READING AND IMAGINING FAMILY LIFE IN LATER MEDIEVAL WESTERN EUROPE

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PART ONE

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SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the ideals of behaviour which sought to govern family life and which were common currency in England and northern Europe, how they were constructed, and how the late medieval gentry and nobility interacted with them. Hagiography, sermons, and courtesy literature all explicitly sought to influence the views and behaviour of their audiences, whilst the letter collections of the Pastons, Plumptons, Stonors, Celys, and Armburghs offer an insight into the self-perceptions of the recipients of this didactic material. Much of this material has been studied, but it did not exist in a vacuum. Images in books, often marking key moments in a typical life-cycle, supported, extended, even contradicted the notions inculcated by these texts, were increasingly relevant to later medieval daily lives, and both influenced their audience and were used by their audience as a form of self-fashioning.

The five chapters of this thesis each explore a different aspect of the medieval lifecycle. Chapters One and Two take the foundation of the household, marriage, as their starting point, discussing courtship and the ideal marriage ceremony, as well as the attributes and behaviour of the ideal spouse. Chapter Three turns to how this household operated on a wider scale, demonstrating how lords were caught between Christ's example and the pressures of lavish lay display when building networks of friendship. Chapter Four considers the genesis of a new generation: how images and texts conveyed sometimes different notions of the ideal mother and father, the location of the household as a place of learning, and the importance of models when shaping the development of the ideal child. Lastly, Chapter Five investigates the end of the lifecycle, death, and how images and texts worked together to propound the central medieval idea of a 'good death'. Consideration is given throughout this thesis to how the norms of behaviour communicated by texts and images may be studied.

LONG ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the ideals of behaviour which sought to govern family life and which were common currency in England and northern Europe, how they were constructed, and how the late medieval gentry and nobility interacted with them. The most explicit and self-conscious source of these models of behaviour was courtesy literature. Circulating in the same period were the sermon material, saints' lives, and letter collections, each with varying levels of explicitness about ideal behaviour. These texts were all popular and didactic in nature, apart from the letter collections, which offer an interesting perspective, of how these ideals were internalised, expressed, and further inculcated. It can be difficult to reconstruct an audience's mental furniture when considering, for example, the outlines of a sermon, but, by gathering these different didactic texts, and examining them alongside images, we can fill in some of the blanks in the common knowledge and experience of their audiences.

In the late Middle Ages illuminated manuscripts circulated widely. There was even a sophisticated export market which reached its zenith with the Flemish books of hours for the Sarum Use destined for England. The illuminations in these manuscripts were more implicit and subliminal in their dictations than the more overt messages found in courtesy literature and sermons, but no less powerful for that. They utilised the pictorial language of gesture, as well as choices made regarding dress, physical location, and positioning. This 'language of gesture' did not exist in a pictorial vacuum; rather, certain gestures, such as pointing and gazing heavenward when considering divine subjects, placing the hands upon the breast to express humility, or pointing with the forefinger to draw attention to solemn matters, were all counterparts to the familiar gestures used by, amongst others, preachers, incorporated into visual models.

Of course, there were changes in imagery over time. In the thirteenth century the Gothic manuscript was the site of an explosion in marginalia across a wide range of different types of manuscripts, religious and secular. From the thirteenth century devotional practices were becoming increasingly structured around vision, a change which stimulated the sudden increase in devotional images, such as illuminated manuscripts, to fulfil this growing interest and need. Indeed, by the fourteenth century, the demand for books of hours for private lay use was such that they began to be mass-produced, with thousands in existence across Europe by the time of the Reformation. They provided explicit models; the lives of the virgin saints in particular represent a concerted effort on the part of the Church to inculcate ideals of behaviour, with the Virgin Mary and Christ as the ultimate models of 'unimpeachable pedigree'.[1] These illustrations worked to forward ideologies that shaped the behaviour of the readers of such manuscripts. They could even be 'active social agents' in their own right.[2]

Thus it makes sense to bring texts and images together. Not only did they share the same didactic space, but there is an explicit crossover between the image and textual world. Sermons drew heavily on 'pictures' taken from scripture and elsewhere to create explanatory scenes within sermons themselves: an 'ecphrasis' or a 'speaking picture'. It worked in the other direction too. Texts, such as those contained within sermons, mediated the way in which their audience interpreted the images around them, building up a store of knowledge that allowed the complexity of these images to be deciphered. Texts could also supply illuminations with their themes, but the interest in placing image and text together is not that they always run on the same track, but rather that the visual and textual traditions variously

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1 Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1992), p. 238.

2 Jeffery F. Hamburger, 'Introduction', in *idem* and Anne Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2006), p. 7.

run in parallel, meet, diverge, and lead separate existences, while all the while informing and influencing their consumers. Furthermore, the image, which the viewer was encouraged to identify with, reflected back to the viewer an image of selfhood, but one which 'idealizes the subject's reality'.

Nor was the audience of these images and texts simply passive. Elite readers were increasingly keen to explore their own personal piety, compile rich libraries, and elevate their social status, establishing an aspirational model for wider society to follow. Many of these devotional works circulated along well established lines of patronage, friendship, and kinship, all centred on the household. The household was the site of these works as well as the location of their wider dissemination across and down the levels of medieval society; from the twelfth century onwards cultured nobility set an example of secular literacy which other laymen hoped to emulate. With this in mind, the location of this thesis within the elite household makes sense. The royal household in particular, which all other elite households aimed to emulate, was the cultural, political, and administrative heart of the nation, and its appropriate management was literally proof not only of internal virtue but outward suitability, particularly for men, for high office. The Holy Family gave illuminators the opportunity to portray the 'incidents of domestic life, including midwives, babies' baths, attendants, carrying soap and hot water' which brought the everyday life of the patron into the world of the saint.[3] The household was also self-consciously the place in which appropriate behaviour was learnt, and families went to great lengths and sometimes costs to send children to be fostered in the grand households of the day.

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3 Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 256-7.

The life of laity in this period was divided up by various rites of passage, from birth, to marriage, to death, all of which were catered for and celebrated by the Church. Extending out from this, many of the devotional and didactic texts which circulated between the elite households dealt with these life changes, the most obvious of these being *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, which was a practical guide to the last hours of a person's life and how best to assist them. More than that, the books of hours so popular within these households, whilst following the structures of monastic Offices, took the reader through the different stages of the lifecycle, with scenes from the Nativity, the Life of the Virgin as well as the entire Office of the Dead, with the saints and the Holy Family acting as models for each stage as well as reinforcing the importance of these life events.

This is a wide-ranging study: an exploration of the idea that even when something is not avowedly didactic it could still operate as a model or a yardstick of behaviour. It is an attempt to tap into this plethora of illuminations and interrelated texts to obtain a sense of how behaviour was regulated during the late Middle Ages. Marriage, childhood, death; these have been areas of great interest to late medieval historians. Against this backdrop, this thesis seeks not to retread this ground, but to bring together images and texts situated within a world rich with competing paradigms, weighted by piety, and based within the household. Each of the five chapters of this thesis explores a different aspect of the medieval lifecycle where these visual-textual models come together most fruitfully. Chapters One and Two take the foundation of the household, marriage, as their starting point, discussing the ideal courtship and marriage ceremony, as well as the attributes and behaviour of the ideal spouse. They consider the place of courtship on the page, how this informed late medieval attitudes towards romance, how contemporaries viewed the marriage ceremony, and how spouses negotiated their relationship with each other and with the outside world. While there was

essentially an agreement between illumination and text on the characteristics of the ideal spouse, the ideal of marriage itself was much more complex, the images revealing a compromise between the theology of the Church and the desires of the noble laity. Husbands and especially wives were aware of the models of marital behaviour, and aspired to them, but that also used them to their own advantage to maintain their position.

These models did not exist just behind closed doors, rather these paradigms of behaviour, although they governed one's inner life, were heavily concerned with outward reputation. Thus Chapter Three turns to how this household operated on a wider scale, demonstrating how lords were caught between Christ's example and the pressures of lavish lay display when building networks of friendship. It considers depictions of servants serving at table and spiritual as well as social exclusion in illumination, the role of ritual and gift giving, and concepts of the ideal companion. Moving outward in time as well as space, Chapter Four considers the genesis of a new generation: how images and texts conveyed sometimes different notions of the ideal mother and father, the importance of models when shaping the development of the ideal child, and how image and texts grappled over the changing role of women in childhood education. Lastly, Chapter Five investigates the end of the lifecycle, death. It not only considers how images and texts worked together to propound the central medieval idea of a 'good death', but also how notions of differing standards of biblical and contemporary propriety influenced how the laity presented their own death and memorialisation.

As David d'Avray has stated, 'when ideas are embodied in social practice, they take on a new force, even if they helped to create the social practice in the first place.'[4] It is this

4 David d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 207.

creation of social practice, this development of ideas, coalescing in appropriate behaviour, pushing and pulling between text and image, between author and audience, that this thesis addresses. It concludes by not only considering the cumulative implications of each of these studies of different life stages, the overall way in which contemporaries negotiated behavioural paradigms, and how this contributes to and extends current historiography, but also by arguing that medieval life cannot be fully understood without full consideration of the images which stood alongside didactic texts.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT TITLES

ACKWD	William Caxton (transl.), 'The Arte & Craft to Know Well to Dye,' in ed. David William Atkinson, *The English ars moriendi* (New York, 1992), pp. 21-35
ACT	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Autres Contenances de Table,' in *idem* (ed.), *French and Latin Poems on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time* (London, 1868), pp. 16-20
AN	H. Rosamond Parsons (ed.), 'L'apprise de Nurture,' in *eadem* (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture* (1929), pp. 432-7
AP	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'A Prophecy, & c.,' in *idem* (ed.), *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, & c.* (London, 1869), p. 85
Armburgh	Christine Carpenter (ed.), *The Armburgh Papers: The Brokholes Inheritance in Warwickshire, Hertfordshire and Essex c. 1417-c. 1453* (Woodbridge, 1998)
BB	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'The Babees' Book,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 1-9
BC	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'The Book of Courtesy,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 79-121
BCL	Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, transl. Rosalind Brown-Grant (London, 1999)
BE	H. Rosamond Parsons (ed.), 'Bon Enfant,' in *eadem* (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture* (1929), pp. 428-30
BGM	Jacques Legrand, *Livre de bonnes moeurs*, transl. William Caxton (Westminster, 1487)
BKLL	Thomas Wright (ed.), *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry: Compiled for the Instruction of his Daughters* (London, 1868)
BKLL.Cax	William Caxton (transl.), *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, ed. M. Y. Offord (London, 1971)
BTV	Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies or The Book of the Three Virtues*, transl. Sarah Lawson, rev. ed. (London, 2003)

CBC	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), *Caxton's Book of Curtesye, printed at Westminster about 1477-8* (London, 1868)
CD	Frances M. M. Comper (ed.), 'The Book of the Craft of Dying' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Book of the Craft of Dying and Other Early English Tracts Concerning Death* (London, 1917), pp. 3-47
CDS	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Courses of a Dinner and Supper given to Hen. V. by Sir John Cornwell,' in *idem* (ed.), *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, & c.* (London, 1869), pp. 90-91
Cely	Alison Hanham (ed.), *The Cely Letters, 1472-1488* (London, 1975)
CKDW	David William Atkinson (ed.), 'Craft and Knowledge For to Dye Well,' in *idem*(ed.), *The English ars moriendi* (New York, 1992), pp. 1-20
CJ	Ronald E. Pepin (transl.), 'Carmen Juvenile,' in *idem* (transl.), *An English Translation of Auctores Octo: A Medieval Reader* (Lampeter, 1999), pp. 253-7
CT	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Contenance de Table,' in *idem* (ed.), *French and Latin Poems on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time* (London, 1868), pp. 6-8
DC	Ronald E. Pepin (transl.), 'The Distichs of Cato,' in *idem* (transl.), *An English Translation of Auctores Octo: A Medieval Reader* (Lampeter, 1999), pp. 9-24
DM	Joannes Sulpitius Verulanus, *Doctrina Mensae: Table Manners for Boys*, transl. Henry Thomas (Oxford, 1949)
Edward	H. Rosamond Parsons (ed.), 'Edward,' in *eadem* (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture* (1929), pp. 420-28
EU	H. Rosamond Parsons (ed.), 'Earlier Urbain,' in *eadem* (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture* (1929), pp. 398-408
Facetus	Ronald E. Pepin (transl.), 'Facetus,' in *idem* (transl.), *An English Translation of Auctores Octo: A Medieval Reader* (Lampeter, 1999), pp. 43-54
Festial.1	John Mirk, *Festial*, ed. Susan Powell (Oxford, 2009)
Festial.2	John Mirk, *Festial*, ed. Susan Powell (Oxford, 2011)
Festial.AN	Susan Powell (ed.), *The Advent and Nativity Sermons from a Fifteenth-Century Revision of John Mirk's Festial* (Heidelberg, 1981)
Festial.NF	Susan Powell (ed.), *Three Sermons for Nova Festa, together with the Hamus Caritatis* (Heidelberg, 2007)

FJM	Antoine de La Sale, *The fyftene joyes of maryage*, transl. Robert Copland (Westminster, 1509)
GC	Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (eds.), *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 2005)
GL.1	Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, I*, transl. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993)
GL.2	Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, II*, transl. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993)
GWG	Gina L. Greco and Christine M. Rose (transl.), *The Good Wife's Guide – Le Ménagier de Paris: A Medieval Household Book* (London, 2009)
GWWP	Tauno F. Mustanoja (ed.), 'The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage,' in *idem* (ed.), *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (Helsinki, 1948), pp. 173-5
HGWD	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 31-42
HM	Bella Millett (ed.), *Hali Meidhad* (London, 1982)
HMS	Frances M. M. Comper (ed.), 'The Craft for to Die to the Health of Man's Soul,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Book of the Craft of Dying and Other Early English Tracts Concerning Death* (London, 1917), pp. 93-101
HS	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Bp. Grossetest's Household Statutes,' in *idem* (ed.), *Early English Meals and Manners* (London, 1868), pp. 215-8
HWTS	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'How The Wise Man Taught His Son,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 43-7
IPP	John Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. Edward Peacock (London, 1868)
JRBN	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'John Russell's Book of Nurture,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 47-78
LA	Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea: vulgo historia lombardica dicta*, ed. Johann Georg Theodor Grässe (Dresden, 1846)
LCLB	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'The Little Children's Little Book,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 16-21

LF	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Lydgate's Order of Fools,' in *idem* (ed.), *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, & c.* (London, 1869), pp. 79-84
LU	H. Rosamond Parsons (ed.), 'Later Urbain,' in *eadem* (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture* (1929), pp. 408-19
MC	Kathleen Ashley and R.L.A. Clark (eds.), *Medieval Conduct* (Minneapolis, 2001)
MCen	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Modus Cenandi,' in *idem* (ed.), *French and Latin Poems on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time* (London, 1868), pp. 34-57
MCT	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'La Maniere se se Contenir a Table,' in *idem* (ed.), *French and Latin Poems on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time* (London, 1868), pp. 3-5
Occleve	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Occleve,' in *idem* (ed.), *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, & c.* (London, 1869), pp. 105-108
OF	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'The Ordering of a Funerall for a Noble Person in Hen. 7. time,' in *idem* (ed.), *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, & c.* (London, 1869), pp. 29-31
OG	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'The Order of the Guests at the Coronation Banquet of Catherine of Valois, wife of Henry V.,' in *idem* (ed.), *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, & c.* (London, 1869), p. 89
P&A.1	Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, I: German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools* (Oxford, 1966)
P&A.3	Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, III: British, Irish, and Icelandic Schools* (Oxford, 1966)
Paston.1	Norman Davies (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, I* (Oxford, 1971)
Paston.2	Norman Davies (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, II* (Oxford, 1976)
Paston.3	Richard Beadle and Colin Richmond (eds.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, III* (Oxford, 2005)

PDT	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Prie Dieu pour les Trespassez,' in *idem* (ed.), *French and Latin Poems on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time* (London, 1868), pp. 15-16
PIS	Charlotte D'Evelyn (ed.), *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son* (London, 1935)
Plumpton	Joan Kirby (ed.), *The Plumpton Letters and Papers* (London, 1996)
PN	H. Rosamond Parsons (ed.), 'Petit traitise de Nurture,' in *eadem* (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture* (1929), pp. 437-41
RR	J. Rawson Lumby (ed.), *Ratis Raving and Other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (London, 1870), pp. 26-103
RTS	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Regime pour tous Serviteurs,' in *idem* (ed.), *French and Latin Poems on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time* (London, 1868), pp. 20-25
Schiller.1	Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art, Vol. 1*, transl. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1971)
Schiller.2	Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art, Vol. 2*, transl. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, Connecticut, 1972)
SCT	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'S'ensuivent les Contenances de la Table,' in *idem* (ed.), *French and Latin Poems on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time* (London, 1868), pp. 8-14
SF	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'The Sage Fool's Testament,' in *idem* (ed.), *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, & c.* (London, 1869), pp. 77-8
SLW	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'Symon's Lesson of Wisdom for All Manner Children,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 122-6
SPM	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'Stans Puer ad Mensam,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 26-31
Stonor.1	Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), *The Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483, I* (London, 1919)
Stonor.2	Charles Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), *The Stonor Letters and Papers 1290-1483, II* (London, 1919)
TGW	J. Rawson Lumby (ed.), *Ratis Raving and Other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (London, 1870), pp. 103-12

UGM	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Ut te geras ad Mensam,' in *idem* (ed.), *French and Latin Poems on Manners and Meals in the Olden Time* (London, 1868), pp. 26-9
UM	Anne Frith *et al.* (eds.), *Daniel of Beccles, Urbanus Magnus: The Book of Civilized Man* (Beccles, 2007)
UM.L	J. Gilbart Smyly (ed.), *Urbanus Magnus Danielis Becclesiensis* (London, 1939)
Urbanitatis	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'Urbanitatis,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 11-6
VSM	Philippe de Mézières, *Le Livre de la Vertu du Sacrement de Mariage*, ed. Joan B. Williamson (Washington, 1993)
WL	Emilie Amt (ed.), *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook* (London, 1993)
WSD	Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'What Shall I do?,' in *idem* (ed.), *Queene Elizabethes Achademy, A Booke of Precedence, & c.* (London, 1869), pp. 86-7
YCB	Edith Rickert (ed.), 'The Young Children's Book,' in *eadem* (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), pp. 21-5

INTRODUCTION

When Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II, and daughter of Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, gazed upon this image of the Nativity, what did she see *(Fig. 1)*?[1] At its most basic level this image's patron would have meditated upon a common fourteenth century depiction of the Nativity; the Virgin lying exhausted on a bier, gazing at the newborn Christ child, her husband Joseph leaning wearily on his staff as he watches over his wife.[2] The heads of the ox and the ass acting not only as the animal witnesses to the birth but also as a shorthand invoking the humble stable, indeed, the image reproduces the words 'and þei shuld fynde hym leyd in a crybbe bitwix an ox and an asse'.[3] Behind this image, however, one of many contained within this single Book of Hours alone, lay not only centuries of intersecting tradition in both the artistic and literary realms, but also implicit models and ideals of behaviour, relationships, and status.

Let us examine this very briefly. In this miniature, Mary is fair, with loose, golden hair. Whether hair was worn bound or unbound was an indicator of age, morality, and emotional state; thus, the virginity of Mary is in part represented by her long, flowing hair, that of a young, innocent girl. However, texts discussing the Nativity, while obviously focusing on Mary's virginity, make no reference to her appearance. Only the courtesy literature touches on the ideal appearance of a good woman, that she should be homely but reliable, but the

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1 MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 79r, (Fig. 1).

2 As Erwin Panofsky emphasised, from 1300, and becoming rapidly more common over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this image of the Virgin reclining was replaced with a new imagining of the Nativity, that of the Virgin kneeling in adoration before the Child. This change has been linked to a new devotional attitude which developed in the later Middle Ages. Traditional illuminations were not static: see Erwin Panofsky, 'Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art', in *idem*, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 51-81, esp. pp. 55-6, 76.

3 For the iconographical development of the medieval Nativity scene, see *Schiller.1*, pp. 58-76; for the ox and the ass in the texts, see 'In Die Natiuitatis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi', in *Festial.AN*, ll. 38-9, p. 81; *GL.1*, pp. 38, 41; *LA*, pp. 41, 45.

images step beyond texts to attest otherwise unrecorded ideals of beauty; Mary, the paragon of womanhood in all ways, must have light-coloured hair.[4] Furthermore, the 'place was so poore' where Christ was born, but in this image, the resting Virgin is covered by a vair-lined cloak, a highly prized fur restricted by price and legislation to the nobility.[5] This sumptuary legislation, enacted first by Edward III in 1327, then reissued in a more detailed form in 1363, was then enacted in various but ultimately futile forms until 1483 when all the acts were repealed.[6] A legislative dead end it may have been, but sumptuary legislation is evocative testimony to the importance of dress, since emulation of this aspect of noble decorum by the lower orders of society was regarded as a threat to the hierarchy of society.[7] Luxury dress was, in fact, key to social rank; rich dress underpinned the entire notion of kingship with a 'symbolic power' which was key to self-definition in this period.[8] Beyond the physical world, poor, damaged or soiled clothing could also be a metaphor for an unclean soul.[9] The rendering of the mantle in this fashion is not confined to this manuscript. Other examples *(Fig. 2)* from the same period also showing the Virgin at the Nativity covered by a similar vair-lined cloak suggest that this was a standard motif, probably drawn from

4 *Facetus*, p. 48; *EU*, ll. 155-8, p. 404.

5 'First Sunday', in *Festial.AN*, l. 177, p. 55; Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (London, 2007), p. 24.

6 Frances Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore, 1926), pp. 10-12, 34-5, 121-26; and, on lower-class emulation, see *BTV*, pp. 137-8; Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, p. 65; Ronald W. Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery* (Hong Kong, 1992), pp. 66, 89; for the sumptuary laws, see *Chronological Table of the Statutes, Part I, 1235-1974* (London, 2007), pp. 20-35.

7 Kay Staniland, 'Court Style, Painters, and the Great Wardrobe', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 236-46; and see further Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, p. 79.

8 Mary Deevy, 'Jewellery, Art, and Symbolism in Medieval Irish Society', in Guy De Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (eds.), *Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe*, vol. 5 (Zellik, 1997), pp. 75-6; Philippa Maddern, 'Gentility', in *GC*, p. 29; Lightbown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery*, pp. 67, 71; Krueger, '"Nouvelles Choses": Social Instability and the Problem of Fashion in the Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry, the Ménagier de Paris, and Christine de Pizan's Livre des Trois Vertus', in *MC*, p. 60; John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', in Daniel Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 255; Martha Howell, 'The Properties of Marriage in Late Medieval Europe: Commercial Wealth and the Creation of Modern Marriage', in Isabel Davis, Miriam Müller and Sarah Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 17-61, at p. 47.

9 'Item Dominica Prima Aduentus Domini', in *Festial.AN*, ll. 40-72, pp. 60-61.

workshop pattern books and indicating Mary's status as the Queen of Heaven.[10] However, the recurrence of this motif does not change the way in which luxury dress was used as a shorthand for status, even in images of the Holy Virgin. Thus in this image we see the tension between the situation of the Nativity, poor and humble, and the value system of Anne of Bohemia and the society to which she belonged, a complicated world in which clothing could have a whole host of meanings, in which status and clothing were one and the same, this cloak acting as a bridge between the patron's world and the biblical world.

Anne of Bohemia may have sat at the very pinnacle of society, and this image part of a luxury and specialised item, but that does not mean that its message was confined to the elite of society.[11] As the arbiters of policy and events, the upper classes served as patrons and models of culture and etiquette.[12] Indeed, not only was this manuscript specifically written for Anne, but she herself appears on fol. 118r, the last miniature in the book, praying to the Virgin and Child. In addition, this single image is unlikely to have been viewed by Anne alone. She would have carried this Book of Hours with her, exposing it to members of the household around her, and upon her death bequeathed it to the next generation. Indeed, despite the delicate miniatures in this manuscript being in good condition, many of the pages, especially on the edges, are darkened by handling, suggesting that this manuscript has, at least at some point along its existence, been used. By bringing a Flemish manuscript into an English court, she also facilitated cross-cultural trade even in the smallest of ways, and also encouraged through her ownership and use of such a book its continued popularity at court. This illumination was painted during a cultural acceleration in the creation of both images and texts in the late fourteenth century. The circle of images was 'widened by the illustration

10 MS Laud Lat. 84, fol. 15v; (Fig. 2), *cf*. MS Gough Liturg. 8, fol. 1r, (P&A.3, no. 546).
11 Michael Camille, *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator* (London, 1996), p. 37.
12 Margaret Wade Labarge, *Medieval Travellers: The Rich and Restless* (London, 1982), p. xvi.

of countless texts newly composed or translated for the benefit of mundane society' including didactic poems and even the Bible itself, previously 'not often read or owned by the layman, was made accessible to him in copiously illustrated translations and paraphrases'.[13] Nor was the audience of these images and texts simply passive; rather, it was also a period in which patrons, keen to explore their own personal piety, compile rich libraries, and elevate their social status, were doing so in even greater numbers.[14] Hence it is important to consider both the condition and the known owners of these manuscripts whenever possible. The condition of a manuscript points to its potential level of use, whether it was consulted regularly or left relatively untouched as a 'show' or library copy, thus hinting at both the types and levels of engagement with its images and texts. Identifying owners is significant for revealing which social classes affected and were affected by this material, and while here the owners of these manuscripts were frequently drawn from the nobility, the gentry and mercantile classes also make an appearance as known owners. Furthermore, the ideals contained within the images and texts, just as their audiences, were not confined to one nation. Rather, France, England and the Low Countries in particular were sites of cultural exchange throughout the later Middle Ages, sharing a visual and at times verbal language.[15] Crafted in Flanders but gazed upon in England, not only is this illumination indicative of the international character of image and ideal making in the late medieval period, an example of a meeting point between the didactic literature and letters of the time, but it also demonstrates how social ideals and

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13 Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1964), pp. 27-8.

14 Ruth Massey Tovell, *Flemish Artists of the Valois Courts* (Toronto, 1950), pp. 16-25; Peter D. Clarke, 'New evidence of noble and gentry piety in fifteenth-century England and Wales', *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), pp. 23-35.

15 For background on the illuminator of this manuscript, see Lynda Dennison, 'The Dating and Localisation of the Hague Missal (Meermanno-Westreenianum MS 10 A 14) and the connection between English and Flemish Miniature Painting in the Mid-Fourteenth Century', in Bert Cardon, Jan Van de Stock, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (eds.), *Als Ich Can* (Paris, 2002), pp. 505-21; Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1989), p. xxviii; Tovell, *Flemish Artists*, pp. 7-16.

attitudes suffused the border between text and image, a nexus shaping and shaped by the audience it was designed for.

IDEALS AND MODELS: A TEXT AND IMAGE ANALYSIS

This is a wide ranging study: an attempt to tap into this culture rich in images and its interrelated texts to obtain a sense of how behaviour was regulated during the late Middle Ages. It is an exploration of the idea that even when something is not avowedly didactic it could still operate as a model or a yardstick of behaviour. One of the ways this code of behaviour can be observed is in these illuminations. Every society has stories and in the later medieval period many of these were drawn from the Bible. These stories were inherited, and although the relationship between the story and 'reality' is often oblique, the illustration of these images was a renewing commentary on these stories (I will address the issue of iconographic traditions and the *longue durée* of artistic change later in the Introduction), and each time they were illustrated there was a chance for change, such as with the inclusion of contemporary dress. Sermons disseminated a vision of what was considered an appropriate status quo; they sought to impose a conceptual framework upon lived experience.[16] They were 'preached for instruction, for moral improvement'.[17] The lives of the saints operated in the same way: the writer sought to highlight the aspects of a saint that were worthy of emulation. As Heffernan has argued, 'Christ's behaviour in the Gospels was the single authenticating norm for all action.'[18] Indeed, David d'Avray demonstrates how sermons did not just influence behaviour, but how the symbolism propounded by them 'worked through law to affect social practice', though of course, the relationship between texts and social

16 Alan J. Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 13-7.

17 Sabine Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching: Rhetoric for Listeners in Sermons and Poetry* (Tübingen, 1991), p. 44.

18 Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 4-28, at p. 5; Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), p. 46.

practice is not always unproblematic.[19] Illuminations tie into this perfectly, as they not only accompanied texts, but also provided a focus for devotion, could act as a status symbol, and were given greater significance by the explosion in their numbers from the thirteenth century onwards, a point after which they increasingly became a means by which salvation might be obtained.[20] These illustrations were an active participant in contemporary culture, as well as communicating social values just as much as texts; the visual was a social agent of change as much as reflector of it.[21] Images were a way of constituting experience, codifying religious gestures and responses, and thus 'they can validate whole spheres of conduct'.[22] As David d'Avray stated, 'when ideas are embodied in social practice, they take on a new force, even if they helped to create the social practice in the first place.'[23] It is this creation of social practice, this development of ideas, coalescing in appropriate behaviour, the pushing and pulling between text and image, and between author and audience, that, by discussing illuminations alongside didactic texts at points of intersection in the later medieval lifecycle, this thesis addresses.

But what were these ideals and where did they come from? The most explicit and self-conscious source was courtesy literature. In addition to this comes the sermon material, saints' lives, and letter collections, each with varying levels of explicitness about ideal behaviour. The images, as we have seen with the example of Anne of Bohemia's Nativity

19 D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 73; P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Household Economics: Money, Work, and Property: Preface', in Sarah Rees Jones, Cordelia Beattie, and Anna Maslakovic (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c.850 - c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 229.

20 Wolfgang Kemp, 'Medieval Pictorial Systems', in Brendan Cassidy (ed.), *Iconography at the Crossroads* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 121-37, at p. 128; J. J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (London, 1992), p. 54; Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 198; Michael Camille, 'The Language of Images in Medieval England, 1200-1400', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400* (London, 1987), p. 37.

21 Keith Moxey, 'The Politics of Iconology', in *Iconography*, p. 30; Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 16.

22 Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 126.

23 d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 207.

illustration, were more implicit and subliminal in their dictations, but no less powerful for that. They utilised the pictorial language of gesture, as well as choices made regarding dress, physical location, and positioning and Conrad Leyser has suggested that the body itself 'served as a crucial medium in which to discuss the social order'.[24] This 'language of gesture' did not exist in a pictorial vacuum; rather, certain gestures, such as pointing and gazing heavenward when considering divine subjects, placing the hands upon the breast to express humility, or pointing with the forefinger to draw attention to solemn matters, were all counterparts to the familiar gestures used by, amongst others, preachers, incorporated into visual models.[25] Many of the manuscripts, particularly those used by the laity, were religious in nature, consisting of missals, breviaries, and books of hours, lives of saints, and other mystical or devotional works.[26] Thus the Holy Family gave illuminators the opportunity to portray the 'incidents of domestic life, including midwives, babies' baths, attendants, carrying soap and hot water' which brought the everyday life of the patron into the world of the saint.[27] Indeed, Thomas Heffernan has argued that the lives of the virgin saints in particular represent a concerted effort on the part of the Church to inculcate ideals of

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24 Conrad Leyser, 'Masculinity in Flux: Nocturnal Emission and the Limits of Celibacy in the Early Middle Ages', in D. M. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), pp. 103-20, at p. 106.

25 H. L. Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', in A. S. G. Edwards (ed.), *A Companion to Middle English Prose* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 167; *cf.* Thomas Lentes, '"As far as the eye can see...": Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton 2006), p. 365; Peter Bell, Joseph Schlecht, and Björn Ommer, 'Nonverbal Communication in Medieval Illustrations Revisited by Computer Vision and Art History', *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* 29:1/2 (2013), pp. 26-37; for preaching as a performance, see Beverly Mayne Kienzle, 'Medieval Sermons and Their Performance: Theory and Record', in Carolyn Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 89-124, esp. pp. 107-9 on gestures.

26 Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching*, p. 37; C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), p. 178; Martin Kauffmann, 'Illustration and Ornament', in Nigel Morgan and R.M. Thomson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the book in Britain, Vol. II. 1100-1400* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 474; Gerald Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England, 1360-1461* (Oxford, 2005), p. 368; R. L. A. Clark, 'Constructing the Female Subject in Late Medieval Devotion', in *MC*, pp. 166-7; Thomas Tolley, 'Visual Culture', in *GC*, p. 172; Christine Carpenter, 'The Religion of the Gentry of Fifteenth-Century England', in Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 63-4; for a popular example, see T. F. Simmons (ed.), *The Lay Folks Mass Book or The Manner of Hearing Mass* (London, 1879); and on the appropriate content of lay religiosity, see *IPP*; M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1993), p. 110.

27 Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 256-7.

behaviour, with the Virgin Mary and Christ as the ultimate models of 'unimpeachable pedigree'.[28] Private meditation on Christ and his saints, focused on imitation as a form of religious life was especially popular in the Netherlands.[29] This is an argument supported by Pamela Sheingorn, who is even more explicit about the images in these books: 'virtually all illustrations worked to forward ideologies that shaped the behaviour of the early owners and readers of such manuscripts.'[30] And, perhaps more importantly, could be 'active social agents' in their own right.[31]

It makes sense to bring texts and images together. Not only did they share the same didactic space, but there is a explicit crossover between the image and textual world. Sermons drew heavily on 'pictures' taken from scripture and elsewhere to create explanatory scenes within sermons themselves; an 'ecphrasis' or a 'speaking picture'.[32] It worked in the other direction too. Texts, such as those contained within sermons, mediated the way in which their audience interpreted the images around them, building up a store of knowledge that allowed the complexity of these images to be deciphered.[33] Texts could also supply illuminations with their themes, but the interest in placing image and text together is not that they always run on the same track, but rather that the visual and textual traditions occasionally run in parallel, meet, diverge, and lead separate existences, while all the while informing and influencing

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28 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, p. 238; *cf.* Walter S. Melion, 'Introduction: Meditative Images and the Psychology of Soul', in Reindert Falkenburg, Walter S. Melion, and Todd M. Richardson, (eds.), *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 1-36, esp. p. 3.

29 David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (London, 1989), pp. 168-75.

30 Pamela Sheingorn, 'Subjection and Reception in Claude of France's Book of First Prayers', in Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell (eds.), *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 313-32, at p. 313; *cf.* Jeffery F. Hamburger, 'The Place of Theology in Medieval Art History: Problems, Positions, Possibilities', in *idem* and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*, pp. 11-31.

31 Jeffery F. Hamburger, 'Introduction', in *idem* and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*, p. 7.

32 Patrick J. Horner (ed.), *A Macaronic Sermon Collection from Late Medieval England, MS Bodley 649* (Toronto, 2006), pp. 14-5; Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', pp. 166-7.

33 Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St Bernardino da Siena* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 2, 26.

their consumers.[34] Furthermore, the image, which the viewer was encouraged to identify with, reflected back to the viewer an image of selfhood, but one which 'idealizes the subject's reality'.[35] All aspects of medieval behaviour and identity were constructed not by one discourse, the linguistic, but by the interaction of the visual and the textual.[36] This interaction in the medieval period was posited in such a way to encourage audience interaction, thus forcing a commitment by the reader to the attitudes, actions, and behaviour contained within.[37] Despite all of these complexities, however, I agree with Michael Camille, 'we can nevertheless attempt to experience images...from the viewpoint of the particular person or group for whom they were made.'[38]

Given the strength of these arguments for placing these didactic texts together, it is important to address text and image within the same manuscript, which was not always straightforward. Most of the images in this study are biblical in nature, due to the prevalence of illuminated devotional manuscripts, such as books of hours, missals, Bibles, and psalters, which dominate the visual record. Most of these illustrations thus accompany liturgy and scripture. However, the relationship between text and image in the same manuscript is not as straightforward as might be assumed.[39] There was an inherent tension between the structure

34 Brendan Cassidy, 'Introduction: Iconography, Texts, and Audiences', in *Iconography*, p. 9.
35 Lewis, *Reading Images*, p. 208.
36 Elizabeth L'Estrange and Alison More, 'Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530', in *eaedem* (eds.), *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 1-13, at p. 2.
37 Lewis, *Reading Images*, p. 208; Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 75.
38 Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York, 1996), p. 15.
39 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 1; for an exploration of the image-text relationship within a manuscript, see Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'The Illustration of the Psalms in Fourteenth-Century English Manuscripts: Three Psalters of the Bohun Family', in Bernard J. Muir (ed.), *Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage in honour of Margaret M. Manion* (Exeter, 2002), pp. 123-51.

of the book and its ornamentation.[40] Even when a picture may 'illustrate' a text, not all of the text will ever be illustrated. Selections from the texts are made, enhanced, specified, sometimes even contradicted, resulting in a visual profile that is not the same as the textual profile even when the text and images are produced in the closest possible fashion.[41] So, for example, with regard to the saints, the authenticity and extent of their cults is often emphasised beyond what the text requires, and in addition, modelled on the life of Christ resulting in models within models within an image cycle.[42] Furthermore, nor do text and image cycles always originate together; in the earliest cases the original text may not have been illustrated.[43] Miniatures could migrate from one text to another, and did so frequently. In addition, texts could be split into sections, rearranged, combined with other texts, with resulting affects on the image cycles that accompanied them. New texts or revised texts could also cause problems. Was the artist to devise a new image cycle or search for other images to copy? Problems were not restricted to cycles: single images could be moved into new texts, with psalters being an obvious example. Miniatures from the life of David, originally paired with the Book of Kings, were copied into the front of psalters as a image cycle, complete with new scenes added by the artists, resulting in a new cycle independent of any text at all. The urge for an artist to arrange miniatures into couples also resulted in new scenes.[44] Even if we do not consider the images independent, they are nevertheless equal with texts in their ability to influence thought.[45] Thus it is legitimate, perhaps even better, to view the images

40 Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction* (London, 1994), p. 10; Mary C. Olson, 'Genesis and Narratology: The Challenge of Medieval Illustrated Texts', *Mosaic* 31:1 (1998), pp. 1-24; Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 223.

