angel who pours the Fifth Vial in the Douce Apocalypse.

In the sedilia on the south side of the choir there remain two unidentified kings. They also have pinched cheeks, high foreheads, mouths turned down at the corners, twisting, curling beards, hip-shot poses, and mannered, gesticulating hands. The hair is the same type as in the effigy of Henry III, flowing beneath the crown into an exaggerated wave above the ear and turning back on itself in a tight curl. The increased richness of the draperies reveals far more of the vair lining of the cloaks than was previously seen, and this feature frequently appears in the East Anglian miniatures.

Illumination

The two definite Court works of the 1280's, the Alphonso Psalter and the Petrus Comestor, likewise demonstrate this Court style. As well as textual decoration, the Psalter has three prefixed leaves containing twelve female saints and eighteen scenes from the Passion. For example, f. 3 consists of a large rectangular frame broken into four compartments, each containing a saint. They all stand in S-curve poses, and those in the upper left and lower right gesture with their right hands, palm outwards. The drapery falls into the characteristic

broad trough folds and the outer garment hangs in a manner which reveals the lining. They all have wimples so the hair is not visible. The facial features conform to the standard convention of the exaggerated upper curve of the eye, unobtrusive noses, and mouths turned down at the corners. The technique consists of a flat wash with no facial shading of any consequence. It depends on line drawing, relegating painting to a secondary importance, and when there is shading it is abrupt.

In the marginal illustrations, however, there is a greater degree of modelling. The cloak of David on the Beatus page is finely shaded where it recedes around the body to the back of the throne. The undergarment, painted in a darker colour, has highlights picked out in white as well as being shaded in depth. The figure style also has some differences from the prefixed illustrations. David's chin is pointed, the eyes are oval with the lower lid drawn in, and the mouth is turned up at the corners. His mass of curls recalls the Douce Apocalypse. He sits in a mannered pose, delicately balancing his harp on his left knee.

In the Petrus Comestor, the illustrations are confined to the margins and historiated initials at the beginning of each Biblical Book, such as those on the first page of the New Testament. In the scene of Zacharias at the altar, the prophet has pinched cheeks, wavy hair and a beard that is twisted and ends in sharp points. Also, a small grotesque with a man's head and the body of a bird in the lower

right-hand corner of the page exemplifies the Court formula. The cheeks are pinched, the pupils are in the corners of the eyes and the hair and beard are composed of tight waves ending in Baroque curls.

The Continuation of the Court Style

In the succeeding manuscripts this style can be seen first in the Windmill Psalter. On the Beatus page (f. lv.) the figures in the Tree of Jesse that fills the entire page are all executed in the Court style. Jesse displays the twisted beard type which ends in stylized points, the corners of the mouth are turned down, the cheeks are pinched, and the hair is formed by a series of undulating snakey locks, similar to the figures in the Feeding of the Five Thousand in the Westminster Retable. Above him David is depicted in an enthroned position with his left arm raised and the index finger extending upward, while he holds a sceptre in his right hand. The positioning of the left arm is extremely similar to the king on the east side of the sedilia whereas the right arm parallels the king on the west side who holds his sceptre in an almost identical fashion. His hair is a mass of tight curls which fall down beneath his crown, as in the David on the Beatus page of the Alphonso Psalter. Other courtly hair styles can be seen in the type worn by the enthroned Christ at the top of the stem. It is combed off the forehead and falls first into the exaggerated curl over the ear, then trails through a series of undulating

curls. On the facing page are arranged many figures, each represented in mannered and gesticulating poses. Many are in the swaying hip-shot pose, and others have raised arms with palms open, or are pointing; others pull their drapery up against their bodies causing it to fall into broad sweeping folds similar to the figures in the Douce Apocalypse, and even more closely to the drapery of the Eleanors in the Hardingstone Cross.

As they have little independent marginal decoration, the manuscripts of the Queen Mary Psalter group are particularly influenced by these features, a good example being the Adoration of the Magi scene on f. 112 of the Psalter. The scene is set within an architectural frame; the Virgin holding the Christ Child sits on the right, one of the kings kneels in the centre and the other two stand behind him. The king on the left is holding his gift in his left hand (concealed under his cloak) and he is pointing to the Virgin and Child with his right. His stance is extremely similar to the Retable St. Peter and except for the gift that he is holding he is almost identical to St. John on page 41 of the Douce Apocalypse. Like John, he wears a cloak that is drawn up across his body in broad, deep folds, and caught up by his left hand. His right arm is held next to the body, the forearm is bent sharply off the elbow and extends up across the chest and is bent at the wrist where the direction of the gesture is carried out through a long narrow finger. The hair style, however, is not reminiscent of either of those two prototypes, but instead it

is the same type that can be seen in Torel's effigy of Henry III, and which was still used for the effigy of Edward II in Gloucester Cathedral in the 1330's. The other figures in this Psalter who wear crowns or hats have variations on this theme: the large curl may be even more exaggerated or the curls might trail down along the neck in a series of undulations.

One type of hair style that figures predominantly in this manuscript is the series of tight snakey locks that fall down onto the forehead and about the ears. This is the type worn by Christ on this page. Saunders⁶ traced this form back to the works of Honoré, and it is particularly evident in the Breviary he made for King Philip the Fair (c.1295). However, a probable forerunner of this type can be seen in the Retable St. Peter, whose hair is extremely similar. Although it is not impossible that the Queen Mary Master had been influenced by contemporary work being executed for the French Court,⁷ it nevertheless indicates that he was not just following a French prototype but that these ideas were probably already in existence in English Court circles. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that it was a type favoured in Court circles and that its appearance in this Psalter is the result of Court influences. Where the form originated in this case is of secondary importance.

Beards also follow the courtly formula, though clear delineations of beard types are not as easily distinguishable as is the case with the hair, because the drawing tends toward a calligraphic sketch-

ness. Nevertheless, the standing king in the centre of f. 112 has a closely cropped type which is similar to the one in the effigy of Henry III, while the kneeling king's resembles the twisted type worn by the Rider on page 13 of the Douce Apocalypse.

The mouths of the kneeling king and the one standing directly behind him are turned down at the corners like that of the Retable St. Peter. The third king and the Virgin, however, have small unobtrusive types such as can be seen in the Westminster effigy of Eleanor, whilst the Christ Child displays the "archaic smile" type. Other facial features that are derived from Court precedents include a similar eye type, with an accentuated upper lid and with the pupils in the corners, rather small noses, and chinless faces. In fact, the style of the Virgin's face is very reminiscent of Eleanor's effigy.

Another feature that has a precedent in the Court is the representation of saints and martyrs, here set into niches on either side of the central scene.⁸ They compare favourably with the prefixed miniatures of the Alphonso Psalter, for in both books they have the hip-shot pose, and some hold identifying attributions whilst others raise their hands with the palms outward. They all wear wimples, and the drapery is either swept across the body or hangs down in broad folds, revealing the inside of the garment to be a different colour from the outside.