41 Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 35; Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 118; Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 154-81.

42 Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints*, pp. 35-7.

43 Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 189.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 130-53.

45 Hamburger, 'Introduction', in *idem* and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*, p. 8.

and texts as belonging to one larger didactic culture, rather than confining the study to texts and images in the same manuscript, which is actually an artificial distinction.

IDEALS AND THE HOUSEHOLD

This thesis must consider whose ideals we are exploring and where they were located. With images being seen as the ultimate instructors of the laity, it makes sense to consider that these standards of behaviour, these ideals, were imposed by the Church upon society, indeed, Emma Campbell argues that 'the laity's contact with written texts would...have been arbitrated largely through clerics.'[46] Considering sermons, there is the suggestion that although written and preached by the clergy, they were in fact aiming to educate both the clergy and the laity.[47] This is the case with John Mirk's *Festial*, which had lay readers as well as regular and secular clergy owners.[48] But increasingly, elite lay readers and viewers were not a passive audience absorbing whatever they were given. Rather, like Lady Margaret Beaufort, who was simultaneously the owner of several impressive illuminated manuscripts and a patron of the influential printer William Caxton, they were active participants in didactic culture, shaping what they consumed with their own desires, to the extent that patrons themselves were often physically present within their own manuscript images.[49]

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46 Elizabeth Eisenstein, 'Seeing Images and Hearing Texts: Modes of Worship in Early Modern England', in Linda Clark, Maureen Jurkowski, and Colin Richmond (eds.), *Image, Text and Church, 1380-1600: Essays for Margaret Aston* (Toronto, 2009), p. 207; Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, p. 258; Emma Campbell, 'Clerks and laity', in Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 211.

47 Horner (ed.), *Macaronic Sermon Collection*, p. 6.

48 Alexandra Gillespie, 'Caxton and After', in Edwards (ed.), *Middle English Prose*, p. 314.

49 Janet Backhouse, 'A further Illuminated Devotional Book for the Use of Lady Margaret Beaufort', in Muir (ed.), *Reading Texts and Images*, pp. 221-35; Janet Backhouse, 'Lady Margaret Beaufort', in Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art for England, 1400-1547* (London, 2003), pp. 246-7; Andrew Taylor, 'Into his secret chamber: reading and privacy in late medieval England', in James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (eds.), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 50; Kathleen L. Scott, *Tradition and Innovation in Later Medieval English Manuscripts* (London, 2007), p. 144; Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books: Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 255-64.

These patron illustrations incorporated the lay reader into the book's devotional world.[50] This is not surprising given how closely the ownership of such books was not just a simple demonstration of wealth, but a method of social advancement and the establishment of status.[51] High profile literary patronage by women such as Margaret and her mother-in-law Anne Stafford created the sense that female participation in literary culture was a 'prestigious act of public service', playing the role of Christine de Pizan's Othea, teacher of wisdom.[52] Indeed, the freedom with which didactic texts moved between clerical and lay audiences, particularly in the fifteenth century, enabled their successful marketing in print, and this combined with a similar fifteenth-century rise in lay private participation in the liturgy through the possession of manuscripts like books of hours.[53]

With this in mind, the location of this thesis within the elite household makes sense. The Royal Household in particular, which all other elite households aimed to emulate, was the cultural, political, and administrative heart of the nation, and its appropriate management was literally proof not only of internal virtue but outward suitability, particularly for men, for high office.[54] It ranged in size, from about four-hundred people contained within the late fourteenth century royal household, to between forty and one-hundred and sixty-six for dukes and earls, to the much tighter twelve to thirty maintained within the household of a wealthy

50 Krug, *Reading Families*, pp. 71-2.

51 Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens* (Toronto, 1999), p. 45; Janet Backhouse, *Illumination from Books of Hours* (London, 2004), p. 6.

52 Lewis, *Reading Images*, p. 14; Krug, *Reading Families*, pp. 81-92.

53 Gillespie, 'Caxton and After', pp. 307-25.

54 Roger Virgoe (ed.), *Private Life in the Fifteenth Century: Illustrated Letters of the Paston Family* (London, 1989), p. 124; Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 49; Sarah Rees Jones, 'The Public Household and Political Power: Preface', in *eadem*, Beattie, and Maslakovic (eds.), *The Medieval Household*, pp. 11-8, at p. 16; Janet M. Cowen and Jennifer C. Ward, '"Al myn array is bliew, what nedith more?": Gender and the Household in *The Assembly of Ladies*', in *ibid.*, pp. 107-126, at p. 119; Karen L. Fresco, 'Gendered Household Spaces in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*', in *ibid.*, pp. 187-97, at p. 187.

knight.[55] Some noble households, particularly those of John of Gaunt in England and the brothers of Charles V in France, taking advantage of royal weakness, grew over the course of the fourteenth century to rival that of the monarchy in size and splendour.[56] On a smaller scale the household was a critical social unit, the primary place in which age, gender, and social roles were learnt, where identities were formed, relationships established; and also a formal expression of lordship.[57] David Herlihy has argued that the rules which governed these households were slow to change, reflecting relatively static cultural ideals, but only considers their existence rather than the interplay between different sources or the responses of the subjects of such rules.[58] In 1215 Lateran IV adopted marriage as a sacrament, and its importance as a social structure was only made more significant by the social dislocation caused by the Black Death in 1348-49. As such the late medieval household was formed around the married couple.[59] However, the notion of the household in the late medieval period extended beyond the couple and even their immediate kin to include all those who passed under its roof, such as servants, friends, and wider relations.[60] The Latin word for the household, *familia*, referred to a group of servants and followers, not a family, and the

55 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, pp. 50-51; for a good overview of the medieval household, see Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household 1250-1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford, 1988).

56 Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*, pp. 52, 59.

57 Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 1; Rees Jones, 'Public Household', pp. 11-2; Felicity Riddy, 'The Moral Household: Preface', in Rees Jones, Beattie, and Maslakovic (eds.), *The Medieval Household*, pp. 129-35, at p. 135; for a discussion of linguistic terms for the household, see Felicity Riddy *et al.*, 'The Concept of the Household in Later Medieval England – The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), pp. 116-21; for a discussion of the legal definition of the medieval household, see Sarah Rees Jones, 'The Medieval English Urban Household and the Law – The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *ibid.*, pp. 124-5.

58 David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (London, 1985), pp. 131-5.

59 Sarah Rees Jones, 'Introduction – The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), p. 114; Susan Broomhall, 'Emotions in the Household', in *eadem* (ed.), *Emotions in the Household, 1200-1900* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 1-37.

60 Sarah Gordon, 'Humour and Household Relationships: Servants in Late Medieval and Sixteenth-Century French Farce', in Broomhall, (ed.), *Emotions*, pp. 85-102, at pp. 85-9; Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, pp. 80-111; Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 96; Jeremy Goldberg, 'The Demography of the Household – The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), pp. 125-6; Rees Jones, 'Public Household', p. 11; Jenni Nuttall, 'Household Narratives and Lancastrian Poetics in Hoccleve's Envoys and Other Early-Fifteenth-Century Middle English Poems', in Rees Jones, Beattie, and Maslakovic (eds.), *The Medieval Household*, pp. 91-106, at p. 92; Goldberg, 'Household Economics', pp. 223-9, at p. 226; Frances and Joseph Gies, *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages* (London, 1987), pp. 218-9.

household itself, although often run by a woman in the absence of her husband, was, apart from a few female companions and servants, male dominated.[61]

The household was also self-consciously the place in which appropriate behaviour was learnt, and families went to great lengths and sometimes costs to send children to be fostered in the grand households of the day.[62] Anne Boleyn was sent to the French-speaking court of Marguerite of Austria as a young child in 1513 for this very reason.[63] Appropriate management of the household was also a way in which both men and women proved their own internal virtue, as well as being, particularly for men, a demonstration that they were capable of holding high office.[64] The link between household didacticism and the visual also meant that in the fourteenth century illuminators began to move away from their original monastic roots and into the elite household itself. Thus in 1352 we have evidence of payments made to Jean de Montmartre from the accounts of Jean le Bon, whilst at the same time across the Channel, Edward III's queen, Philippa of Hainault, had her own in-house illuminator, Master Robert.[65] Many devotional works circulated along well established lines of patronage, friendship, and kinship, all centred around the household.[66]

Nor were illuminated manuscripts the only works circulating within the household. In 1395, Richard II was presented Froissart's book of poems by the author himself, an illustration of the reading and the ownership of books placed at the heart of the late medieval

61 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 50.
62 Gies, *Marriage*, p. 209.
63 Tracy Adams, 'Fostering Girls in Early Modern France', in Broomhall, (ed.), *Emotions*, pp. 103-18, at p. 112; Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 101.
64 Rees Jones, 'Public Household', p. 16.
65 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 27.
66 Taylor, 'Into his secret chamber', p. 48.

household.[67] Caxton's output, many of which were works of moral or religious instruction which aimed to influence behaviour, were to be found in the libraries of the primary households of the day, including those of Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, Elizabeth of York, Margaret Beaufort, and Henry VII, as well as their courtiers, whilst he simultaneously forged cultural links between the Yorkist and Burgundian courts in the third quarter of the fifteenth century with his books, which were often translated from French or reproductions of older works rather than original compositions.[68] These literary links were political as well as cultural with the visit of Anthony, the Bastard of Burgundy, to England complete with his impressive entourage in 1467, and the marriage of the Princess of York to Charles of Burgundy in 1468, of which the Paston letters give a vivid account.[69]

The household was the site of these works as well as the location of their wider dissemination across and down the levels of medieval society. From the twelfth century onwards cultured nobility set an example of secular literacy which other laymen hoped to emulate.[70] Furthermore literacy had become a symbol of social position, and those who held that position exercised a disproportionally large influence over the rest of society.[71] Prior to 1300, the language of the literate laity was French, and it remained a common language at

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67 Taylor, 'Into his secret chamber', pp. 41-2; Margaret Kekewich, 'Edward IV, William Caxton, and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England', *The Modern Language Review* 66:3 (1971), pp. 481-7; Wanchen Tai, 'Reading in the Household – The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), pp. 132-4; presentation amounted to publication in the fourteenth century, for which see Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 61.

68 Gillespie, 'Caxton and After', pp. 307-25, at pp. 309-12; for the book collections of Richard of York, Richard III, Edward IV, and Margaret of York, see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 1-39; Janet Backhouse, 'Bourdichon's "Hours of Henry VII"', *The British Museum Quarterly* 37:3/4 (1975), pp. 95-102; *cf.* Jenny Stratford, 'Royal Books', in Marks and Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art*, pp. 180-81.

69 Virgoe (ed.), *Private Life in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 168; Kekewich, 'Literary Patronage', p. 481; *Paston.1*, no. 330, pp. 538-40.

70 M. B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', repr. in *idem*, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Preservation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London, 1991), pp. 275-97, at p. 278.

71 Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk's Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy, and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 28-30.

court, but the rapid expansion of lay literacy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was coupled with a move towards the use of English, as evidenced by the increase in English-language manuscripts.[72] Also during this period those outside of these elite foci, such as the merchant and urban classes, (hence the inclusion of the Cely letters in this study), partly for professional reasons, began to gain literacy, and indeed many of the courtesy poems are aimed at those classes who hoped to ape the behaviour of their betters.[73] Perhaps no better example of this are the verses of the Earl of Northumberland, who sought to convince Henry VII, in a strategy that was eventually successful, that he and his son were the appropriate allies to subdue the North, by disseminating a vision of Henry Percy working carefully within the household to acquire appropriate virtue and self-discipline required for high office, through the study of appropriate works provided by his diligent father.[74] Hence the social focus of this thesis is a complex one. It considers the letter collections of the Pastons, Stonors, Plumptons, Armburghs, and the merchant family of the Celys, as a counterpoint to the more didactic courtesy literature, sermons, and hagiography, to consider how the ideals propounded by these works may have been absorbed, shaped, and used. However, all of these works, and the subjects of these letters, were all looking towards an ideal at the apex of society. It was that idealised apex, the very top of noble society, that provided the model that those further down in the gentry classes desired to emulate and become.

Moving away from the household to the lives of those within it, where does the lifecycle, the structure of this thesis, come into play? The life of laity in this period was divided up by various rites of passage, from birth, to marriage, to death, all of which were

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72 Felicity Riddy, '"Publication" before print: the case of Julian of Norwich', in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds.) *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 29-49, at p. 30; Parkes, 'Literacy of the Laity', pp. 275-97, at pp. 287-9.

73 *Ibid.*, pp. 283-4; Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching*, p. 35.

74 Fiona S. Dunlop, 'Mightier than the Sword: Reading, Writing and Noble Masculinity in the Early Sixteenth Century', in L'Estrange and More (eds.), *Representing Medieval Genders*, p. 166.

catered for and marked by the Church.[75] Rebecca Krug has argued that these rites of passage re-shaped and shifted women's literate practices.[76] Furthermore, C.M. Woolgar has suggested that these life events were infused by a particular character in the elite household.[77] Extending out from this, many of the devotional and didactic texts which circulated between the elite households dealt with these life changes, the most obvious of these being *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, which was a practical guide to the last hours of a person's life and how best to assist them.[78] More than that, the books of hours so popular within these households, in their following of Church liturgy, took the reader through the different stages of the lifecycle, with scenes from the Nativity, the Life of the Virgin as well as the entire Office of the Dead, with the saints and the Holy Family acting as models for each stage as well as reinforcing the importance of these life events.[79]

Finally, the issue of gender ought to be considered. Gender was not uncontested in this period, rather gender identities were constantly constructed and reconstructed.[80] It has been argued that many texts, particularly the courtesy material, were written by men but aimed at women specifically. Certainly a large amount of material falls into this category, but not all. Some of the poems were set out as father-son relationships, whilst some of the older material was used in schools frequented by boys rather than girls. Later on in the period Christine de Pizan self-consciously produced material for women, by a woman, citing in *The Book of the City of Ladies* the way in which it was believed that women read differently from men, and

75 Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry*, p. 11.
76 Krug, *Reading Families*, p. 13.
77 Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 96.
78 Taylor, 'Into his secret chamber', p. 57; *CD*; *CKDW*; *HMS*.
79 Tovell, *Flemish Artists*, p. 56. Books of hours were typically divided into sections: the Calendar; Gospel extracts, *Obsecro te, O intemerata*; Hours of the Virgin; Penitential Psalms; Litany of the Saints; Hours of the Cross; Hours of the Holy Spirit; and the Office of the Dead; see Christine Geisler Andrews, 'The Boucicaut Masters', *Gesta* 41.1 (2002), pp. 29-38, at p. 35; *cf.* Krug, *Reading Families*, pp. 70-71.
80 D. M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in *idem* (ed.), *Masculinity*, pp. 1, 8, 17.

that women were known for their love of reading.[81] Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby has explored the relationship between male preachers and their female listeners.[82] In terms of the illuminated manuscripts, again, particularly in the fourteenth century, women were some of the primary consumers of such material, to the extent that the French poet Eustache Deschamps (1346 - c. 1406) mocked women's appetite for the book of hours, suggesting that they used them not out of piety but because of a love of the sensory pleasures of the illuminated page and the social advantages of luxurious display.[83] There was also a standard model for female reading, that of Saint Anne teaching the Virgin, which was enthusiastically reproduced throughout the period and gives a feminine flavour to the consumption of both books and illuminated manuscripts, as well as informing a matrilineal literary tradition in which books were bequeathed along female lines with the education of children in mind.[84] Despite this, as Emma Campbell points out, 'it should not always be assumed that women and men identified only with figures of the same sex.'[85] Indeed, the situation balances out by the sixteenth century. Furthermore, men also laid claim to the book of hours, both by obtaining pre-existing versions originally owned by women and adding their own markers to them, but also by commissioning their own editions, a practice enthusiastically pursued by the likes of Charles V of France, John, Duke of Berry, and Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.[86] Nor was the provision of books for the education of children the sole responsibility of the women of the household. Isabella, wife of Charles VI of France may have given an illuminated

81 Mary Beth Long, 'A Medieval French Book in an Early Modern English World: Christine de Pisan's *Livre de la Cité des Dames* and Woman Readers in the Age of Print', *Literature Compass* 9/8 (2012), pp. 521-37, esp. pp. 523-4; Alexandra Barratt (ed.), *Women's Writing in Middle English* (2nd ed., London, 2010), p. 4; Campbell, 'Clerks and laity', p. 219; for a good background to Pizan, see Diane Bornstein, 'Introduction', in *eadem* (ed.), *Ideals for Women in the Works of Christine de Pizan* (Detroit, 1981), pp. 1-9.

82 Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, 'The Preacher as Women's Mentor', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 229-54.

83 Andrea Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1550: Experience, Authority, Resistance* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 29.

84 Marguerite Keane, 'Most beautiful and next best: value in the collection of a medieval queen', *Journal of Medieval History* 34:4 (2008), pp. 360-73, at pp. 369-70.

85 Campbell, 'Clerks and laity', p. 222.

86 Pearson, *Envisioning Gender*, p. 63.

manuscript to the young Countess of Montfort and an ABC of Psalms to her sister Princess Michelle, but her husband had been originally educated with books given to him by his father when he was a boy.[87] With these books, like the Hours of Richard III, passing through both generational and gender lines, it suggests that the ideals and the medium appealed to both men and women alike.[88]

IMAGES: CREATION AND RECEPTION

For this study, the Bodleian collection dating from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth century, considered the acme of miniature painting, has been consulted as a sample, as diverse and wide-ranging as one could reasonably consult.[89] This sample comprises one-thousand and sixty-two manuscripts in total, consisting of six-hundred and eighty-two manuscripts of English origin, three-hundred and one French examples, one-hundred and nineteen Flemish books, and finally, sixty Dutch manuscripts. Crucially, thirteen of the English manuscripts can be traced back to their original noble commissioners and owners by consulting contemporary wills and inventories, confirming both their use and perceived value within the later medieval aristocratic cultural milieu.[90] Furthermore, using the Bodleian collection as a sample, with its large size and diverse assortment, captures some of the flavour of the period, when manuscript numbers not only flourished but also expanded to cover not only those subjects derived from the biblical, but also those of serving the needs of professional and non-professional readers, such as alchemy, astrology, medicine, astronomy, mathematics as well as practical treatises on heraldry, hunting and hawking, cooking,

87 Tovell, *Flemish Artists*, p. 23.

88 Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III* (Stroud, 1990), pp. 39-40; Pearson, *Envisioning Gender*, p. 18; *cf.* Keane, 'Most beautiful and next best', pp. 366-8.

89 Zoltan Haraszti, 'Medieval Manuscripts', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 14.2 (1928), p. 241; *cf.* J. J. G. Alexander and C. M. Kauffmann, *English Illuminated Manuscripts, 700-1500* (Brussels, 1973); the accession of Edward IV in 1547 marks a caesura in English ecclesiastical art, on which see Margaret Aston, 'The Use of Images', in Marks and Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art*, p. 68.

90 S. Cavanaugh, *A Study of Books Privately Owned in England, 1300-1450*, 2 vols., Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1980; Jenny Stratford, 'The Manuscripts of John, Duke of Bedford: Library and Chapel', in Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 329-50.

farming, and general household management, all of which required new illustrations.[91] Unlike collections such as that of the Pierpont Morgan Library, which was gathered together seeking the best possible artistic examples, the Bodleian collection is more varied, containing a more representative sample of the range of manuscripts circulating during this period, from those at the height of quality and luxury to more ordinary volumes that co-existed within society at the same time.[92] Indeed, Christopher de Hamel has characterised only viewing the high points of manuscript production as exploring 'a mountain range by looking only at the peaks'.[93] Certainly, survey volumes such as those of English manuscripts by Nigel Morgan, Lucy Freeman Sandler, and Kathleen L. Scott, and of French manuscripts by Millard Meiss, cover far more material, (though it should be noted that twenty-two of the manuscripts directly discussed in this thesis appear in these volumes). However, the second advantage of using the Bodleian collection as the thesis sample is that they are so accessible, allowing handling of the manuscripts, thus physically experiencing the material, as well as enabling aspects like manuscript condition to be assessed.[94]

Another reason for this wide scope is to capture the northern-European culture of these manuscripts, to acknowledge the common ideals which flowed between the borders of France, the Low Countries, and England just as the scribes, illuminators, texts, and images

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91 George Keiser, 'Scientific, Medical, and Utilitarian Prose', in Edwards (ed.), *Middle English Prose*, pp. 231-47, at pp. 231-2; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, pp. 27-8.

92 Kathleen Scott specifically states that one of the criteria for selecting the manuscripts featured in her survey volume was their 'exceptional artistic quality': Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts: 1390-1490*, Vol. 1 (London, 1996), p. 10.

93 Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), p. 8.

94 Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts: 1190-1250* (Oxford, 1982); *idem*, *Early Gothic Manuscripts: 1250-1285* (London, 1988); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts: 1285-1385* (2 Vols., Oxford, 1986); Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts: 1390-1490* (2 Vols., London, 1996); Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (2 Vols., London, 1967); *idem*, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968); *idem*, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries* (2 Vols., London, 1974).

did themselves.[95] Their multi-national character can sometimes be glimpsed though ornament, such as in a book of prayer dated c. 1421, which although painted in England, mimics the French style found across the Channel, and others which were actually fully cross-border creations, such as a Book of Hours from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, which was written in England yet decorated with Flemish miniatures and historiated initials.[96] The models contained within this manuscript collection were very much international in character, indicating a shared culture of ideals across national boundaries. With the occupation of Paris around 1420 by the English, and the increasing presence of the Burgundian court in the Netherlands, many artists migrated both to the provinces and to Rouen, attracted by the English book market, while the international picture was further complicated by the resurgence of Paris in the 1450s.[97] Books were inherently portable, not only once finished, but even during production, meaning that a book could be written in one centre for use in another (like in the English market), but also sent for decoration in a third place by an artist from a fourth, and even then sold on to a buyer from a fifth location, resulting in a difficulty when placing the origin of certain manuscripts in this period.[98] Indeed, the workshop of Herman Scheerre, whose art had strong Flemish influences, was actually based near St. Pauls in London in the first two decades of the fifteenth century, whilst the famous, early fourteenth-century Paris-based illuminator Jean Pucelle was heavily

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95 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, pp. 23-7, 121-49; Tovell, *Flemish Artists*; for a full discussion of this northern European artistic exchange, see Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*; for a good overview see Henry Luttikhuizen and Dorothy Verkerk (eds.), *Snyder's Medieval Art* (2nd ed., New Jersey, 2006).

96 MS Lat. liturg. f. 9, fols. 79-122v; (P&A.3, no. 870); MS Liturg. 401; (P&A.1, no. 348); these artistic contacts are discussed in Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts* I, pp. 21-2; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts* I, pp. 62-4.

97 Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, pp. 172-212.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 28; Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966), p. 9; Kate Harris, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Role of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade', in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds.), *Book Production and Publishing in Britain: 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 181; Carol Meale, 'Patrons, Buyers and Owners: Book Production and Social Status', in *ibid.*, p. 204.

influenced by ideas derived from England via the Netherlands.[99] The importance of foreign-trained illuminators and scribes to the English book-trade is indicated by the proviso that applied to the reissue of two existing anti-alien acts and a new act during the Parliament of 1484, which protected the privileges of said foreign-born scribes and illuminators.[100] These privileges were only removed in 1534 due to pressure from native stationers to control the market. In the fifteenth century, the Boucicaut Master, again Paris-based, dominated northwest Europe, including England, with his unique illumination style.[101] With this in mind, however, it is important to note that the primary focus of this thesis is England, with the inclusion of cross-border manuscripts and texts reflecting the international cultural milieu that existed during this period.

Of course, not all of the images contained within these manuscripts, which are predominantly biblical in nature, especially given the unsurprising prevalence of books of hours within the collection, interspersed with historical works, romances, and scientific treatises, are used within this thesis.[102] (It should be noted, that although romance texts are not being used in this thesis, primarily because they form a literary genre of their own and are less overtly didactic than the texts which have been selected for this study on the ideals of behaviour, images are being drawn from these manuscripts. The distinction is not as abrupt as it may first appear. Not only did these images share a pictorial language (for instance of

99 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Hours of Richard III*, p. 9; for a summary of English illumination in the fifteenth century, see pp. 8-9; Randall, *Images in the Margins*, p. 10; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, p. 31; for a discussion of Pucelle's style, see Jeffery Hamburger, 'The Waddesdon Psalter and the Shop of Jean Pucelle', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1981), pp. 243-57; for English patron interest in northern-European craftsmen, see Richard Marks, 'An Age of Consumption: Art for England c. 1400-1547', in *idem* and Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art*, pp. 15-6; *cf.* Catherine Reynolds, 'England and the Continent: Artistic Relations', in *ibid.*, pp. 76-85.

100 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 243-64.

101 Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, p. 61.

102 For an overview of the typical image sequences found within such manuscripts, see Kauffmann, 'Illustration', p. 484; *Schiller.1*, p. 33; Otto Pächt, 'A Giottesque Episode in English Mediaeval Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943), p. 60; Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2009), pp. 221-4.

gesture) with their biblical counterparts, but often these manuscripts were produced in the same workshops by the same illuminators, hence the similarity between some images drawn from secular and sacred texts.[103]) In general, some of the illustrations are damaged or defaced, making them uncertain foundations upon which to base conclusions derived from their contents, others do not contain miniatures or historiated borders or initials and so are more difficult to discuss in reference to the medieval life cycle with its focus on the human element. Nor would it be possible, or even desirable, to discuss every image within this collection that touched upon each of the subjects addressed in later chapters. However, the value of examining such a large manuscript collection in the tradition of Georges Duby, Philippe Ariès, and Michael Camille, is that it offers a way of determining, within limits, what images are typical, or atypical, when analysing the image-text interactions governing birth, marriage, the household, companions, and death.[104]

Whilst the conspicuously religious character of the illustration programme of many of these manuscripts may seem isolated in particular from the secular world of didactic courtesy literature, though perhaps far less distant from hagiography and sermon literature, this is an artificial distinction. As Robert Clark has argued, 'devotional programs required complex negotiation from their subjects through which the latter fashioned their conduct, not just

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103 For a good background on images and the language of gesture, see Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976), esp. p. 19, which discusses the crossover of gestures in images between religious and secular manuscripts; *idem*, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. pp. 1-12; for further crossover in ideas between secular and sacred manuscripts, see Camille, *Gothic Art*, pp. 87-8; for evidence of workshops producing both kinds of manuscript, see Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500*, Vol. 1 (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 178-84, 242; for image crossover, see Heidrun Ost, 'Illuminating the Roman de la Rose in the Time of the Debate: The Manuscript of Valencia', in Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (eds.), *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400* (Louvain, 2006), p. 416.

104 Georges Duby and Philippe Ariès (eds.), *A History of Private Life II: Revelations of the Medieval World*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London, 1988); Camille, *Master of Death*, esp. p. 2.

before God but the world.'[105] The same is true of courtesy literature, since appropriate decorum had to take both social and religious ideals into account, and so we find, for example, the courtesy poem entitled *How The Good Wife Taught her Daughter* making its first appearance in a friar's handbook.[106] Indeed, that norms of social decorum should derive from both religious and secular sources is logical, given that, according to medieval philosophy, Christ was the wellspring of all the virtues.[107] If religious images, ubiquitous in the later Middle Ages, were capable of influencing the social behaviour of the viewer by proposing and even imposing notions of what constituted correct conduct in all situations, not simply in devotional practice, and therefore must be considered as the essential complement to didactic literature in tracing the contours of medieval decorum.[108] Illuminations in many liturgical manuscripts owned by the lay nobility provide a representative sample of these images, for these books occupied a significant place in their daily life.

Having established that these texts are all didactic in one way or another, it is now time to consider the use of models and traditions. In images, this tradition is well established, but tradition is not static, rather it develops over time, making understanding what is kept, discarded, or modified, of vital importance when considering the ideals at work during the later Middle Ages. Conventions should not be dismissed, rather, their very familiarity created a mental space which could be inhabited more readily by the recipient and careful adherence

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105 Clark, 'Female Subject', p. 161; *cf.* Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998), p. 66; David Aers, 'Christianity for Courtly Subjects: Reflections on the Gawain-Poet', in Derek Brewer and Jonathan Gibson (eds.), *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 100; Jonathan Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 1-8, 21-5.

106 Mark Addison Amos, '"For Manners Make Man": Bourdieu, de Certeau, and the Common Appropriation of Noble Manners in the Book of Courtesy', in *MC*, p. 30; Felicity Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text,' *Speculum*, 71.1 (1996), p. 70.

107 Raluca Radulescu, 'Literature,' in *GC*, p. 103.

108 Brigitte Buettner, 'Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society', *The Art Bulletin* 74.1 (1992), pp. 80-84; Morgan Powell, 'The Speculum Virginum and the Audio-Visual Poetics of Women's Religious Instruction', in C. J. Mews (ed.), *Listen, Daughter* (New York, 2001), p. 121.

to an artistic tradition was valued.[109] Illustrations were not designed over and over again by individual artists, rather artists relied on written programmes describing image cycles, used dummies with layouts and drawings for miniatures, and even whole model books, when illuminating a text.[110] An example of this was the pattern book, compiled in the 1230s, of the famous illuminator Villard d'Honnecourt, from which motifs could be copied and used, such as a falling figure or horse, in a variety of contexts, as well as being used as a source of instruction for methods of drawing.[111] These pattern books were central in the creation of medieval manuscript illuminations, with several dozen books and sheets surviving, containing not only isolated pictures but also borders, initials, and schemes of miniatures for standard scenes, with certain workshops even owning their own specific pattern books.[112] In addition, these pattern books were sometimes supplemented by written instructions, indeed, in the fifteenth century, combining written instruction and models, new pattern books were developed to advertise the skill of the illuminator as well as provide a tool for production.[113]

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109 Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London, 1998), p. 40; de Hamel, *History*, pp. 182-3.

110 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, pp. 56-65; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, 'Chastity, Love and Marriage in the Margins of the Wharncliffe Hours', in Muir (ed.), *Reading Texts and Images*, p. 211; Thomas Kren, 'Seven Illuminated Books of Hours Written by the Parisian Scribe Jean Dubreuil, c. 1475-1485', in *ibid.*, p. 175; Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, pp. 106-12, and for the creation of a manuscript, see pp. 127-41 (*cf.* Donal Byrne, 'Manuscript Ruling and Pictorial Design in the Work of the Limbourgs, the Bedford Master, and the Boucicaut Master', *The Art Bulletin* 66.1 (1984), pp. 118-36; Riddy, 'Publication', p. 36; Camille, *Master of Death*, pp. 13-46), and for the operation of a fifteenth-century workshop see pp. 141-45 (*cf.* Andrews, 'Boucicaut Masters', pp. 29, 32); model books allowed the transmission of Gothic ideas (c. 1200 onwards) across Europe, demonstrating their dual nature as a source of standard forms and as disseminators of new styles, on which see Camille, *Gothic Art*, p. 149; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, p. 22; Sandra Hindman, *Enluminures, Vèlins, Dessins* (Paris, 1996), pp. 9-10; for the history of the initial and the illustration of the psalter see Pächt, *Book Illumination*, pp. 45-94, 167-72; Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 76.

111 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 112; for discussion of Villard de Honnecourt's model book and its use of Classical motifs, see Camille, *Gothic Idol*, pp. 99-101; for a general discussion of model books, see R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963); Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900-ca. 1470)*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam, 1995); Scott, *Tradition and Innovation*, Chapter I, pp. 1-32.

112 Christopher de Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 1992), p. 51; *idem*, *History*, p. 179.

113 Meiss, *Patronage of the Duke*, Vol. 1, pp. 12-3; Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 126.

However, the existence of such model books should not suggest that illumination was simply unchanging. For a start, the simple act of copying could introduce differences in images, however, artists were more than just imperfect automatons.[114] Indeed, the praised part of the skill of an artist was his ability to combine motifs in new and interesting ways rather than original composition.[115] During this period of pictorial expansion a much wider range of sources was being drawn upon to enrich the visual record, alongside a push, fuelled by patronage, to illustrate a whole range of new secular texts, changing attitudes to the purpose and function of imagery, particularly religious imagery.[116] Illuminators responded to these changes by adapting, and even challenging, customary image cycles and the constraints of texts.[117] They also collaborated with each other, and as the fifteenth century progressed, incorporating their own observations of the world into images, resulting in increasing variation in the miniatures of books of hours.[118] Indeed, some traditional, classically derived images had dropped out of use altogether, to be replaced by others, some newly invented, others derived from new sources, which could no longer be recognised as classical divinities.[119] Furthermore, it is important to consider that, 'an image then can have very different meanings for a patron than it might have for its maker', leaving spaces between 'conception, construction and reception.'[120] All of this becomes iconography, and what is

114 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 62.

115 Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 36; Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, p. 199; Eleanor P. Spencer, 'The Hours of Anne de Neufville', *The Burlington Magazine*, 119:895 (1977), pp. 705-9.

116 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, pp. 95, 125; Meiss, *Patronage of the Duke*, vol. 1, pp. 13-8.

117 Andrews, 'Boucicaut Masters', pp. 32-4.

118 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, pp. 118, 125, 143; Diane G. Scillia, 'Gerard David's "St. Elizabeth of Hungary" in the "Hours of Isabella the Catholic"', *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7 (2002), pp. 50-67, at p. 57; Camille, *Image on the Edge*, p. 10; Jeffery Hamburger, 'The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions', *Viator* 20 (1989), pp. 161-82; Jeffery F. Hamburger, 'The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans', *The Art Bulletin* 71:1 (1989), pp. 20-46; for a good overview of stylistic changes, see Nigel J. Morgan and Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'Manuscript Illumination of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in Alexander and Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 150-56; for an example of a book illuminated by different hands, see MS Douce 276, (P&A.1, no. 829).

119 Panofsky, 'Iconography and Iconology', p. 76.

120 Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 76.

iconography but 'the study of the conventions used by a particular culture to encode the values that structure its identity'.[121]

This is not to overstate the *longue durée* of artistic traditions, where not just styles but certain pictorial sequences could have a long history.[122] This thesis covers periods of change and periods of artistic stability. In the thirteenth century the Gothic manuscript was the site of an explosion in marginalia across a wide range of different types of manuscripts, religious and secular. The cultivation of silent reading encouraged the creation of Gothic cycles of illustration in an attempt to guide the reader and control their perception of the text.[123] By comparison, in the fourteenth century stylistic changes in English manuscripts were relatively small compared to this previous shift from Romanesque to Gothic, but can still be split into different stylistic groups.[124] Looking further afield, in the fifteenth century English miniatures showed fairly little interest in the physical environment, especially in comparison to Continental artists.[125] For example, in France books of hours produced by the second generation of illuminators incorporated much more detail from the observable world than their predecessors, a trend which only became more widespread.[126] This analysis intends to be sensitive to such artistic evolution, as well as periods of stability, however, it should be noted that the stylistic differences between artists and places does not necessarily blunt an

121 Moxey, 'Politics of Iconology', p. 30.
122 Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 1, pp. 55-9.
123 Lewis, *Reading Images*, p. 3.
124 For a good overview of the different stylistic groups in fourteenth-century English manuscripts and changes in style in this period, see Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 1, pp. 23-37, 45-7.
125 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
126 For the different styles of fifteenth-century illuminators in France, see Roger Wieck (ed.), *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (London, 1988), pp. 28-30; Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, pp. 143-5; for an overview of late fourteenth-century French illumination, see Meiss, *Patronage of the Duke*, vol. 1, pp. 18-23; for naturalism in the Boucicaut Hours, see Meiss, *Boucicaut*, pp. 12-22; for the development of realism in Flemish miniatures, see Georges Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 19-25; for the development of interior space on the page in the fourteenth century, see Pächt, *Book Illumination*; for the move from play in the margins to dominating three-dimensional miniatures, see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 54; Camille, *Image on the Edge*, p. 154.

analysis of the ideals of behaviour contained within these images.[127] What is important is that an artistic development is not just a pictorial development: it not only affected what an owner might see, but also as a result, what message they might take away from an image.

These illuminators, however, did not paint in a vacuum. They had an audience. As mentioned previously, in this study the principal value of these sources is not their ability to illustrate Scriptural passages or to act as aides-mémoire in the performance of the offices, but to disseminate an ideal of what ought to constitute appropriate behaviour.[128] Furthermore, they transmitted this ideal not only to women, as is often claimed in the historiography, but also to men.[129] Kathleen Scott has demonstrated that lay patronage in England was an interweaving one of royal, noble, gentle, professional, and occasional merchant patrons, all engaging in an ideal of book ownership and patronage.[130] Yet lay patronage of manuscript production did not just exist, it was also increasing significantly in this period: in the later fifteenth century, for example, both Margaret of York, the Duchess of Burgundy, and the Duke of Berry had circles of scribes and illuminators active at their courts, while Anne of Bohemia arrived in England accompanied by her own Bohemian illustrators, and John Lancaster, the Duke of Bedford, commissioned several deluxe manuscripts.[131] Indeed, the

127 For an overview of stylistic developments in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century English manuscripts, see Morgan, *Early Gothic, 1190*, pp. 25-31; for stylistic developments in thirteenth-century English manuscripts, see Morgan, *Early Gothic, 1250*, pp. 20-24.

128 Carpenter, 'Religion,' p. 141.

129 Eleanor P. Spencer, 'The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours', *The Burlington Magazine* 107:751 (1965), p. 498; Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', *Signs* 7.4 (1982), pp. 743-53.

130 Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 1, pp. 28-30.

131 Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'The Hours of Edward V and William Lord Hastings: British Library Manuscript Additional 54782', in Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 356; Scott, *Tradition and Innovation*, pp. ix-148; Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women: A Social History of Women in England, 450-1500* (London, 1995), pp. 240-56; Veronica Sekules, 'Women's Piety and Patronage', in N. Saul (ed.), *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England* (London, 1992), pp. 123-4; Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women', p. 765; Eleanor P. Spencer, 'The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Salisbury Breviary', *The Burlington Magazine* 108:765 (1966), pp. 607-8. Kathleen L. Scott, 'Limner-Power: A Book Artist in England c. 1420', in Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 55-75; Meiss, *Patronage of the Duke*, vol. 1, pp. 43-5; Rouse and

collecting of books amongst those who were able to do so was not just popular, but it actually created a demand for more manuscripts as they created the fashion, the ideal, of owning illuminated manuscripts.[132] Since patrons may be imagined to have had some control over the illustrative schema, the images found in these devotional works cannot be seen simply as representations of externally defined ideals, but rather are, in part, projections of aristocratic values.[133] Each manuscript illustration is ultimately a matrix combining iconographical tradition and artistic inspiration with the thoughts and ideals of patrons and their circles.

Let us take this further, and consider how patrons and illuminators may have interacted. Indeed, it is with the production of illuminations, given the personal nature of so many manuscripts, that the symbiotic relationship between audience and source can perhaps be best seen. Even those who had their own in-house illuminators would also, sometimes via dealers, have commissioned manuscripts from stationers and booksellers.[134] Generally, if a lay patron desired a book he could go to a workshop, and either buy a second -hand copy (which would in itself have stimulated demand for popular works) or discuss with the bookseller the size, content, decoration and price of a new manuscript.[135] On the most basic level the commissioning of manuscripts could change the type of manuscripts that were being produced: for example, noble female support in France for vernacular romances not only increased their level of production but also strengthened the tradition of combining these

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Rouse, *Manuscripts*, p. 329; lay patronage in the earlier Middle Ages was to provide gifts for public use in the liturgy in churches and monasteries, on which see Morgan, *Early Gothic, 1190*, p. 12; in the thirteenth century lay patronage was much less than in later centuries, though royal patrons are well represented, for which see Morgan, *Early Gothic, 1250*, pp. 10-11; a few key manuscripts of lay patronage are MS Rawl. liturg. e. 9, (P&A.3, no. 865); MS Douce 131, (P&A.3, no. 590); MS Auct. D. 4. 4, (P&A.3, no. 665); and MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, (P&A.1, no. 299).

132 Meale, 'Book Production', pp. 201-9; Meiss, *Patronage of the Duke*, vol. 1, pp. 45-7, vol. 2, pp. 298-308; Meiss, *Boucicaut*, p. 3; de Hamel, *History*, p. 159.

133 J. Backhouse, 'Devotions and Delights: The Illuminated Books of Gothic England', in Saul (ed.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 78; Amos, 'For Manners', p. 25; Buettner, 'Profane Illuminations', p. 75; Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women', p. 760.

134 Meiss, *Patronage of the Duke*, vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

135 de Hamel, *Scribes*, pp. 5, 48.

manuscripts with illumination, while previously Latin texts were also being translated and illuminated.[136] However, within an individual manuscript a patron could also affect its content. In terms of texts, it was the patron's choice whether or not a book was made, and on occasion they even supplied copies of the texts.[137] Along these lines, we have the example of Richard III adding his own choice of prayers to his book of hours, despite the extensive range already contained within the manuscript, whilst the Duke of Berry had six manuscripts, five books of hours and one psalter, illuminated at his instructions.[138] In terms of illuminations, not only are there contracts and records of payments from patron to illuminator, but sometimes even the manuscripts contain evidence of verbal or visual instructions.[139] A workshop in the later Middle Ages would have had several books in stock, including display copies, from which patrons could choose, alter, or personalise, using the stock copies as guides.[140] On the most basic level a patron could affect how many miniatures might be contained in a particular manuscript by how many he was willing to pay for.[141] Expectations of what was possible or acceptable in certain manuscripts would have guided both artist and patron.[142] There is also evidence that the artistic provenance of a particular manuscript was valued by contemporary collectors, as indicated by the terms of the will of Blanche of Navarre (c. 1331-1398) bequeathing her 'most beautiful' book, the *Hours of Jeanne of Navarre*, to the avid collector the Duke of Berry.[143] In addition, several historians and art historians have examined how medieval elites actively used their patronage of illuminations

136 de Hamel, *History*, p. 148.
137 Riddy, 'Publication', p. 29.
138 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Hours of Richard III*, p. 2; *eaedem*, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 50-57; Tovell, *Flemish Artists*, p. 55.
139 A good exploration of these contracts can be found in Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, pp. 4; 52-71, and for examples, see pp. 179-83; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts*, pp. 249-50.
140 Nash, *Between France and Flanders*, p. 142; M. B. Parkes and A. I. Doyle, 'The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century', repr. in Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, pp. 201-48, esp. pp. 238-41; Scillia, 'Gerard David's', p. 50.
141 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 115; Andrews, 'Boucicaut Masters', pp. 29, 32, 35-6.
142 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 52.
143 Keane, 'Most beautiful and next best', pp. 370-72.

to manipulate perceptions of themselves, and in the process challenged the gender, social, and political status quo, demonstrating how illuminations could almost be a collaboration between artist and patron.[144] However, it should be noted that it is not always clear how much of, or to what extent, a manuscript was the result of patron or advisor input, yet, since they at the very least helped a manuscript come into existence they can be considered a co-creator of the illuminated manuscripts they commissioned.[145]

The manuscript that brings all these themes together, the evolution of illumination, book ownership, patron involvement in book production, the tension between luxury and piety, even literacy, is the aforementioned book of hours.[146] By the fourteenth century, the demand for books of hours for private lay use was such that they began to be mass-produced, with thousands in existence across Europe by the time of the Reformation.[147] France was a particularly prolific centre of production, with owners drawn from noble, bourgeois, and professional families.[148] This is reflected in the manuscripts drawn on for this thesis, as seventy-one of the manuscripts specifically discussed are books of hours. Although its contents were in a state of constant development, generally it consisted of eight parts, the

144 See Pearson, *Envisioning Gender*, p. 3; Meiss, *Boucicaut*, pp. 7-11.

145 Michael Camille, 'Labouring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter', *Art History* 10:4 (1987), pp. 445-7.

146 Kren, 'Seven Illuminated Books', p. 160; for the complex factors behind the commissioning and creation of a book of hours, see Kathryn A. Smith, *The Taymouth Hours: Stories and the Construction of the Self in Late Medieval England* (London, 2012), pp. 1-48.

147 Carpenter, 'Religion', in *GC*, p. 138; Backhouse, 'Devotions and Delights', in Saul (ed.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 81; J. Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London, 1982), pp. 14-165.

148 For a discussion of early English books of hours, see Morgan, *Early Gothic, 1250*, pp. 14-5; Claire Donovan, 'The Mise-en-Page of Early Books of Hours in England', in Linda L. Brownrigg (ed.), *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence* (Lunenburg, 1990), pp. 147-60; Virginia Reinburg, 'Hearing Lay People's Prayer', in Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (eds.), *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davies* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1993), p. 21; Paul Saenger, 'Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages', in Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print: Power and Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1989), p. 156; de Hamel, *History*, pp. 159-60; for one of the fullest discussions of books of hours and the background to their creation, see Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400-1600* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 15-52, and on ownership, see pp. 53-83, and its role and relationship to literacy, pp. 84-128.

core of which was the Hours of the Virgin, alongside a Calendar, four Gospel Lessons, the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit, two prayers to the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Office of the Dead, and numerous Suffrages, all richly accompanied by illuminations that in many cases had yet to be finalised.[149] In a nod back to the previous discussion of literacy in the household, it should also be noted that books of hours were one of the primary books from which children were taught to read.[150] However, perhaps more than any other manuscript in this period, books of hours were the location where piety and public display came together. Not only were these books highly prized, but they also contained marks of ownership, from portraits, heraldry, mottos, initials, but even after completion these texts were engaged with by adding important family dates to calendars.[151]

Patron influence on images has already been discussed, but the book of hours also stimulated actual patron inclusion in a manuscript. Indeed, Claire Donovan has argued that before the late thirteenth century portraits of the laity hardly existed, yet, stimulated in particular by the advent of books of hours, by the end of the period patron images were almost to be expected.[152] These images defined the patron and were defined by them, positioning them in a world of piety, but also representing their ownership and status as well as their physical interjection into the text.[153] One aspect of this was the shaping, in part by the

149 Wieck (ed.), *Book of Hours*, pp. 27-8; de Hamel, *History*, pp. 159-60; for a good background to books of hours see *idem*, 'Books of Hours: 'Imaging' the Word', in John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly van Kampen (eds.), *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition* (London, 1998), pp. 137-43; Meiss, *Patronage of the Duke*, vol. 1, pp. 13-4; it should be noted that fourteenth-century English examples are particularly varied in terms of both their text and illuminated components, on which see Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 1, pp. 38-40; and Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 1, p. 23.

150 de Hamel, *History*, pp. 163-4.

151 Lawrence R. Poos, 'Social History and the Book of Hours', in Wieck (ed.), *Book of Hours*, pp. 33-5; thirty-three of the books of hours discussed in this thesis bear these marks of ownership or have a known owner.

152 Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London, 1991), p. 155; for a good overview of the development of the book of hours in thirteenth-century England, see *ibid.*, pp. 132-56.

153 Lucy Freeman Sandler, 'The image of the Book-owner in the Fourteenth Century: Three Cases of Self-definition', in *eadem*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination 1200-1400* (London, 2008), pp. 216-48.

book of hours, of prayer and devotion and its relationship to the image, and although prayer is not specifically the primary focus of this thesis, it is important to note. Patron shaping of devotion did not just consist of occasionally personalised prayers, but, as Virginia Reinburg has explored, the prayer guided by these books of hours was fundamentally shaped by the lay world. Thus, in these devotions, the hierarchical view of God and the saints, the language used to address them, and the body language of prayer in the images, were all influenced by secular patronage, sharing its hierarchy, language, and even its gestures of oath-taking and homage.[154] When these gestures were combined with saintly examples, they became models. Illuminations of the Virgin praying at the Annunciation, which regularly prefaced the Hours of the Virgin, explicitly associated the manner of her prayer with her piety, thus becoming the model upon which patron images, depicting the owner at prayer, were based.[155] Furthermore, with these books providing the framework for medieval lay and clerical piety, to such an extent that 'sacred art itself could become liturgy', the book simultaneously became a sacred space, or place of revelation, and a sacred object.[156] It was in the book of hours that piety, luxury, status, literacy, ownership, and illumination all came together, making its inclusion in a study of medieval ideals of appropriate behaviour vital.

Medieval concepts of vision should briefly be mentioned. From the thirteenth century devotional practices were becoming increasingly structured around vision, a change which stimulated the sudden increase in devotional images, such as illuminated manuscripts, to fulfil this growing interest and need.[157] Devotional images, such as those of Christ's wounds,

154 Virginia Reinburg, 'Prayer and the Book of Hours', in Wieck (ed.), *Book of Hours*, pp. 39-40; Reinburg, 'Hearing', pp. 22-3.

155 Saenger, 'Books of Hours', pp. 152-3.

156 Camille, *Gothic Idol*, p. xxviii; Eric Palazzo, 'Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages', *Viator* 41:1 (2010), pp. 25-56, esp. pp. 26, 39.

157 Suzanne Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 3; for other general overviews of medieval vision, see Camille, *Gothic Art*, pp. 21-4; Katherine H. Tachau, 'Seeing as Action

could affect an emotional transformation in the viewer and as a result affect the body, and have 'long-term behavioural consequences'.[158] From 1200 there arose a new Eucharistic piety, refining Church teaching on the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament.[159] The raising of the host, the importance of it being *seen*, placed vision at the forefront of piety.[160] Furthermore, this visual ritual invited audience participation.[161] Texts are filled with visions and exhortations to 'see' circumstances such as the crucifixion in order to move the audience not only to new levels of piety but also an affective identification with the models presented to them.[162] In the fifteenth century references to the eyes and vision became even more frequent in the rubrics of prayers.[163] At the nexus between theories of vision and image culture, images never merely illustrate or reflect, rather they constituted religious experience.[164] Of course, many of these understandings of vision are very much focused on the devotional rather the social, however, the importance of images as a result of the potential power of vision adds greater weight to the ideals contained within the illuminations under study.

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and Passion in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in Hamburger and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*, pp. 336-59; Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 28-9.

158 Freedberg, *Power of Images*, pp. 5-9, 387.

159 Charles Caspers, 'Late Medieval Liturgy and Its Inner Tension. The hermeneutic significance of Thomas à Kempis's Devota exhortacio as sacram communionem', in Mikolaj Olszewski (ed.), *What is "theology" in the Middle Ages?: Religious Cultures of Europe (11th-15th Centuries) as Reflected in their Self-Understanding* (Münster, 2007), p. 382.

160 For the most detailed examination of the Eucharist, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

161 Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, p. 133.

162 Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter, 2004), esp. p. 159, ll. 15-6, 23-4; Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', pp. 165-6; for the difference between physical sight and imagination in medieval art theory, see Herbert L. Kessler, 'Turning a Blind Eye: Medieval Art and the Dynamics of Contemplation', in Hamburger and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*, pp. 413-39; for visions and miracles in illuminations, see Freedberg, *Power of Images*, pp. 294-316; for visions and visionaries, see Barbara Newman, 'What Did It Mean to Say "I Saw"? The Clash between Theory and Practice in Medieval Visionary Culture', *Speculum* 80:1 (2005), pp. 1-43.

163 Saenger, 'Books of Hours', p. 147.

164 Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Seeing and Seeing Beyond: The Mass of St. Gregory in the Fifteenth Century', in Hamburger and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*, pp. 209, 231-2.

HISTORIOGRAPHY: THE SOCIAL LIFE OF ILLUMINATION

Addressing courtesy first of all, the backbone of didactic literature governing behaviour, it should be noted that generally, the study of courtesy and the study of manuscript illustrations have rarely converged. The editor of *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter*, for example, wondered openly how the precepts of decorum came to have such 'widespread currency' in the Middle Ages, but failed to consider images as an explanation.[165] Similarly, while Anna Bryson argues that 'codes of manners, when conceived as "representations" of idealized social personality, refer even in practice to the production of images', she makes no actual reference to the available visual evidence.[166] Diane Bornstein's *Mirrors of Courtesy* does make an attempt to treat images, and the hefty *History of Private Life, Vol. II* interweaves images and texts together very carefully, but both tend towards an illustrative rather than an analytical purpose; only a handful of scholars have really utilised images as sources for identity formation in medieval culture.[167] Yet, recent studies on the function and manipulation of memory in the Middle Ages have raised the profile of images and disclosed their frequently mnemonic function.[168] If, as these suggest, text and image were closely intertwined, with each projecting, reinforcing, or contradicting the message of the other, then didactic literature and manuscript illustrations must be seen as having interacted in a noetic

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165 Tauno F. Mustanoja (ed.), *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* (Helsinki, 1948), p. 88; *GWG*, p. 19; Juliet Vale and Malcolm Vale, 'Knightly Codes and Piety', in Saul (ed.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 27; Clark, 'Female Subject', in *MC*, p. 162; Ruth Nisse, 'Grace Under Pressure: Conduct and Representation in the Norwich Heresy', in *ibid.*, p. 207; Kim F. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270-1540* (Manchester, 2003), pp. ix-22.

166 Bryson, *From Courtesy*, p. 243.

167 Diane Bornstein, *Mirrors of Courtesy* (Hamden, CT, 1975); Ariès and Duby (eds.), *Private Life II*; Buettner, 'Profane Illuminations', pp. 75-90; Pamela Sheingorn, '"The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta* 32:1 (1993), pp. 69-80.

168 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 2008), pp. 153-94, 274-337; Frank Willaert *et al.* (eds.), *Medieval Memory: Image and Text* (Turnhout, 2004); Veronica Sekules, *Medieval Art* (Oxford, 2001), p. 119; Lewis, *Reading Images*, pp. 242-59; Mark Cruse, 'Matter and Meaning in Medieval Books: The Romance Manuscript as Sensory Experience', *Senses & Society* 5 (2010), pp. 45-56, at p. 51; Stephen G. Nichols, 'Picture, Image, and Subjectivity in Medieval Culture', *Modern Language Notes* 108:4 (1993), pp. 616-37; for the household as a site for memory, see Bronach Kane, 'The Household as a Site for Personal Memory – The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), pp. 134-5.

discourse about how aristocratic society ought to be, and treated as necessary complements in the study of medieval decorum.

With this in mind the position of this thesis within the wider context of the historiography should be considered. It is not a work that charts developments in illuminated style and the work of key artists or even the relationship between image and text in the same manuscript, though it does bear these aspects of illumination in mind.[169] Nor does it follow in the long tradition of historians using images, but in a more illustrative capacity, either of texts or as some representation of 'real' life.[170] Rather, in terms of the images, I wish to follow in the footsteps of Jonathan J. G. Alexander, who stresses the need to move away from too narrow a focus, and to consider the audience much more broadly than just that of a particular patron, and beyond just the images in a particular text.[171] A trail has also been blazed by the art historian Michael Camille, who in his fundamental body of work brought images to the fore as an historical source of equivalent importance to texts.[172] In his 1996 work *Master of Death* he sought to put images 'back into an embodied life', not simply examine as part of

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169 E. G. Millar, 'The Luttrell Psalter and the Bedford Book of Hours', *The British Museum Quarterly* 4.3 (1929), pp. 63-6; Lynda Dennison, 'The Fitzwarin Psalter and its Allies', in Ormrod (ed.), *England in the Fourteenth Century*, p. 42; Spencer, 'Master of the Duke of Bedford', p. 495; A. H. Van Buren, 'The Master of Mary of Burgundy and His Colleagues: The State of Research and Questions of Method', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38:3/4 (1975), pp. 286-309; Francis Wormald, 'The Fitzwarin Psalter and Its Allies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943), pp. 71-9; Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200-1500* (London, 1981), pp. 8-32; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*; Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*; Tovell, *Flemish Artists*; Kathleen L. Scott, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders c. 1395-1499* (London, 2002); Erwin Panofsky, 'Introduction: The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline', in *idem*, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth, 1970), pp. 23-50; Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 3; Charity Cannon Willard, 'The Manuscript Tradition of the Livre Des Trois Vertus and Chrstine de Pizan's Audience,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27.3 (1966), p. 436; Gerhart B. Ladner, 'Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism', *Speculum* 54.2 (1979), p. 233; Morgan, *Early Gothic, 1190*; *idem*, *Early Gothic, 1250*; Sandler, *Gothic*; Scott, *Later Gothic*; Meiss, *Patronage of the Duke*; *idem*, *Boucicaut*; *idem*, *Limbourgs*.

170 *e.g.* Patricia Basing, *Trades and Crafts in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 1990); Duby and Ariès (eds.), *Private Life II*; for a criticism of historical approaches, see Richard C. Trexler, 'Gendering Jesus Crucified', in *Iconography*, pp. 107-20; Cassidy, 'Introduction: Iconography', p. 7; Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 2; *idem*, *Art of Love*, p. 7.

171 Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 2.

172 Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London, 1998), pp. 40-8; *idem*, *Master of Death*, p. 243.

their own texts or as part of wider context, but as part of a 'much more local experience constructed in a particular place'.[173] It is his example that I shall follow in using manuscript illuminations alongside didactic literature and letter collections to study medieval behaviour over the course of a typical lifecycle. Indeed, much of the best recent work on considering meaning, the relationship between images and texts, and its effect on its audience and vice versa, only focuses on single manuscripts and lacks Camille's enthusiasm for broadening out into general medieval culture.[174] So for example, Pamela Sheingorn has discussed the self-conscious use of a single book to shape a female child, Claude of France, into the mould of behaviour offered by the Virgin Mary.[175] Howard Mayer has used romances has his starting point for reconstructing idealism and social reality in the fifteenth-century, Miriam Gill has explored the relationship between preaching and wall painting in later medieval England, while Jeffrey Hamburger introduces a collection of essays which all frame the theology of the period in terms of the relationship between image and text.[176]

I stated earlier that the intention of this thesis is to explore the ideals of behaviour relating to later medieval family life considering how these ideals were constructed by a dialogue between illuminations and didactic textual material and how they shaped and were shaped by their noble audience. It may be useful here to briefly place this question within wider historiographical approaches. In his work *Image of the People*, T. J. Clark proposed that art has an active role, as opposed to a simple reflection of a historical context: 'A work of art may have ideology (in other words, those ideas, images, and values which are generally

173 Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 2; he reiterates this viewpoint in his *Art of Love*, pp. 7, 14.

174 For the argument for this approach, see Cassidy, 'Introduction: Iconography', p. 10.

175 Sheingorn, 'Subjection and Reception', pp. 313-32; for the shaping of gender by images found in books of hours and devotional diptychs, see Pearson, *Envisioning Gender*; for one of the most thorough and well thought-out approaches to the shaping power of images, though confined to one manuscript type, see Lewis, *Reading Images*.

176 Howard Mayer, 'Cleriades et Meliadice: A Fifteenth-Century Manual for Courtly Behavior', in *Iconography*, pp. 215-28; Gill, 'Preaching and Image', pp. 155-80; Hamburger and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*.

accepted, dominant) as its material, but it *works* that material; it gives it a new form and at certain moments that new form is in itself a subversion of ideology'.[177] He argues that artwork can influence that context in return - including the economic base of society. This approach can be seen best in his second book on the Social History of Art, *The Painting of Modern Life*. In his chapter on Manet's painting of a Bar at the Folies-Bergère he identifies anxieties in the petit-bourgeois class, suggesting that the painting articulates and comments on those anxieties, thus demonstrating that the artwork influences, to some extent, class consciousness.[178] The idea that art, in this case illuminations, have the ability to shape their social context is important. I posit that the illuminations did not just express notions of appropriate or inappropriate behaviour, but in their construction and interaction with the texts of the period, they both revealed and shaped anxieties about piety, decorum, and social status. Furthermore, in the wider historiography, this thesis has parallels with John Barrell's *The Dark Side of the Landscape*, which considers, alongside poetry from the period, how and why the rural poor were depicted in a particular fashion in England between 1730 and 1840. He states that, unlike Clark, he is not writing a 'social history of art', but his approach of placing texts alongside images to inform his understanding of representations is not far removed from the gathering together of texts and images in this thesis.[179] This thesis intends to keep these approaches in mind when considering the material, suggesting as they do a way of considering the dialogue between image and text.

177 T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London, 1973), p. 13.
178 *Idem*, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, (rev. ed., Princeton, 1999), pp. 205-58.
179 John Barrell, *The dark side of the landscape: The rural poor in English painting 1730-1840* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 1.

TEXTUAL TRADITIONS

The texts chosen are all popular and didactic in nature, apart from the letter collections, which in this thesis act as a way examining how some of these ideals may have been internalised, expressed, and possibly even further inculcated. Both John Mirk's *Festial* and Jacobus Voraigne's *Golden Legend* were 'best-sellers' with a wide, and long-lasting dissemination.[180] Indeed, since the *Festial* was intended for priests not sufficiently educated to compose their own sermons, we can assume that there was a much wider, secondary audience within the nation's churches listening to material originally found within the *Festial*. Thus it is not surprising that despite private devotional material, sermons were still some of the most influential sources of instruction.[181] As Alan J. Fletcher argues, 'the culture of the preachers affords a unique vantage point from which to view the general social process of late-medieval England.'[182] It can be difficult to reconstruct an audience's mental furniture in the spaces between, for example, the outlines of a sermon, but, by gathering these different didactic texts, and examining them alongside images, we can fill in some of the blanks in the common knowledge and experience of their audiences.[183]

a) COURTESY LITERATURE

The study of decorum in the later Middle Ages has to date been based upon the courtesy literature of the period, which self-consciously sought to fashion and promote a specifically noble ideal of behaviour in all areas of social life.[184] Its prescriptions are 'the precepts which train a nation in the art of living', and hence are a key to understanding how

180 Ford, *John Mirk's Festial*, pp. 9-10.

181 Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching*, p. 42; this work concentrates mainly on sermons as oral performances, which this thesis does not address.

182 Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry*, p. 15.

183 Augustine Thompson, 'From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, p. 20.

184 Bryson, *From Courtesy*, pp. 2-4; for the history of courtesy and conduct, see Nicholls, *Matter of Courtesy*, pp. 45-7; and on decorum up to the thirteenth century, see Robert Bartlett, *England Under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 573-88.

medieval society wished to see itself.[185] They are also quite standardised, and may be grouped under five main subject headings: table manners, conversation, social contacts, personal exterior, and preparation for death.[186] Authored by clerics as well as laymen, the medieval literature of conduct assumed a wide variety of forms, from didactic courtesy poems, written in Latin, French, and later English, to general treatises on appropriate behaviour, including the famous *Book of the Three Virtues* by Christine de Pizan and *The Good Wife's Guide*.[187] It should not, however, be conflated with the literature of courtly love, which revolves around a specific set of behavioural rules quite distinct from the decorum of daily life, nor with the genre of 'mirrors of princes', whose advice for conduct has a political focus.[188]

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185 Mary Theresa Brentano, *Relationship of the Latin Facetus Literature to the Medieval English Courtesy Poems* (Lawrence, 1935), p. 1; Edith Rickert (ed.), *The Babees' Book: Medieval Manners for the Young* (New York, 1966), p. xi.

186 Many treatises focus solely upon table manners: see Walter W. Seton (ed.), *A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book* (London, 1914); *HS*; Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Boris hede furst,' in *Early English Meals and Manners* (London, 1868), p. 264; *MCT*, *CT*, *SCT*, *PDT*, *ACT*, *RTS*, *UGM*, *MCen*; and *DM*. Anglo-Norman examples: *EU*, *LU*, *Edward*, *BE*, *AN*, *PN*. Treatises focusing on appropriate preparation for death also form a very tight-knit, interrelated group: see *ACKWD*, *CD*; *CKDW*, *HMS*. There is relative uniformity in courtesy literature across the period and the languages, on which see Nicholls, *Matter of Courtesy*, p. 2.

187 Anna Dronzek, 'Gendered Theories of Education in Fifteenth-Century Conduct Books', in *MC*, pp. 135-59, provides an excellent discussion of terminology; 'courtesy literature' is generally considered the most inclusive; *cf.* Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, 1983), p. 11; Campbell, 'Clerks and laity', p. 212.

188 Indeed, *BTV*, p. 134, specifically cautions that behaviour associated with courtly love is a threat to good decorum; for more on courtly love and romances, see C. B. West, *Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature* (Detroit, 1981); J. M. Ferrante, '"Cortes" Amor in Medieval Texts', *Speculum* 55.4 (1980), pp. 686-95; R. W. Kaeuper and Elspeth Kennedy (eds.), *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context, and Translation* (Philadelphia, 1996); Peter Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 135-66; Charles R. Blyth (ed.), *The Regiment of Princes – Thomas Hoccleve* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1999); M. A. Manzalaoui (ed.), *Secretum Secretorum: Nine English Versions* (Oxford, 1977); Ysambert de Saint-Leger, *Le Miroir des Dames*, ed. Camillo Marazza (Lecce, 1980); for more on 'mirrors for princes', see Lester Kruger Born, 'The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals', *Speculum* 3.4 (1928), pp. 470-504; F. M. Salter, 'Skelton's Speculum Principis', *Speculum* 9.1 (1934), pp. 25-37; other more general advice books that lie outside of my definition of courtesy literature include Eberhard Hermes (transl.), *The Disciplina Clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi* (London, 1977); Curt F. Bühler (ed.), *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers* (Oxford, 1941); W. Nelson Francis (ed.), *Book of Vices and Virtues* (Oxford, 1942); *BCL*; Reginald Pecock, *The Donet*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock (London, 1921); Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), *Walter of Henley's husbandry, together with an anonymous husbandry, seneschaucie, and Robert Grosseteste's rules* (London, 1890); Stephen Scrope (transl.), *Epistle of Othea* (London, 1970); Bella Millett (ed.), *Hali Meidhad* (London, 1982); William Caxton, *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, ed. Jenny Adams (Kalamazoo, MI, 2009); Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre des Faits et Bonnes Moeurs du roi Charles V le Sage*, ed. Eric Hicks and Thérèse Moreau (Paris, 1997).

The courtesy sources to be utilised in this thesis were essentially common to England and France. As mentioned previously, political and cultural connections between the two countries in this period were manifold, as the Anglo-French wars exposed English and Welsh soldiers to French and Burgundian culture; Henry V married Catherine of Valois in 1420, and Henry VI was crowned king of England and France in 1422.[189] Unsurprisingly, therefore, French ideas and fashions were extremely popular at the English court, and the two kingdoms have been said to have shared a practically uniform mode of living.[190] Both courtesy literature and illuminated manuscripts were created, read, bestowed, bequeathed, and exchanged across the English Channel; in 1425, Sir John Fastolf was involved in the purchase of the French royal library, while Henry VII was given a book of hours by Louis XII, indicating that the notions of decorum to be found in such manuscripts were thought to be apt and intelligible in England as well as France.[191] Indeed, the vocabulary of English courtesy literature was mainly of French origin, owing in part to the earlier appearance of the genre in France; examples include key terms such as 'courtesy', 'nurture', 'dignity', 'gracious', and 'gentilesse'.[192] Nicholas Orme has even argued that the English were content to read, translate, and rework French texts; certainly Caxton was content to translate a French version of the *ars moriendi* for the English market rather than using the Latin source and *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter*, long considered an archetypal English courtesy poem, may

189 Deborah Youngs, 'Cultural Networks', in *GC*, p. 126; Tolley, 'Visual Culture', p. 173; J. W. McKenna, 'Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), pp. 145-6; and for the most up-to-date account, see John Watts, *The Making of Polities: Europe, 1300-1500* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 166-9.

190 P. W. Fleming, 'The Hautes and their "Circle": Culture and the English Gentry', in Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 100; Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality', p. 257; Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, pp. 21-7.

191 Youngs, 'Cultural Networks', p. 126; Marcel Thomas, *The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duc de Berry* (London, 1979), pp. 7-32.

192 Bryson, *From Courtesy*, pp. 59-60; Joan Evans, *Life in Medieval France* (3rd ed., London, 1969), pp. 119-20; Mustanoja (ed.), *Good Wife*, p. 29, n. 1.

in fact derive from a French original.[193] Ultimately, the French example in this period was so predominant that provenance makes slight difference as to the text or illustrations of a manuscript, which justifies treating the English and French material together.[194]

Three factors indicate the centrality of proper decorum to aristocratic society in the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Firstly, the period witnessed an explosion of composition, translation, and printing of didactic treatises and poems on the subject, indicating significant popularity and demand, particularly as royal etiquette became increasingly refined, focused on rules, elegance, and rank.[195] The treatise entitled *Instructions to his Son*, for example, was composed by Peter Idley around 1445-50, while *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry* was written in French in 1371-2, and in 1484 translated and printed by William Caxton.[196] A second indicator is the continued copying, ownership, and use of treatises and poems on decorum composed much earlier, such as the third or fourth century AD *Distichs of Cato* and the related *Facetus*, both of which circulated until the Renaissance, as well as more recent Anglo-Norman works; this continuity implies that the ideals of appropriate decorum remained relatively consistent in the minds of many from the twelfth century onward.[197] Finally, courtesy literature was a great self-promoter, advocating to its readers the importance of decorum and the need for its observance.[198] However, as the

193 Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London, 1984), p. 111; Bornstein, *Mirrors of Courtesy*, pp. 76-7; Mustanoja (ed.), *Good Wife*, p. 82; N. F. Blake, *Caxton and His World* (London, 1969), p. 67.

194 Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, p. 13.

195 Krueger, 'Nouvelles Choses', p. 52; Kathleen Ashley and R. L. A. Clark, 'Introduction', in *MC*, pp. ix-x; Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*, p. 52.

196 *PIS*; *BKLL*.

197 *DC*, pp. 43-54; *Facetus*, pp. 253-7; Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p. 271.

198 *UM*, p. 21, ll. 1-6; *BTV*, p. 109, l. 9; Claire Sponsler, 'Eating Lessons: Lydgate's "Dietary" and Consumer Conduct', in *MC*, pp. 4-5.

sixteenth century progressed there was a significant shift in aristocratic styles and tastes, a transition from 'courtesy' to 'civility'.[199]

Having established both the scope and the popularity of courtesy literature in the latter Middle Ages, let us turn now to its readership. From *circa* 1300 onward, book production began to increase considerably in volume and decrease significantly in cost as the growing literacy and wealth of the laity led to greater demand.[200] We have already considered the lay ownership of books in this period, and the sizable libraries some individuals amassed.[201] However, these libraries also included works of courtesy. The example was set at the top of society, later to be emulated by the gentry and merchant classes, as Edward IV, for example, showed a keen interest in collecting moral and didactic works later in his reign, while his sister, Margaret of York, was of course the first major patron of William Caxton, a prolific publisher of books of conduct.[202] One social stratum below, we find collection, patronage, and even authorship of courtesy literature: the usher and marshal of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, for instance, wrote the treatise entitled *John Russell's Book of Nurture*, while Sir Geoffrey de La Tour-Landry penned *The Book of the Knight of the Tower* about the aristocrats with whom he consorted; the dukes of Burgundy appear to have owned copies of this work, and Elizabeth Woodville was very probably the anonymous patron of the

199 Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility,' p. 267; Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1978), p. 62; Marvin B. Becker, *Civility and Society in Western Europe, 1300-1600* (Indianapolis, IN, 1988); Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, p. 13.

200 Cavanaugh, *Study of Books*, vol. 1, pp. 19-20; Nigel Saul, '"Forget-me-nots": Patronage in Gothic England', in *idem* (ed.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 44; Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism* (Durham, 1960), p. 33; Buettner, 'Profane Illuminations', p. 75; Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', pp. 275-97; Alexandra Walsham and Julia Crick, 'Introduction: Script, print, and history', in *eaedem* (eds.), *Script and Print*, pp. 1-26, at pp. 11-12.

201 Cavanaugh, *Study of Books*, vol. 1, pp. 11-2; Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility', p. 271; Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women', pp. 751-65.

202 Backhouse, 'Founders of the Royal Library', pp. 25-6; *CBC*; Kekewich, 'Literary Patronage', p. 487; and, in general, see H. S. Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1475-1557* (Cambridge, 1970); and Blake, *Caxton*, pp. 13-216; Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', pp. 290-92; for the history of the book trade from Caxton onwards, see Bennett, *English Books*; for the blurred lines between script and print, see Walsham and Crick, 'Introduction', pp. 1-26.

translation made of it by Caxton.[203] Similarly, Christine de Pizan frequently dedicated her writings to great ladies and noblemen.[204]

The high aristocracy aside, arguments have also been made for the consumption of courtesy literature by the gentry and bourgeois classes, and although they may not have had the means to afford the more richly illustrated manuscripts, the possession of books performed the same function of registering and affirming cultural identity as it did at the apex of society.[205] The poem entitled *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter*, for example, was intended specifically for the burgeoning middle-class readership.[206] In general, the literature of conduct was read in the hope of being able to achieve a rise in status through the adoption of the idealised decorum of the governing élite, which explains the massive market amongst the gentry for the material published by Caxton in the fifteenth century.[207] Courtesy literature can therefore be said to illuminate the aspirations and *mentalité* of a fairly wide spectrum of medieval society, one, however, that was focused on an ideal associated with the markers of nobility, representing a portal into understanding its ideals of behaviour and manners.[208]

b) SERMON LITERATURE

There are a huge number of sermon texts from the late medieval period, which was the beginning of the high point of the popular, vernacular sermon, one of the only forms of mass

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203 Rebecca Barnhouse, *The Book of the Knight of the Tower: Manners for Young Medieval Women* (New York, 2006), pp. 3-9, 29; for the books owned by Elizabeth Woodville, see Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 31-7.

204 *BTV*, p. xviii; Cannon Willard, 'Manuscript Tradition', pp. 435-6.