The architectural settings can also be traced back to Court models. The placing of the saints in small niches recalls the weepers

set into the niches of the tomb chests of some of the Westminster tombs, or tiered niches of the Eleanor Crosses. On other pages, such as in many of the calendar illustrations, there are elaborate variations of cusped ogee arches ending in large finials.⁹ On the Annunciation page (f. 87v.) the architectural frame would almost be more applicable to panel painting or could conceivably be an abstract elevation of a tomb. It is split into two registers, the lower contains a scene of the Visitation under an embattled gateway while the upper has the two figures of Gabriel and the Virgin Mary. Both are placed under a trefoiled arch and each arch is surmounted by a crocketed gable ending in a large finial. On either side of these scenes there is a set of three, tiered niches, with trefoiled arches, and the bottom and top ones are capped by gables ending in finials. The niches are flanked by shafts which can possibly be equated with the applied buttresses of the royal tombs. These shafts end in pinnacles and, together with the gables, they create a spiky, crisp aesthetic very similar to Rayonnant architecture.

One other feature should be pointed out in conjunction with the style of this Psalter - the general character of the illuminations. The incorporation of the Court features strongly suggests that, if this book was not an actual Court commission, then it was most probably made for someone who wished to emulate the courtly image. But the Psalter contains more than just the required stylistic forms and iconography. The illustrations have been depicted in an extremely delicate

and elegant manner. As refined as many of the figures are, they do not tend to the overt affectation which can be witnessed to a certain extent in the Peterborough Psalters. There are very few grotesques and when they appear they do not impinge on one's senses, but remain as delicately drawn amusements. In this context Warner points out:-

They are remarkably proportioned, with none of the stiffness and awkwardness of pose characteristic of an earlier period, and for supple ease, refinement, and elegance are unsurpassed either in England or foreign contemporary art. Many of the female figures in particular have a tender grace and sweetness which says much of the artist's ideal of womanhood . . . At the same time, in the features of men and women alike there is hardly enough variety of type; and as a rule even the former are characterized rather by refinement than by virile strength, so that their actions at times harmonize ill with a placid, almost effeminate, expression. This is so to some extent in the heroic exploits of Samson, and surely the fratricide Abimelech . 10. is the mildest mannered man that ever cut a throat.

A comparison with the Annunciation scene (f. 7v.) of the stylistically related Peterborough Psalter at Cambridge reveals that, not only was the iconography probably derived from a common source, but that it also contains the stylistic components of the Court style. As in the Queen Mary Psalter, the Virgin stands on the right but the hips are cast further out. The outer cloak is slung down across her body and her arm is held with the palm facing outward like some of the female saints in the niches of the Magi scene in the Queen Mary Psalter. She holds a book tucked under her left arm and this configuration is very similar to the nun on f. 3 of the prefixed saints of the Alphonso Psalter. The facial features are extremely similar,

and again recall the Eleanor effigy.

Gabriel, who stands on the left, pulls his outer cloak tightly across his body, and it falls loosely off his cuff revealing its lining. Again, he gesticulates with the wrist of his left hand turned backward, and the fingers are bent slightly upward, recalling the mannered gestures of the angels in the Douce Apocalypse.

Architectural frames are also employed, and on this folio the canopy consists of a trefoil arch with an impaled trefoil in each spandrel. More elaborate architecture occurs in the pages of the paired apostles and prophets, as in the scene of Andrew and David who each stand under a trefoiled arch which is ornately sub-cusped. The arches are supported by columns and, except for the sub-cusping, this canopy is very close to the ones in the Westminster Retable.

The general character of these miniatures is somewhat more mannered, and the poses of the figures are more exaggerated than those of the Queen Mary Psalter. However, the character of the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels is even more mannered. The figures in the full-page illustrations lack the solidity of the ones in the Cambridge volume and consequently the facile daintiness lapses into affectation. Saunders points out that:-

The figure drawing is derived from the Parisian: the hair is of the curly type seen in the Queen Mary's Psalter and the other Peterborough Psalter but the gestures are affected

and the expressions strained, and the whole work is inferior to those manuscripts: the rather flat treatment of drapery, in which the folds are marked by sudden gradations, again recalls the other Psalter of the same origin. ¹¹

This can certainly be seen in the David of the B of the Beatus page. A comparison with similar Davids in the Cambridge volume and the Alphonso Psalter clearly illustrate this point. All the other Davids sit on their thrones with one leg crossed over the other in a poised position, lending support to the harp, which also rests on the arm of the throne in the Alphonso Psalter and the Brussels manuscript. These features work very well in the other two books, where David seems self-assured and confident. In the Brussels Psalter, however, this same figure looks a little ludicrous. The crossed leg seems to be too far over and the harp is on too much of a slant, creating the effect that it is about to fall off his knee, while David, instead of playing it, seems ready to catch it before it falls on the ground. But, although this style is considered inferior in this respect, it nevertheless reveals at the same time a great concern with elegance even to the point of affectation. The Brussels volume's models can be traced back to the Court, but instead of just following those prototypes, there appears to be a conscious attempt to refine them even further.

In the manuscript Arundel 83, the Psalter of Robert de Lisle not only displays the courtly conventions, but also much of its iconography and layout is apparently traceable directly to the

paintings in the Westminster precinct. It has been suggested that the three kings from the "Three Living and Three Dead" scene are derived from the sedilia paintings. Noppen¹² suggests that in the frame containing the three Magi on f. 124 the left-hand king is almost a copy of the king on the left-hand side of the Sedilia. A comparison with the drapery, hair and hands indicate that the artist was undoubtedly familiar with that work. In the Presentation in the Temple scene on the same page, Joseph shows a great similarity to the Retable St. Peter. The layout of this page also recalls the scheme of the Retable, as Noppen suggests that it shows "a development of a form used in the Westminster Retable and, as in the latter, boss-like forms bind the panels together".¹³ Such bosses also appear in the ceiling of the Painted Chamber. He also feels that the Retable might have provided the prototype for the "mosaic like backgrounds which appear in this and other folios".

The manuscript also abounds in the applied courtly conventions derived from the Westminster tombs and accessories which occur in the other manuscripts connected with the Court or made for members of the nobility. This can be sufficiently observed, for example, in two folios: the Madonna and Child (f. 131v.) and the Crucifixion (f. 132r.) pages. The Madonna and Child have been placed under an ornate canopy which is flanked by a three-tiered side shaft composed of gabled niches in the lower tiers, and two thin gabled niches in the top one. The lowest niches contain representa-

tions of St. Catherine on the left and St. Margaret on the right. Above them are placed two angels holding candlesticks, while the top niches are empty. The canopies over these figures are extremely similar to those above the weepers of the Crouchback tomb. In both cases the figures stand under trefoiled arches with an impaled trefoil in the gable. The shafts on either side have blind tracery which also terminates in a trefoiled arch with an impaled trefoil under a small gable. The pinnacles on the shafts and the finial on top of the central gable extend into the second storey, breaking up the surface into an all-over grid work which corresponds to the similar methods of transition from one tier to another found in the Eleanor Crosses and the Westminster tombs. A spiky, Rayonnant quality is achieved in the top tier, in the way the pinnacles project about a quarter length beyond the gables. Behind the gables is placed a lozenge-shaped diaper pattern, which is also similar to the decorative motifs in the gables of the Crouchback tomb. The central canopy is derived from the Crouchback tomb type, and Noppen¹⁴ has suggested that it is derived specifically from the sedilia, which belongs essentially to the same type.