205 Carol M. Meale, 'The Politics of Book Ownership: The Hopton Family and Bodleian Library, Digby MS 185', in Riddy (ed.), *Prestige*, pp. 103-31.

206 Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, pp. 63-4.

207 Maddern, 'Gentility', pp. 26, 101; Youngs, 'Cultural Networks', pp. 127-8; D. A. L. Morgan, 'The Individual Style of the English Gentleman', in Michael Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 1986), p. 20; Ashley and Clark, 'Introduction', pp. xiv-xv; Dronzek, 'Gendered Theories', p. 138; Kathleen Ashley, 'The Miroir des Bonnes Femmes: Not for Women Only?', in *MC*, p. 97; Phillips, 'Invisible man', p. 157.

208 Bryson, *From Courtesy*, pp. 7-8, 35; Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, p. 13; Amos, 'For Manners,' pp. 28-9.

communication available at the time, generally organised around the Church's calendar of saints' days, and intended to inculcate Church doctrine to a wide clerical and lay audience.[209] By the fifteenth century it seems as if sermons were being preached weekly, most often by the clergy, such as priests or friars, though the Lollard movement involved lay preaching and even preaching by women.[210] English sermons were almost certainly preached in English, though Latin sermons were not always preached in Latin.[211] Not only was there an increase in preaching over this period, unsurprising since it was one of the most important aspects of pastoral care, following the preaching example of Christ, but a variation in quality, from skilled, theologically sound discourses, to more incoherent, less theological based sermons, which was something that the *artes praedicandi*, the art of preaching, attempted to correct.[212] Model sermons were devised to be reused, mixed and matched, and as a form of mass communication, were a social force.[213] The whole nature of the sermon was didactic, its entire purpose was to teach, exhort, and influence thought and behaviour.[214]

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209 Ford, *John Mirk's Festial*, p. 8; David d'Avray 'Printing, mass communication, and religious reformation: the Middle Ages and after', in Crick and Walsham (eds.), *Script and Print*, p. 50; d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 20; for the general layout of a sermon, see Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 51-2; for the minority of sermons constructed around different audiences, see Carolyn Muessig, 'Audience and Preacher: *Ad Status* Sermons and Social Classification', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 255-76; for the regulations surrounding preaching, esp. the effects of the 1409 Constitutions, see Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum* 70:4 (1995), pp. 822-64; for a general overview of sermon construction, style, and content, see J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons 1450-c. 1600* (Oxford, 1964); for a general overview of preachers, preaching, and sermons, see G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge, 1926); *idem*, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: a Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People* (Oxford, 1961); H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993).

210 *Ibid.*, pp. 49-64; Jussi Hanska, 'Reconstructing the Mental Calendar of Medieval Preaching: A Method and Its Limits: An Analysis of Sunday Sermons', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, p. 295.

211 Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', p. 156; for use of mixed Latin/English sermons, see Siegfried Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1994).

212 Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching*, pp. 13-33, 42; Phyllis B. Roberts, 'The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 41-62.

213 d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 38, 64.

214 Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching*, p. 19.

The *Festial* was the foremost collection of sermons, its success indicated by the sheer number of copies which existed; it was widely disseminated and revised during the fifteenth century and so popular that there was a large enough market for its printing in the sixteenth.[215] Twenty-six manuscripts of the *Festial* are extant, with a further twelve containing *Festial* sermons, with the latest written in 1515. In addition a revised version was produced in the fifteenth century for a more educated audience, and its influence further extended by its first printing by Caxton in 1483, and up until its final printing by Wynkyn de Worde in 1532.[216] Writing the *Festial* in the 1380s, John Mirk was an Augustinian priest based in Shropshire, serving as canon and then abbot of the Augustinian foundation of Lilleshall, whose members also served as parish priests. Mirk, by providing material for less able priests, intended his audience to be not only the priests themselves, but people from a wide range of classes and literacy levels, as well as both genders, in their audiences.[217] He also wrote the English *Instructions for Parish Priests* and the Latin *Manuale sacerdotis*. The *Festial* is structured around exempla, or illustrative stories with a moral purpose, set in the sermons themselves, often drawn from the extensive hagiographic material which was circulating during the same period.[218] As G. R. Owst suggests, this use of the saints by preachers was intentionally 'calculated to promote imitation of their holy lives'.[219] However, while the gospel provided the backbone of Mirk's sermons, with the addition of everyday details, such as the midwives at the Nativity or the ox and the expenses, it is clear that Mirk was attempting to adapt the material to the social world of his audience, to make his message more accessible and influential.[220] The use of Latin phrases within the vernacular, even if the Latin was not fully understood by its audience, was intended to demonstrate that the

215 Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', pp. 151-8.
216 Ford, *John Mirk's Festial*, pp. 9-10; Spencer, *English Preaching*, pp. 311-20.
217 Ford, *John Mirk's Festial*, pp.10-13; Spencer, *English Preaching*, pp. 62-75.
218 Ford, *John Mirk's Festial*, p. 13.
219 Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 134.
220 Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching*, pp. 128, 138.

arguments made in English were substantiated from sources of accepted authority, and not simply paraphrased.[221]

Preaching in general was important not just to the church, but to its audience. Henry VII established a royal foundation at Westminster Abbey in 1504, and was so keen on sermons that he drew up his own preaching schedule which not only covered almost every Sunday in the year but also many of the major feast days, including celebrations for the Virgin's Nativity and Assumption as well days from the central Church calendar such as Good Friday and Easter Monday.[222] Nor was this only an action marking the sixteenth century; in the fifteenth a Dame Alice Wych had established an annual sermon as part of her private chantry.[223] The royal household was not the only site of lay interest in the sermon. In the rest of society, the sermon was often a key outdoor event, almost theatrical in nature, and supporting it, up until the 1530s, were significant charitable actions, with pulpit crosses, such as those at Paul's Cross, and the Spital, being raised well into the sixteenth century from money given by the listening lay public during the bidding prayer.[224]

c) HAGIOGRAPHY

Partially in response to the late medieval turn towards private reading, both by religious and lay readers, prose hagiography grew exponentially between the mid-thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, above all with readers in the upper strata of society of both France and England, with the earliest writers and consumers of saints' lives most likely being situated

221 Spencer, *English Preaching*, pp. 56-7.
222 Wabuda, *Preaching*, p. 21.
223 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
224 *Ibid.*, pp. 47-9; 61; Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching*, pp. 31-2; Hanska, 'Reconstructing the Mental Calendar', p. 297; for the wider literary influence of sermons, see Siegfried Wenzel, 'Chaucer and the Language of Contemporary Preaching', *Studies in Philology* 73:2 (1976), pp. 138-61; Roger Dalrymple, 'The Literary Use of Religious Formulae in Certain Middle English Romances', *Medium Aevum* 64 (1995), pp. 250-63; Spencer, *English Preaching*, pp. 71-2.

within religious houses supported by the aristocracy, and flourishing until the sixteenth century.[225] Many stories of saints circulated, often characterised in style by 'practical didacticism', as well as a narrative based around direct discourse, action, a lack of historical context (this will become important later in the thesis), and motifs borrowed from classical mythology.[226] It was not uncommon for readers to have preferences for certain saints, often for personal reasons, suggesting a certain level of identification that only increased the power of the Saints' Lives over behaviour.[227] As a result they provide an important commentary on the values and ideals of contemporary culture, though, the motivation for an engagement with lay concerns in religious literature makes it difficult to determine how far this engagement represented true lay concerns instead of simply how clerics wished to shape those concerns.[228] Anne M. Dutton argues that the program of devotional reading and ownership undertaken by Dame Anne Wingfield, born c. 1426, which included individual saint's lives, was part of a deliberate strategy to present herself as a pious, and thus respectable, women.[229] Interestingly, just as figures within illustrations use their bodies to convey meaning, so too, argues, Amy V. Ogden, does hagiography use the bodies of the saints as sites of meaning.[230]

Indeed, so popular were saints' lives that they provided ideal material for the early printers, indicating a high demand to make such a venture worthwhile.[231] Caxton's version of the *Golden Legend*, first issued in 1483, was the English hagiographic masterpiece. Nor was it only representative of hagiography at the tail end of the fifteenth, for it was based on a

225 Oliver Pickering, 'Saints' Lives', in Edwards (ed.), *Middle English Prose*, p. 249; Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, pp. 255-7.
226 Mary-Ann Stouck (ed.), *A Short Reader of Medieval Saints* (Toronto, 2009), p. 142; Campbell, 'Clerks and Laity', p. 214.
227 Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books*, pp. 57-73.
228 Amy V. Ogden, 'The Centrality of Margins: Medieval French Genders and Genres Reconfigured', *French Forum* 30:1 (2005), pp. 1-23, at p. 6; Campbell, 'Clerks and Laity', p. 215.
229 Anne M. Dutton, 'Piety, Politics and Persona: MS Harley 4012 and Anne Harling', in Riddy (ed.), *Prestige*, pp. 133-46.
230 Ogden, 'Centrality of Margins', pp. 1-23, at pp. 11-3.
231 Pickering, 'Saints' Lives', p. 259; Walsham and Crick, 'Introduction', p. 16.

fifteenth century version of the French *Légende dorée*, from which the Middle-English *Gilte Legende* had been translated, as well as supplemented by other legends from the original Latin *Legenda aurea*, the *Gilte Legende*, and well as other sources, to create a corpus of almost two-hundred and fifty legends in the tradition of the *Legenda aurea.*[232] The *Legenda aurea*, compiled around 1260 by Jacobus de Voragine, a Domincian who later became archbishop of Genoa in 1292, was overwhelmingly the most significant medieval collection of popular hagiography in circulation.[233] Based around saints' days and the liturgical calendar, it was originally intended as a sourcebook, not unlike John Mirk's *Festial*, for preachers and clerics to use on saints' days and in sermons.[234] Indeed, as early as the late twelfth century it was an article of canon law that priests should have homilies in their possession appropriate for use on Sundays and feast days linked to the saints.[235] So popular was this particular work that it was translated into every language of Western Europe.[236] However, one of the most significant aspects of this growth of and interest in hagiography was its importance as a form of instruction.

To emulate the saints was sanctioned in scripture, and reiterated by Augustine in his *De Mendacio*, and as a result it was a duty of sacred biographers to draw attention to those aspects of a saint's life that the pious laity ought to emulate.[237] For women, who were voracious readers, female saints embodied multiple virtues from chastity to eloquence,

232 Pickering, 'Saints' Lives', p. 260.
233 Stouck (ed.), *Medieval Saints*, p. 142; for Voragine as a model in himself, see Gatland, *Women from the Golden Legend*, p. 16.
234 Stouck (ed.), *Medieval Saints*, p. 142; Martha Easton, '"Why can't a woman be more like a man?" Transforming and Transcending Gender in the Lives of Female Saints', in Lane, Carson Pastan, and Shortell (eds.), *Four Modes of Seeing*, pp. 333-47, at p. 333.
235 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, p. 258.
236 Emma Gatland, *Women from the Golden Legend: Female Authority in a Medieval Castilian Sanctoral* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 1.
237 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, p. 28.

though sometimes the gulf between the emulated and the emulator could be vast.[238] Interestingly, many of these narratives, which were controlled by the clergy and attempted to direct the moral, social and political actions of their lay audience, who it must be remembered were not homogeneous, turned many aspects of medieval life - class, the role of women, political, parental, and clerical authority - upside down, indicative of the position of saints at the edge of society, in the space between the human and the divine.[239] As a result it suggests a certain level of sophisticated understanding amongst their audiences; an audience who enjoyed the conflicts revealed within these narratives as well as receiving the models contained within them.[240] Nor did these hagiographic texts exist in a word-based bubble; for from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and only increasing over time, saints' lives became the source material for images found on altars, shrines, in churches, and in manuscripts.[241]

d) LETTER COLLECTIONS

Quite different from all of the other sources being utilised, private letters, of which we have five collections from the late medieval period in England; the Armburgh, the Cely, the Paston, the Plumpton and the Stonor letters, are not only one of the most heavily utilised sources for the period, but allow us, to a certain extent, to see the people of this time face-to-face.[242] The first four collections originate from the land-based gentry. The Armburgh Papers are the most terse, covering the period c. 1417-1453, and based around the Midlands and home counties; they are focused on only one generation, that of Robert and Joan Armburgh,

238 Gatland, *Women from the Golden Legend*, pp. 2, 20.
239 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, pp. 264-5; Ogden, 'Centrality of Margins', pp. 13-4.
240 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, p. 265.
241 Abou-El-Haj, *Medieval Cult of Saints*, p. 1.
242 Richard Beadle, 'Private Letters', in Edwards (ed.), *Middle English Prose*, pp. 289-90. This thesis does not use the Lisle Letters due to their late dating (1533-40); for the use of letters (esp. the Paston Letters) as sources for the period, for example, for agriculture and estate management, see R. H. Britnell, 'The Pastons and Their Norfolk', *The Agricultural History Review* 36:2 (1988), pp. 132-44; for family life and the political climate, see Helen Castor, *Blood and Roses: The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 2004).

and upon a dispute over three different inheritances, coalesced around the daughters and co-heiresses of Geoffrey Brokhole, and is most illuminating about how the gentry used the law.[243] The later dated Plumpton correspondence, covering just over a century from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth, is much fuller, though also very much centred around matters of business, and dominated by letters addressed to Sir William Plumpton and his son Sir Robert, thus pushing out other voices.[244] This collection stands out amongst the others as the only northern correspondence, with the family based around their holdings, originally in Yorkshire, and later, through marriage, in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. The Stonors, their letters dating from 1290-1483, though concentrated around the period c. 1470 to 1483, were firmly established at Stonor in Oxfordshire, their original landholding base.[245] In terms of this thesis, we see in the Stonor letters a much broader correspondence concerning a wider range of topics, including the three marriages of William Stonor, which bring the voices of women, especially that of his first wife Elizabeth, and the related topics of children and the household, into the mix.[246] Nowhere, however, was the human tumult of a later medieval household given such colour than in the famous fifteenth century, Norfolk-based, Paston letter collection. Consisting of over a thousand separate letters and documents, many of which concerned with Sir John Fastolf and the later execution of his will, they mainly centre around the lives of John Paston I, son of William and Agnes Paston, his wife Margaret, and their children, particularly their sons John II and John III, and their daughters Anne and Margery, whose marriage to Richard Calle was a source of family scandal.[247] Rich

243 *Armburgh*, pp. 1-40.

244 *Plumpton*, pp. 1-3; this collection consists of eight items, namely a letter book, a coucher book, five books of transcripts and abstracts of evidences, and an unbound volume of transcripts.

245 *Stonor.1*, p. vii; *Stonor.2*.

246 *Stonor.1*, pp. xxvi-xxxiii.

247 *Paston.1*; *Paston.2*; *Paston.3*; Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: The first phase* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. pp. 1-22, on the origins of the Pastons, and pp. 206-58, on the relationship with Sir John Fastolf; *idem*, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Fastolf's will* (Cambridge, 1996); *idem*, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings* (Manchester, 2000); John I and his wife Margery had seven children in total – five sons and two daughters.

with personality, especially that of the formidable Margaret, who was an unusually prolific letter composer, the collection covers the gamut of human experience, from the mundane business of buying clothes for children, to the dramatic tumult of the War of the Roses.[248] The Celys, finally, were quite a different family from the previous four families discussed, originating from the merchant class, and based in the wool trade, rather than country gentry.[249] This is despite the fact that Sir William Stonor was engaged in the same trade; although the Celys, despite some minor landholdings, were concerned mainly with city affairs and business, whilst the Stonors, like the other families in these letter collections, looked towards their country estates.[250] However, with the rising status and indeed wealth of many merchants in this period, they too were starting to emulate the same behaviour and buy the same luxury goods as their gentry cousins, hence their inclusion in this thesis. In the mid-fifteenth century Richard Cely senior, a 'worshipful citizen of London' and a 'merchant of the Fellowship of the Staple at Calais' and his wife Agnes were blessed with three boys, Robert, Richard, and George, around which the Cely correspondence, dated 1472 to 1488, revolves.[251] Robert was married by 1474, but it was Richard who became the chief executor of the family's properties in 1482 with the death of his father.[252] These letters also have a particular international character, looking towards the continent, to Calais and the Low Countries, something that is reflected in the language of the letters which has the distinct character of commercial English, heavily influenced by four centuries of international trading and including Flemish, French, and Middle Dutch borrowings.[253] In particular the letters between the brothers Richard and George come across as warm and human, particularly the

248 Richmond, *Endings*, pp. 88-174; Krug, *Reading Families*, p. 19, and for Margaret Paston's use of letter-writing, see Chapter I, pp. 17-64.
249 For background on merchants, see Jenny Kermode, 'Merchants', in Marks and Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art*, pp. 272-4.
250 *Cely*, p. vii.
251 Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English merchant family of the fifteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 3.
252 *Cely*, pp. x-xii.
253 *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii,; xxii-xxv.

correspondence concerning George's, who had a series of Calais-based mistresses, search for a suitable wife.[254]

Most of these letters and documents are in English, another indication of the spread of literacy across different levels of society as the period progresses.[255] Indeed, by the early sixteenth century facility with written texts was so common and of such high quality that it was a cause for comment.[256] In an interesting crossover between genres, we know that Sir John Paston, a leading member of the Paston family, commissioned and owned an anthology of texts, known by historians as Sir John Paston's *Grete Boke*, which contained amongst texts on chivalry and courtly precedent, a book of nurture or courtesy for the 'up-and-coming gentleman'.[257] Compiled books for the middle classes were not uncommon, and often contained a mixture of hagiographic and courtesy material for the edification of the whole family.[258] Although from the gentry and merchant level of society, Richard Beadle considers these surviving collections, a mere fraction of the correspondence that would have been circulating at the time, to be an emulation of the social practices of the very elite of society.[259] Many of these correspondences, particularly those of the Plumptons and the Armburghs, deal almost entirely with business matters, but the other collections, such as the Cely letters and especially the extensive Paston missives, have more of a personal flavour, intersecting with the social and political.[260] It must be borne in mind that although these letters often do

254 *Cely*, p. xv.
255 Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', p. 288.
256 Krug, *Reading Families*, p. 65.
257 G. A. Lester, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Boke: A bespoke book or mass-produced?', *English Studies* 66:2 (1985), pp. 93-104; Richmond, *Fastolf's will*, pp. 166-7.
258 Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', pp. 292-5.
259 Beadle, 'Private Letters', pp. 293-4; this view is reiterated by Jennifer C. Ward, 'Letter-Writing by English Noblewomen in the Early Fifteenth Century', in James Daybell, (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 30.
260 Beadle, 'Private Letters', pp. 294, 302; Jennifer Douglas, '"Kepe wysly youre wrytyngys": Margaret Paston's Fifteenth-Century Letters', *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 44 (2009), pp. 29-49; for a thorough discussion of the language of the Paston letters, see Johanna L. Wood, 'Text in context: A

address private matters, they were, at least partly, public documents; dictated, read aloud, addressed to multiple persons - as well as transported over sometimes substantial distances.[261] However, this could be seen as a way in which group attitudes and identities were negotiated, transmitted, and reinforced, even if they come down to the historian in the form of fragments.[262] Letters fostered social and political links in the same way hospitality and gift-giving did, and as such, are representative of the central household reaching out of itself into wider society as well as revealing the nature of relationships within it.[263] Women in particular tended to dictate or add affectionate postscripts to scribal-written missives, and their letters indicate the centrality of family in medieval women's lives as well as their own importance as intermediaries and as conductors of household and estate business.[264] It was also not unusual to give extra information to the bearer of a letter rather than entrust it to the page.[265] What is most important about these letter collections, despite the frequent involvement of scribes in their production, was that they allow a glimpse into actual familial and social concerns not seen in other, more didactic and formal texts.[266] The inclusion of these letter collections into the thesis allows an insight into how models of behaviour might have operated outside of the more rigid world of didactic literature.

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critical discourse analysis approach to Margaret Paston', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 5:2 (2004), pp. 229-54, esp. pp. 237-8 on how letters were written, p. 239 transported, and pp. 240-46 on their salutations; *idem*, 'Structures and Expectations: A systematic analysis of Margaret Paston's formulaic and expressive language', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 10:2 (2009), pp. 187-214, esp. pp. 198-202 on letter models, pp. 204-6 on scribal practices, and pp. 206-11 on openings and closings.

261 Beadle, 'Private Letters', p. 294; Alison Truelove, 'Commanding Communications: the Fifteenth-Century Letters of the Stonor Women', in Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing*, p. 44; Douglas, 'Kepe wysly youre wrytyngys', pp. 32-4.

262 For rhetorical strategies designed to achieve favour from the recipient, see Teresa Sánchez Roura, 'The pragmatics of *captatio benevolentiae* in the Cely letters', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 3:2 (2002), pp. 253-72.

263 James Daybell, 'Introduction', in *idem* (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing*, p. 11; Ward, 'Letter-Writing by English Noblewomen', pp. 35-6.

264 Daybell, 'Introduction', pp. 2-7; Ward, 'Letter-Writing by English Noblewomen', p. 36; Truelove, 'Commanding Communications', p. 48; for an exploration of the use of scribes and letter style, see Roger Dalrymple, 'Reaction, Consolation and Redress in the Letters of the Paston Women', in Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing*, pp. 16-28; on Margaret Paston's use of scribes, see Gies, *Marriage*, p. 255.

265 Ward, 'Letter-Writing by English Noblewomen', p. 35.

266 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

THE TEXTS: MODELS AND TRADITIONS

However, models are active in texts as well as images, which is important to bear in mind. Not only are the sources constructed around their own, often quite rigid traditions, there is a great deal of cross-usage creating a unifying effect across the didactic traditions. Sermons in particular were most often compilations of the words of others.[267] Hence the need for Mirk's *Festial*, which, as the preface acknowledges, was in itself heavily indebted to the *Legenda aurea*, with more than three-quarters of its sermons taking material from the compilation and utilising it even more than scriptural tradition.[268] Indeed, given that the increased interest in saintly devotion coincided with the explosion in sermon literature, the saints influenced the construction of sermons themselves as their feasts inspired new opportunities for preaching, thus requiring appropriate, new, sermons.[269] In addition, even this borrowed sermon prose was dominated by formulaic expressions which further restrain the text, though the *Festial* is much freer in language than most sermons, with stock phrases limited to prayer formulae at the end of sermons and phrases introducing authorities and audience knowledge.[270]

This is not unlike the language found in the letter collections, which was often mediated by scribal tradition based on classical examples. Indeed, Elizabeth Stonor is known to have used at least nine scribes, probably because they were close at hand, with the differences

267 Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', pp. 159-61; Stouck (ed.), *Medieval Saints*, p. 142; Christina von Nolcken, 'Some Alphabetical Compendia and How Preachers Used Them in Fourteenth-Century England', *Viator* 12 (1981), pp. 271-88.

268 Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', p. 154; Ford, *John Mirk's Festial*, pp. 13, 17, 136; d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 38-9.

269 George Ferzoco, 'The Context of Medieval Sermon Collections and Saints', in Muessig (ed.), *Preacher, Sermon and Audience*, pp. 279-92, at p. 280.

270 Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', p. 151; Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching*, pp. 64, 119.

between them determined by linguistic variations.[271] The basic format in use during the fifteenth century had evolved out of the rhetorical study of letter composition, known as *ars dictaminis*, disseminated via letter manuals.[272] Kristie S. Fleckenstein argues that the *ars dictaminis* itself was a form of 'well-mannered' social display, designed to engage the audience in communal literacy and reinforce status and rank, placing decorum at the social and political heart of medieval society, but one that evolved from a very public realm to a more private one in the fifteenth century.[273] The use of scribes by women is perhaps not surprising when the didactic literature penned by the *Knight of La Tour Landry* encouraged women to read but saw no need for them to learn how to write.[274] However, even when scribes were not used, which was especially the case for letters authored by men, a common formula dominated, populated by stock phrases, for example, wishing the recipient good health and assuring them of their own, and the indication of respect according to rank even among family members.[275] This can be seen more clearly when letters deviate from traditional formulae, such as in Richard Calle's letter to Margery Paston, which is much freer in its expression, or in personal postscripts unrestrained by scribal forms.[276] There was also change over time in the opening forms of address, as well as variation due to class, gender,

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271 Beadle, 'Private Letters', pp. 290-92; Truelove, 'Commanding Communications', pp. 44, 50-51; scribes, like illuminators, could also hail from across Northern Europe, on which see M. B. Parkes, 'A Fifteenth-Century Scribe: Henry Mere', repr. in *idem*, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers*, pp. 249-56.

272 Truelove, 'Commanding Communications', p. 49; for the history and use of the *ars dictaminis* and scribes, see John Taylor, 'Letters and Letter Collections in England, 1300-1420', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 24 (1980), pp. 57-70; Malcolm Richardson, 'The *Dictamen* and its Influence on Fifteenth-Century English Prose', *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 2:3 (1984), pp. 207-26, esp. examples from the different letter collections at pp. 215-6; Linda Ehrsam Voights, 'A Letter from a Middle English Dictaminal Formulary in Harvard Law Library MS 43', *Speculum* 56:3 (1981), pp. 575-81; Wood, 'Text in context', pp. 235-8; *idem*, 'Structures and Expectations', pp. 198-202; Douglas, 'Kepe wysly youre wrytyngys', pp. 36-9; Krug, *Reading Families*, p. 32; for a different influence on English letter writing, see Norman Davis, 'The Litera Troili and English Letters', *The Review of English Studies* 16:63 (1965), pp. 233-44.

273 Kristie S. Fleckenstein, 'Decorous Spectacle: Mirrors, Manners, and Ars Dictaminis in Late Medieval Civic Engagement', *Rhetoric Review* 28:2 (2009), pp. 111-27.

274 Krug, *Reading Families*, pp. 28-9; *BKLL.Cax*, pp. 12-3.

275 Beadle, 'Private Letters', pp. 296-9; Ward, 'Letter-Writing by English Noblewomen', pp. 30-31; Wood, 'Text in context', pp. 240-50; Hanham, *Celys and Their World*, p. 14.

276 Beadle, 'Private Letters', p. 300; Daybell, 'Introduction', p. 7; Truelove, 'Commanding Communications', p. 51; *Stonor.1*, no. 67, pp. 59-60; no. 106, pp. 109-10; *Stonor.2*, no. 168, pp. 9-10; no. 170, p. 12; no. 180, pp. 22-3; no. 204, pp. 41-2; no. 218, pp. 56-7.

age, relationships, and personalities.[277] But models were used not just because of familiarity, but because they were a way of interacting with the world whilst simultaneously placing the sender in the best possible light, hence, the more formal the subject, the closer convention was adhered to.[278] Letters also crossed into courtesy literature, with the section on letter-writing from the *Good Wife's Guide* which parallels the language found in the letter collections: 'I advise you to receive with great joy and reverence your husband's loving personal letters..and write back to him when you are alone, with your own hand, if you know how, or by the hand of another very discreet person. Write to him sweet and loving words and tell him your joys and diversions'.[279] However, the husband's urging for his wife to 'secretly read them [the letters] unaccompanied, in isolation, and write back to him when you are alone' seems at odds with what we know of the rather unavoidable, public reality, of post in this period.[280]

Courtesy literature also crossed over into hagiography, with the third part of *The Book of the City of Ladies* consisting of a saintly legendary.[281] Saints' lives were also dominated by a formula, most frequently the three-part model of renunciation, testing, and consummation. Renunciation involved the revoking of status, wealth, or family; testing, the tortures undergone by the saint; and finally consummation, which was essentially death and the promised union with God.[282] Given the exemplary nature of individual saints in these hagiographies, which ironically suggested potentially provocative behaviour to their audiences, behaviour that opened salvation to all, rich or poor, many saints were not

277 Beadle, 'Private Letters', p. 301.
278 Truelove, 'Commanding Communications', p. 50.
279 *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4; *GWG*, p. 93.
280 *GWG*, p. 93.
281 Long, 'Medieval French Book', p. 525; *BCL*, Part III, pp. 201-40.
282 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, pp. 265-75.

personalities, but paradigms.[283] The complicated nature of the saints' lives underscores the fact that models were not simple in this period - they sometimes seem strange, contradictory, and reliant on a relatively sophisticated understanding on the part of their audiences, which is what makes this charting of medieval ideals so fascinating and potentially significant. The models used in texts could also be used in images - for example, both the 'word-images' used in sermons and motifs in illuminated manuscripts were drawn from bestiaries.[284] In Christine de Pizan's *Book of the City of Ladies*, translated into English in 1521, the three women who appear are drawn from ideas about the Trinity, whilst the beam of light originates from the visual ray of the Annunciation.[285] The medieval use of models is not surprising when we consider how contemporaries viewed them, namely as authorities which had all of the weight of the past ranged behind them, and thus became guarantors of divine truth.[286] As Erwin Panofsky wrote, 'the Middle Ages accepted and developed rather than studied and restored', copying liberally from ancient sources and contemporaries across genres.[287]

283 Heffernan, *Sacred Biography*, pp. 277-98.
284 Spencer, 'Sermon Literature', p. 167.
285 Kolve, 'Annunciation to Christine', p. 185; Long, 'Medieval French Book', p. 521.
286 Gatland, *Women from the Golden Legend*, pp. 13-4.
287 Panofsky, 'Introduction: The History of Art', p. 26.

CHAPTER ONE

Betrothal, Marriage and Courtship

Marriage was a central institution of society, the object of a vast body of contemporary theological discussion of its status and implications.[1] It established the medieval household, formed the basis of the political and economic unit that underpinned medieval society, and, on paper, was the same for all regardless of station.[2] It was both a property transaction and the site of socially, and theologically, sanctioned affection.[3] Modern scholarship agrees on

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1 *IPP*, l. 532, p. 17; George G. Perry (ed.), 'Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon' in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (London, 1867), ll. 30-34, p. 8; *idem* (ed.), 'Mirror of Saint Edmund' in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces*, ll. 19-21, p. 28; *Festial.2*, 'Sermo de nupcijs', ll. 1-13, p. 252, ll. 139-42, p. 256; for a wider discussion of marriage sermons, see Rüdiger Schnell, 'The Discourse on Marriage in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 73:3 (1998), pp. 771-86; D. L. d'Avray, 'Method in the Study of Medieval Sermons,' in N. Bériou and *idem*, *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons – Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), p. 21; N. Bériou and D. L. d'Avray, 'The Image of the Ideal Husband,' in *eidem*, *Modern Questions*, pp. 31-33; N. Bériou and D. L. d'Avray, 'Henry of Poins, O.P.'s Comparison of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders with the <<Order>> of Matrimony,' in *eidem*, *Modern Questions*, pp. 71-5; Carolyn Diskant Muir, 'Bride or Bridegroom? Masculine Identity in Mystic Marriages,' in P. H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (eds.), *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 2004), pp. 58-78; Frances and Joseph Gies, *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages* (London, 1987), see Chapter 7, pp. 133-56; 'Gratian', in *WL*, pp. 79-83; Allison Coudert, 'Exemplary Biblical Couples and the Sacrament of Marriage,' in Helen Rodite Lemay (ed.), *Homo Carnalis: The Carnal Aspect of Medieval Human Life* (Binghamton, 1990), pp. 70-71; for the development and promotion of the consensual doctrine, see Jacqueline Murray, 'Individualism and Consensual Marriage: Some Evidence England,' in Constance M. Rousseau and Joel T. Rosenthal (eds.), *Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Micheal M. Sheehan* (Kalamazoo, 1998), pp. 121-51; Shannon McSheffrey, '"I will never have none ayenst my faders will." Consent and the Making of Marriage in the Late Medieval Diocese of London,' in Rousseau and Rosenthal (eds.), *Women, Marriage, and Family*, pp. 153-74; Michael M. Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies*, ed. James K. Farge, intro. Joel T. Rosenthal (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 87-176; Irven M. Resnick, 'Marriage in Medieval Culture: Consent Theory and The Case of Joseph and Mary', *Church History* 69:2 (2000), pp. 350-71.

2 David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge MA, 1985), pp. 80-111; *cf.* C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 96-7; Shannon McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage in Late Medieval London* (Kalamazoo, 1995), p. 1; David Herlihy, 'The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment', in Carol Neel (ed.), *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Household, and Children* (London, 2004), pp. 192-213, esp. p. 198.

3 For the discussion of property and dowry in marriage negotiations, see Robert C. Palmer, 'Contexts of Marriage in Medieval England: Evidence from the King's Court circa 1300', *Speculum* 59:1 (1984), pp. 43-65; *cf.* Carole Rawcliffe, 'The Politics of Marriage in Later Medieval England: William, Lord Botreaux, and the Hungerfords', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 51:3 (1988), pp. 161-75; Martha Howell, 'The Properties of Marriage in Late Medieval Europe: Commercial Wealth and the Creation of Modern Marriage,' in Isabel Davis, Miriam Müller, and Sarah Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle* Ages (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 17-61, esp. pp. 23-32; Herlihy, *Medieval*

the significance of medieval marriage, but is in disagreement about almost everything else, including the role of free consent and the tension between lay and ecclesiastical elites over control of the process.[4] And yet, despite a substantial historiography, visual sources have been incorporated much less than the typically cited sermon and epistolary evidence, perhaps due to the fact that images of marriage are far fewer in number than those of other stages of the medieval lifecycle such as birth and death. Courtship has been discussed in relation to images, but it should not be conflated with betrothal and marriage despite cognate themes of affection and union.[5] David d'Avray, discussing how the symbolism of marriage in sermons gave meaning and shape to practice, has argued that in the last three centuries of the medieval period this symbolism is overwhelmingly positive.[6] This chapter seeks to build on his notion of symbolism affecting practice by exploring how the images and texts constructing the ideal or ideals of marriage operated with and upon their audience, and thus to feed images back into the historiographical debate over the nature of marriage.

According to canon law, a marriage could take place entirely in the lay realm, but over time a nuptial blessing became a useful, if controversial, distinguisher between a valid and a

Households, pp. 142-9; for marital affection as social reality, see D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 1-2, 170.

4 McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage*, p. 4; John K. Leonard, 'Rites of Marriage in the Western Middle Ages,' in ed. Lizette Larson-Miller, *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays* (London, 1997), p. 165; for canon law governing marriage, see Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law*, pp. 247-61; for property and financial approaches to marriage, see Simon Payling, 'The Politics of Family: Late Medieval Marriage Contracts,' in R. H. Britnell and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *The McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and* Society (Stroud, 1995), pp. 21-47; Michael M. Sheehan, 'Marriage Theory and Practice in the Conciliar Legislation and Diocesan Statutes of Medieval England,' in *idem*, *Marriage, Family, and Law*, pp. 118-76; Michael M. Sheehan, 'The European Family and Canon Law', in *idem*, *Marriage, Family, and Law*, pp. 247-61; Martha C. Howell, 'Martial Property Law as Socio-Cultural Text: The Case of Late-Medieval Douai,' in ed. Philip L. Reynolds and John Witte Jr. *To Have and To Hold: Marrying and its Documentation in Western Christendom, 400-1600* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 421-52; Sara McDougall, 'The Making of Marriage in Medieval France', *Journal of Family History* 38:2 (2013), pp. 103-121; for aristocratic concern for marital legitimacy, see Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England: 1000-1500* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 87-91; Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, p. 81; Resnick, 'Marriage in Medieval Culture', p. 370; *cf.* for the importance of consent and a church wedding, see J. Patrick Hornbeck II, 'Love and Marriage in the Norwich Heresy Trials, 1428-1431', *Viator* 44:3 (2013), pp. 237-55; d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 127.

5 Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London, 1998).

6 d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, esp. pp. 2, 20-31, 58-68.

sacramental marriage.[7] The Church was not necessary: 'any couple who exchanged "words of present consent" (*per verba de praesenti*) were lawfully married and the only need for a priest was to perform the optional, nuptial Mass'.[8] This theory of present consent was advanced by Peter Lombard (c. 1095-1160); words of future consent (*per verba de futuro*) were only a promise to marry, and could be broken if both parties agreed.[9] From the late twelfth century, words of present consent, even when spoken privately, made a marriage, whilst consummation remained unnecessary.[10] The later medieval Church pushed, however, for public marriages and adherence to their own guidelines, though Gillian Pritchard argues that the laity desired the publicity of a church wedding for social and legal reasons.[11]

THE TENSION BETWEEN TWO VALUE SYSTEMS

For the medieval saint, marriage was an ambiguous status, a condition not especially desired by a set of people for whom chastity was supreme. Instead, betrothal and marriage were a threat rather than a desire, precipitating an often fraught, dangerous situation in which parent was ranged against child already betrothed to Christ.[12] The early thirteenth-century *Hali Meidhad* set the tone by attempting to turn young women to the path of virginity by painting a grim picture of a miserable marriage, of a wife harried and mistreated.[13] Saint Silvester, however, defended marriage on the grounds that the Virgin was the product of one,

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7 Christine Peters, 'Gender, Sacrament and Ritual: The Making and Meaning of Marriage in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Past and Present* 169:1 (2000), pp. 63-96, esp. p. 66; a good overview of marriage from the eleventh century onwards is Michael M. Sheehan, 'Choice of Marriage Partner in the Middle Ages: Development and Mode of Application of a Theory of Marriage', in Neel (ed.), *Medieval Families*, pp. 157-91, esp. p. 178.

8 Gillian Pritchard, 'Religion and the Paston Family', in Richard Britnell (ed.), *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998), p. 73; R. H. Helmholz, *Roman Canon Law in Reformation England* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 6; a good background to marriage and Church law is Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in late medieval London* (Philadelphia, 2006), pp. 21-7.

9 Gies, *Marriage*, pp. 138-9.

10 Palmer, 'Contexts of Marriage', pp. 42-67, esp. p. 42.

11 A. J. Finch, 'Sexual Relations and Marriage in Later Medieval Normandy', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47:2 (1996), pp. 236-56; Pritchard, 'Religion and the Paston Family', p. 72.

12 For examples, see *GL.1*, p. 19; *LA*, p. 19; *GL.2*, p. 278; *LA*, p. 726.

13 *HM*, pp. 13-5, esp. p. 15, ll. 28-30; Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, 1983), pp. 21-3.

as does an explanation for the Annunciation of the Lord.[14] One prevailing attitude was that Mary and Joseph were joined in a form of betrothal rather than marriage, thus avoiding the problem of physical consummation.[15] Their union was thought to remove dishonour from 'every rank and condition of womankind, namely, the married, virgins, and widows, since she herself was married, virginal, and widowed'.[16] To Saint Jerome, nevertheless, there seemed as much of a difference between marriage and virginity as between sinning and sainthood.[17] Indeed, although a wedding is mentioned in the Life of Saint Nicholas as something to be celebrated and enjoyed, the details are sparing.[18] And yet, when we turn from hagiography to the didactic literature, marriage is the ideal foremost in the minds of its creators. Peter Idley understood, and thus encouraged, marriage as a state commanded by God; certainly hindering one was cause to do penance.[19] The poem *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage* is even more emphatic about the importance of getting married, for 'Yfe þou wylt no hosbonde have, but wher thy maydon croun,/... Syt sadly in þin arey; let mournynge be þi goun', whilst *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry* opens with the author reminiscing over his youth, love, and marriage.[20] However, the tragedy of not marrying was very much borne by women; for men, whilst marriage was important, it was both less vital and less hurried.[21]

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14 *GL.1*, pp. 69, 197, xviii; *LA*, pp. 76, 217.

15 For the role of consummation (important in later centuries), see d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 170-200; Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 57-132.

16 *GL.1*, p. 197; *LA*, p. 217; Muir, 'Bride or Bridegroom?', p. 71; Coudert, 'Biblical Couples', pp. 59-83; McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage*, p. 24; Virginie Green, 'The Knight, the Woman, and the Historian: Georges Duby and Courtly Love,' in ed. Albrecht Classen, *Discourses on Love, Marriage, and Transgression in Medieval and Early Modern Literature* (Tempe, 2004), pp. 43-63; Howell, 'Properties of Marriage', pp. 17-61; Payling, 'Politics of Family', pp. 21-47; Frederik Pedersen, '"Maritalis Affectio": Marital Affection and Property in Fourteenth-Century York Cause Papers' in Rousseau and Rosenthal (eds.), *Women, Marriage, and Family*, pp. 175-209; Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law*, pp. 262-77; D. L. d'Avray 'The Gospel of the Marriage Feast of Cana and Marriage Preaching in France,' in Bériou and *idem*, *Modern Questions*, pp. 144-5; Karen Cherewatuk, 'Pledging troth in Malory's "Tale of Sir Gareth"', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 101:1 (2002), pp. 19-41.

17 *GL.1*, xviii.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 22; *LA*, p. 23.

19 *PIS*, ll. 1247-67, p. 102; ll. 1620-22, p. 134; *IPP*, l. 1382, p. 43.

20 *GWWP*, ll. 67-70, p. 175; *BKLL*, p. 1.

21 *RR*, ll. 925-34, p. 52.

TYPES OF IMAGES

There are three basic representations of marriage in manuscript illuminations. The first is the biblical story of the wedding at Cana, one of the miracles of Jesus in the Gospels.[22] The hosts of a wedding attended by Jesus and his disciples ran out of wine, and upon the urging of his mother, Christ instructed the servants to fill the empty containers with water, which when drawn and passed to the head servant became wine. A good example of this image can be seen in a late fourteenth-century English historiated initial, found in an enormous and annotated, implying engagement with the manuscript, Commentary on the Gospels originally written for James le Palmer, clerk of the Exchequer *(Fig. 1)*.[23] It was a particularly important vignette as Christ's presence at Cana was seen as legitimising marriage, 'schewyng þat he blessed þe weddyng þat ys doun as þe lawe of Holy Chyrch ordeyneth', and was often a feature of Epiphany sermons, adding weight to the argument behind the establishment of marriage as the seventh sacrament.[24] Since the marriage at Cana in illustrations always takes the form of a feast, complete with heavily laden table, queue of guests, and of course wine, it will be discussed more fully with other images of feasting in Chapter Three.

The second marital representation is the marriage of Christ and the Church, supposed to have taken place inside the womb of the Virgin Mary. This image fits within the overarching typology of images of the Virgin and Child, to which it bears a great resemblance.[25] For example, in one illuminated roundel from a French thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée*, the Virgin, seated and clothed in heavy blue cloth, looks down at the Holy Child in her arms

22 *Schiller.1*, pp. 162-4; John 2:1-11.

23 *GL.2*, p. 97; *LA*, p. 527; MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 97r, (Fig. 1); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 138-40.

24 d'Avray, 'Marriage Feast,' pp. 135-53; D. L. d'Avray and M. Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons in ad status collections of the central Middle Ages,' in Bériou and *idem*, *Modern Questions*, pp. 77-134; d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, p. 65; *Festial.1*, 'De ep[ip]hania domini', ll. 155-6, p. 51; Peters, 'Gender, Sacrament and Ritual', p. 73.

25 Muir, 'Bride or Bridegroom?', pp. 58-78.

draped in white; next to her stand two figures, that of Christ, his head haloed in red and clothed in red and blue draped cloth, and the Virgin again, this time attired in blue and white wearing a gold crown, whose hand he takes. The standing pair represents the marriage of Christ and the Church, the mother and Child the fruit of her womb *(Fig. 2)*.[26] The seated Virgin and Child, with the colours of their clothing and the tilted head of Mary, are reminiscent of Virgin and Child images often paired with patron portraits.

Finally there is the marriage ceremony itself, which can be placed much more easily than the others against contemporary textual sources on marriage practice. Whilst depictions of both the wedding at Cana and the marriage of Christ and the Church are restricted in terms of the illustrated characters by their specific back-story, these images of betrothal and marriage ceremonies also often include a variety of protagonists, ranging from lay personages, biblical figures, to the embodiments of Mercury and Philologia from Martianus Capella's fifth-century *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, an allegory about the courtship and wedding of Mercury, or intelligent pursuit, with the maiden Philologia, or learning, with this particular example drawn from a rather dirty manuscript originating from Norwich, well-used, marked as it is by sketches and annotations, and dated to around 1400 *(Fig. 3)*.[27]

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26 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 6r, (Fig. 2); although the patron of this particular manuscript is uncertain, similar versions of the same manuscript are known to have been popular with aristocratic patrons, see Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 112, 152-3; for an analysis of this particular manuscript, see Christopher Hughes, 'Typology and its Uses in the Moralized Bible', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2006), pp. 133-50; *cf.* Christopher de Hamel, *The Book. A History of the Bible* (London, 2001), pp. 149-53; John Lowden, 'Beauty or Truth? Making a *Bible Moralisée* in Paris around 1400', in Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (eds.), *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400* (Louvain, 2006), pp. 199-222.

27 MS Canon. Misc. 110, fol. 123r, (Fig. 3).

BETHROTHAL AND MARRIAGE IN THE ILLUMINATIONS

Given the overlapping nature of late medieval betrothal and marriage, illuminations catalogued as one in the Bodleian collection are barely distinguishable from those classified as the other. Nevertheless, the various manuscripts in which they are found differ. Marriage ceremonies come in texts of learning, such as *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, decretals, memorabilia, and chronicles, and contain either allegorical or unidentified lay figures in the scenes. Betrothals, however, are drawn from a different set of sources. Not only do they always figure biblical protagonists such as Job, Sarah and Tobit, and Mary and Joseph, but they are situated in books of hours, Lives of Our Lady, the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, and the *Gesta infantiae salvatoris.* Although it may well be difficult to convey in images the differences between words of 'present' and 'future' consent, the label 'How Joseph was wedded to Our Lady' underneath an image of Joseph and the Virgin outside a church, in a grisaille miniature catalogued as a betrothal from a fifteenth-century English *Life of Our Lady*, in good condition though bound up with other manuscripts *(Fig. 6)*, suggests that the cataloguing of biblical images as betrothals may reference the traditional discomfort with the implication of marital affection rather than an actual difference.[28] The interchangeability of the two scenes can also be partially explained with reference to the *Instructions for Parish Priests*, for if a man who betroths himself to a woman must then marry her it is hardly surprising that marriage and betrothal ceremonies might be collapsed in depiction.[29]

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

Considering these similarities, when we bring images and texts together, can we determine if there was an ideal late medieval marriage ceremony, and if so, what did it constitute? Christopher Brooke argues that by the early twelfth century the Church wanted

28 MS Bodl. 596, fol. 96r, (Fig. 6).
29 *IPP*, ll. 192-6, p. 7.

marriage to be marked by a religious ceremony involving an exchange of gifts, promises, the blessing of a priest, nuptial Mass, and the benediction of the marriage chamber.[30] That the ceremony itself was thought to be significant is apparent in the *Golden Legend*, where a king, facing the death of his daughter, weeps that he will never be able 'to invite princes to your wedding, to adorn the palace with pearls, to hear the music of timbrel and harp'.[31] However, information on the actual betrothal or marriage ceremony is quite sparse in the letter collections, which despite offering insights into the considerations going into them, gives away little about how they were actually performed.[32] A letter from Sir William Gascoigne to Sir Robert Plumpton in 1521 demonstrates that betrothal and marriage were primarily considered as a binding of families, for 'thus doyng, bynds me to doe you as great a pleasure, which I shalbe glad to dow'.[33] The lack of ceremonial detail is mirrored in the advice literature aimed at women. Whilst an 'odde weddynge' is cursed without further explanation, young women are straightforwardly encouraged to choose a husband according to his character, not advised how to plan for or behave at a wedding.[34] The theme across the texts is that primary importance was placed on the practicalities of hammering out a contract or how to behave once married, not the ceremony itself.

From the images however, it is clear that across the period the ideal ceremony, whatever its identity, necessitated the presence of a priest to conduct it, usually wearing a mitre or with a tonsured head as a mark of his position, whilst standing between the couple,

30 Brooke, *Idea of Marriage*, p. 139.

31 *GL.1*, p. 239; *LA*, pp. 260-61.

32 It should be noted that statutes and litigation reveal far more detail, for example, see Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law*, for betrothal, see esp. pp. 48, 137-44, the banns, pp. 145-54, present consent, pp. 154-66.

33 *Plumpton*, no. 219, pp. 198-9; S. J. Payling, 'The economics of marriage in late medieval England: the marriage of heiresses', *Economic History Review,* 54:3 (2001), pp. 413-29.

34 *IPP*, p. 7; *GWG*, p. 105; for clandestine marriages, see d'Avray and Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons,' pp. 133; Michael M. Sheehan, 'Formation and Stability of Marriage in Fourteenth-Century England: Evidence of an Ely Register,' in *idem*, *Marriage, Family, and Law*, pp. 38-76; d'Avray, 'Marriage Ceremonies', p. 107.

either bringing their hands together or blessing their held hands *(Figs. 4-9)*.[35] Only in one image, that of allegorical marriage, is this not the case *(Fig. 3)*.[36] This supports the evidence explored by Shannon McSheffrey, R. H. Helmholz, and Michael Sheehan, and goes beyond it, giving it a concrete form.[37] This is significant, as technically a priest was not required nor always employed to legitimate a marriage, though a marriage conducted without the proper reading of the banns was considered clandestine.[38] Indeed, it was possible for a couple to marry with the exchange of vows before witnesses without anyone overseeing, though sometimes a senior acquaintance did so.[39] As to location, there is little data in the texts beyond the instruction that marriages are to be conducted 'openlyche at the chyrche dore', which we have already seen in action in the miniature from the aforementioned English fifteenth-century *Life of Our Lady (Fig. 6)* – 'lete hem come and wytnes brynge/ To stand by at here weddynge'.[40] Peter Idley insists that 'In the face of the churche it [marriage] oweth to be hadde' for the reason it makes a marriage in instances when a man 'speketh of wedlok, but he thynketh it noght'.[41] Yet both of these illuminated ceremonies could take place in a variety of locations, depicted as they are at the church door, inside the church, or even in an undifferentiated space, for the location is not always made specific. This dovetails with the work of Shannon McSheffrey, who has used fifteenth-century depositions to explore the different locations for the contraction of marriage.[42] Although her work addresses urban

35 For fourteenth-century examples, see MS e Mus. 60, fol. 78r; (Fig. 4); MS Douce 217, fol. 313v; (Fig. 5); for fifteenth-century examples, see MS Bodl. 596, fol. 96r; (Fig. 6); MS Douce 237, fol. 16r; (Fig. 7); MS Douce f. 4, fol. 3r; (Fig. 8); for a sixteenth-century example, see MS Douce 135; (Fig. 9).

36 For the one image without official, see MS Canon. Misc. 110, fol. 123r; (Fig. 3).

37 McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex*, pp. 34, 44; R. H. Helmholz, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England* (Oxford, 2004), p. 529; Sheehan, *Marriage, Family, and Law*, pp. 137-144.

38 McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage*, p. 4; D. L. d'Avray, 'Marriage Ceremonies and the Church in Italy after 1215', in Trevor Dean and K. J. P. Lowe (eds.), *Marriage in Italy, 1300-1650* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 107; Henry Ansgar Kelly, 'Clandestine Marriage and Chaucer's "Troilus"', *Viator* 4 (1973), pp. 435-58, esp. p. 438.

39 McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage*, p. 12.

40 MS Bodl. 596, fol. 96r, (Fig. 6); *IPP*, ll. 204-6, p. 7.

41 *PIS*, ll. 1651-92, p. 135.

42 Shannon McSheffrey, 'Place, Space, and Situation: Public and Private in the Making of Marriage in Late-Medieval London', *Speculum*, 79:4 (Oct. 2004), pp. 960-90.

households below the gentry and aristocracy level discussed here, it seems likely that ambivalence about location extended to the upper sections of society. Where it did not take place was under a canopy, even if this feature of English ritual is mentioned by Christine Peters, Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane in their own work.[43] Nothing is offered in the texts in regard to where the priest is situated, what he does, where the other witnesses, if present, stand, and who might be an appropriate witness, only that irregular marriages are cursed, however, the illuminations fill this information gap.[44] Finally, both ceremonies ideally included the participation of witnesses, and involved the raising of the right hands of the couple to touch, sometimes with the assistance of the priest, sometimes without it.[45] We know from textual sources that a short marriage vow was used in the late medieval period which was similar in form to modern usage, with an addition in the female vow to 'be cheerful and obedient, in bed and at board', whilst Christine de Pizan mentions 'processions at weddings' which are less obvious in the visual record.[46] What is striking is the basic similarity between images drawn from manuscripts with a variety of different agendas and restrictions operating upon and within them, suggesting a defined and consistent visual ideal of the making of a marriage.

The witnesses are interesting for they form a visual link to the suitable companions advised by the courtesy literature of the period, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three.[47] The number of female witnesses was usually greater than that on the male side, and it is made particularly obvious that they are all eminently 'suitable', for not only are

43 Peters, 'Gender, Sacrament and Ritual', p. 68; Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (London, 2007), pp. 109-110.

44 *IPP*, ll. 198-9, p. 7.

45 Witnesses were important to prove that a marriage had indeed taken place, see McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage*, p. 4.

46 Conor McCarthy (ed.), *Love, Sex and Marriage in the Middle Ages: A Sourcebook* (London, 2004), p. 83; *BTV*, p. 117; *cf. Paston.1*, no. 330, pp. 538-40.

47 *GWG*, p. 59.

they of similar ages, but their dress and straight bearing indicate that they are of the same class, wealth, and status.[48] This is an important detail missing from both the texts themselves and indeed the historiography. The work of Shannon McSheffrey, R. H. Helmholz, and Charles Donahue has made clear the importance of witnesses, especially the vital role of providing evidence in cases of marital litigation.[49] However, these images flesh out a specific ideal of male and female witnesses that goes beyond the more gritty evidence of depositions: their appearance, their status, even their placement in relation to the bride and groom (with men on the side of the groom and women on the side of the bride) is presented in idealised form. The images add a richness of detail as to practice which is absent from the texts.

What about contrasts between image and text? Marriage was not a one-time event, at least for the Stonors and the Armburghs, with death and age differences making two or three marriages not uncommon, nor inappropriate.[50] Certainly the *Ménagier de Paris* expected his young wife to 'serve another husband', in light of their age difference.[51] Even in the *Golden Legend*, Saint Anne, the mother of the Virgin, was noted to have had three husbands, yet apart from the peeping heads of Sarah's previous husbands who were slain by the devil, visible in a full-page Flemish ink drawing of c. 1460-70 from a fragmented *Speculum*

48 For dress as a coded system indicating affiliations, gender, and class, see Philippe Braunstein, 'Toward Intimacy: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (eds.), *A History of Private Life II: Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), pp. 574-77; for witnesses sanctioning a new household, see Christopher Dyer, 'Public and Private Lives in the Medieval Household', in Davis, Müller, and Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties*, pp. 237-9.

49 McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex*, pp. 13, 21, 27-9; Helmholz, *Laws of England*, p. 528; Charles Donahue, *Law, Marriage, and Society in the Later Middle Ages: Arguments about Marriage in Five Courts* (Cambridge, 2007),esp. pp. 46-62.

50 For multiple marriages, see *Cely*, no. 175, pp. 161-2; no. 219, pp. 216-8; *Armburgh*, pp.77-81; *Stonor.1*, no. 121, pp. 123-4, *Stonor.2*, no. 168, pp. 9-10; no. 267, pp. 104-5; no. 268, pp. 105-6; no. 306, p. 140; *Paston.1*, no. 4, pp. 6-7; no. 150, pp. 253-4; no. 264, pp. 442-4; no. 398, pp. 639-40; *Paston.2*, no. 446, pp. 31-3; no. 489, pp. 82-4; no. 788, pp. 433-4; *Paston.3*, no. 953, pp. 42-4; no. 961, pp. 53-6; *Plumpton*, no. 199, pp. 181-2; d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 142-57; McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex*, pp. 54-8.

51 *GWG*, p. 50; Nicole Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining in Medieval Paris: The Household of the Fourteenth-Century Knight* (Cardiff, 1996), p. 8.

humanae salvationis, this is not acknowledged by the visual record *(Fig. 8)*.[52] Alison Hanham describes George Cely's wife, a young and well-off widow, as a 'prize of the market', whilst Edward Plumpton was keen to marry a widow named Agnes, for her beauty and her land, pursuing the matter with his brother Sir Robert in three earnestly written letters.[53] This would also mean at least some marriages did not involve those who were particularly young, but the images do not reflect this either.[54] With so many marriages perhaps the ceremony was merely functional – but this too is refuted by the attention and detail lavished on images of it, and indeed Christine de Pizan felt it appropriate that a princess' 'whole court will celebrate... the weddings of their children'.[55]

In the courtesy poem *How The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* we read of 'The man that shall thee wed before with a ring', as is explicit in the marriage liturgy of the period; this ring it is not, however, seen in any image bar one (to be discussed later), although it is mentioned as a token not explicitly part of the marriage or betrothal ceremony in the *Golden Legend* and the Cely letters.[56] Yet the ring is emphasised by John Mirk, who discusses its blessing by a priest, which acts as a symbol 'þat betokeneth God þat hath neyther begynnyng ne endyng', and Michael Sheehan states that the gift of a ring was connected to the joining of hands.[57] What is most apparent is that the images are not simple representations of a betrothal

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52 Kathleen Ashley, 'Image and Ideology: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Drama and Narrative', in *eadem* and Pamela Sheingorn (eds.), *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (London, 1990), p. 119; *GL.2*, p. 150; *LA*, p. 586; MS Douce f. 4, fol. 3r, (Fig. 8).

53 Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English merchant family of the fifteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 310; *Plumpton*, nos. 121, 122, 123, pp. 118-22.

54 First marriages amongst the elite were usually at age fifteen for women and thirty for men, see Herlihy, 'Making of the Medieval Family', p. 203.

55 *BTV*, p. 50.

56 *HGWD*, p. 33; 'Liturgy for the Marriage Service' in *WL*, p. 86; *GL.1*, pp. 102-104; *LA*, pp. 113-7; *Cely*, no. 214, pp. 208-10; for contemporary confusion over the status of the ring, see Kelly, 'Clandestine', p. 449.

57 *Festial.2*, 'Sermo de nupcijs', ll. 68-9, p. 254; Sheehan, 'Choice of Marriage Partner', p. 179; Susan Mosher Stuard, 'Marriage Gifts and Fashion Mischief,' in *eadem*, *Considering Medieval Women and Gender* (Farnham, 2010), pp. 169-85; McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage*, p. 22; Geneviève Ribordy, 'The

or marriage ceremony, but a matter confused by the symbolic uses of the image of marriage and its status as popular sacrament. Visually there is little difference between those images catalogued as betrothal or marriage, but initial differences with the texts suggests that the images homogenise a variable reality into an ideal, smoothing over instances of late marriages and older participants, whilst supplementing and at times qualifying the didactic literature.

MARITAL CHOICE

One of the main differences between betrothal and finalised marriage in the texts is age. Although betrothal was in many cases the first stage of a marriage process and took place in adulthood, it could also occur when the participants were still technically children, despite the disapproval of canon law.[58] In December 1501, Claude of France was betrothed at age two to Charles of Austria, only to be betrothed again at seven to Francis of Angoulême.[59] At twelve a girl was considered sexually active, and boys at fourteen, though typical ages in England, France, and Flanders were usually between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.[60] Furthermore, a marriage could not be legally upheld when contracted before the age of seven.[61] Perhaps the most notable youthful marital alliance in the texts is that of Sir William Plumpton himself, betrothed at age twelve to Elizabeth, also aged twelve, the daughter of Sir Brian Stapleton of Carlton; Sir William's father even paid 20 marks a year for the pair to be brought up together

Two Paths to Marriage: The Preliminaries of Noble Marriage in Late Medieval France', *Journal of Family History*, 26 (2001), p. 328; for marriage as gift exchange, see Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 12, 53-66.

58 For a good summary of child marriage, see Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (London, 2001), pp. 334-7.

59 Pamela Sheingorn, 'Subjection and Reception in Claude of France's Book of First Prayers', in Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Ellen M. Shortell (eds.), *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 317-8.

60 Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 79; Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, pp. 105-106; McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex*, p. 21.

61 Brooke, *Idea of Marriage*, pp. 137-8.

in Sir Brian's household.[62] At twelve, Elizabeth Stapleton was technically a grown women, but the concerns of her father that consummation be delayed until she was sixteen suggests a certain discomfort with the idea of fulfilled matrimony at such a young age.[63] The theme of child marriage continues through the Plumpton correspondence: witness testimony from 1503 states that he betrothed his eldest son Robert to Elizabeth Clifford, who at age six was so small her father carried her into the chapel at Skipton Castle.[64]

This is also a theme amongst the Stonors, as William Stonor's sister Mary was married to John Barantyne while he was a boy.[65] Nor is this a solitary example, for in an affectionate letter dated 1 June 1476 between Thomas Betson and his betrothed Katherine Ryche, it is obvious that whilst Thomas Betson is an adult Katherine Ryche is still a child.[66] Peter Idley's argument against child marriages, that they 'lak of reason' and 'love in youthe vnstable is', is indicative of existing, if not always typical, practice.[67] A further feature of child betrothals was the substitution of betrothed husband or wife when death occurred before a marriage was formalised, as in the case of the aforementioned Elizabeth Clifford, who, due to the death of her betrothed Robert, married his younger brother in 1453.[68] Similarly, Thomas Howes mentions a possible marriage between a child, referred to only as a ward of A.B.C., to one of Jeffrey Boleyn's daughters, while a rough contract was made between Thomas Rokes and a minor daughter of Thomas Stonor, with the proviso that her sister could be substituted in if

62 *Plumpton*, p. 3; App. I, pp. 230-34, App. II, p. 258, are both examples of complex marriage agreements made for children.
63 *Ibid.*, p. 5; Kim. M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270-1540* (Manchester, 2003), pp. 36-7.
64 *Plumpton*, pp. 3-5, App. II, pp. 229-30.
65 *Stonor.2*, no. 172, pp. 13-5; no. 294, pp. 128-9.
66 *Ibid.*, no. 166, pp. 6-8.
67 *PIS*, ll. 1728-34, p. 136.
68 *Plumpton*, p. 5; Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, pp. 36-7.

she died 'before flesshly knowleche had'.[69] Betrothed children were interchangeable before they had come of age, a distinctive feature of marriage negotiation involving the young.

On a religious level, one of the primary reasons for marriage was for those who could not live in chastity to avoid the sin of lechery.[70] Thus, despite the emphasis on marriage as a female goal, as a religious ideal it was applicable to both genders. However, mundanely, it was also critical for a man's standing amongst other men: in the Paston Letters, accusations that Lord Ryuers has been 'made by maryage' demonstrates the definite social advantage that could be claimed.[71] Certainly the Cely brothers seem eager to sample the 'so glorious a lyffe' offered by matrimony, with seven letters ranging from 1479 to 1484 detailing possible wives and the business of wife-finding, whilst in 1475, Thomas Staunton/Stonor expressed his eagerness to engage in what he calls 'the holy sacrament of wedlokke' and the 'youkke of wedlokke'.[72] Similarly, Thomas Hampton's son was 'hasty wyse to be married'.[73] And John Paston II may have been 'the best cheser of a gentellwoman' that Thomas Daverse knew, but it would be difficult to top the ten, possibly eleven women John Paston III considered walking down the aisle with.[74]

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69 *Paston.2*, no. 510, p. 106; similarly, see *ibid.*, no. 509, pp. 104-5; *Stonor.1*, no. 87, pp. 93-4; *Plumpton*, p. 5.

70 *IPP*, ll. 1611-24, p. 50; D. M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in *idem* (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), p. 16.

71 *Cely*, no. 219, pp. 216-8; *Paston.1*, no. 88, pp. 160-63; for male status as dependent on marriage, see Anna Dronzek 'Gender Roles and the Marriage Market in Fifteenth-Century England: Ideals and Practices', in Davies, Müller, and Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties*, pp. 71-4.

72 *PIS*, l. 527, p. 89; *Cely*, no. 55, pp. 50-1; no. 83, pp. 73-4; no. 86, pp. 75-6; no. 117, pp. 106-7; no. 146, p. 133; no. 165, pp. 150-53; no. 219, pp. 216-8; *Stonor.1*, no. 153, pp. 157-8; for male anxiety about the status of marriage, see Dronzek 'Gender Roles', p. 65; for the potential diplomatic status involved with marriage, see A. K. McHardy, 'Paying for the Wedding: Edward III as Fundraiser 1332-3,' in J. S. Hamilton (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England – IV* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 43-60; Johanna Maria Van Winter, *Spices and Comfits: Collected Papers on Medieval Food* (Devon, 2007), pp. 303-14.

73 *Stonor.1*, no. 236, pp. 75-6.

74 *Paston.2*, no. 745, pp. 378-9; *cf. Paston.1*, no. 236, pp. 396-7; for analysis of John Paston III's wooing, see Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 41-54.

What these accounts make clear is that betrothal and marriage contraction was a vital family affair to be discussed and dissected at great length.[75] A fear of dangerous courtship and its consequences meant a need to exercise control. In 1499, John St Andrew of Gotham wrote to Sir Robert Plumpton about finding a gentlewomen for his son, whilst in a similar vein Robert Eyre II wrote to Sir Robert Plumpton to discuss the marriage of his son and Plumpton's daughter.[76] Indeed, in a letter between Robert Plumpton senior and Sir William Plumpton in 1477 hammering out another marriage contract for Robert and Mr Gascoines' sister, that the lady's first name is not even mentioned; she is simply an extension of her male relatives.[77] The virginity of late medieval women was to be guarded until the 'time of their marriage, to be decided by their parents', and in the meantime they were to 'always seek the company of their mothers or the other women', whilst men could conduct pre-marital dalliances relatively free from censure despite the offspring occasionally produced.[78]

In the situations found in the pages of the *Golden Legend* where children defied their parents in order to remain unmarried, spurning the natural order of parental authority and wider society, it was only because the saint was obeying the higher parental authority of God or the spousal claim of Christ to protect their virginity, not as an expression of free marital choice.[79] The often extreme reactions of these parents, including familial abandonment, attempts at forced marriage, even torture and death, only underscores how important matrimony was, and how significant the natural role of parents in organising a suitable

75 *Plumpton*, no. 152, pp. 143-4; no. 161, p. 151.
76 *Ibid.*, no. 135, p. 130; no. 143, pp. 136-7.
77 *Ibid.*, no. 26, pp. 48-50.
78 *BTV*, pp. 144-6; for male pre-marital liaisons, see *Cely*, no. 49, p. 46; no. 54, pp. 49-50; no. 92, pp. 81-2; no. 105, pp. 92-4; no. 141, pp. 128-9; no. 142, pp. 129-30; no. 169, p. 156; no. 181, pp. 166-7; no. 188, p. 173; more censure seems to have been reserved for women in regards to pre-marital liaisons, see Finch, 'Sexual Relations', p. 253; for virginity as an increasingly feminine virtue, see P. H. Cullum, 'Clergy, Masculinity and Transgression in Late Medieval England', in *idem* and Lewis (eds.), *Masculinity*, p. 182.
79 *GL.1*, pp. 43, 336; *LA*, pp. 47-8, 364; *GL.2*, p. 185; *LA*, p. 624.

match.[80] Indeed, the first two of these consequences are threatened or occur in the Paston letters alone.[81] Even when close relations were not directly involved, it was the custom to seek advice. In 1464, Godfrey Greene wrote to Sir William Plumpton about a marriage where the woman in question had resolved that she 'could nott, ne wold nothing do without the advise of you and her freinds', a case of courtesy literature in action that also conveniently leaves the choice of marriage firmly in male hands.[82] Nowhere is the advice of friends so important than in *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, where a young widow 'ought to pay close attention to her friends in the matter of remarriage and take care to do nothing about it without them, for if she married by her own choice without their wholehearted consent, she would be greatly at fault. If she made a bad match and no good came of it, no one would ever feel sorry for her and she would lose her friends' favour'.[83] Certainly an unhappy marriage, here employed as a threat in order to maintain an ideal social order, was a distinct possibility.[84] So much so that Philippe de Mézières' third book of *Le Livre de la Vertu du Sacrement de Mariage* is substantially devoted to the subject.[85] Thus, for women in particular – though one imagines that those betrothed in childhood faced similar circumstances – there was enormous pressure to leave a decision about marriage to others, to rescind all claims to agency, in order to avoid not only the fear of making a mistake, but also the social exclusion

80 *GL.1*, pp. 19, 160; *LA*, pp. 19, 177; a contrast to this is the unusual case of Saint Hilary, who prayed for his daughter's early death so that she would not be tempted by matrimony in *GL.1*, p. 88; *LA*, p. 98.

81 *Paston.1*, no. 341, pp. 558-9; no. 203, pp. 341-4; for the firm control of senior Paston women over young women's marriages, see Ann S. Haskell, 'The Paston Women on Marriage in Fifteenth-Century England', *Viator* 4 (1973), pp. 459-72.

82 *Stonor.1*, no. 122, p. 125; *Plumpton*, no. 10, pp. 32-4; the ability of women to manipulate the notion of parental consent to their own advantage is interestingly discussed by McSheffrey 'Making of Marriage', pp. 153-74; for friend advice, see Dronzek, 'Gender Roles', p. 69.

83 *BTV*, p. 63.

84 *Paston.2*, no. 723, pp. 350-51.

85 *VSM*, pp. 216-342; *cf. GL.1*, p. 14; *LA*, p. 14; divorce was an option, John Paston II and Anne Haute had broken their betrothal amicably by 1477 after almost nine years, *Paston.1*, no. 263, pp. 439-41; no. 267, p. 447; Robert Cely's broken betrothal was less amicable, *Cely*, no. 83, pp. 73-4; no. 85, p. 75; no. 86, pp. 75-6.

which would surely follow.[86] With all this in mind, the defiance of Margery Paston's and Richard Calle's marriage in the face of substantial opposition emerges in a brave light.[87]

For all of these pressures, for all that matrimony was an alliance with far-reaching consequences, it is startling that, unlike in patron images, we do not get a sense of specific family ties in betrothal and marriage illuminations. No heraldic devices, symbols, colours or even manors or castles situated in the background tie the images down, despite the increasing popularity of familial insignia to indicate 'selfhood, status, affinity and patronage' in this context.[88] Furthermore, the witnesses to these illustrated ceremonies are represented as being the same age as the betrothed. It may be the parents who take primary responsibility in the letter collections, the saints' lives, and the courtesy literature, with even step-parents in charge, but their location in the visual record is patchy *(Figs. 4-7 and 9)*.[89] Depicting age was not a problem for artists: they had no difficulty making the different ages of the Virgin and her mother Saint Anne clear, for example; diverse hair, clothing, and body language could all be employed to indicate age, and yet the protagonism of parents in the written record is not explicit in the visual. Ruth Karras has argued that the Church did not insist on independence from parents, and suggests with Charles Donahue that there was more parental involvement

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86 For the pressure to marry and the sometimes heavy influence of friends and family, see McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex*, pp. 74-106.

87 *Paston.1*, no. 203, pp. 341-4; no. 332, pp. 541-3; *cf. ibid.*, no. 208, pp. 350-51; no. 245, pp. 408-10; no. 335, pp. 547-8; no. 336, pp. 549-50; *Paston.2*, no. 861, pp. 498-500.

88 Richard Marks, 'An Age of Consumption: Art for England c. 1400-1547', in *idem* and Paul Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), p. 21; for heraldry, see Ann Payne, 'Medieval Heraldry', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London, 1987), pp. 55-9.

89 For images where age/dress may indicate a parental presence, see MS e Mus. 60, fol. 78r, (Fig. 4); MS Douce 217, fol. 313v, (Fig. 5); for images where parents are not present or it is unclear, see MS. Bodl 596, fol. 96r, (Fig. 6); MS Douce 237, fol. 16r, (Fig. 7); MS Douce 135, fol. 74v, (Fig. 9).

in France in the same period, but the images imply a relatively consistent ideal of marriage that minimises obvious parental influence.[90]

These are not the only incongruities between the visual and textual record. As has been made plain, betrothal was sometimes a ceremony or contract involving children, and yet in all the betrothal images the couple are two young adults of similar age. Just as the role of parents has been ignored, so too have tender youth and age differences been whitewashed in visual material. The general elements of these illuminations represent a marital ideal: church-led, free consent in betrothal, and marriage legitimised by that same religious authority embodied in the priest. The examining bishop in the case of Margery Paston and Richard Calle proved in the end to be a shield against the opposition of her mother, and this church-based version of marriage propagated by the manuscripts sets out a regulated and yet in some ways a freer version of marriage contraction than do the letters.[91] Whilst it was an ideal that the noble audience could not always afford to follow, nor was it necessarily disregarded by them. These norms are well known to historians, but not in the degree of tension in which they existed with the pragmatism of reality – all the complications contributed by the visual record.[92]

STATUS AND EXPENSE

That is not to say, however, that this ideal of marriage was one imposed solely by the Church. Each of these images contains a cast of characters drawn from the lay, biblical, and allegorical worlds, and dress is here the critical distinguisher. Usually in scenes drawn from the Bible, or in those containing biblical figures, long, draped, Classical-style robes are worn, giving barely a hint of the body that lies beneath, whilst female figures such as the Virgin

90 Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2012), pp. 57, 194; Donahue, *Law*, p. 606.

91 *Paston.1*, no. 203, pp. 341-4; Pritchard, 'Religion and the Paston Family', p. 72.