The figures of the Virgin and the Christ Child under this canopy recall the Court conventions in the type of face, hands, hair and their general mannerisms. The draperies of these figures, together with the ones on the sides, are extremely rich and varied in their

folds and pleats. Their falling into deep, darkly shaded troughs contrasts sharply with the areas of highlight. They correspond more closely to the Westminster paintings than to previous illumination, and the likeness of this technique is particularly striking when comparing it with the sedilia kings and the figure of St. Faith, especially as they all contain the same kind of vair lining. This tendency to engulf the body in heavy, voluminous folds can also be seen in the Eleanors of the Hardingstone Cross, and is a feature of which the artists who executed the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters were particularly fond.

The Crucifixion scene, on the other hand, is not placed under an architectural canopy. Instead, the figures of Mary, the Crucified Christ and St. John are set in their own separate architectural frames composed of fanciful applied bar tracery forms.¹⁵ Christ is placed in an irregular frame which fans out over the other two panels in order to contain the arms of the Cross. They all contain ogee arches and the bold ogees in the identical flanking frames of Mary and St. John foreshadow the ones in the canopy of Aymer de Valence. Another feature which figured predominantly in the Court works is the diaper background of lozenges containing heraldic symbols, in this case apparently the leopards of England on pink grounds in the flanking frames, and fleurs-de-lis on blue grounds in the central frame. A similar background can be seen on the two

pillows and tomb couch of the Eleanor effigy, which alternates the English leopards with the castles of Castile, and the same type of arrangement appears on the pillow of the effigy of William de Valence, which alternates the arms of de Valence with decorative geometrical designs.

The companion volume in the manuscript Arundel 83, the Howard Psalter, also shows a reliance on the Court, although, other than the marginalia described, it is limited to figure style. This is particularly obvious in the figures of the Beatus page. The series of prophets in the borders all have the hip-shot pose and hold identifying scrolls in one hand whilst gesticulating with the other, either pointing or holding their palm outward in a manner similar to the prefixed saints of the Alphonso Psalter. The hair, which is predominantly the wavy type, is combed off the forehead and falls down with an exaggerated curl over the ear. The chins jut forward, cheeks are pinched, and the foreheads are shallow, as in the Retable St. Peter. The draperies are rich and rather voluminous, like those in the De Lisle Psalter, and this is particularly noticeable in the reclining Jesse.

Stylistically, the Gorleston Psalter is very similar to the Howard Psalter in its treatment of the figures and draperies. In the Beatus page (f. 8) the same rather long facial type with pinched cheeks has been employed. The drapery style of the Westminster paintings is detectable rather than the flat manner of the Queen Mary

Psalter, as is particularly noticeable in the row of kings in the left-hand margin where the draperies strongly recall the sedilia figures. There are basically two hair styles, both of which have Court precedents. There is the short curling type, such as can be seen in the effigy of Henry III, and which is favoured in the representations of most of the kings; and there is the long type that falls down along the neck in a series of loose twisting curls, and is found in the majority of the prophets and also in the Virgin Mary. The general character of these figures, like their courtly prototypes, is a tall emaciated appearance. They gesticulate with their hands and point with long bony fingers, particularly noticeable in the hands of the sleeping Jesse.

On the other hand, the figures of the Ormesby Psalter differ quite considerably. The figures of the c.1310 workshop are heavier and shorter, and, on the whole, faces are oval instead of drawn out. Stylistically they are more closely related to the effigy of Eleanor and the figure of St. Faith, and are similar to the figures in the Queen Mary and Peterborough (Cambridge) Psalters, as is especially evident in the treatment of the faces, which are rounded, almost jawless, and have full cheeks. Basically the same kind of hair styles as those in the Gorleston Psalter are used; the kings wear the type cited above and the latter can be seen also in the representations of Christ and God the Father in the historiated initial on f. 147v. The figure style of the 1320's

differs from the earlier one largely because the pinched cheek type appears to a far greater extent, and this can be seen particularly in the figures on the added Beatus page.

Like the original layouts of the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters, the Psalter of Queen Isabella has no large miniatures or architectural settings. The illustrations are either placed in the initials or at the bottom of the page. The figure style follows the courtly conventions and Saunders suggests that it "is directly influenced by the Parisian style of Honore' and his school, though stiff gestures and large hands betray a less accomplished artist than those who decorated the Queen Mary Psalter and the Peterborough manuscripts"¹⁶.

In the large initial of the B on the Beatus page (f. 7v.) the sleeping Jesse reclines at the bottom of the page while the upper two-thirds is dominated by a large Virgin and Child. The face of Jesse is composed of the distinctive features of oval eyes with a greater accentuation of the upper lid, eyeballs in the corners of the eyes, a mouth turned at the corners, and cheeks slightly pinched. The face itself is long and drawn out, as in the Gorleston Psalter. The beard is composed of stylized twisted curls, and the hair is parted in the middle and falls down on either side in a series of undulating curls, with an exaggerated curl over the ear. The drapery displays the contemporary fondness for rich folds with heavy shading, and for an undulating, rather nervous hem-line.

The facial features of the Virgin, on the other hand, recall

the oval type represented in the Queen Mary Psalter. The treatment of her wimple, with a wavy edge, also reminds one of many of those in the Queen Mary Psalter and some of the ones in the prefixed Saints of the Alphonso Psalter.

At this point it is perhaps worthwhile to consider briefly some of the differences and similarities between those manuscripts believed to have been made in London, especially the De Lisle Psalter, and those manuscripts illustrated and decorated in places that were not centres of royal activities to any extent. As the artists of the De Lisle Psalter probably came into contact frequently with the Westminster paintings, tombs and sculptures, it is perhaps not surprising that the iconography closely follows those models. But such close similarities would not be as possible for an artist working in East Anglia or around Peterborough. In this respect the London and 'provincial' manuscripts differ. But even though the East Anglian and Peterborough books do not show known precise iconographic parallels with Court works, they nevertheless share with the London manuscripts a community of stylistic ideas and forms in which the Court style is the common denominator. It appears that, as all the artists are copying a Court model, the East Anglian and other manuscripts are no less influenced by the idea of the Court style than are the London manuscripts. Their lack of close iconographic parallels can largely be attributed to the geographical displacement of both the patrons and the artists. The fact that they do not follow

the Westminster paintings as closely as the De Lisle Psalter should not be a total obstacle in understanding these books as being influenced by the Court.