92 For a good summation, see Helmholz, *Roman Canon Law*, p. 6.

Mary have their heads loosely covered by a draped cloth. (It should be noted that the term 'Classical-style' robes or dress is used in this thesis as a shorthand to indicate the loose drapery, which is long, bulky, and hides the shape of the body underneath, that frequently clothes holy figures.) A roundel drawn from the mid-thirteenth-century French *Bible moralisée* is a classic example of the shorthand for holy figures. In this union of Christ and the Church, with the Church represented as female or the wife, all of the figures wear voluminous robes that hide the body beneath: the outlines are bulky, the shape of the body swathed, and the colours are kept to plain blues, reds, and whites. In addition, the hair of the female is loose and un-styled *(Fig. 2)*.[93] If we compare this with an image of an unidentified lay couple, from an occasionally annotated and slightly thumbed English copy of Boniface VIII's *Sext*, c. 1320-30, their clothes follow the contemporary fashions for tight sleeves and a generally more body-hugging outline, complete with a rounded neckline and uncovered hair *(Fig. 4)*.[94]

Where confusion arises is with changes in the treatment of biblical personages over time, something not characteristic of images tied to more specific stories such as the Flight into Egypt. In the aforementioned roundel many of the standard elements are in place: the woman representing the Church on the right (of the viewer), her spouse, Christ, positioned on the left, with both figures robed as expected of a religious image *(Fig. 2)*.[95] However, as we move into the fifteenth century and the early sixteenth, even Mary and Joseph, alongside Sarah and Tobit and Job and his anonymous wife, are dragged into the world of late medieval nobility with more fashionable, tight-fitting clothing. Drawn from a now fragile sixteenth-century French Book of Hours, the betrothal of Job is a particularly rich image, with the hair

93 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 6r, (Fig. 2); for uncovered hair as associated with unwed women, see Coss, *Lady*, p. 83.
94 MS e. Mus. 60, fol, 78r, (Fig. 4).
95 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 6r, (Fig. 2)

of his betrothed loose and waved yet artfully arranged, her body attired in a rich red gown with a tight square neckline, and draped spotted gold sleeves of the style that drew such ire in sumptuary legislation for ostentatious wastage of fabric *(Fig. 9)*.[96] These spouses also appear to be social equals, an ideal that sits in contrast with the extensive evidence gathered by Ruth Karras on the common reality of socially unequal marriages.[97]

Dress at marriage ceremonies was influential. The marriage of Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy, to Margaret of Flanders in 1369 marked the start of a Burgundian domination of fashion.[98] As Veronica Sekules has explored, it was vital to making social status clear; it also made a lovely woman into a beautiful one.[99] Yet it was also a source of consternation, a focus of attack from male commentators uncomfortable with changing fashions – particularly the rapid fashion evolution from the mid- to late fifteenth century – and fearful of the sin of pride and the clutches of worldly pleasures.[100] Nevertheless, in a slightly damaged and smudged *Gesta infantiae salvatoris* from France, c. 1470-80, another representation of the betrothal of Mary and Joseph, the ideal models of propriety, the dress of the participants interacts with contemporary signifiers of status. Not only is the tighter, more fashionable clothing exquisitely rendered, but Mary is placed on the left without any of the standard red fabric that frequently plays at least a small part in female betrothal outfit; instead, she wears a heavy navy gown with a horizontal neckline and an elaborate open gold crown *(Fig. 7)*.[101]

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96 MS Douce 135, fol. 74v, (Fig. 9); for the importance of wedding clothes, see Stuard, 'Marriage Gifts', p. 179; renewed interest in dress in legislation shows its significance, see Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 174.

97 Karras, *Unmarriages*, pp. 72-80.

98 Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (London, 1952), p. 38.

99 Veronica Sekules, 'Women and Art in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in Alexander and Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, p. 43.

100 *GL.2*, pp. 102, 230-31; *LA*, pp. 532, 674; *BKLL*, pp. 29-32; 38, 40, 45, 62-70, 140-42, 165-8; *TGW*, l. 29, p. 104; l. 38, p. 104; *PIS*, ll. 99-126, pp. 82-3, ll. 1791-4, p. 137, ll. 43-273, pp. 159-63; *GL.2*, p. 122; *LA*, p. 554-5; Anne Sutton, 'Dress and Fashion c. 1470', in Britnell (ed.), *Daily Life*, pp. 8-9, 14-6.

101 MS Douce 237, fol. 16r, (Fig. 7); blood red was a favoured cloth colour but expensive and luxurious, see Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, p. 16, *cf. ibid.*, pp. 71-4.

Complimented by an interior richly realised with Gothic architectural details (statues, windows, and moulding), this is an image firmly situated in the world of its owner. The role of Joseph in particular was reimagined over the course of the later Middle Ages, especially during the fifteenth century. The old man who had enabled Mary to remain a perpetual virgin was re-born as a middle-aged but physically fit tradesman of a type recognisable in any northern-European town. As such, their betrothal was not just a symbol of ecclesiastical and social unity, but according to Rosemary Drage Hale represented his 'right to appropriation' as head of the household and family.[102] The age-gap between these holy spouses stood for the late medieval husband of greater years who held out to women the potential to claim the social autonomy and status of a widow.[103] There is a sense that these ceremonies had contemporary parallel, as if owners of these manuscripts wished to see their own marriages or their ideas of one reflected in biblical versions of them.

No matter how much current ideas about clothing and status influenced depictions of marriage involving biblical personages, it is in comparison with allegorical marriage, free from rules and pious restrictions, that we see the true lavishness of the marriage ceremony uninhibited. In the marriage of Mercury and Philologia, or the reconciliation before a statue of Juno, (this latter image is taken from a very clean, suggesting that it was possibly collected rather than used, French copy of Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia*, dated to after 1401), fashion reaches new heights. The fabrics are heavy, patterned and occasionally body-revealing; interiors are richly patterned in gold, and ermine decorates the shoulders and

102 Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Joseph as Mother: Adaption and appropriation in the Construction of Male Virtue', in John Cami Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering* (London, 1996), pp. 103-111.

103 Pamela Sheingorn, 'The Maternal Behavior of God: Divine Father as Fantasy Husband', in Parsons and Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering*, pp. 84-93.

sleeves of the ladies' gowns *(Figs. 3 and 10)*.[104] Even jewellery – the aforementioned golden ring token, thick and heavy in a display of wealth – makes an appearance *(Fig. 3)*.[105] Ronald Lightbown argues that sumptuous jewellery displays at weddings, particularly of coronals and chaplets, were essentially unrestrained despite pious concerns about display; however, except in the allegorical world, the images do not bear this out.[106] There seems to have been a sense of the propriety of display, that true piety and lavish accoutrements were not an entirely appropriate mix. Hence it was the allegorical miniature that acted as the ultimate stage for extravagant visual ideas reflecting the desires of aristocratic viewers. Furthermore, unlike the biblical images which borrow more and more heavily from contemporary lay culture into the sixteenth century, these date from c. 1400, suggesting that the visual evidence was sensitive to contemporary concerns with regard to status and propriety.

Architecture operated in a similar way to dress. In these illustrations the choice between interior and exterior is flexible and varied, and often includes careful studies of contemporary buildings. Normally in images the choice between interior and exterior is rigid, with women placed in a clearly delineated indoors, men in the freedom of the outdoors, and many scenes associated with specific locations. This flexibility, in contrast, indicates investment in their form, an urge felt by their owners to have themselves and the differing locations of their own marriages represented, just as they had themselves inserted into books of hours in patron miniatures. The spatial setting of the previously discussed betrothal of Mary and Joseph from a fifteenth-century French *Gesta infantiae salvatoris*, in particular stands out. The interior is

104 MS Canon. Misc. 110, fol. 123r, (Fig. 3); MS Douce 202, fol. 82r, (Fig. 10); for medieval fabrics, see Donald King, 'Embroidery and Textiles' in Alexander and Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 157-61, esp. p. 160 on embroidered dress; *cf.* Evans, *Dress*, pp. 27, 34; ermine was restricted by price and sumptuary legislation to courtly circles, see Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, p. 24.

105 MS Canon. Misc. 110, fol. 123r, (Fig. 3); for medieval jewellery, in particular rings, see John Cherry, 'Jewellery', in Alexander and Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 176-8; *cf.* Evans, *Dress*, pp. 54-5.

106 For jewellery display increasing from the fifteenth century, and its restrictions due to piety, see Ronald W. Lightbown, *Medieval European Jewellery: with a catalogue of the collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Hong Kong, 1992), pp. 66-8; *cf.* Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, p. 111.

richly realised with architectural details: statues clothed in beautiful drapery set into the walls, leaded windows, careful moulding, all placed in perspective giving the room depth and reality. This is not a timeless no-man's-land, but an image firmly situated in the time and place of its creators and owners *(Fig. 7)*.[107] Allegorical marriages, on the other hand, as with dress, had a freeing effect on the architecture due to the ambiguous nature of the mythical figures. In the marriage of Mercury and Philologia, absent from architectural features, a sense of interior is given by the richly patterned background of golden squares filled with golden circles on a base of blue and red complete with an angel, whilst a marriage in front of Juno is likewise placed before lavish, gridded wallpaper unparalleled in the more mundane illustrations *(Figs. 3 and 10)*.[108] Marriage in the late Middle Ages was indivisible from status; these images reflect that reality even as it was constructed from layers of competing ideals.

However, whilst the illuminations abound with status-related detail, the texts are quite sparing. Marriage costs, but the reason for this is rarely specified beyond dowry; ceremonial expenditure does not feature.[109] Interestingly, the *Distichs of Cato* specifically warn against choosing a wife for the size of her dowry.[110] Funeral expenses are discussed extensively, in the Stonor and Armburgh papers especially, but marriage expenses are not given the same treatment, suggesting that the wedding ceremony itself was either less important or less lavish (to which we shall return in Chapter Five).[111] This is not to imply, however, that it was not significant. Robert Armburgh wrote to William Armburgh requesting a loan to meet the burdensome costs of his stepdaughter's wedding, suggesting that it was still a costly affair,

107 MS Douce 237, fol. 16r, (Fig. 7).

108 MS Canon. Misc. 110, fol. 123r, (Fig. 3); MS Douce 202, fol. 82r, (Fig. 10).

109 These articles are the few historiographical treatments of financial wedding details: McHardy, 'Paying for the Wedding', pp. 43-60; Van Winter, *Spices and Comfits*, pp. 303-14; dowry in the *Golden Legend*: *GL.1*, p. 28; *LA*, p. 30.

110 *DC*, p. 18.

111 *Stonor.1*, no. 47, pp. 39-41; no. 138, pp. 143-4; *Armburgh*, pp. 184-5; interestingly, the 'Month's Mind' of Richard Cely in 1482 was used as an opportunity for a display designed to attract suitable wives for his sons, see Marks, 'An Age of Consumption', p. 21; Hanham, *Celys and Their World*, pp. 260-63.

though without offering a breakdown; presumably dowry played a part.[112] In a subsequent letter there is mention of marriage money for Joan Palmer provided by her brother, but this is something we do not see in the visual record.[113] According to the will of Thomas Stonor, daughters were much more expensive than sons in this context.[114] The *Golden Legend* offers a little more detail: at the wedding of Saint Margaret, 'everything was prepared... with lavish expenditure for elegance and pleasure' with 'the whole nobility of the city, gathered for the celebration around the elaborately garlanded wedding chamber'.[115]

Here at least there is an element of public display. Indeed, the letters appear the most promising of the textual evidence and yet, despite an abundance of mentions of need of a new dress or fabric for various circumstances, there are only a few specific mentions of silk or cloth for a wedding.[116] This is despite evidence from depositions which strongly suggests the use of nuptial clothes.[117] Whilst the marriage of Robert and George Cely's mother involved a procession on Corpus Christi Day and a crimson gown, and a letter between Sir Richard Harcourt and Thomas Stonor refers to clothing for marriage and crimson cloth (a thought-provoking alignment with the red female clothing featured in many of the images), more detail is given to church plans and affection within marriage than to the wedding.[118] It is interesting to note that the date of 1470 is close to the image of Mary and Joseph marrying, with their inverted stance and navy gown *(Fig. 7)*.[119] This relative lack of detail in the letters, when combined with the high status but varied dress seen in the images, suggests that it was

112 *Armburgh,* pp. 102-103; Payling, 'Economics of Marriage', pp. 413-29.
113 *Armburgh*, pp. 184-5.
114 *Stonor.1*, no. 54, pp. 47-9.
115 *GL.2*, pp. 232-3; *LA*, p. 676.
116 *Paston.1*, no. 287, pp. 478-9; *Paston.2*, no. 830, pp. 469-70.
117 McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex*, pp. 40-41.
118 *Stonor.1,* no. 110, pp. 112-4; *Cely*, no. 54, pp. 49-50; no. 175, pp. 161-2; no. 181, pp. 166-7; *cf. FJM*, p. 18; a woman is 'arrayed in jewels and purple garments' for her wedding in *GL.1*, p. 309; *LA*, p. 338; a couple wears black to wed as both had been widowed in *GWG*, p. 270.
119 MS Douce 237, fol. 16r, (Fig. 7).

the general expense, particularly as regards clothing, rather than the specific details of a marriage ceremony that struck contemporaries. These images were not simply the record of an event, but a complex layering of different modes of propriety and expressions of status.

THE IDEAL SPOUSE

When we consider these typical images as ideals or models, the qualities desired in a potential spouse can also be seen. In a late fourteenth-century French *Grandes Chroniques de France*, in good condition, the number of male and female witnesses is roughly equal, but they are also of similar age, whilst their dress and straight bearing indicate shared high status.[120] The wife-to-be wears a red gown with a slim waist and tight sleeves, her light brown hair braided in coils on the side of her head; her companions could be carbon-copies, depicted as they are with their shoulders tilted back, braided hair and tight dresses, the only difference their blue and gold fabric as opposed to red *(Fig. 5)*.[121] As seen in another marriage ceremony, the youth of the couple is clear. All of the figures – the couple and the witnesses – wear the similar clothing and even when a woman's hair is bound the braiding indicates the long locks of a young woman. Men and women have brown rather than white or grey hair, their stances are straight, without assistance, their skin unlined and smooth, as is evidenced in the c. 1320-30 English copy of Boniface VIII's *Sext (Fig. 4)*.[122] The only exception to this standard is a betrothal between Mary and Joseph, where his grey beard, balding head, and lined face stand in stark contrast to his youthful, soft-skinned bride *(Fig. 7)*.[123] Overall, both the men and the women tend to be fair haired, a sort of blond-brown tending to a lighter tone for the women. All have slim figures, but the S-shaped stance of most of the women accentuates the stomach area whilst giving a coy slant to the head. Given

120 For background on this great patriotic chronicle in the French court, see de Hamel, *History*, p. 149.
121 MS Douce 217, fol. 313v, (Fig. 5).
122 MS e. Mus. 60, fol. 78r, (Fig. 4).
123 MS Douce 237, fol. 16r, (Fig. 7).

that the Virgin is often depicted as heavy with child, this stance brings attention to the importance of motherhood and fertility within marriage, not just hinting at the imminent arrival of Christ. This is not to suggest that premarital pregnancy was an ideal (women who are not the Virgin are not pregnant); rather, their S-shaped stance looks towards the hoped-for fertility of an ideal marriage. Furthermore, this stance forces a bowed head in order to maintain a balanced posture, lending an air of gentleness and shy modesty. The hair is wavy and often loose in the manner of a young unmarried woman, as the previous example from the historiated border of a French Book of Hours, c. 1525-50, demonstrates *(Fig. 9)*.[124] Notions of status, ritual, and the ideal spouse are all woven into one small representation.

The superlative spouse and the ideal bride run through both types of source material, and the illuminations support the model offered in the saints' lives and the courtesy literature perfectly. Saints' lives encourage chastity and virginity, advice literature modesty, and all of these notions are embodied in the quiet stance of those marrying.[125] In one archetypal image, taken from the English copy of Boniface VIII's *Sext* already discussed, everything emphasises this all-important modesty. The woman holds her left hand in front of her, as if shielding her curving body, whilst the slight downward head tilt of both bride and groom imbues the image with soft dignity *(Fig. 4)*.[126] The enthusiastic correspondences of the Cely brothers provide a rich account of what they searched for in a potential wife, with gentleness being one of the key qualities.[127] Nor were the Celys alone in their desires, for in one letter Edward Plumpton describes to Sir Robert Plumpton a lady called Agnes, 'a gentlewoman, a widow of xl yeres and more, and of good substance. First, she is goodly and Beautyfull, womanly and wyse, as

124 MS Douce 135, fol. 74v, (Fig. 9); Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, p. 46.

125 A discussion of a saint's outward appearance as an indicator of inner virtues can be found in Walter Simons, 'Reading a saint's body: rapture and bodily movement in the *vitae* of thirteenth-century beguines', in Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Framing medieval bodies* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 10-23.

126 MS e. Mus. 60, fol. 78r, (Fig. 4).

127 *Cely*, no. 116, pp. 105-106; no. 117, pp. 106-107; no. 165, pp. 150-53.

euer I knew any, none other dispraysed, of a good stocke and worshipfull.'[128] A further letter to Robert praises Agnes for being 'indued with great grace and vertue. She is wyse and goodly and of great substance, and able for a better man then I am.'[129] In an additional letter he describes her as 'amyable and good, with great wysdome and womanhood'.[130] In *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, the young virgin awaiting marriage both guarded and advertised her chastity with 'quiet', 'eyes lowered', and 'a humble manner', whilst keeping her hair and clothes 'tidy'.[131] She was likely slim, given that she should 'fast on certain days and above all be moderate in drinking and eating', not unlike John Paston II's comment that a 'Mestresse Gretkyn' is 'fayrer and slenderer' for having been sick![132] In one of the *Knight of La Tour-Landry*'s instructional stories, the youngest of three Danish princesses is chosen for matrimony over her older siblings due to her 'demure manere, ferme in estat and countenaunce, and of goodly behauing', and much of his advice contains the same material.[133]

However, these comments about strictly physical beauty are far fewer in number and less detailed than discussions about family, money, and inner qualities, which rank higher even in frank discussions between brothers. This is supported by several pieces of courtesy literature which focus on inner beauty and social position. In the short poem *How The Wise Man Taught His Son*, 'if ye would have a wife, take her not for her money, but inquire wisely of all her life, and give good heed that she be meek, courteous and prudent'.[134] Jacques Legrand, in the translation of his work by William Caxton in 1487, argues that in a good wife

128 *Plumpton*, no. 121, pp. 118-9.
129 *Ibid.*, no. 122, pp. 119-20.
130 *Ibid.*, no. 123, pp. 120-22.
131 *BTV*, p. 145-6.
132 *Ibid.*, p. 146; *Paston.1*, no. 272, pp. 455-6.
133 *BKLL*, p. 17; *cf.* pp. 18-9.
134 *HWTS*, p. 45.

'more ought the bounte to be praysed than the beaulte'.[135] John Mirk, in his marriage sermon, describes an appropriate wife so: 'by Goddys ordynaunce, a man schal takon a wyf lyke [to hymself, lyk] of age, lyk of condicions and lyk of burth'.[136] This is in contrast to the wife of *Le Ménagier de Paris* who was only fifteen at the time of her marriage.[137] And of course there was a significant age difference, in both images and text, between Mary and Joseph, though this may have been because of the need of Joseph in particular to care for and protect the Virgin and Child, and to emphasise a lack of inappropriate youthful lust.[138]

Stance was not the only way to convey the stereotypical desired inner attributes of the Virgin Mary, such as meekness, which the *Knight of La Tour Landry* was keen that his daughters emulate.[139] The movement and positioning of human limbs were seen by both visual and textual commentators as the language of internal character, an indication of gender and class.[140] Gestures were to be controlled, the body and limbs carefully contained within each figure's rectangle of personal space *(Fig. 4)*.[141] Advice literature makes comparable suggestions: *The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage* insists that a good daughter aiming for marriage be restrained in her gestures, to 'Tyk not witt hondys nor fette; hit ys not a goodly syȝt', just as women at Christine de Pizan's imagined court should not 'go about with their heads raised like wild deer'.[142] Furthermore, she should also 'hyde thy legys whyte'.[143] The *Good Wife's Guide* extends this, advising against walking in a 'mannish fashion' with 'open

135 *BGM*, p. 93.
136 *Festial.2*, 'Sermo de nupcijs', ll. 41-3, p. 253; *cf. Facetus*, p. 48.
137 *GWG*, p. 49.
138 *GL.2*, p. 153; *LA*, p. 589; *BKLL*, p. 147.
139 Perry, (ed.), 'Saint Edmund', ll. 24-9, p. 33; *BKLL*, pp. 146-52.
140 Keith Thomas, 'Introduction', in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (eds.), *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 1-13, esp. pp. 7-8; Thomas Lentes, ' "As far as the eye can see...": Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages', in Hamburger and Bouché (eds.), *Mind's Eye*, pp. 360-73, at p. 365.
141 For example, see MS e. Mus. 60, fol. 78r, (Fig. 4).
142 *GWWP*, l. 33, p. 174; *BTV*, p. 51.
143 *GWWP*, l. 25, p. 173.

eyes, head appallingly lifted like a lion, their hair in disarray', as well as in 'new fashions and without too much or too little ostentation'.[144] Interestingly, much of this advice on maidenly deportment is very similar to the behaviour encouraged in lower-class boys being trained in table manners, perhaps not surprising if both are a product of male clerical culture and a form of masculine control.[145] However, men were not immune to criticism, for Peter Idley advises his son not to 'crie and gape' and generally to avoid behaving like 'an Ape'.[146]

Nevertheless, if appearance was an outward symbol of inner virtues, the appearance of women in particular was of great moral interest to the writers of advice literature. The Virgin was a woman of 'exceeding beauty', but the 'power of her chastity' prevented inappropriate male desire.[147] There was a trap here. Physical beauty was significant, but attempting to improve one's appearance through 'paynt' (rather than behaviour) was frowned upon.[148] Of course, if women were painting themselves 'quhit & red' and plucking their hairline, it suggests that pale skin set off with reddened cheeks and coupled with a high forehead was an ideal of beauty (and so advertisement of inner virtue) they hoped to attain.[149] Images matter to this because they were used to make choices about marriage partners, such as when King

144 *GWG*, pp. 57-8; *HGWD*, p. 32.

145 *Urbanitatis*, p. 15; *SPM*, p. 26; Felicity Riddy, ''Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text', *Speculum* 71:1 (1996), pp. 66-86, esp. 72-6.

146 *PIS*, ll. 92-8, p. 82.

147 *GL.1*, p. 149; *LA*, p. 164; *RR*, ll. 1294-9, p. 62; *BGM*, p. 94; *BKLL*, pp. 62-70; *GL.2*, p. 231; *LA*, p. 674; however, Katherine Smith does examine instances where the beauty of the Virgin was so overwhelming it inspired inappropriate lust, Katherine Allen Smith, 'Bodies of Unsurpassed Beauty: "Living" images of the Virgin in the High Middle Ages', *Viator* 37 (2006), pp. 167-87, esp. pp. 174-9; for the problem of Mary's beauty and chastity, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (London, 1989), pp. 322-3.

148 The tension between ideal beauty and improving one's appearance is artfully drawn by Susan Udry, 'Robert de Blois and Geoffroy de la Tour Landry on Feminine Beauty: Two Late Medieval French Conduct Books for Women', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2002), pp. 90-102.

149 *TGW*, ll. 88-96, pp. 105-106; Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 56-7; although thirteenth-century, this Anglo-Norman text is the best source of medieval beauty treatments, see Pierre Ruelle (ed.), *L'Ornement des Dames* (Brussels, 1967), pp. 32-73; *cf.* 'Trotula of Salerno: The Diseases of Women', in *WL*, p. 107; for Robert de Blois, beauty was essential to successful social interaction in Robert de Blois, *'Le Chastoiement des Dames*' in John Howard Fox (ed.), *Robert de Blois: son oeuvre didactique et narrative* (Paris, 1950), pp. 133-55, esp. ll. 29-55, pp. 133-4, ll. 363-4, p. 143.

Charles VI chose the most beautiful princess from a set of three portraits for his bride.[150] The connection between beauty and chastity is explicit in the story of Saint Blaise: three virgins are tortured, but their 'flesh was seen to be as white as driven snow', a symbol of their purity and thus beauty.[151] Linked to the idea of beauty and virtue was youth, which helped to ensure virginity. The ideal wife was young, though not too young; both parties should be married off sooner rather than later, despite the temptation to wait for a better match, for the older the child the greater the possibility of bad decisions made by that child, or the swaying of opinion by friends.[152] The last, however, is in contrast to other advice literature (and the presence of similar witnesses in the illuminations), where the opinion of friends is vital.[153]

The lineage of a potential wife was also very important. The quality of a woman was determined by her family and their deportment, a fact stressed twice in the *Ratis Raving* for 'Gud moþer-child gud we prefume', and a quality that follows the importance of the Virgin Mary's own impeccable lineage in terms of both nobility and deportment.[154] Even so, the advice found in the *Facetus* to avoid marrying 'the daughter or widow of usurers, robbers, priests, chastisers, mimes or canons, since to them are given ill-gotten goods', is a trifle obvious.[155] As Colin Richmond suggests, for an ambitious gentry family like the Pastons, a wife like Margaret Mautby, later the prominent Margaret Paston, with her long-established lineage, was crucial to secure and extend their influence in Norfolk and layer their cloak of

150 Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 31.
151 *GL.1*, pp. 153, 185; *LA*, pp. 168, 203.
152 *Paston.1*, no. 174, pp. 286-7; no. 303, p. 499; no. 304, pp. 500-501; no. 380, pp. 612-4; no. 407, pp. 650-51; *Cely*, no. 117, pp. 106-107; no. 165, pp. 150-53; *TGW*, ll. 265-87, p. 111.
153 *BTV*, p. 63.
154 *RR*, ll. 252-3, p. 97; l. 942, p. 52.
155 *Facetus*, p. 45.

respectability.[156] Nobility, linked to physical beauty and also to wealth, is a constant theme in the saints' lives as well, and its association to them makes nobility a moral virtue.[157]

Only *The Good Wife's Guide* focuses on the qualities a woman might look for in a man. It exhorts her to 'consider more the character than the wealth of your future husband', rather than merely passively improving her own virtues in the hope of being chosen, yet there is still no sense of the physical qualities that might appeal to a woman.[158] Saint Agnes even goes so far as to describe the perfect attributes of Christ as her spouse within the categories a woman is to look for in a husband: 'nobility of lineage, beauty of person, abundance of wealth, courage and the power to achieve, and love transcendent'.[159] This list mirrors the perfect wifely attributes suggested to Saint Augustine; 'beautiful, virtuous, compliant, wealthy'.[160] For all the apparent equality in the images, there is a sense that choice in a marriage was skewed towards the male domain. Explicit choosing is present in the *Ratis Raving*, where the decision to marry – 'Quharfor awyf gyf þow wyll haf' – is very much in the hands of the male subject.[161] Nevertheless, the standards of physical beauty visible in the illuminations were not just an ideal of beauty, but, with the addition of stance and gesture, they were also a shorthand for the inner traits desired in the letters, courtesy literature and hagiography.

156 Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: The first phase* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 117-34; Richmond, *Endings*, p. 3; *cf.* Rawcliffe, 'Politics of Marriage', pp. 161-175.

157 *GL.1*, pp. 19, 97, 121, 126, 154, 158, 170, 229, 311, 365, 368, 371, 375, 385; *LA*, pp. 19, 109, 135, 141, 170, 175, 187, 250, 340, 397, 401, 403, 408, 419; *GL.2*, pp. 23, 27, 98, 141, 144, 147, 149, 159, 163, 164, 173, 181, 212, 232, 243, 255, 265, 303, 318, 324, 335; *LA*, pp. 444, 448, 528, 576, 579, 582, 585, 596, 600, 602, 611, 620, 654, 676, 688, 700, 711, 753, 771, 777, 791.

158 *GWG*, p. 105.

159 *GL.1*, p. 102; *LA*, p. 114.

160 *GL.2*, p. 132; *LA*, p. 566.

161 *RR*, l. 935, p. 52.

COURTSHIP

Having determined the centrality of betrothal and marriage, and considered the features of the ideal spouse, what remains is to examine late medieval courtship, the groundwork upon which these ceremonies and relationships rested. By approaching courtship after betrothal and marriage, it becomes clearer how the imagery of the marriage ceremony reverberates back through courtship material. In the images there are three types of courtship: through dancing, holding hands, and embracing; the historiography focuses on gifts, but these appear far more rarely in marital illuminations, and those that do will be discussed more fully in the section on gift-giving in Chapter Three.[162] Within these blunt categories there exists a whole spectrum of gestures, body language, and lingering gazes which bring nuance to every image. Nor is there a restriction on the manuscripts in which these courtship images are to be found: they range from the courtly love tales of *Le Roman de la Rose* and the Lancelot cycles to books of hours, decretals, and calendars.[163] In addition, we have in these images an alternative locus of ideals to the behaviour and passions of the saints. The texts, however, are far more limited in comparison with the plethora of visual examples, and the historiography gives the impression that courtship was almost a lower-class affair.[164] The saints' lives offer a vision of courtship characterised by martyrial violence, the letters more often the negotiation of contracts.

The *Knight of La Tour Landry* was not alone in holding men and women to entirely different standards of behaviour prior to marriage in his two books of behavioural advice,

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162 Jonathan J. G. Alexander, 'Chastity, Love and Marriage in the Margins of the Wharncliffe Hours,' in ed. Bernard J. Muir, *Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage in honour of Margaret M. Manion* (Exeter, 2002), pp. 201-20; Stuard, 'Marriage Gifts', pp. 169-85; McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage*, p. 22; Ribordy, 'Two Paths to Marriage', p. 328; for marriage as gift exchange, see Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 12, 53-66.

163 For background to the *Roman de la Rose*, which was the best-known French romance of its day, see de Hamel, *History*, pp. 142-3.

164 Ribordy, 'Two Paths to Marriage', pp. 323-35; for the argument that active courting only occurred amongst peasantry, see Gies, *Marriage*, p. 242.

'one for my sones, an other for my doughtres'.[165] Whether intending to marry or not, chastity and continence were pre-eminent virtues, and as such the wife of the *Ménagier de Paris* was urged to 'instruct your friends, and especially your daughters, and tell them, lovely lady, that it is a certainty that all qualities are diminished in a maiden or woman who lacks virginity, continence, or chastity. Neither wealth, nor beauty, nor intelligence, nor noble lineage, nor any other excellence can ever erase a reputation for vice, particularly in a woman'.[166] The virtuous woman is 'compared to a treasure' and to the 'Blessed Virgin', and 'no man, no matter his rank, noble or not, can have a better treasure than a principled and modest wife'.[167] In courtship, a woman was a passive creature; men were the active parties. She did, however, have a defensive role to play. In *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan is very clear that courtship is a male action: 'all men (especially certain men) who associate with women have a habit of pleading for love tokens from them and trying to seduce them'; yet it is also a female responsibility to curb unwanted attention by 'enforcing her regulations' at court, taking 'such an attitude towards him that he will not dare to importune them any more', and banishing women who do not abide by these standards of behaviour from her circle.[168] Indeed, Christine de Pizan provides a verbal formula for firmly rejecting a suitor, giving the impression that men could be too persistent, a view supported by the *Knight of La Tour-Landry*.[169] She advises avoiding gifts, for whoever accepts one 'seriously compromises herself', as well as how to avoid men making up 'wicked stories about women out of spite at being refused', for it is women who must 'protect themselves from blame'.[170]

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165 *BKLL*, p. 4.
166 *GWG*, p. 86; *PIS*, ll. 2666-7, p. 202.
167 *GWG*, p. 86.
168 *BTV*, p. 51; Finch argues that men may have promised marriage to encourage women to engage in pre-marital sex in Finch, 'Sexual Relations', p. 255.
169 *BKLL*, p. 2.
170 *BTV*, pp. 134-5; for gifts as courtship, see Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 41.

Where the act of courtship itself is concerned, holding hands is the most subtle of all three types.[171] Found in books of hours and a *decretum*, these are images that epitomise shy modesty. Foreshadowing the body language of the betrothal and marriage ceremony, and thus emphasising the ideal goal of courtship, the couples hold hands but keep their bodies firmly separated, their gestures controlled and contained within their individual silhouettes, their heads tilted demurely downwards *(Figs. 11 and 12)*.[172] This is an image often found in calendars, particularly those of French origin, and despite its similarity to images of betrothal, its identity as courtship comes from its association with the Spring; the couple also lacks the accompaniment of a priest or audience, stressing the absence of any official ceremony.[173] In one border from a Book of Hours calendar, dated to c. 1500, originating from Evreux and written for a lady pictured kneeling before the Virgin on fol. 19r, the couple gently touch their hands together, the clothes contemporary but modesty and youth hinted at by the woman's flowing locks and the young man's lustrous dark hair *(Fig. 11)*.[174] In another calendar, dated to sixteenth-century Northern France, probably owned by the barons of Sennecy and in very clean condition, not only is the courtship of holding hands once again linked to fertility by the association of this image with bountiful spring, but it is emphasised by its position next to a shepherd carrying a young lamb *(Fig. 12)*.[175] The couples in these images are as rule richly dressed in contemporary clothing with deep colours, furs and tight sleeves, indicating high social class. This entire form of courtship consists of ideals: ideals of appearance, ideals of behaviour, ideals of social status, even the ideal of fertile marriage, all firmly linked to nobility.

171 For a discussion of hand-holding but on brasses, see Coss, *Lady*, pp. 97-9.
172 MS Rawl. liturg. e. 20, fol. 4r, (Fig. 11); MS Douce 276, fol. 1br, (Fig. 12).
173 For a list of the labours of the months in these calendars, which specifies these activities as courting, see Roger Wieck, *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (London, 1988), p. 48.
174 MS Rawl. liturg. e. 20, fol. 4r, (Fig. 11).
175 MS Douce 276, fol. 1br, (Fig. 12).

Whilst the holding of hands was one model of courtship behaviour, dancing was also often associated with marital fertility, coming in many forms not all of which were as safe and contained as hand-holding.[176] Dancing in the *Golden Legend* was explicitly associated with the arousal of passions.[177] The images depict courtly, controlled group dances, the wild abandonment of whirling assemblies, and romantic couples dancing alone within their own miniatures. In some illuminations dancing took place at the allegorical setting of the Court of Mirth, drawn straight from the pages of *Le Roman de la Rose*, such as in this late fifteenth-century French version, decorated with arms and originally owned by Louise of Savoy, and these images were essentially an instruction in the creation of love through gesture *(Fig. 13)*.[178] Dancing couples could be implicitly sanctioned by Christ within a Franciscan Missal, as in this mid-fourteenth-century French version *(Fig. 14)*.[179] In one image, from a French c. 1456 *Miracles de Notre Dame* originally written for Philip the Good of Burgundy, dancing even takes place at the wedding of a clerk: as a man gets on one knee to his partner and another couple walks hand in hand, the implication is that not only was courtship expected at a wedding, but that as a result weddings could beget weddings *(Fig. 15)*.[180] Perhaps the most touching of these dancing images is a small miniature of a couple holding hands and dancing with a seated musician between them. Jonathan Alexander tends to characterise pair dances as negative, dangerous courtship; however, this miniature, from an early fourteenth-century

176 Alexander, 'Chastity', pp. 200-220.

177 *GL.1*, p. 188; *LA*, p. 207.

178 MS Douce 195, fol. 7r, (Fig. 13); Tracy Adams, 'Performing the Medieval Art of Love: Medieval Theories of the Emotions and Social Logic of the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris', *Viator* 38:2 (2007), pp. 55-74; medieval ideas of love are discussed in Gerald Morgan, 'Natural and Rational Love in Medieval Literature', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 7 (1977), pp. 43-52; courtly love specifically by Joan M. Ferrante, '*Cortes'Amor* in Medieval Texts', *Speculum* 55:4 (1980), pp. 686-95.

179 MS Douce 313, fol. 164v, (Fig. 14); missals were often donations from lay parishioners, see de Hamel, *History*, p. 192.

180 MS Douce 374, fol. 24v, (Fig. 15).

collection of romances from Lorraine, suggests that this was not always true.[181] Small but intense, it is an affecting image, with all movement carefully contained within the bordered square of the miniature, signalling social control and approval. The gazing into each other's eyes, the mirrored body language, the wearing of simple but close-fitting clothes in vivid red for the woman and deep blue for the man, the joined and raised hands all evoke an impression of real affection and recall a marriage ceremony *(Fig. 16)*.[182]

In contrast to this intimate pair, most dances are social occasions involving many participants. The court setting, such as the allegorical Court of Mirth, was a defined social space indicative of the appropriate site for dancing courtship. As in the private dance, the body language of the figures is strictly controlled; there are no flailing movements. A sense of order and control prevails in a miniature from a well-used French *Roman de la Rose* manuscript of c. 1300: the raised hands of the two couples and their position in a line with similar foot arrangements gives the unmistakable impression of well-defined dancing steps *(Fig. 17)*, also present within a mid-fourteenth-century miniature from a Flemish *Romance of Alexander*, which probably belonged to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester *(Fig. 18)*.[183] Here, under a turreted and arched wall, against a richly gilded red and blue background of royal wealth, a circle of dancing figures clasp hands, their bodies aligned in strict verticals with all their limbs individually contained. These line and circle dances are repeated in other

181 Jonathan J. G. Alexander, 'Dancing in the Streets', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 54 (1996), pp. 147-62, esp. pp. 153, 156. This article is an excellent analysis of dancing and courtship, particularly regarding class and social context.

182 MS Douce 308, fol. 210cr, (Fig. 16).

183 MS Add. A. 22, fol. 15r, (Fig. 17); Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford, 2008), pp. 13-21; MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 181v, (Fig. 18); Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, vol. 2 (London, 1996), pp. 68-73; this *Romance of Alexander* is one of the Bodleian's most famous manuscripts, filled as it is with a myriad of images. For background on this manuscript, see Mark Cruse, *Illuminating the Roman d'Alexandre* (Cambridge, 2011), esp. pp. 1-12, and for its production, see *ibid*., pp. 181-98; Tine Melis, 'An Alexander Manuscript for a Powerful Patron (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 264)' in Bert Cardon, Jan Van de Stock, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (eds.), *Als Ich Can*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2002), pp. 961-81.

manuscripts, as in these two examples drawn from a fourteenth-century French Franciscan Missal and a fourteenth-century French *Roman de la Rose* manuscript respectively, emphasising the importance of order in the courtly dance trope, which Jonathan Alexander argues acts as an image of class cohesion *(Figs. 14 and 19)*.[184] As in allegorical marriage, they occupy the height of fashion, their symbolic participants allowing the artist and owner the mental space to indulge in every marker of fashion, status, and architectural fantasy. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the previously considered French late fifteenth-century square miniature in which a dance takes place at the Court of Mirth *(Fig. 13)*.[185] All of the dancers are richly arrayed in clothes of blue, red, and green, embellished with gold embroidery and edging, and elaborated with the fashionable but also expensive dagged sleeve.[186] Both the dresses of the women and the tights and tunics of the men are tight fitting, the men's tunics so scandalously short that the curve of the buttocks is displayed; men and women are accessorised with a variety of hats, purses, and swords, whilst one lady watching from the gallery even has the luxury of a small lap dog, a symbol of feminine nobility and emotional attachment.[187] Like a jewel set into a crown, the beauty of this courtly nobility is set into an architecture comprised of rich mouldings, delicate arches, and beautifully tiled floors. Courtly dances in the visual record operated in a fantasy world of ultimate fashion combined with refined manners, the epitome of the social elite.

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184 MS Douce 313, fol. 164v, (Fig. 14); MS Douce 371, fol. 6r, (Fig. 19); Alexander, 'Dancing', p. 153.

185 MS Douce 195, fol. 7r, (Fig. 13).

186 For 'dagged' sleeves and pointed shoes, see John Scattergood, 'Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages', in Daniel Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 255-72, esp. p. 288; the Sumptuary Act of 1463 was most concerned with male dress, see Roger Virgoe (ed.), *Private Life in the Fifteenth Century: Illustrated Letters of the Paston Family* (London, 1989), p. 42; for male costume, see Sutton, 'Dress and Fashion', pp. 9-10; for male dress in the Pastons, see Richmond, *Endings*, pp. 67-70; for male dress in the Celys, see Hanham, *Celys and Their World*, pp. 32-3; for female dress, see Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, pp. 77-81; and court fashion at pp. 66-70; for wastefulness in male clothing, see *Occleve*, pp. 105-108.

187 Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets*, (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 75, 90.

Yet dancing could also be both subversive and dangerous, with writhing bodies and animals, often juxtaposed with frightening situations. However, it is this subtype of dancing where the complex nature of courtship and its liminal nature, poised between propriety and coarse behaviour, between high status and low, between the potentials for love and danger and disappointment, is best expressed. The abutment of dancing and evil is long established. In a fourteenth-century historiated initial from James le Palmer's Commentary on the Gospels, the gruesome death of John the Baptist not only occurs because of Salome's dancing, but the deliberate placing of dance next to execution makes the connection between the two actions explicit to the viewer *(Fig. 20)*.[188] The common border illustration of mixed human-animal dance pairings also hints at impropriety, here seen in two examples from the 1338-44 Flemish *Romance of Alexander*, adding a humorous though slightly sinister aspect to the revels *(Figs. 21 and 22)*.[189] One final example, from a clean late thirteenth-century English Bible, demonstrates how unregulated dancing could be. The gestures of these figures are wild and uncontrolled, a parody of the courtly lines and circles, with feet raised, bodies bent away from the vertical, arms in a variety of poses. Clothes are plain and unadorned, though colourful, hinting at a low status, and the artist only enhances this impression by positioning the dances at the borders of the manuscript, without a box, an interior, or a world constructed around them. They exist on the edge of the text, of society, of propriety. Their expansive and slightly wild movements, their position at the border of the page, pushes them out of mainstream society both in the manuscript and in reality *(Fig. 23)*.[190]

Such danger truly reaches its acme in the embrace of courtship. Peter Idley refers to how 'in Englond ys now a commun custome,/ Kyssyng off woman and þem handle and

188 MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 275r, (Fig. 20); Alexander, 'Dancing', p. 155.
189 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fols. 110r, (Fig. 21), 117v, (Fig. 22).
190 MS Auct. D. 3. 2, fol. 238r, (Fig. 23); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 23-4.

touch'.[191] And indeed, Avicenna's *Treatise on Love* declared the purpose of embracing and kissing was to 'come near to one another and to become united'.[192] In the first, unidentified image under consideration, from a very dirty, and rather crudely painted English astrological and ecclesiastical almanac, c. 1350-1400, the couple press their bodies up against each other, each active participants, the hands of the man easily seen around the neck of the woman, her fingers clearly grasping at his back whilst their faces press together *(Fig. 24)*.[193] This is a direct contravention of the advice for a women in receipt of a marriage proposal to 'Sit not by him nor stand where sin might be wrought'; kissing and touching provided an opening for sin.[194] In an early fourteenth-century French, slightly peeling image of Lancelot and the Queen embracing, the queen has the more powerful body language, her higher eyes and hands placed over Lancelot's neck. With their bodies touching and their lips achingly close, they gaze deeply into each other's eyes *(Fig. 25)*.[195] These images are positively subversive. The first lacks a boundary: uncontained by lines, background, or even a straight position on the page, it wanders freely. The image of the Queen and Lancelot is the antithesis of the *Knight of La Tour Landry*'s advice, for even the traditional roles of a man and woman are turned upside down, breaking what Shannon McSheffrey calls the 'inviolable rule' that men led and women followed in courtship.[196] With her dominant body language she is in control, not merely an active participant, and this is also a depiction of adultery; the embrace was not only a risky form of courtship, but a threat to the very sanctity of marriage. Moreover, the mixture of dress styles indicates that this behaviour applied to a range of social classes, a danger to all, underscoring its subversive nature.

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191 *PIS*, ll. 2787-8, p. 204.

192 Conor (ed.), *Love, Sex and Marriage*, p. 268; for a discussion of kissing, see Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 133-40.

193 MS Rawl. D. 939, section 3r, (Fig. 24).

194 *HGWD*, p. 33; *GL.1*, p. 339; *LA*, p. 367.

195 MS Ashmole 828, fol. 88r, (Fig. 25); for the Knight of La Tour-Landry, kissing is the 'parente and cosyn vnto the fowle faytte or dede', in *BKLL*, p. 185.

196 McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex*, p. 48.

Fear of this dangerous courtship runs through the textual sources like a seam. For example, Margery Paston's marriage to Richard Calle and the disruption it caused her family are indicative of how much a dangerous, inappropriate courtship leading to an uncontrolled marriage was feared, and why.[197] Indeed, linking back to status concerns, that marriage was regarded with such disgust partly because Margery married below her station.[198] Overall, the evidence suggests that everything was attempted to limit courtship before marriage; the visual and textual sources may seem, on the surface, very different, but the fears and motivations behind them are the same. As discussed, the iron-fisted control of the family over betrothal and marriage negotiation acted to supervise courtship as much as possible, with women rarely left alone during negotiations.[199] The fact that marriage negotiations took place through the family and many of the future participants were very young altered the character of courtship from that of dances and embraces. Marriages were planned and contracted, not romantic whirlwinds of dances and coy gazes, though not necessarily less happy despite the focus on money as much as love.[200] Even when there is a sense of autonomy it is fleeting, such as when in 1472, after the death of William Blount, son of Lord Mountjoy, his wife Margery, daughter of Sir Thomas Etchingham, contemplated her next marriage to Sir John Elrington.[201] The images may give an impression of great freedom, and in the case of embracing offer women an equal if not an upper hand in courtship, yet the letters show a different side, of marriages created through gritty negotiation, with women and children in particular lacking a

197 *Paston.1*, no. 203, pp. 341-4; Dronzek, 'Gender Roles', pp. 63-76.

198 Pritchard, 'Religion and the Paston Family', p. 72; Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, pp. 156-7; Richmond, *Endings*, p. 11; *Paston.1*, no. 203, pp. 341-4; Margery was not the only Paston woman to court an inappropriate marriage, her sister Anne was involved with the servant John Pampyng in *Paston.1*, no. 283, pp. 473-4, *cf. Paston.2*, no. 446, pp. 31-3.

199 *Cely*, no. 55, pp. 50-51; no. 117, pp. 106-7; no. 165, pp. 150-53; *Paston.1*, no. 362, pp. 590-91; no. 380, pp. 612-4.

200 *Stonor.2*, no. 179, p. 21; *Stonor.1*, no. 110, pp. 112-4; the importance landed families placed on obtaining heiresses is discussed in Payling, 'Economics of marriage', pp. 413-29; for marriage negotiations, see Dronzek, 'Gender Roles', pp. 63-76; Coss, *Lady*, pp. 155-23.

201 *Stonor.1*, no. 121, pp. 123-4; *Plumpton*, no. 10, pp. 32-4.

voice. This is why the Queen's upper hand with Lancelot is so subversive *(Fig. 25)*.[202] Falling in love was dangerous, to be abandoned if opposed by practical concerns.[203]

Thus, the courtship of the letters was more a meeting of families contracting marriage, with actual meetings between future couples few and chaperoned. Christine de Pizan concurs in her *Treasure of the City of Ladies*, laying out a proper, chaperoned courtship in which 'affectionate messages and nice gifts between them [the courting couple]' were carried and overseen by the chaperone: her important and subtle task was to direct the affections of her young female charge towards an appropriate suitor amidst the distractions of dancing and feasts, when other men might show their hand.[204] This is not to suggest that love is entirely absent from textual courtship. Pages and pages of poetry are found within the Armburgh correspondence, a counterpoint to the music and dancing that suffuses visual courtship.[205] The most famous example of love in medieval courtship was the eventual settling down of John Paston III with Margery Brews. Prior to their marriage in February 1477 she sent him two Valentines, the earliest English ones on record.[206] The first contains two small poems, both speaking of love as well as a plaintive desire to hear from John, for 'I am not good heele of body ner of herte, nor schall be tyll I here from yowe'.[207] The second one again speaks of love and calls him her 'welebelouyd Volentyne', and it is touching how happy she obviously is to have received a letter from her suitor. However, there is the definite sense in the second half that she has been kept out of the heart of negotiations.[208] Richmond argues that, although love may have made them determined to marry, Margery's Valentines were written for her by

202 MS Ashmole 828, fol. 88r, (Fig. 25).
203 *RR*, ll. 1038-1103, pp. 55-6.
204 *BTV*, pp. 68-9.
205 *Armburgh*, pp. 155-68.
206 *Paston.1*, no. 415, pp. 662-3; no. 416, p. 663.
207 *Ibid.*, no. 415, pp. 662-3.
208 *Ibid.*, no. 416, p. 663.

Thomas Kela, and is of the opinion that the final breakthrough in the marriage negotiations between John Paston II, Margaret Paston, Dame Elizabeth Brews and Sir Thomas Brews was Margaret offering her manor at Sparham.[209] That said, Dame Elizabeth Brews was definitely keen to encourage the marriage, inviting John Paston to the house on Valentine's Day to facilitate their courtship openly.[210]

However, other courtships are brief and relatively lacking in detail. There is mention of love and hearts in one letter written on behalf of Agnes Wydeslade (the writing of women's letters by clerks also acted as a filter upon courtship), but that is a rare ray of light relief in the Stonor correspondence.[211] This theme of pre-marital affection is continued by German de la Pole writing to Sir Robert Plumpton in 1504 about a match between Randolphe Manwring and de la Pole's sister Ellynor – both parties had 'great love and favor' for each other.[212] In the Stonor letters there is a courtship of sorts between Thomas Betson and the child Katherine Ryche whom he married in 1478; they exchange tokens and affectionate letters.[213] Agnes too gave Edward Plumpton a 'chayne of gold with a crosse set with a ruby and pearles'.[214] This is something not seen in the images, for aside from the marriage of Mercury and Philologia the popularity of exchanging and wearing tokens for marriage or love, jewellery is absent *(Fig. 3)*.[215] Indeed, little jewellery in general is shown in visual sources; tokens, however, were common exchanges by no means confined to romancing couples or husbands and wives.[216] The notions of courtship found in the illuminated manuscripts were certainly not the sort of

209 Richmond, *Endings*, pp. 50-54; for family negotiation, see *Paston.1*, no. 226, p. 378; no. 304, pp. 500-501; no. 305, pp. 501-502; no. 306, pp. 502-503; *Paston.*2, no. 773, p. 413; for evidence of John Paston III's affection, see *Paston.1*, no. 374, pp. 605-605; *Paston.2*, no. 791, pp. 435-6.

210 *Paston.2*, no. 791, pp. 435-6.

211 *Stonor.2*, no. 261, pp. 99-100.

212 *Plumpton*, no. 194, p. 177; *cf. ibid.,* no. 195, p. 178; no. 121, pp. 118-9.

213 *Stonor.2*, no. 166, pp. 6-8.

214 *Plumpton*, no. 121, pp. 118-9; *cf. Cely*, no. 54, pp. 49-50; for go-betweens in gift giving, see McSheffrey, *Love and Marriage*, p. 19.

215 MS Canon. Misc. 110, fol. 123r, (Fig. 3); Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, p. 111.

216 *Stonor.2*, no. 204, pp. 41-2.

behaviour to be emulated in the world of letters, sermons, and courtesy literature, whilst in a kind of correspondence, affection in the form of Valentines, letter beginnings and endings, and behaviour was mainly limited to life after marriage, unlike in the lavish visual courtship of the images with its focus upon the pre-married state.[217] 'Foolish love' was 'dishonourable', even more so the higher the rank of the woman in question, and women should certainly not be led astray and love those of a different class to themselves.[218] As the Knight makes clear, some men may propose to their paramours, but many do not.[219] In his debate between himself and his wife, it is his wife who warns against love, in opposition to her husband's more romantic notions – the woman had to be more careful, for she would bear the blame.[220]

CONCLUSION

While there is basic agreement between illumination and text on the characteristics of the ideal spouse, the ideal of marriage itself was much more complex. It is true that historians have gathered much of the information about marital ceremony as depicted in illuminations from other sources, particularly dispute records, but these details, especially when paired with the Virgin as model of propriety in the images, do make clear a certain ceremonial ideal.[221] In a period when displays of wealth were becoming more ostentatious and a greater source of anxiety, against a backdrop of decreasing household income, the inclusion of contemporary dress demonstrates that the audience of these images was not a passive one, (which is also indicated marks of ownership and use) and their images not only responded to their interests in dress and status, but also made visible how propriety could operate on different levels depending on the characters involved. R. H. Helmholz has argued that marriage became

217 Margery Cely sent her husband a heart of gold and a gold fetterlock (small padlock) as tokens, see *Cely*, no. 222, p. 222.
218 *BTV*, p. 80; *BKLL*, p. 178; *cf. GL.1*, p. 110; *LA*, p. 123.
219 *BKLL*, pp. 176-7.
220 *Ibid.*, pp. 171-86.
221 Karras, *Unmarriages*, pp. 180-188; McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex*, pp. 34, 40-47.

relatively stable after the decisions of the thirteenth century, and indeed, despite changes in dress, the ritual of marriage seen in the images is consistent.[222] He also argues that matrimonial litigation declined over this period, and suggests that one of the reasons for this was that the Church's marital standards, involving witnesses, the presence of a priest, and free consent, worked their way into societal mores.[223] Thus, the inclusion of images in this discussion suggest more than an ideal of marriage incorporating well known details: it reveals a way in which this ideal was propagated.

Courtship existed in a much more uncertain space. Outside of the constraints of religious manuscripts, it presented a greater opportunity to propagate ideals of social status and behaviour, but its depiction was also riven with fear of social disorder and aiming for a ceremonial ideal. Certainly images of courtship are freer than the courtship seen in the letter collections, but this is because they existed in different spaces. The letters are concerned with restriction to avoid the loss of status and reputation that uncontrolled courtship could bring. The images, however, often existed in a fantasyland, elaborate courtly dances in allegorical worlds with fewer real-world consequences, or pushed to the edge of the page, the metaphorical edge of society, where the rules of propriety that govern the letters are frayed and looser. It is not always easy to measure the gap between social practice and the relatively consistent depiction of courtship across the period. The *longue durée* of artistic patterns, touched upon in the Introduction, is significant, and certainly social practice could change more rapidly, for the gap between social practice and artistic depiction is fluid. However, the distance between the two could only stretch so far before practice and models became too remote from one another, causing change or collapse. Reproduction suggests that these images of courtship continued to resonate, on some level, with their audience, and the

222 Helmholz, *Laws of England*, p. 563.
223 *Ibid.*, p. 564.

influence of contemporary clothing styles on images of betrothal and marriage is a demonstration of how it was possible for images to be adapted. Overall there seems to be a tension between the often (but not always) pragmatic attitudes demonstrated in the letters and the interest in and desire for courtship and romance as expressed by the illuminations.

CHAPTER TWO

The Roles of Husbands and Wives

In the fifteenth century, Antoine de La Sale, a keen observer of French court manners, wrote the ironically titled treatise *The fyftene ioyes of maryage*. This satire of married life had a second life across the Channel in the early sixteenth century when it was translated into English and published at Westminster, its material continuing to chime with its audience over time and space. Like its forerunner the *Facetus* it propagated an intensely negative view of marriage, elaborating this foundation of the medieval household into a trap for the unwary good man who, once ensnared, endures a series of miseries thanks to his cunning wife and her scheming family.[1] In an unnatural world of overbearing wives, the traditional hunting-lusting trope is turned on its head as the wife becomes the insatiable predator.[2] Of course, if married life was so unremittingly awful one wonders why the male gentry of the epistolary world were quite as keen on marrying as we have seen. Yet satire only circulates widely if its audience recognises a grain of truth in it, and even a text focusing on the bad side of married life reveals ideals – only inverted. If 'perceptions of gender are often shaped by relationships between sexes', there can be no better approach to how the ideal roles and behaviours of wives and husbands were formed than through the ideal relationship between them.[3] A vast topic, but this chapter will again limit itself to areas where illuminations and didactic texts converge to shape notions of what marital relationships should be. In some cases this enriches

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1 *FJM*, pp. 10, 60; *Facetus*, p. 46.

2 Veronica Sekules, 'Women and Art in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London, 1987), pp. 47-8.

3 Elizabeth L'Estrange and Alison More, 'Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530', in *eaedem* (eds.), *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530* (Farnham, 2011), p. 4.

our current understanding of ideal behaviour in this context, but at other times it suggests that such models were not always straightforward, that they changed over time, excited different levels of interest in different regions, and in comparison with the less neat and tidy world of the letter collections were understood and followed in varying ways and degrees.

All types of couples, married or otherwise, are depicted in manuscript illuminations, but the most frequent pairings are biblical in origin. They consist of a set of types that illustrate, more explicitly than many of the texts, the many different aspects of marriage, and can be compared and contrasted with the husbands and wives of lay donor images, letter collections, and saints' lives. What might be thought of as the archetypal married couple is personified by Mary and Joseph, the most often portrayed, but the Christ child is also typically present, to form a trio or a mother-son pairing. Very rarely do the married couple appear alone together, as when they are *en route* to Bethlehem, but even then, as can be seen in a large miniature from a Flemish Book of Hours dated 1480-90, originally made for Engelbert of Nassau, Lieutenant of the Realm under Philip the Fair, the presence of Christ is implicit in the obviously pregnant body of Mary *(Fig. 1)*.[4] Generally, Mary is depicted as a young woman, and even in images where Joseph is older there is the impression of a grown man in his prime, with the couple just starting out together on married life; the comparable standard pairing of an older couple, in the more mature years of marriage, is Abraham and Sarah. Their age is conveyed through grey hair, a hat atop the head of Abraham, a tightly wound veil encircling the face of Sarah, and several such images may be encountered in a French *Bible*

4 *Eg.* MS Douce 219, fol. 115r, (Fig. 1).

moralisée of the mid-thirteenth century, part of the roundels of four successive folios *(Fig. 2)*.[5]

Alongside these paradigmatic couples, however, are representations of other, more complicated, even enigmatic relationships. Jacob and his two wives Leah and Rachel, for example, are depicted in a very clean manuscript (suggesting that it may have been a library copy) of the early sixteenth century from France, addressed to Charles VIII and containing twelve allegorical applications of scenes from the Old Testament and ancient history to the Christian Church. Here Leah and Rachel are clearly of very different ages, as the body of the elder is more thickset, her clothes more worn and also less form-fitting and fashionable, her features more sunken; this image could be interpreted as a way to deal with the reality of remarriage, an issue much discussed, as we know, in both contemporary letters and courtesy literature *(Fig. 3)*.[6] More ambiguous is the case of David and Bathsheba, since, although they were later married, illustrations of them predominantly depict the famous scene of the king spying upon her whilst she bathed, which led promptly to an extramarital pregnancy. In one very small historiated initial of an English Bible from c. 1250-75 *(Fig. 4)*, given to Norwich by Magister Ricardus de Felningham and in good condition, David is arguing with an attendant as Bathsheba bathes, physically proximal to her naked form; later images, especially from Flemish-influenced French manuscripts, make even more apparent the lustful and illicit aspect of the royal gaze as well as the voluptuous nakedness of the woman, with no attempt to shy away from the problems of desire and infidelity.[7] These images are not just

5 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 12r, (Fig. 2); *cf.* fols. 11v, 13v, 14r; for a later French example, yet demonstrating the same characterisation of age, from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, see MS Douce 211, fol. 23r, (Fig. 6).

6 MS Rawl. A. 417, fol. 9r, (Fig. 3).

7 MS Auct. D. 4. 8, fol. 631v, (Fig. 4); Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts: 1190-1250* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 123-4; *cf.* although the image of Bathsheba bathing has historical precedent, as demonstrated by earlier English and French examples, it really found full expression in French manuscripts from the late fifteenth century onwards. This will be discussed more fully later in the chapter. The following

illustrations of texts, or just stereotypes, but active contemplations – even when their contents remain static – grappling with the complexities of married life, from beauty through to infirmity and certainty encompassing anxiety.

MARITAL VALUES: SEXUAL CONTINENCE

If we turn to the expectations of marriage it is the value of chastity which comes to the fore, in the forms of premarital virginity and marital continence, both in opposition to the apparent freedom encountered in courtship images. The significance of the former has been explored already, but it was only the forerunner to the latter. In another roundel of the mid-thirteenth-century French *Bible moralisée* that we have already considered, the three daughters of Job are representations of the three kinds of faithful women: married, virginal, and continent. The married woman wears a hat-like veil just as Sarah does in the depictions of her beside Abraham as the typical elderly couple, and she seems older than the other two, whilst the virgin, situated in the centre, is young and clad in a light blue dress reminiscent of images of the Annunciation to Mary, her hair uncovered and long in the style of a youthful girl. The continent woman has her robe drawn over her head in the fashion of a hood, her figure hidden by the voluminous folds of her dress, and there is an intriguing resemblance to images of Mary grieving at the Passion *(Fig. 5)*.[8] This theme of continence within marriage is reiterated in another biblical miniature from a regularly annotated, slightly smudged, *Bible historiale*, c. 1300-25, originating from Paris, and a type of manuscript popular with lay patrons, illustrating the vexation of Abimelech on learning that he had unknowingly sent for

manuscripts are all French: for a mid-thirteenth-century example, see MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 152r, (P&A.1, no. 524); from the end of the fifteenth century, see MS Rawl. liturg. e. 33, fol. 52r, (P&A.1, no. 781); from c. 1500, see MS Canon. Liturg. 99, fol. 72r, (P&A.1, no. 813); MS Rawl. liturg. e. 20, fol. 66r; (P&A.1, no. 806); MS Rawl. liturg. e. 21, fol. 58r, (P&A.1, no. 808); from the sixteenth century, see MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fols. 57v-58r, (P&A.1, no. 827); MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 61r, (P&A.1, no. 844); MS Douce 72, fols. 44v-45r, (P&A.1, no. 843); MS Douce 135, fol. 57r, (P&A.1, no. 851); see II Samuel 11.

8 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 204r, (Fig. 5).

the wife of Abraham and thereby dishonoured the sanctity of marriage *(Fig. 6)*.[9] Nor is the importance of continence in marriage confined to manuscripts with a mainly biblical subject matter, for in a rather large, slightly worn Parisian copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, c. 1400, the fear of sexual incontinence is given form in the cuckolded Vulcan. On discovering his wife Venus in bed with Mars, his hands are thrown up to his face and his eyes are transfixed by the sight of the canoodling lovers *(Fig. 7)*.[10] Underscoring the danger of adultery, this same codex offers a contrasting, and popular, representation of the rape of Lucretia, illustrating the moment of her suicide to restore her lost honour *(Fig. 8)*.[11] The lesson of death as preferable to sexual dishonour, a lesson for women at least, would not have been lost on the medieval viewer even if contemporary self-destruction was perceived in an altogether different light than suicide amongst the ancients.

Romance as a genre is less self-consciously didactic, and consequently is not being treated in depth here, but there is value in using images from these manuscripts, like those just discussed, in the same way as instructive illuminations can be drawn from astrological or scientific treatises and not only from texts with an overtly biblical context. The images shared a vocabulary of illustration, a language of gesture, which crosses the more rigid boundaries of textual genre.[12] Furthermore, the makers of these images, regardless of the subject matter of the text being illustrated, were the same, working out of the same workshops and providing a variety of different manuscripts to the same late medieval elite audience. To discuss images

9 MS Douce 211, fol. 23r, (Fig. 6); *cf.* the miserable, distressed body language of the Pharaoh in MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 12r, (Fig. 2); see Genesis 20; for a good background to the Bible historiale, see Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), p. 149.

10 MS Douce 371, fol. 91v, (Fig. 7); Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford, 2008), pp. 218-9.

11 MS Douce 371, fol. 57r, (Fig. 8); *cf.* the parallel MS e Mus. 65, fol. 66v, (P&A.1, no. 612); Lorris and Meun, *Romance*, pp. 132-3.

12 For a good background on images and the language of gesture, see Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976), esp. p. 19 which discusses the crossover of gestures in images between religious and secular manuscripts; Moshe Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. pp. 1-12.

drawn from romance manuscripts alongside those from biblical sources when considering the creation and propagation of behavioural ideals allows a wider variety of subjects to be explored, and contrasts to be drawn, to approach more closely how these models may have operated and been absorbed, changed, and deployed and redeployed by their audience.

The images pick up on the values of hagiography, which shared the same biblical and Classical frame of reference: the concern with virginity and chastity was nearly obsessive, as it constituted the keystone of personal sanctity. Young girls were encouraged to read about and venerate saintly virgins.[13] The basis of Saint Lucy's sanctity, for example, was that she 'possessed the beauty of virginity without trace of corruption', while Saint Margaret 'was shining white by her virginity'.[14] So important was virginity that those who threatened it would suffer: witness the sudden blindness of Saint Anastasia's hopeful lover.[15] However, the hagiography also stresses the value of male as well as female virginity. Thus, Saint Thomas the Apostle, for example, encourages a newly married couple to 'preserve the purity of your bodies', while Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist is represented as a paragon of male virginity, gifted with 'freedom from fleshly corruption'.[16] Yet, a second value associated with marriage was affection, in which there is a palpable tension between emotional and physical desire. Historians, though now more careful with these generalisations, have argued extensively about whether or not marriage in this period was an emotional attachment or a 'dynastic and economic convenience'.[17] Marital affection was certainly encouraged by the church, and Gratian ruled it indispensable to the legality of the bond, whilst the courtesy

13 *BTV*, p. 146; *BCL*, pp. 201-40.
14 *GL.1*, pp. 27, 368; *cf. ibid*., pp. 87-9, 143-51, 268-9, 309-10, 336-8; *LA*, pp. 29, 400; *cf. ibid*., pp. 98-100, 158-67, 293-4, 338-40, 364-7.
15 *GL.1*, p. 44; *LA*, p. 48.
16 *GL.1*, pp. 32, 50; *LA*, pp. 35, 56.
17 Isabel Davis, 'Medieval Marriage and the Household - The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), pp. 128-9.

literature propagated the notion of marriage involving mutual love.[18] Virginity, therefore, and indeed continence, were not universal but highly contextual ideals.

MARITAL VALUES: LOVE AND LUST

Affection between spouses is immediately apparent their correspondence. Of course, the use of formulaic passages in the opening and closing of letters between husbands and wives makes it difficult to distinguish genuine sentiment from standardised language.[19] Jane Stonor uses the typical greeting of 'I recommende me to ȝow' when writing to Thomas Stonor, echoed in letters addressed by Elizabeth Paston to her husband William, and again between Sir Robert and Dame Agnes Plumpton.[20] Regardless of whether these openings and closings are genuine, however, they imply a socially accepted and constantly reinforced notion of spousal affection. Indeed, an obvious lack of affection in a marriage was considered a bad thing, such as when Sir John Heveningham writes before 1466 that 'he has a wife that he does not care for, and thus she is not well at ease'.[21] But deviations from formulae do permit more spontaneous feeling to be discerned, and are usually precipitated by a specific situation or occasion. One example is the already discussed love affair between Margery Paston and Robert Calle, which gave rise to numerous declarations of love in the face of

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18 Michael M. Sheehan, '*Maritalis affectio* Revisited', in James K. Farge (ed.), *Marriage, Family and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies* (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 262-277; also see this collection for the general use of wills when discussing medieval marriage, which this thesis only touches upon briefly in relation to the wills included with letter collections; D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 1-2; Frances and Joseph Gies, *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages* (London, 1987), p. 298; *FJM*, p. 79; to love husbands, see *HGWD*, p. 33; *BTV*, pp. 36, 39, 128; *GWG*, p. 94; *BKLL*, pp. 50-51; 76; to love wives, see *GWG*, pp. 94-103; *DC*, p. 10; this is a constant refrain in *PIS*, ll. 1226-7, p. 101, ll. 1254-67, p. 102; l. 1252, p. 128; 2077-84, p. 141.

19 For letter styles and salutations, see Alison Truelove, 'Commanding Communications: the Fifteenth-Century Letters of the Stonor Women', in James Daybell (ed.), *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke, 2001), pp. 42-58.

20 *Stonor.1*, no. 70, p. 62; *cf. ibid.*, no. 106, pp. 109-10; no. 172, pp. 13-5; no. 180, pp. 22-3; no. 204, pp. 41-2; no. 229, pp. 68-9; no. 262, pp. 100-101; *Plumpton*, no. 162, p. 152; no. 170, p. 158; no. 171, pp. 158-9; no. 185, pp. 169-70; no. 188, pp. 172-3; no. 189, p. 173; no. 190, p. 174; *cf. ibid.*, no. 199, pp. 181-2; *Paston.1*, no. 13, p. 26; no. 124, pp. 215-6; no. 126, pp. 217-9; no. 132, pp. 230-33; no. 135, pp. 235-6; no. 136, pp. 237-8; no. 138, pp. 239-40.

21 *Paston.2*, no. 723, pp. 350-51; *Paston.1*, no. 132, pp. 230-33.

adversity. Calle mentions 'the gret bonde of matrymonye þat is made be-twix vs, and also the greete loue þat hath be', lamenting 'what they do þat kepe vs thus a-sonder'.[22]

In the case of betrothal between an older man and a younger woman, steps were taken to foster a bond of affection prior to her reaching marriageable age, in order to limit the likelihood of her straying. Katherine Ryche was little more than a child in 1476, but her betrothed, Thomas Betson, was an adult. In letters he not only addressed her as his 'hartely belovid Cossen Kateryn', keen that she 'myght waxe and grow ffast to be a woman', but also sent a 'rynge ffor a token'.[23] Margaret Paston advised her son John Paston II to marry only when love was present.[24] This should act as a control on the story of his sister Anne, who was separated from her desired suitor Pamping and married in an explicitly loveless union (on both sides) to William Yelverton.[25] Perhaps the most expressive husband was George Cely, who discusses his wife Margery in openly affectionate terms in letters to his brother, and took unusual care in the gifts he sent her. This was reciprocated wholeheartedly by her, and in one letter she not only acknowledges George at the start but throughout, hoping that he is of 'good cher', asking to hear as soon as possible 'þat ye well be at home yf ye may', and enclosing 'a hart of gold' as a love token.[26]

It has been argued that in the later Middle Ages much more emphasis was placed on marital love, with images becoming more affective, and in a circular fashion, encouraging

22 *Paston.2*, no. 861, pp. 498-500; *cf. Stonor.1*, no. 123, pp. 125-7; *Stonor.2*, no. 176, pp. 18-9; no. 261, pp. 99-100; no. 287, pp. 122-3; no. 295, p. 130; *Plumpton*, no. 48, pp. 68-9; no. 185, pp. 169-70; valentines were discussed in Chapter One.

23 *Stonor.2*, no. 166, pp. 6-8.

24 *Paston.I*, no. 228, pp. 380-81.

25 *Ibid.*, no. 282, pp. 470-72.

26 *Cely*, no. 214, pp. 208-10; no. 215, pp. 216-8; no. 222, p. 222; no. 223, p. 223; no. 224, p. 224; for other love tokens, see *Stonor.2*, no. 172, pp. 13-5.

affective behaviour.[27] At the same time, however, the wife of Geoffroy de La Tour-Landry, the author of a key work (c. 1371-2) of French courtesy literature, was cited in her husband's writing as being keen that women should avoid becoming slaves to love: like all things, love was best in moderation.[28] Accordingly there are relatively few images of husbands and wives showing emotional affection for one another; images of affection more often assume the form of the embracing couple found in the border of a rather dirty and crudely painted English astrological and ecclesiastical calendar of the late fourteenth century, a scene of courtship rather than married feeling, and positioned marginally – literally and thus figuratively as discussed in the previous chapter – on the edge of the page *(Fig. 9)*.[29] However, 'the romances, songs, and poems that circulated in aristocratic courts from the High Middle Ages forward provided Europeans an enduring image of romantic love, along with the language to express it'.[30] This language, not in itself necessarily focused on the married, was nevertheless actively repurposed and applied both to marital relationships and by those later to be married. The Armburgh Papers therefore include a sequence of poems on love and being in love, whilst a large proportion of *The Book of the City of Ladies* is dedicated to models of women who have great love for their husbands, understood as a good aspect of the female character and desirable in the married condition.[31] There is record of George Cely writing a song in French, the language of Clare, admittedly his mistress, but a woman with whom he passed

27 Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England: 1000-1500* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 91-110.
28 *BKLL*, p. 173.
29 MS Rawl. D. 939, section 3r, (Fig. 9).
30 Martha Howell, 'The Properties of Marriage in Late Medieval Europe: Commercial Wealth and the Creation of Modern Marriage', in Isabel Davies, Miriam Müller, and Sarah Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle* Ages (Turnhout, 2001), p. 21; for more on courtly love, development and literature, see Joan M. Ferrante, ''Cortes' Amor in Medieval Texts', *Speculum* 55:4 (1980), pp. 686-95.
31 *Armburgh*, pp. 155-68; *Paston.2*, no. 490, p. 84; no. 792, pp. 436-7; no. 841, p. 480; *Paston.1*, no. 77, pp. 140-45; no. 125, pp. 216-7; no. 175, pp. 187-8; no. 228, pp. 380-81; no. 248, pp. 412-5; no. 362, pp. 590-91; *BCL*, pp. 110-22; *cf. GWG*, p. 94.

much affectionate time.[32] Fundamentally, however, it does not matter whether or not authentic emotion can really be distinguished in the sources: the fact that it was considered necessary to appear to be loving reveals that the expression of affection was a basic value associated with marriage. Why? Only marriage could transform sex from a 'satisfaction of lust' into a necessary duty, sin mitigated by the purpose of conception; enjoyment of sex was essentially reserved for sinners.[33]

Of course marriage was not just about innocent affection. Lust was very much a part of it, both an incentive to marry and a bargaining chip used by wives to manipulate husbands into doing their bidding.[34] As with almost all aspects of medieval life, marital relations were of great interest to theologians; consummation made marriage indissoluble, though this was not without controversy.[35] Furthermore, as the choice to marry, the marital debt was supposed to apply equally to both parties.[36] Since 'marital status was an important determining factor of gender identity, alongside age, social status and profession', keeping sex firmly contained within marriage was a way to protect, or to safeguard, ideal social behaviour.[37] Pleasure and sexual compatibility had to be ensured – but only in this context.[38] Theological discomfort with sex, even bound by the chains of lawful matrimony, is unsurprising given hagiography's preoccupation with virginity and chastity. The genre existed in the uncomfortable position of having to acknowledge the importance and expectation of the marital debt while at the same

32 *Cely*, no. 54, pp. 49-50; no. 49, p. 46; Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English merchant family of the fifteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 49-50.

33 Vern L. Bullough, 'Sex Education in Medieval Christianity', *The Journal of Sex Research* 13:3 (1977), pp. 185-96, esp. p. 186.

34 *FJM*, pp. 6, 34, 62-3.

35 Sharon Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives', *Speculum* 61:3 (1986), p. 527; d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 59, 170-75; *cf.* Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 130-31.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 131-2.