After the interlude of the Trecentesque phase, the reliance on the Court formula can still be seen in such works as the Taymouth Hours and the Treatise of Walter de Milemete, even though the execution is far less fine. This is particularly well exemplified in the bas-de-page scenes of the Taymouth Hours, especially the illustrations instructing the queen in aristocratic pastimes. However, the mechanical and somewhat stiffened poses of the figures which make the mannered gestures seem almost ludicrous denote the final breakdown of this style. The Douai and St. Omer Psalters, although following the earlier layouts and iconographical formula, have little dependence on the Court figure style of the late thirteenth century. The same can be said for the Luttrell Psalter, although the portrait of Sir Geoffrey is as lavish and as courtly in its imagery as in the earlier manuscripts. In this book, as in the Trecentesque manuscripts, a more realistic figure style has replaced the courtly conventions, thus bringing to a close the style of miniature painting that followed the precedents set by the Court at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

CONCLUSION

The evidence in this thesis has presented some fresh material for a re-appraisal of the manuscripts from the East Anglian period. The conclusions reached are the result of a three-part investigation. First, it was necessary to re-examine the manuscripts in order to establish some unifying factor other than the previously given geographical unity. The approach adopted investigated the manuscripts primarily through the workshops formed by stylistic groups, and such matters as date, provenance, and patronage were discussed. This method revealed that within one workshop there was a wide range in the decoration of the manuscripts dependent on the various classes of patronage, and it also revealed that certain affinities could be drawn between each class. Secondly, it was pointed out that three general classes could be discerned: the noble elite, the gentry and minor ecclesiastics, and religious institutions. Also, it was shown that the most sumptuous manuscripts had been made for the great magnates and prelates of the realm and that two of these books, the Psalter of Queen Isabella and the Queen Mary Psalter, were associated with the monarchy itself. The manuscripts then ranged in a descending order of sumptuousness through the gentry and minor ecclesiastics to the ones made for religious institutions, which were the most modest of all. This not only indicates that the most lavish books had been made for

private patrons instead of religious institutions, but that they were made for some of the most important people of the realm, with direct connections with the Court. Thirdly, because the first two classes were socially and politically related to the Court, and because Court taste appears to have dictated the style of book decoration for the period, the manuscripts were compared with the taste of known Court works. This was done firstly by comparing the marginal decoration with the Court manuscripts of the 1280's and then through a comparison both of figural and applied architectural styles of other works associated with the Court. The conclusions indicated that the manuscripts from this period were ultimately following the taste of the Court.

Although this thesis has dealt with these aspects of the manuscripts, other material has arisen during the course of investigation which might indicate not only similar conclusions to the ones already reached, but also would further our understanding of the manuscripts in the light of these conclusions. For example, heraldry was discussed only insofar as it enabled us to see the continuation of its usage from the Court school to the East Anglian period. What its symbolic functions were, other than denoting ownership or the owner's relatives, has not been fully investigated, especially the appearance of the arms of monarchy and prominent nobles where they have no apparent connection with a particular manuscript. Millar¹ and others have suggested that often their appearance is

due to an artist copying arms with which he was most familiar and Cockerell, noting that within ff. 70-81 of the Ormesby Psalter only the shields of De Clare appear, suggests "that the artist confined himself through inexperience to this simple coat".² Not only does this answer appear to be atypical of the medieval mind which sought to find symbolic meaning even in the humblest of things, but also, as heraldry was the visual signature of a knight, its meaning is explicit.³

Another profitable line is to pursue further the symbolic, political and social implications of the adoption of major elements from the Court style in works not known to have been commissioned directly by the monarchy. For it is clear that the acceptance of the Rayonnant style of art and architecture at Court was more than just a matter of aesthetic preferences. From its development in Paris under Louis IX to its adoption in England by Henry III and continued use under the three Edwards, symbolic courtly associations predominate. Louis built his own chapel, the Ste. Chapelle, in this style, and that building became a model which other monarchies in Europe followed. The style had been introduced into England by Henry III when he assumed the total financial responsibility for the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, a building of great symbolic importance to the English monarchy. It was the coronation church, it acted as a chapel for Henry when he was in London and it was soon to acquire the significance of a royal mausoleum. It was

also the shrine for Henry's patron saint, St. Edward the Confessor, who was to be held in particular esteem by succeeding Plantagenet kings.⁴

Under Edward I, the Court school was particularly active and again many of the works have explicit royal symbolism. The 1290's saw an increased activity and Stone remarks that its "consciously imitative prestige policy" based on the Paris fashions of the 1240's, especially of Notre Dame and the Ste. Chapelle, is "overwhelming".⁵ It began with Torel's effigies of Henry and Eleanor in 1291, which Stone⁶ suggests were imitations of the French series at St. Denis, where in 1264 St. Louis had ordered a set of sixteen effigies of his ancestors. This was followed by the Eleanor Crosses, which had been inspired by similar crosses erected in the memory of St. Louis at the overnight resting places of his funeral train some twenty years earlier. Work was begun on St. Stephen's Chapel in the royal palace at Westminster, which can be seen as an imitation of St. Louis' Ste. Chapelle, both in concept and in many of the details of the design.⁷ Also in this decade, a coronation chair was made in the Court style, and in such a fashion as to include the Stone of Scone, which symbolically represented Edward's sovereignty over Scotland.

To understand fully the significance of these symbolic implications within the East Anglian period, one will have to in-

investigate the political and social basis of this entire period. During the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries there had been a series of conflicts between a royalist party and dissatisfied barons. Since the opposition to the king which had brought about the Magna Carta, the baronial party wished to reinforce the belief that the king was under the law and that his barons were his natural advisers who should be consulted in the governing of the realm. It did not reject the king as the lawful overlord and did not desire to destroy the machinery of government. The grievances stemmed from the fact that certain barons were out of favour at the Court. The adoption of the Court style by the dissatisfied barons, equally with the royalists, can perhaps be interpreted as a response to their proper place within the Court in the governing of the realm. In addition, the emergence of the landed gentry and the knights of the shire as an increasingly important element in the royal parliament gave this class a more important share in the governing of the realm.⁸ Thus, their adoption of the Court style through such media as illumination and tombs might be interpreted not merely as a result of class consciousness stemming from their new social status, but also as an awareness of their position within the socio-political framework of their position in the governing of the realm as a community. In this respect the East Anglian manuscripts represent an emerging national style.

These ideas, and particularly the last one, require much closer attention than can be given in this paper. Nevertheless, such suggestions reveal the extent to which further investigation can be conducted in this area, once the point is accepted that the East Anglian manuscripts are not wholly provincial works but were closely following the ideas of the Court. Further investigation should also treat manuscript illumination not as an isolated form, but should attempt to understand it in the greater context of all the arts from this period, and especially how these activities are related to the unifying factor of the Court.

NOTES

Introduction

1. O. E. Saunders, English Illumination (Florence and Paris, 1933), p.93.
2. A more detailed discussion of East Anglian iconographic features is given in Chapter III where this material is discussed in relation to the Court school of the thirteenth century.
3. S. C. Cockerell, The Gorleston Psalter (London, 1907), p.1.
4. The name does not give a clue to its origins. It refers to an episode in 1553, when a customs officer seized the book as it was being shipped to France by Anglican partisans. He presented it to Queen Mary in that year and it was incorporated into the Royal collection of manuscripts.
5. L. F. Sandler, "The Psalter of Robert de Lisle" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1964).
6. See J. A. Herbert, Illuminated Manuscripts (London, 1911), p.224; Saunders, op.cit., pp.103-104; E. G. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries (Paris and Brussels, 1928), pp.4-5; M. Rickert, Painting in Britain, The Middle Ages (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1965), pp.132-3.
7. L. F. Sandler, "Psalter of Robert de Lisle : Summary of a Dissertation," Marsyas, 1964, p.492. See also Dissertation, p.22.
8. See D. D. Egbert, "The Tickhill Psalter," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, October 1932; "A Sister to the Tickhill Psalter - The Psalter of Queen Isabella of England," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, XXXIX, 10, 1935, pp.759-788; "So-called 'Greenfield' La lumière as lais and Apocalypse," Speculum, XI, 4, 1936, pp.446-452; "The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, an English Gothic Manuscript of the Early Fourteenth Century now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 242," The Art Bulletin, XVIII, 4, 1936, pp.527-538.

9. D. D. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter and Related Manuscripts: A School of Manuscript Illumination in England during the Early Fourteenth Century (New York, 1940).
10. See Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts, XIVth and XVth, pp.18-19.
11. See Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, pp.82-89 for his account of the Psalter of Queen Isabella and pp.3-4 and 121-123 for a concise outline.
12. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 16. Also see Saunders (op.cit., pp.98-99), who formerly noted this connection. However, she does not align it with any other manuscript.
13. Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIVth - XVth, pp.18-19.
14. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, pp.121-123.
15. Ibid., p.4.
16. For a discussion of these manuscripts see Chapter I.
17. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, p.4.
18. O. Pächt, "A Giottesque Episode in English Medieval Art," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, VI, 1943, p.53.
19. F. Wormald, "Paintings in Westminster Abbey and Contemporary Paintings," Proceedings of the British Academy, 35 (London, 1949), p.176.
20. Ibid., p.176.
21. E. Tristram, English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century (Oxford, 1950), pp.1-64.
22. Ibid., p.2.
23. A discussion of the Court style is given in greater depth in Chapter IV.
24. Rickert, op.cit., p.124.
25. S. C. Cockerell and M. R. James, Two East Anglian Psalters at the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1926), pp.32-33, 39-44, and J. Wardrop, "The Dublin Apocalypse," Burlington Magazine, 57, 1930, pp.154-160.

26. Rickert, op.cit., p.125.
27. E. G. Millar, The Parisian Miniaturist Honoré (London, 1959), p.14.
28. G. Warner, The Queen Mary's Psalter (London, 1912), p.3.
29. L. C. Randall, Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), p.9.
30. Quoted from Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, p.5.
31. Ibid., p.5.
32. Cockerell, The Gorleston Psalter, p.31.
33. Ibid., p.3.
34. Saunders, op.cit., p.93.

Chapter I

1. Cited in Joan Evans, English Art 1307-1461 (Oxford, 1949), p.11.
2. Cockerell, Two East Anglian Psalters, p.4.
3. Ibid., p.13. The principal psalms are: 38, 51, 52, 68, 80, 97, 101 and 109 and respectively are on the following folios: 55v., 71v., 72r., 89r., 109r., 131r. and 147v.
4. Ibid., p.32.
5. James, Two East Anglian Psalters, p.33.
6. The Dublin Apocalypse, which was first brought to light by M. R. James in his Schweich Lectures on The Apocalypse in Art delivered before the British Academy in 1927, was not then aligned with these other manuscripts. It was not until an exhibition held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the summer of 1930 that, according to S. C. Cockerell, "Mr. E. G. Millar perceived its unquestionable relationship with the Bromholm Psalter and its companion manuscript of the East Anglian School, the Ormesby Psalter and the Emmanuel College Gregory Moralia." ("Notes," Burlington Magazine, 57, 1930, p.252).

7. J. Wardrop, "The Dublin Apocalypse," pp.159-160.
8. Pächt, op.cit., pp.53-54.
9. Ibid., p.54.
10. Ibid., pp.54-55.
11. James, Two East Anglian Psalters, p.44.
12. In examining the iconographical layout, James (The Apocalypse in Art [London, 1931], p.15) points out that the artist must have been familiar with two types of layout: that found in the group of Apocalypses comprised of Magdalene College, Cambridge No. 5, Bodl. Canonici Bibl. 62 and Bodl. Tanner 184 and the group containing Lambeth 434 and Eton College MS. 177. He believes that the first group has a possible Peterborough connection while the other two manuscripts come from further afield, perhaps originating from Worcester. The Peterborough connection may indicate that the artists were working around that area.
13. James, The Dublin Apocalypse (Oxford, 1932), p.2.
14. Cockerell, Two East Anglian Psalters, p.32.
15. Cockerell, The Gorleston Psalter, p.4. He tentatively suggests that the Warenne may have been William, but he was killed in a tournament in 1286. More likely it might have been his father, John de Warenne (d. 1304), or his son John, who became the Earl of Surrey and Sussex in 1304.
16. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, p.113.
17. It will be shown below that the next owners were members of the Foliot and Bardolf families and that work was re-continued for a proposed marriage. Joan Evans (op.cit., p.11) suggests an alternative owner to a Newmarch and Warenne, instead, being in the possession of the Foliots and Bardolfs. She writes that it was commissioned "by the order of Sir Jordan Foliot, a tenant under the abbey of St. Edmund, for presentation to Gilbert de Clare, Steward of the Abbey. He died in 1295 and it was continued without heraldic decoration until Sir Jordan gave it to his kinsman Sir Hugh Bardolf, who had his arms and those of his Foliot wife inset." However, Egbert (The Tickhill Psalter, p.115) points out that the Bardolf and Foliot arms do not appear until the c.1320 decoration, which indicates that

there was little possible connection between these families at this early date. Also, there appears more to favour the argument that the Psalter came into the possession of the Bardolfs and not the Foliots. See below pp.26-27.

18. According to Cockerell (Two East Anglian Psalters, p.22), so were the psalm and collect initials on ff. 22-45.
19. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, pp.114-115.
20. See below pp.52-57. The Bardolfs are one of the many families related through marriage, and were connected with the later manuscripts executed by the Tickhill Psalter workshop.
21. Cockerell (The Gorleston Psalter, pp.4-5) had originally connected these two with Richard Foliot and Beatrice, the third sister and co-heir of Hugh and Robert Bardolf of Hoo. Later, however (Two East Anglian Psalters, p.35), he refutes his earlier statement by saying that "no trace of an alliance at that time between a Foliot and Bardolf can be discovered". He notes that a Foliot and Bardolf had been married one hundred years earlier.
22. He must have been the senior male heir as he appears with the Foliot arms undifferenced.
23. A comparison of f. 38 with the other major psalm pages reveals that the same kind of decoration is used.
24. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, p.113.
25. On the second fly leaf is an inscription formally written in large red letters, which records this gift. With its contractions expanded it reads, *Psalterium fratris Roberti de Ormesby monachi Norwycensis per eundem assignatum choro ecclesie sancte Trinitatis Norwyci ad iacendum coram superiore qui pro tempore fuerit in perpetuum* (Cockerell, Two East Anglian Psalters, p.2).
26. According to Cockerell (Ibid., p.23) this includes the psalm and collect initials on ff. 70-81 and the marginal decoration from ff. 154 to the end.
27. Ibid., p.23.
28. See below pp.32-34.

29. Saunders, op.cit., p.93.
30. Pächt, op.cit., p.53.
31. The association of the arms of England and France indicates the marriage between Edward I of England and Margaret of France. As these arms appear this early and appear in line endings throughout the manuscript, there is little possibility that much of the decoration was executed before this date. The terminal date can be placed at 1306 because there appear heraldic arms with associations previous to that date. Cockerell (The Gorleston Psalter, p.8) notes that "John de Warenne married Joanna, only daughter of Henry III, Count of Bar, by the Lady Eleanor Plantagenet, eldest daughter of Edward I, on 20th May 1306. The absence of this lady's arms, although those of Warenne occur frequently, is perhaps additional evidence in favour of a date not later than 1306".
32. Cockerell (Ibid., p.12) records the following entry: *Dedicacio ecclesie de Gorlestone, maius duplex.*
33. See Saunders, op.cit., p.106; Herbert, op.cit., p.226.
34. Cockerell, The Gorleston Psalter, p.11.
35. Ibid., p.8.
36. Ibid., p.8.
37. Ibid., see pp.5-7.
38. There does not seem to be any other connection between this manuscript and Gorleston. The Douai Psalter is related in style to the added Crucifixion scene in the Gorleston Psalter. This connection is even more evident as that later Psalter has a calendar which is extremely similar to the one in the Gorleston Psalter (see below p.31). The relationship of these manuscripts and especially the connection with Gorleston in the period from 1300 to 1325 has to be re-examined more closely.
39. Cockerell, The Gorleston Psalter, p.9.
40. Pächt, op.cit., pp.51-53.
41. Ibid., p.52.

42. Ibid., pp.52-53.
43. H. Y. Thompson, A Lecture on Some English Illuminated Manuscripts (London, 1902), p.2.
44. Cited by Cockerell in The Gorleston Psalter, p.3.
45. Herbert, op.cit., pp.224-225.
46. Ibid., see p.226. No detailed study has been undertaken on the Howard Psalter. The majority of scholars deal primarily with the second Psalter in this volume, the De Lisle Psalter.
47. See Sandler, Dissertation, pp.250-251 for the complete inscriptions.
48. Herbert (op.cit., p.224) dates the De Lisle and Howard Psalters c.1310; Rickert (op.cit., p.133) dates the De Lisle Psalter in the 1330's and the Howard 1300 to 1310; and R. Freyhan ("English Influences on Parisian Painting of about 1300," Burlington Magazine, 54, 1929, pp.320-330) dates the De Lisle about 1285.
49. Rickert, op.cit., p.133.
50. Sandler, Dissertation, see Chapter II, "The Madonna Master," pp.35-49, and Chapter VI, "The Majesty Master," pp.191-229.
51. J. G. Noppen, "The Westminster School and its Influence," Burlington Magazine, 57, 1930, p.76.
52. Ibid., p.77.
53. Wormald, op.cit., p.162.
54. Noppen, op.cit., p.76.
55. Wormald, op.cit., p.162.
56. Rickert, op.cit., p.133.
57. These influences are not direct but have come via France, and especially from the workshop of Jean Pucelle. See Sandler, Dissertation, pp.191-229.
58. Sandler, Dissertation, p.251.

59. Herbert, op.cit., p.224.
60. Sandler, Dissertation, p.251.
61. Ibid., p.48.
62. See E. G. Millar, English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century (Paris and Brussels, 1926); pp.65-66, and M. R. James, A Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary (Oxford, 1921), p.9.
63. See Saunders, op.cit., p.104, and Rickert, op.cit., p.125.
64. See J. van den Gheyn, Le Psautier de Peterborough (Haarlem, 1905), pp.1-3 for a summary of Delisle's conclusions.
65. James, A Peterborough Psalter, p.34.
66. See L.M.J. Delaisse, Medieval Miniatures : From the Department of Manuscripts, the Royal Library of Belgium (London, 1965), p.57.
67. James, A Peterborough Psalter, p.34, quoted from Sparke's edition, B.M. Add. MS. 39758.
68. James (A Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary, pp.22-23) notes that it also contains pictures in the calendar, Psalter and Bestiary, but he points out that all these are cycles of frequent occurrence and the subjects are more or less stereotyped. The greatest variation is in these preceding pictures. Also, according to his examinations (p.33), the manuscript was executed by two major artists. The calendar, Psalter and Bestiary pictures were by one hand, while the prefixed miniatures were by another, superior hand. It is with the latter that the comparisons with the Queen Mary Psalter are drawn and to which the discussion will be limited.
69. According to James (Ibid., pp.18-20), this arrangement is highly unusual because the placing of the prophets under a canopy comprised of a paired trefoiled arch followed by the Life scenes is conceived in the manner of small painted diptychs. Rickert (op.cit., p.126) notes that "the prototypes of the miniatures might have been a series of panel paintings" but of which "no comparable set survives".
70. James, A Peterborough Psalter, p.13.

71. See Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.11.
72. Rickert, op.cit., p.126.
73. James, A Peterborough Psalter, p.12.
74. Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.12.
75. Millar (Ibid., p.12) has written that "the resemblance in compositions makes it safe to assume that the various books were produced in the same atelier, a matter that is in fact beyond dispute; but the number of artists employed in the atelier and the actual share taken by them in different productions must always remain open to question".
76. Ibid., p.13. They are f. 10 of the Peterborough Psalter (Millar, plate 25), and f. 8 of the Hours of Alice of Reydon (Millar, plate 28).
77. Ibid., p.13.
78. See Warner, op.cit., p.8.
79. James (A Peterborough Psalter, p.18) points that as a general rule prefixed Old Testament pictures to Psalters had tended to disappear by this time in favour of scenes from the Life of Christ, the Life of the Virgin, Lives of the Saints, etc. According to James, the Queen Mary Psalter is unique in this respect.
80. Warner, op.cit., p.32.
81. Ibid., pp.6-7.
82. Ibid., p.6.
83. Rickert, op.cit., p.127.
84. Warner (op.cit., p.5) was one of the first scholars to note the similarities between these two books, and that probably it was written by the same scribe. See also Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.16, Saunders, op.cit., p.95, and Rickert, op.cit., p.128.
85. Warner (op.cit., p.7) has isolated three hands, the first (ff. 1-16v.) he believes to be that of the Queen Mary Master. See also Saunders, op.cit., pp.91-95, Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.17 and Rickert, op.cit., p.128.

86. There might be some question of whether this manuscript is by the Master himself, but according to Rickert (op.cit., p.128) it is undoubtedly from the same workshop.
87. Millar (Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.15) has shown that the compositions are identical to those of the Queen Mary Psalter and iconographically extremely close to the Peterborough Psalter at Cambridge, especially the Nativity scenes. The compositions are rougher and more awkward than those of the Queen Mary Psalter and may have been executed by a less accomplished artist. See Bodleian Picture Books, English Illumination of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (Oxford, 1954), p.8.
88. Millar (Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.16) attributes this book to the hand of the Queen Mary Master.
89. Millar (Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.17) compares the Nativity and Resurrection scenes with the Queen Mary Psalter and concludes they form "a relationship without doubt".
90. Warner (op.cit., p.5) noted that both the calendar and litany point conclusively to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Also, opposite one of the initials (f. 115r.) there is a kneeling Benedictine monk and above his head is written *Frater Ricardus de Cant[uria]*. Warner (p.5) has observed that "there is no reason to suppose that he intended this figure to represent his (the artist's) own portrait. From a fifteenth-century catalogue of the library of St. Augustine's Abbey it appears that a Richard of Canterbury, who was presumably the same person, had been the former owner of several manuscripts, very few of which from their contents are at all likely to have possessed any artistic interest. He seems therefore to have been a book collector, and it was probably to his order that the cost of the Psalter was produced."
91. Ibid., p.5.
92. Warner, op.cit., p.1, footnote 1.
93. Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.17.
94. Saunders, op.cit., p.97.
95. See Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, p.38. Although the manuscript was intended for a royal recipient, it does not appear to have been executed in London. Instead its calendar gives the cita-

tion of the Feast of Relics for York and gives special prominence to York saints. Other saints such as St. Wulfhad at Stone and St. Modwenna at Burton-on-Trent, who are also cited, were primarily venerated in central England, and this also indicates a possible connection with the more northern regions of England.

96. Saunders, op.cit., p.99. She writes that the figure style "is distinctly influenced by the Parisian style of Honoré and his school, though stiff gestures and large hands betray a less accomplished artist than those who decorated Queen Mary's Psalter or the Peterborough manuscript."
97. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, p.78.
98. Ibid., p.81.
99. Ibid., p.78.
100. See Egbert, "The 'Greenfield' La lumière as lais and Apocalypse," p.449.
101. Ibid., p.449.
102. Ibid., p.452.
103. The Bardolf-Vaux Psalter (Lambeth Palace MS. 233).
104. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, pp.102-103.
105. Now at Douai Abbey, Woolhampton.
106. Egbert, The Tickhill Psalter, p.118.
107. E. G. Millar, The Luttrell Psalter (London, 1932), p.15.
108. Rickert, op.cit., p.153.
109. Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.20.
110. This manuscript is closely related to the Smithfield Decretals (B.M. Roy. MS. 10 E IV) which was written in Italy but decorated in England. Many of the same subjects appear in both manuscripts See Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.20, and Rickert, op.cit., p.134.

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111. M. R. James, The Treatise of Walter de Milemete (Oxford, 1913), p.xiii.
112. Ibid., p.xii.
113. Ibid., p.lxiv.
114. Rickert, op.cit., p.134.

Chapter II

1. J. Porcher, Medieval French Miniatures (New York, 1965), p.43.
2. For a list of the lands which he held, see Charles Johnson, "Translation of the Domesday Book," The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk, Vol. II, W. Page, ed. (London, 1906), pp.94-113.
3. Ibid., pp.80-94.
4. R. Wickson, The Community of the Realm in Thirteenth Century England (London, 1970), pp.18-19.
5. Ibid., p.29.
6. M. Powicke, The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307 (Oxford, 1962), p.540.
7. G. Cockayne, The Complete Peerage, Vol. I (London, 1910), p.417.
8. J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (New York, 1956), p.128.
9. L. Stone, Sculpture in Britain, The Middle Ages (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1955), p.133.
10. Ibid., pp.135-136.

Chapter III

1. For terminology, see Rickert, op.cit., pp.209-214.

2. Cockerell, Two East Anglian Psalters, p.13.
3. There is a possibility that there was an apparent meaning for even the most insignificant detail but which has since been lost. Randall (op.cit., p.12) has written that "actually the impression of haphazard spontaneity in the marginal illustrations is exaggerated by their juxtaposition with unrepresentational elements of long standing formalistic tradition . . . The distribution was not always as unsystematic as it appears. It would have been atypical of the medieval mind to have discarded wholly all structure of programmatic design. Schemes governing the layout of certain pages or sections of manuscript did exist, although their application was flexible and subject to change."
4. Ibid., p.17.
5. Evans, op.cit., p.40.
6. Randall, op.cit., p.7.
7. P. Brieger, English Art 1216-1307 (Oxford, 1957), pp.121-122.
8. Stone, op.cit., p.133.
9. If the manuscript was executed before 1284, the arms of England differenced would have referred to Prince Alphonso.
10. Quoted from Millar, The Luttrell Psalter, p.2.
11. Cockerell, Two East Anglian Psalters, p.31.

Chapter IV

1. A. Martindale, Gothic Art (New York, 1967), p.124.
2. Now in the chapel of St. Edmund and St. Thomas Martyr, Westminster Abbey.
3. Evans, op.cit., pp.6-7.
4. Stone, op.cit., p.147.
5. Ibid., p.144.

6. Saunders, op.cit., pp.94-95.
7. These two Courts were extremely close and there was a great amount of cultural interchange between the two. Saunders (op.cit., p.94) points out that in the 1290's there were English illuminators working in Paris and some of them may have brought the French innovations back to England.
8. Warner (op.cit., p.25) has identified the Virgin with a crown and sceptre, St. Catherine with the wheel, St. Margaret with the long cross and standing on the dragon, and St. Mary Magdalene with an unguent pot. The other two have not been identified. In the Alphonso Psalter (f. 3), St. Margaret and St. Catherine are also represented and the latter is extremely similar to the Queen Mary Psalter St. Catherine. Although there are only female saints represented on this page, later folios include male saints, angels, apostles, prophets and kings.
9. They vary in elaboration, and all are reproduced in Warner (op.cit.), plates 123 to 146.
10. Warner, op.cit., pp.8-9.
11. Saunders, op.cit., p.104.
12. Noppen, op.cit., p.77.
13. Ibid., p.77.
14. Ibid., p.77.
15. Pächt (op.cit., p.51) has suggested that it is similar to window tracery techniques, which perhaps indicates even further the interchangeability of the components of the Court style.
16. Saunders, op.cit., p.99.

Conclusion

1. Millar, Illuminated Manuscripts XIV - XV, p.4; Saunders, op.cit., p.101.
2. Cockerell, Two East Anglian Psalters, p.31.

3. See Appendix.
4. The Confessor was particularly important to Henry as he bridged the gap between the Norman and Anglo-Saxon kings. If one is to trace Henry's lineage back to William the Conqueror, only one English ancestor can be found, Matilda of Scotland, the queen of Henry I. Although national patriotism was largely an unknown concept and the upper class society in Europe formed the real unity, Henry's French relations from his mother's second marriage and his French queen with her relatives were unpopular with the English barons. His favouritism toward them and his aloofness to his own barons were one of the causes that ultimately led to the barons' reforms. It is possible that Henry saw Edward as a symbol that would give a certain amount of unity to his reign, which he had been politically unable to achieve. Also, as Powicke (The Thirteenth Century, p.18) observes, "the Confessor's day, 13 October, became for him the great day of the year, and the more so because it comes conveniently a fortnight after Michaelmas, the beginning of the financial year, when the exchequer was busy, Westminster crowded, and a great council of parliament was generally held. On 13 October Henry was wont to gather about him the members of his household in the new robes which he had provided for them, to knight young nobles and proteges, and to hold a great feast."
5. Stone, op.cit., p.142.
6. Ibid., p.142.
7. Ibid., p.142.
8. For example, M. McKisack (The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399, Oxford, 1959, p.18) notes their increasing importance at the time of the Ordinances (1311). She writes that:-

The Ordinances are the work of the baronage and the baronage alone. Though they contain a demand for annual parliaments, there is no hint that such parliaments must include representatives of the commons and the object of the demand is stated explicitly to be the furthering of petitions. The commons were asked for their approval of the Ordinances in the parliament of August 1311, but it is doubtful whether this was in any sense a formal ratification and it seems likely that it was on account of their usefulness as agents of propaganda that they were bidden

to attend. It is obvious to us . . . that they were not an integral part of parliament. Nonetheless, this is what they were fast becoming; and there is substance in the argument that the Ordinances may have been a turning-point in their development . . . Simon de Montfort had recognized the value of the middle-class support at a time of political crisis; neither Edward II nor his enemies can have been blind to its uses. It may be more than a coincidence that the fairly regular summons of knights and burgesses to parliament dates from about this time.

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APPENDIX

HERALDRY - SOME RE-CONSIDERATIONS

Many of the extensive examinations of the manuscripts from the period 1270 to 1350 were carried out largely during the early part of the twentieth century. Although the quality of scholarship is first rate, new material and a changing climate of opinion calls for a re-consideration of some of the conclusions. One of these is an inquiry into the less explicable occurrences of heraldry other than the arms of the patrons or their relatives, and especially those which frequently appear, such as the arms of England and France.

To take one example, M. R. James, in his monograph on the Douce Apocalypse (The Apocalypse in Latin and French, Oxford, 1922, pp.9-10), states that "it would not be difficult to show that the artist inserted any well known arms, which he happened to remember, into line fillings, borders, banners and so forth." He identifies the arms of De Clare and De Montfort but points out that "tricks" had been "played with the tinctures" of the latter, as the forked tail lion appears on a yellow ground instead of its proper red. No suggestion is given as to why they are changed, even though in heraldry colours are as important as forms. Hassall, who later investigated this manuscript (The Douce Apocalypse, London, 1961, p.22), puts forth a plausible hypothesis:-

Yellow was the colour not only of brimstone but, traditionally, of the coat of Judas; while, as Dante explains, red is the colour of faith. The Lord Edward, who routed the host of Montfort, might have approved of what M. R. James here calls playing tricks with the tinctures. James wrongly says the lion is here azure; in fact it is black, the colour of Hell not Heaven. On the death of Edward I his knights lamented one under whose leadership 'we plucked the Kingdom of England from the mouth of the lion, when we freed Daniel, King Henry III, from the hand of the beast in the War of Evesham'.

In a similar vein he interprets the frog shield displayed by Satan in the same manuscript as symbolic rather than decorative. James had dismissed it as "a plain case of imaginative fancy on the part of the artist" (p.10). Instead, Hassall (p.8) argues that:-

St. John "saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet. For they are spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth" (Revelation XVI, 13-14). The Vulgate is clearer still and runs "Sunt enim spiritus daemoniorum facientes signa." 'Signa' means miracles to priests, but to knights it means badges of identification such as the signum under which Constantine was bidden to conquer, when according to Lactanius he marked the 'signum dei' on his shields. This is the meaning of the word 'sign' in the English Legendary of 1290 . . . The meaning of the frogs used as a sign is suggested by St. Augustine's comparison of frogs to vain and worldly heretics. The Glossa Ordinaria explains that the croaking of frogs in sloughs disturbs the peace, and Nicholas de Lyra later particularized this croaking as coming from the mouths of Saracen leaders. The newly introduced vizors of thirteenth century armour made such marks of identification necessary on the shields of knights; and even in our literate generation a man's mark is called his signature, every inn has its sign and emblems such as a swastika or a hammer and sickle have certain significances which are more obvious than others. In the third quarter of the thirteenth century heraldry was a thoroughly modern and interesting art and science of obvious beauty, utility and meaning.

If this is the case with the Douce Apocalypse, to what extent can we re-evaluate the heraldry in the East Anglian manuscripts? No study of this nature has been undertaken and the possibilities of pursuing this line are complicated by the appearance of imaginary arms in some of the line-endings which, in this context, give no decipherable clues about their specific meaning, unlike the frog shields. They may have been references to ideas which are now lost, or they may be fanciful as many writers have suggested. Even if they are imaginary, one should not assume that this was the case with verifiable arms without further study. The reason for this contention is that, as heraldry refers specifically to certain knights, its meaning is concrete whereas imaginative ones could be abstract and therefore might be purely decorative. Also, if the latter are introduced for decorative purposes, why represent real coats which refer to specific knights unless they serve a definite function within a manuscript?

To deal with this problem, many factors have to be taken into account. For instance, those arms which are prominently placed, or which frequently appear, undoubtedly have more importance than those which are only occasionally represented. Also, some distinction should be made between heraldry appearing as a shield in the margin and those in line-endings. This varies from manuscript to manuscript, and these differences should be taken into account, because

in the Gorleston Psalter heraldry appears both in the margins and line-endings, in the Ormesby Psalter only in line-endings, while in the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours only in the margins. Another problem is the precise meaning of the arms. Do they relate to the owner or do they refer to benefactors of some religious institution for which the book was ultimately intended? We have seen that the arms in the Petrus Comestor do not refer to the owner but to the benefactor and his relatives, and we have also seen that the De Lisle Psalter was eventually intended to pass to a religious institution after the death of its original owner and his daughters. It may be that any heraldry which appears unconnected with the original owner refers to a benefactor of an intended religious house, or to knights who had borne the cost of producing the manuscript in return for prayers for their souls.

One of the most problematic features is the constant recurrence of arms associated directly with the monarchy. Specifically, these are the arms of England by itself, or in association with the fleurs-de-lis of France since Edward I's marriage to Margaret of France in 1299 and Edward II to Isabella. It has been noted that on the Beatus page of the Psalter of Queen Isabella appear the arms of England and France, and in the historiated initial on f. 94 Queen Isabella herself is depicted kneeling, flanked by the arms of England and France. These represent the manuscript's owner. However,

framing the historiated B on the Beatus page of the Gorleston Psalter is a band containing the leopards of England and the French fleurs-de-lis in alternation, and again they are depicted on ff. 35 and 68 in shields in the margin. Also, the added Crucifixion has a border containing the arms of England and France and so had the Crucifixion miniature of the lost Douai Psalter. They appear prominently in the De Lisle Psalter, as can be seen in the diapered background of the Crucifixion scene; the central panel contains the fleurs-de-lis on blue grounds alternating with gold lozenges whereas the flanking panels contain the leopards of England which alternate with gold lozenges. They appear less prominently in the Ormesby, Tickhill, Bardolf-Vaux and other Psalters. What is their meaning in these books? Are they symbolic or are they decorative? James (Apocalypse in Latin and French, p.10) comments that in "the case of figure donors and owners . . . and the constant recurrence of certain coats in borders or line-fillings will rightly be thought to be important and significant" (my underlining), so how are we to account for the appearance of these arms?

Further research into the East Anglian manuscripts should seriously consider these implications. Also, a further investigation of the representation of the royal arms may reveal an answer which shows these manuscripts closer to the Court than has been suggested. In a period when heraldry was of great symbolic significance, as Hassall has suggested, we should not expect to find the royal arms used indiscriminately.

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