37 D. M. Hadley, 'Introduction: Medieval Masculinities', in *idem* (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), p. 14; Kathryn A. Smith, 'A 'Viewing Community' in Fourteenth-Century England', in *eadem*, Joyce Coleman, and Mark Cruse (eds.), *The Social Life of Illumination* (Turnhout, 2013), p. 146.

38 d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage*, pp. 169-70; *cf.* Brooke, *Idea of Marriage*, pp. 54-5.

time encouraging chastity at all times.[39] Images of Anne and Joachim often served as a model for marriage, further disseminated by their frequent appearance in the monumental wall paintings of late medieval parish churches, yet in their union this discomfort with sex and conception is apparent; lust may factor in biblical scenes, but only associated with sin.[40]

The 'clene kiss', potentially a model for ideal marital affection, came to represent the chaste moment of the conception of Mary.[41] In regard to its main features, a consistent image was in circulation in both England and France from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, a sign not only of ongoing interest in the subject matter but also that its depiction continued to resonate with its audience. It bears, with the coming together of two clothed upright bodies in embrace, a superficial resemblance to the embrace of courtship *(Fig. 9)*. Yet if we compare this image with an initial, from a Breviary also dated to fourteenth-century England, showing the 'clene kiss' of Anne and Joachim, differences are apparent *(Fig. 10)*.[42] Two clothed bodies come together, but the artist is careful to keep the lower halves of Anne and Joachim's bodies obviously separate, and thus chaste, a feature even of a somewhat more intense sixteenth-century image from very clean Book of Hours originating in Normandy, its owners

39 *GL.1*, pp. 86, 101, 122-3; *LA*, pp. 97, 112, 136-8; for direct reference to the 'marital debt', see *GL.1*, p. 167; *LA*, p. 184; Saint Germain and his wife even lived as brother and sister, see *GL.2*, pp. 27, 305-308; *LA*, pp. 448, 355-8.

40 For the Meeting of Joachim and Saint Anne in wall painting, see E. W. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1955), p. 74; for a good background to wall painting, see *ibid*., Chapter One, pp. 3-29, pp. 59-94, esp. their didactic purpose, p. 17; for the relationship between miniatures and wall painting, see *idem*, *English Medieval Wall Painting: The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 379-82; for the *Golden Legend* as a source of inspiration, see *ibid.*, pp. 51-8.

41 Kathleen Ashley, 'Image and Ideology: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Drama and Narrative', in *eadem* and Pamela Sheingorn (eds.), *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (London, 1990), p. 116; for the complex meanings behind a kiss, see Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London, 1998), pp. 133-40; Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, 'Introduction', in *eaedem* (eds.), *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, p. 30; Kathleen Ashley, 'Image and Ideology', pp. 120-21.

42 MS Lat. liturg. d. 42, fol. 40r, (Fig. 10); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 70-71; for a fifteenth-century French example, see MS Liturg. 59, fol. 54r, (Fig. 11); for a sixteenth-century example, also French, see MS Douce 72, fol. 22r, (Fig. 12); the resulting conception in this image is given greater emphasis with the positioning of the Visitation below; for background to breviaries (which could have both lay and clerical owners), see de Hamel, *History*, pp. 192-7.

depicted kneeling before their patron saints later in the book *(Fig. 12)*. Although this manuscript contains an image of its owners, its cleanliness implies that this was a collected, or library copy of a Book of Hours rather than one in daily use. With the attitude of the *Hali Meidhad*, which considered coupling a filthy act only barely to be tolerated within marriage, as the backdrop to medieval attitudes towards physical affection, it is unsurprising that even an emblematic procreating couple was awkward.[43]

Of course, the problem with even the cleanest matrimonial coupling was the danger of lust, and its tendency to stray outside of the bounds of marriage. While it was a fundamental part of marriage, it led too easily to adultery, forbidden to both men and women and a theme the images and texts ruminate on in anxiety.[44] Lust was 'the fire of sin', one of the seven deadly vices; sent by the devil to tempt, it was associated with vileness and death by Innocent III, and seen the progenitor of the sin of lechery, possible even between spouses.[45] Indeed, the medieval reader was explicitly encouraged to associate sex with evil, for the well-known fate intended for Saint Lucy was that 'a crowd to take their pleasure with this woman, and let them abuse her until she is dead'.[46] The terrible nature of adultery, breaking the emotional bonds that were held as a marital ideal, is again shown best by the popular illumination of Vulcan finding Venus cheating on him with Mars in the marital bed which we have already

43 *HM*, ll. 24-9, p. 4.

44 For adultery, see George G. Perry (ed.), 'Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon', in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (London, 1867), p. 13; *IPP*, ll. 226-31, p. 8, 929-30, p. 29; *BGM*, p. 92; for vows of chastity, see *IPP*, ll. 385-7, p. 12.

45 *GL.1*, pp. 84, 86, 102, 187, 339, 365; *LA*, pp. 94, 97, 113-4, 205, 367, 397; Perry (ed.), 'Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon', ll. 30-34, pp. 8, 13; *IPP*, ll. 1235-1302, pp. 38-40; Michael Camille, *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator* (London, 1996), pp. 82-3; George G. Perry (ed), 'Mirror of Saint Edmund' in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces*, ll. 19-21, p. 28; *cf. Stonor.1*, no. 153, p. 158; *GWG*, pp. 78-9.

46 *GL.1*, p. 29; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 15, 43-4, 328-36; *LA*, p. 31; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 15, 47-9, 356-64; for rape, see *Paston.1*, no. 45, pp. 69-71; no. 312, pp. 511-2.

had cause to consider. The cuckolded husband, his hands thrown up in the air in horror, the opposite of calm and contained, vividly conveys the impropriety of the act *(Fig. 7)*.[47]

These frequent refrains on the problem of adultery speak to a deep-seated contemporary fear of the fragility of marriage and how easily the foundation upon which the household and wider society rested could be broken.[48] The encouragement of female chastity with the cases of Susanna and Lucretia was the other side to female licentiousness, which was believed to run far hotter than a husband's.[49] There seems to have been an assumption that women would stray: not only is this an ever-present and insistent thread in the courtesy literature, but it also factors in the story of Saint Julian, who accidently slew his sleeping parents assuming they were his (blameless) wife and her lover in bed.[50] This was built upon the intensification in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of clerical resentment of women, who were increasingly seen as active Eves, temptations into sin, and thus in need of subordination.[51] In *The Fyfteen Ioyes of Mariage*, women were more than just roaming adulteresses: they were the window in the house of marriage through which sin could enter. A primary feature of this poem is the rapidity with which other men will attempt to romance another man's wife if she is not

47 MS Douce 371, fol. 91v, (Fig. 7); for evil love as the art of Venus, see *BKLL*, pp. 173-5; for discussion of Venus's adultery, see Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 19.

48 For divorce, annulment, and the breaking of marriages, see *FJM*, p. 97; Coss, *Lady*, pp. 125-7; Jennifer Ward, *Women in England in the Middle Ages* (London, 2006), pp. 41-5; for getting rid of wives, see *DC*, p. 18; *Facetus*, p. 47; for keeping wives, see *DC*, p. 19, *Facetus*, p. 46; for attempting to escape unhappy marriages and the violent consequences, see Coss, *Lady*, pp. 127-43; for more on medieval rape, see Elise Bennett Histed, 'Medieval Rape: A Conceivable Defence?', *Cambridge Law Journal* 63:3 (2004), pp. 743-69; *cf.* Caroline Dunn, 'The Language of Ravishment in Medieval England', *Speculum* 86:1 (2011), pp. 79-116; *BKLL*, pp. 93-4; for more on runaway wives, see Sara Butler, 'Runaway Wives: Husband Desertion in Medieval England', *Journal of Social History* 40:2 (2006), pp. 337-59.

49 *RR*, ll. 249-50, p. 97; *PIS*, ll. 2619-30, p. 201; *GWG*, pp. 51, 86-93; for the insatiable wife, see *BKLL*, p. 156; John Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series*, 12 (2002), pp. 275-6; Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, 1983), p. 68.

50 *GL.1*, pp. 127-8; *LA*, pp. 142-3; *BKLL*, pp. 163-5; Daniel of Beccles advises a servant should his lord's wife proposition him, in *UM*, p. 23; *UM.L*, ll. 1896-1901, 1911-5, p. 64.

51 Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices', p. 519; Vern L. Bullough, 'Marriage in the Middle Ages, 5: Medieval Medical and Scientific Views of Women', *Viator* 4 (1973), pp. 485-6.

maintained in the style of her desire, particularly as regards dress.[52] As with the contraction of marriage, dress was problematic. It lured men into marriage, placed financial strain upon them when married, and was a source of rivalry and envy amongst neighbours.[53] But it was also sexual: the circular shape of chaplets symbolized never-ending desire, belts or girdles dangling to the hem on a woman divided the rational top half and the animal lust half below, while purses, worn by both sexes, had heavy sexual associations.[54] Dress was the outward expression of the married state, and inextricably bound up with reputation.

However, women were not the only instigators of lechery. The most common scene of outright lust is one that we have already touched upon, the desire of David for Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite.[55] Indeed, the illuminations of this story are all found in books of hours, where they are given lavish and detailed treatments, frequently forming full-page or even double-page spreads, sometimes larger than any other image in the manuscript *(Figs. 13-20)*.[56] In the meditative context of a book of hours, and significantly paired with the text of the Penitential Psalms, there was ample scope for mulling over the double-edged nature of lust.[57] It is a noticeable feature of the depictions of Bathsheba, mostly ranging in date from the end of the fifteenth century to the second quarter of the sixteenth, that her physical

52 *FJM*, pp. 68-74, 86-7, 96; women are constantly lustful and unchaste, pp. 111, 127.

53 *Ibid.*, on courtship, see pp. 14-5, 44-5; for financial strain, see pp. 24-5, 27; for envy, see pp. 15-8, 64-8; *HGWD*, p. 39; *BTV*, p. 39; this was also the case in the Mal Marié section of the *Roman de la Rose* explored by Sarah-Grace Heller, 'Anxiety, Hierarchy, and Appearance in Thirteenth-Century Sumptuary Laws and the Roman de la rose', *French Historical Studies* 27:2 (2004), pp. 339-41; the good husband is represented by Pygmalion in the same text, dressing his wife in fine clothes - her dress is an extension of himself, pp. 344-6.

54 Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 54-6, 61-3.

55 *GL.2*, p. 187; *LA*, p. 626; *PIS*, ll. 2542-8, p. 200; *BKLL*, p. 99.

56 All of these examples are French, ranging from the end of the fifteenth century: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 33, fol. 52r, (Fig. 13); c. 1500: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 20, fol. 66r, (Fig. 14); MS Rawl. liturg. e. 21, fol. 58r, (Fig. 15); MS Canon. Liturg. 99, fol. 72r, (Fig. 16); from the beginning of the sixteenth century: MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fols. 57v-58r, (Fig. 17); from the first quarter of the sixteenth century: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 61r, (Fig. 18); MS Douce 72, fols. 44v-45r, (Fig. 19); from the second quarter of the sixteenth century: MS Douce 135, fol. 57r, (Fig. 20).

57 For background on the Penitential Psalms, see Roger Wieck, *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (London, 1988), pp. 97-102.

attributes are consistent. Her skin tone is always almost blindingly white, her hair worn long and loose down to her waist and tinted a strawberry blonde colour with a hint of waves, her hips and stomach rounded in contrast to her narrow upper body; even in the latest illumination, from a French Book of Hours, c. 1525-50, which shows a strong Renaissance influence in her figure, the colour of her hair and her proportions remain the same *(Fig. 20)*. The standard of unveiled female beauty represented here, in terms of figure, hair and skin colour, is one expressed in illustrations of even the most virtuous of women, as in a somewhat worn but still intelligible historiated border from the same sixteenth-century French Book of Hours as *Fig. 18*, where the Virgin at the Annunciation is very similar in colouring and the downward cast of her head to Bathsheba *(Fig. 21)*.[58] Such pale skin and loose reddish hair are not features confined to late French manuscripts; even thirteenth- and fourteenth-century images from England (from a Bestiary and Book of Hours respectively) of Eve and Mary display these characteristics *(Figs. 22 and 23)*.[59] But Bathsheba is not just fully nude: in several images her pubic area is both bare and detailed, far removed indeed from the modesty of Anne and Joachim where even their clothed lower halves do not touch.[60] Paul Saenger has commented very briefly on the evolution of the Bathsheba image from relatively simple bathing into a titillating vignette.[61] The late date and Flemish-influenced French origin of these images, however, raises the possibility of a localised increased interest in depicting that particular scene and therefore of showing nudity in the context of lustful behaviour. The images of Bathsheba extant from earlier centuries are much smaller, historiated initials or

58 MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 20r, (Fig. 21).

59 MS Douce 88, fol. 29v, (Fig. 22); MS Lat. liturg. e. 41, fol. 7r, (Fig. 23); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 132-3.

60 A particularly good example of the obvious and detailed nudity of Bathsheba is MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fols. 57v-58r, (Fig. 17). In this exquisitely rendered miniature, from an early sixteenth-century Book of Hours from Anjou, only slightly stained, Bathsheba holds a cloth across herself. However, it is delicately drawn as an almost transparent material, not merely allowing the viewer to see clearly the body behind the cloth, but actively drawing the eye to her pubic region.

61 Paul Saenger, 'Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages', in Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print: Power and Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, 1989), p. 156.

roundels, and while they share her later hallmarks of beauty, her nakedness is much less apparent, covered by the high wall of the bath as well as her hands across her chest *(Figs. 4 and 24)*.[62]

Given this consistent standard of beauty, perhaps Veronica Sekules is too categorical that 'nudity had little allure in English medieval art', and that 'as a device for demonstrating appreciation of the body it had absolutely no currency' aside from representing the innocence of Adam and Eve, the lewdness of Luxuria associated with death, or preparation for the next life as a naked soul.[63] These late French illuminations hint at a different attitude to the female body in France at the beginning of the sixteenth century, suggesting a new and far greater desire to meditate upon the wholly naked female form and its implications. Nudity during bathing was typical in this period, but since depictions of female nude bathing are restricted to set examples like Bathsheba, Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane have argued that it was less socially acceptable or frequent.[64] David was an exemplar of improper and proper use of the eyes: 'David looks down on an improper object, the naked body of Bathsheba with whom he fell in love when he saw her bathing' and his dangerous gaze, like that of Adam and Eve, binds him to earthly corruption rather than lifting him to God.[65] Yet it is his specifically male gaze that gives Bathsheba corrupting power, not the nudity itself.[66] The power of vision cannot be overstated, and it was so vital to the theory and practice of love that the blind were

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62 For an English example, see MS Auct. D. 4. 8, fol. 631v, (Fig. 4); for a French example from the same period, see MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 152r, (Fig. 24).

63 Sekules, 'Women and Art', p. 42; Michael Camille, 'The image and the self: unwriting late medieval bodies', in Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 79-80.

64 Philippe Braunstein, 'Toward Intimacy: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (eds.), *A History of Private Life II: Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), pp. 600-610; Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (London, 2007), pp. 100-101, though they do suggest that long hair was the true mark of the temptress, *ibid.*, p. 102.

65 Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 29.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

felt incapable of loving.[67] Nevertheless, this case of male-instigated adultery does not, despite medieval interest in its depiction, have the same negative consequences as female adultery. David's seduction did result in an illegitimate child and indeed the death of Bathsheba's first husband, but it ultimately led to marriage, tempering the sin with an ambiguous virtue.

Marital relations, of course, were not all about adultery, nor were they understood in the same way as today. For noble spouses sex was almost a public act, hence the importance of the bed and its accoutrements as a site of display and status, where they had to prove to their relatives, sometimes waiting to see or hear the event, that they had legally consummated the marriage. Thus, Michael Camille argues that when represented in medieval art the act often has nothing to do with love, but was instead seen in the anxious terms of legal or medical requirements.[68] The medieval bed and bedroom, the site of many of these images, fulfilled many roles: not simply a sleeping place but a retreat for wives who refused to engage with their husbands, the site of marital conversation and confidences, the place from which a wife ruled the household and engaged with neighbourhood gossip, and where a tug of war raged over the fulfilment of the marital debt.[69] The *Good Wife's Guide* tellingly opens with the *Ménagier* describing how his young wife beseeches him 'humbly in our bed', and how she hopes he will admonish her 'each night, or on a daily basis, in our bedroom'.[70]

At the heart of the medieval marriage, however, even discussions between husbands and wives were tainted by the shadow of lust, resulting in improper wifely behaviour. One

67 Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 13, 27; for Pygmalion and the male gaze, see *ibid.*, p. 150.

68 *Ibid.*, *Art of Love*, p. 140; intercourse was sometimes encouraged for women, and moderation for men, on health grounds, see Bullough, 'Medical and Scientific', pp. 493, 498.

69 *FJM*, for retreat, see p. 81; for conversation, see pp. 16; for gossips, see pp. 36, 50; on sex, see pp. 16, 19-20, 58-9, 78, women in this poem were insatiable: they were not worn down like their husbands and were opinionated about their husbands' bedroom performance, they also apparently remarried fast in order to compare performance, see pp. 89, 91-2, 93.

70 *GWG*, p. 49.

image, drawn from the aforementioned Parisian *Roman de la Rose*, c. 1400, shows a married couple cuddling in bed, their nakedness under the sheets implicit *(Fig. 25)*.[71] It is not the hinted nudity which shocks, as sleeping naked was normal in the medieval period; recall that it is David's viewing of Bathsheba's explicitly unclothed state outside marriage which was so sinful in the previous illumination, rather than her nudity in itself.[72] A clothed couple was often suggestive of a furtiveness not properly sanctioned by the marital bed, not the case here as their tightly bound hair is indicative of marriage.[73] Two bodies becoming one were usually represented under covers: intertwined around one another, the implication of what act has just occurred is clear.[74] Yet this seeming image of marital bliss is tainted. It was taboo for a woman to have the upper position, yet in *Fig. 25* she visibly leans over her husband, hinting that something is not quite right.[75] Indeed it is not, for the narrative this image accompanies is that of the betrayal of spousal privilege by the wife. She repeats the confidences of her husband shared with her during pillow talk, hurting his reputation by spreading gossip outside the marital bed and weakening the marriage through her betrayal of her husband's implicit trust. Another popular image often associated with the story of the wife learning her husband's secrets continues the theme of lust leaving a man vulnerable. In this scene, drawn from another French manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose* dated to the end of the fourteenth century, and very slightly stained, Delilah cuts the hair of Samson as he sleeps, thereby leaving him at the mercy of the Philistines, and the contrast between his smiling, slumbering

71 MS Douce 371, fol. 107v, (Fig. 25); Lorris and Meun, *Romance*, pp. 252-3.

72 *FJM*, p. 22; *cf.* p. 73; Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (London, 1952), p. 66; Nicole Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining in Medieval Paris: The Household of the Fourteenth-Century Knight* (Cardiff, 1996), p. 25; Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, pp. 99-103.

73 Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 144; for a clothed couple in bed, with the woman in control, see MS Douce 195, fol. 71r, (Fig. 26).

74 Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 141; for the body in this period, see *idem*, 'Image and the self', pp. 62-99; for sex, see *idem*, *Art of Love*, pp. 135, 140-55; for contemporary discussion of intercourse, see Braunstein, 'Toward Intimacy', pp. 589-92.

75 Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 148.

form and her unsettling, insidious pose is sharply drawn *(Fig. 27)*.[76] Away from the realm of the Bible and romance, *The Fyfteen Ioyes of Mariage* attests to the fear that sex was consciously used by women as a tool with which to manipulate the well-meaning husband: a mother coaches her daughter (who, pregnant, has tricked a man into marriage) how to act as if a virgin when her new husband lies with her on the wedding night.[77] In image and text, physical marital affection, always shaded with lust, ultimately weakened the husband's position.

An example drawn from the Paston letters nonetheless demonstrates a more pragmatic attitude toward physical desire. In her will, the widow of John Paston makes provision for an illegitimate daughter of her husband without comment, thereby condoning the consequences of lust; Robert Cely, similarly, is said to be 'tangyllyd' with a woman, while John Paston II is gently ribbed as 'the best cheser of a gentellwoman'.[78] Margery Blount was so afflicted with love that it shaded into shame and lust: 'þat shee desyreth as sore after relief, as fer as shee may for shame, as þe man in the water desyreth to be releved frome drownyng in þe perill of þe see', waiting for marriage to William Stonor, whom she loved as 'a parfyte lover', to be arranged – little criticism, however, was levelled at her behaviour.[79] Similarly, not all images of lustful behaviour involve censure. One illumination of Troilus and Cressida in a French manuscript of Boccaccio from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, the defaced arms of a member of the family of Albret D'Orval on fol. 2v indicating ownership, its staining and thumbed edges implying use, shows a sequence of events beginning with the couple

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76 MS Douce 332, fol. 156r, (Fig. 27); *cf.* MS Douce 371, fol. 109v, (P&A.1, no. 632); Judges 16:1-22; Lorris and Meun, *Romance*, p. 257.

77 *FJM*, p. 124.

78 *Paston.1*, no. 230, pp. 382-9; *Paston.2*, no. 781, p. 425; *cf. Plumpton*, App. II, 33, p. 263; *Cely*, no. 86, pp. 75-6; *Paston.2*, no. 745, pp. 378-9; though lower class desire was less welcome and subject to control, hence the sacking of Edward Paston's manservant for using a prostitute, see *Paston.1*, no. 395, p. 635.

79 *Stonor.1*, no. 123, pp. 125-7; *cf. Stonor.2*, no. 175, pp. 17-8; *Paston.2*, no. 490, p. 84.

embracing and kissing and ending with the two lying in bed together; although the lovers are unmarried, they are actors in a narrative of tragic love whose affair in happier circumstances would have led to marriage *(Fig. 28)*.[80] This is emphasised by the male's unbearded state, for despite the beard otherwise being a key sign of masculinity, it is here clearly intended as a sign of a pre-adult, that is, a pre-marital state.[81]

Whilst the prescriptive manuals shy away from a more complex reality visible through letters and images in which lust could be an acceptable expectation of married love, coupling was ultimately too closely associated to sin to fully escape its shadow. Marital relationships existed at the crossroads of the public and the private, and although controlled affection was its bedrock, lust could too easily erode a household's foundations, not to mention the couple's souls. Despite exhortations for both the husband and wife to avoid adultery, the consequences of female adultery were more severe. In the realm of reputation, the consequences of wifely actions were greater, with the potential to cause more damage to the good name of husband and household, so it was important that women were controlled, for in many ways they held the power. Christine de Pizan advised women to ignore their husband's dalliances, and in the previous examples, male adultery was tempered by future marriage or a societal blind eye, maintaining the household. Female lust, however, not only weakened the husband in private but also his reputation in public, endangering the household and damaging society.[82] As the importance of domestic space was ever more emphasised in this period, increased interest in Bathsheba and the damage that could be wrought by lust was the dark alternative to the rise of Joseph as ideal husband. The bedroom was the woman's realm, full of dangerous power.

80 MS Douce 331, fol. 26r, (Fig. 28).
81 Camille, *Art of Love*, p. 16.
82 *BTV*, p. 38.

MARITAL VALUES: AUTHORITY AND INFLUENCE

According to the prescriptive literature, the wife should always obey the rule of her husband. Sermons instructed married women to seek their husband's permission before undertaking pilgrimage, following the example of Saint Elizabeth who was very careful to obtain her husband's consent even for saintly activity.[83] Ultimately it was the exemplar of the obedient Virgin which male clerics and husbands were keen to promote.[84] The courtesy literature takes this to an extreme: whole manuals of behaviour revolve around submission of wife to husband, offering the most elaborate examples of this in practice. Not only does the *Ménagier de Paris* stress that a wife should 'be humble and obey your husband', but it also goes into great detail in the instructive story of Griselda, who, sorely tested by her husband, responded with the utmost obedience and loyalty.[85] Buttressed with shorter examples, it then concludes that if a woman is not 'obedient to your future husband in all things, large and small, you will be more blameworthy and punished by that husband than would be another person who might disobey him'.[86] Even Christine de Pizan suggests that her argument leads to the conclusion 'that come what may ladies ought to love their husbands very much and show signs of it', whatever the actions of their spouses.[87] Authority rested with the husband, who bore a responsibility to 'gently protect' his wife from any blunders she might make.[88]

This state of affairs is illustrated in both the illuminations and the letters. One miniature from the previously discussed French *Bible historiale* of the first quarter of the fourteenth

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83 *GL.2*, pp. 302-18; *LA*, pp. 752-71; *BC*, p. 91; *BTV*, p. 120; the story of Griselda in *VSM*, pp. 356-76; for husbandly control of female words and speech, see *IPP*, p. 13; *Paston.2*, no. 502, pp. 98-9; *BKLL*, pp. 26-8; 56, 85-6.

84 Veronica Sekules, *Medieval Art* (Oxford, 2001), p. 109.

85 *GWG*, pp. 51, 105-18.

86 *Ibid.*, p. 121; *cf.* p. 127.

87 *BTV*, p. 37.

88 *GL.1*, p. 252; *LA*, p. 275; *GWG*, p. 144; *PIS*, ll. 1228-9, p. 101; *BKLL*, p. 8; John Mirk preached that Adam should 'haue correctid hir' rather than blamed Eve for their common transgression, see 'Item de Natiuitate Domini nostri Ihesu Christi', in *Festial.AN*, pp. 91-7, at l. 118, p. 96.

century shows Elimelech, Naomi, and their sons travelling to Moab: the husband has his head raised and is pointing with the index finger of his left hand in the manner of a teacher giving instruction, whilst his wife, in contrast, has her head bowed as if listening to him, her hands pressed together in a submissive and prayer-like pose *(Fig. 29)*.[89] This is the visual counterpart to a situation often described in the gentry letters, where the husband instructs his wife, often via the proxy of a letter, to manage business or household affairs in his name. The correspondence between Jane and Thomas Stonor is touching when she expresses her frustration at not being able to 'undyrstond be your bylle: I soposse your mynid was apon sum odyr materys when þat ye wrotyt'.[90] More fortunate was Elizabeth Stonor, who 'have redd and right well understondyd' her husband's instructions, whilst Agnes Plumpton had to request clarification.[91] This ideal of the authoritative husband was dramatically reinforced by images of notable counterexamples, the most notable being the story of Lot's wife. Two English manuscripts from the last quarter of the fourteenth century, one a Psalter and Book of Hours, the other an enormous and well annotated commentary on the Gospels, both with well known patrons, the former being finished for Mary Bohun (actually pictured on fol. 181v), from a family famous for their patronage of manuscripts, the latter, for James le Palmer, clerk of the Exchequer, make explicit the consequences of a wife deviating from the actions of her husband.[92] Lot's wife is represented as a pillar of salt, her punishment for looking back at Sodom in defiance of divine command and the example of her husband; strikingly, she is bright white, the silhouette of a woman with all her features practically erased as a

89 MS Douce 211, fol. 146v, (Fig. 29).

90 *Stonor.1*, no. 106, p. 110.

91 *Stonor.2*, no. 176, pp. 18-9; *cf. ibid*., no. 180, pp. 22-3; *cf. Plumpton*, no. 171, pp. 158-9; no. 170, p. 158; no. 162, p. 152; no. 185, pp. 169-70; no. 188, pp. 172-3; *Cely*, no. 64, pp. 58-9; *Paston.2*, no. 915, pp. 591-2; *Paston.1*, no. 55, pp. 91-2; no. 72, pp. 126-31; no. 73, pp. 131-4; no. 75, pp. 136-8; no. 76, pp. 138-9; no. 135, pp. 235-6; no. 136, pp. 237-8; no. 141, pp. 242-3; no. 142, pp. 243-4; no. 164, pp. 272-3.

92 For a good background to psalters, see de Hamel, *History*, p. 197.

consequence of her disobedience *(Figs. 30 and 31)*.[93] This is of course faithful to the biblical text it illustrates, but a choice has been made to depict her as an erased silhouette, and not merely, for example, as a formless pillar or pile of salt, and the choice to do so illustrates the text in an explicit and specific fashion that carries a message beyond the words it accompanies.

Within the context of the authority of the husband, however, the wife could exercise a powerful influence, not unlike a conscience, and it was recognised that this could be either for good or bad. The supreme example of negative wifely influence – the active counterpart to the more passive role of Lot's wife – was Eve, and images of her either handing Adam the apple or suggesting that he take it for himself are common throughout the later Middle Ages. An early example comes from mid-thirteenth-century France, from the aforementioned *Bible moralisée*, and explicitly illustrates Eve accepting the apple from the serpent whilst placing a second one in the outstretched hand of Adam, making the direct and immediate instigator of her husband's fall *(Fig. 32)*.[94] This is paralleled in an English manuscript from c. 1420-30, a very dirty and worn *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi*, written on a roll, in which Eve places a piece of apple into the palm of Adam, and the same scene with remarkably consistent features can be found in a wide variety of sources *(Fig. 33)*.[95] The evil influence of

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93 MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 88v, (Fig. 30); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 157-9; for an extended discussion of the Bohun family and their patronage of this and other manuscripts, see *eadem*, *The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family* (London, 2004), esp. pp. 11-28; MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 366v, (Fig. 31); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 138-40; *cf. BKLL*, pp. 70-72; Genesis 19:1-29.

94 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 7v, (Fig. 32).

95 MS Barlow 53, membrane 1 (medallion 1), (Fig. 33); this scene appears in a consistent fashion in a wide variety of manuscripts from across the period and geographical area, although it is especially prevalent in English manuscripts; for genealogies, especially popular in England, see MS e Mus. 42, fol. 1v, (P&A.3, no. 1070); MS Lyell 33, fol. 1v, (P&A.3, no. 1072); for a late fourteenth-century English example of an astrological and ecclesiastical calendar, see MS Rawl. D. 939, section 4r, (P&A.3, no. 749); for an English, end of the thirteenth-century Bible, see MS Auct. D. 3. 2, fol. 133r, (P&A.3, no. 473); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 23-4; popular works of poetry and prose, from England, see MS Bodl. 263, p. 7, (Fig. 39); from France, see MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 349r, (P&A.1, no. 586); MS Douce 215, fol. 31v, (P&A.1, no. 571); in books of hours, for an English example, see MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 24v, (P&A.3, no. 665);

wife upon husband was also depicted in the example of Job's wife urging her husband to renounce God and die, as can be found in a French Book of Hours from the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Job sits, apart from the world as if a hermit, naked from the waist up, his only clothing a plain white cloth, his arms across his chest in a gesture of humility, and his hair white and face bearded. Dress and gesture here indicate his wife's bad influence: she wears all the material trappings of the secular world (thus reiterating contemporary unease with modern fashion), her hanging sleeves heavy with fabric, her red dress with its nipped waist accentuating her tempting bodily curves, and her posture that of the harridan, one hand one her hip, the other raised in nagging rebuke *(Fig. 34)*.[96] Although the ideal husband was also to avoid quarrelling with his wife, it was women who were tarred most heavily by this brush.[97] It was a common trope, railed against by Christine de Pizan and propagated by the likes of the bitter *Fyfteen Ioyes of Mariage*.[98] Women were constantly exhorted to be 'fair of speech'; being an 'atterling' or a shrew was a common criticism, and good reason for women to lose their husbands.[99]

The good wife, in contrast, attempted to influence her husband toward acts of mercy, or others to be merciful toward him. An illustrative example of the former is an image of the wife of Pontius Pilate begging him not to condemn Jesus Christ, found in a French Book of Hours from c. 1440-50, referred to as belonging to Henry VII, though also traditionally believed to have been owned by Henry VIII. Here the wife has her left hand raised in entreaty

for a French example, see MS Douce 72, fol. 15v, (P&A.1, no. 843); MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 19v, (P&A.1, no. 844); for a Flemish example, see MS Douce 112, fol. 36r, (Fig. 41).

96 MS Douce 135, fol. 79v, (Fig. 34); this image may be late, but the association of contemporary dress and the behaviour of Job's wife can also been seen on a smaller scale in a mid-thirteenth-century English example, suggesting that this was a consistent theme of this image type, see MS Auct. D. 4. 8, fol. 300v, (P&A.3, no. 444); *BKLL*, p. 103; Job 2.

97 *RR*, ll. 401-402, p. 37; l. 952, p. 52; *PIS*, l. 530, p. 89, l. 1246, p. 102; *IPP*, ll. 1083-5, p. 34; ll. 1365-6, p. 42.

98 *BCL*, pp. 108-22, esp. pp. 108-10.

99 *HGWD*, p. 33; *BTV*, p. 131; *BKLL*, pp. 23-5.

as she stands at the left elbow of her husband; he is tilted toward her as if listening, but crucially the slight tilt of her head, her contained silhouette, and her upright posture lend her body language a definite air of modesty in marked contrast to Job's wayward wife *(Fig. 35)*.[100] This action is echoed in the gentry letters, which are full of instances of men of lower status writing to women in the hope that they might entreat their husbands to act favourably toward them, as well as cases of the wives themselves setting in motion their networks of contacts to advance the undertakings of their husbands.[101] An extreme example comes in the advice literature, which has an instructive tale of the wives of some of the Argonauts bravely substituting themselves in prison for their condemned husbands in order to save them from execution.[102] The wife could also engender mercy in others on behalf of her husband, and in an English manuscript of romances from 1564, ownership indicated by the initials 'E. B' on fol. 48r, its late date flagging the enduring nature of this ideal, the wife of Sir Isenbras entreats the sultan from a kneeling position with her hand raised, mirroring the posture of her husband *(Fig. 36)*.[103] But the good wife also looked out for the welfare of her husband more directly, as in an ink drawing from a fragmentary Flemish *Speculum humanae salvationis* c. 1460-70 which shows Michal begging her husband David to depart lest he be killed by Saul: she is on bended knee with her head bowed and her hands folded across her chest in modesty *(Fig. 37)*.[104] Yet we find limits in the texts on wifely influence, despite the high value placed so explicitly upon women as moral and economic aides to their husbands in the images.[105] She could advise, but only when the couple was alone, and her suggestions had to be

100 MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 72v, (Fig. 35); *cf. GL.2*, p. 20; *LA*, p. 440; Matthew 27:19.

101 *Stonor.1*, no. 70, pp. 62-3; *Plumpton*, no. 55, pp. 72-3; no. 227, pp. 203-4; *Armburgh*, pp. 92-3, 114-6, 145-6; *Paston.2*, no. 705, pp. 332-5; no. 710, p. 338; no. 711, p. 339; no. 714, p. 342; no. 715, p. 343; no. 764, p. 400; no. 774, pp. 414-6; no. 792, pp. 436-7; no. 797, pp. 441-2; no. 813, pp. 455-6; *Paston.1*, no. 117, pp. 200-202; no. 135, pp. 235-6; no. 138, pp. 239-40; no. 141, pp. 242-3; no. 144, pp. 246-7; no. 157, pp. 263-4; no. 162, pp. 269-70; no. 163, pp. 270-72; no. 166, pp. 275-6; no. 171, pp. 282-3; no. 178, pp. 192-3; no. 219, pp. 368-9.

102 *BCL*, p. 122.

103 MS Douce 261, fol. 5v, (Fig. 36).

104 MS Douce f. 4, fol. 12r, (Fig. 37); I Samuel 19:9-17.

105 Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices', pp. 517-43, esp. p. 517.

carefully considered, thus maintaining the undiminished public face of the husband's authority.[106] As a husband's physical and spiritual conscience, the good wife was both an extension of him and a promoter of his best interests.

Of course, for every good wife there could be a bad husband, and whilst absent from the didactic literature discussed here, they are common enough in legal disputes and indeed in romances, whence they often appear in the visual record.[107] Indeed, bad husbands are illustrated with an extraordinary degree of violence, fuelled by the corrosive jealousy seen to define the type. In one well worn and well annotated (not only implying owner engagement with the manuscript, but also, rather fittingly for the topic of this chapter, annotated with lists of marriages), French *Roman de la Rose* of c. 1390, there is a particularly evocative representation of a wife being forced to the ground by the ferocity of her husband, who knees her in the stomach while yanking her hair as she puts up only token resistance. His right hand is raised over his head and holds a cudgel with which he means to bash her, his face contorted with rage; reassuringly, this is understood to be going too far, as two onlookers are trying to drag him away by pulling on his clothes and restraining his raised arm *(Fig. 38)*.[108]

What underlies such actions is that, despite the superior authority of the husband, there was mutual responsibility within the couple, and a common fate, good or bad. Even unhappy marriages were seen as a joint responsibility, created by a cyclical pattern of inappropriate

106 *BCL*, pp. 126-30; *GWG*, pp. 149-76; *PIS*, ll. 491-525, p. 89; *BKLL*, pp. 26, 60.

107 Sara Butler, *The Language of Abuse: Marital Violence in Later Medieval England* (Leiden, 2007), esp. pp. 68-97; Dolores Palomo, 'The fate of the wife of Bath's "Bad Husbands"', *The Chaucer Review* 9:4 (1975), pp. 303-19; Kathryn Gravdal, 'Chrétien de Troyes, Gratian, and the Medieval Romance of Sexual Violence', *Signs* 17:3 (1992), pp. 558-85.

108 MS e Mus. 65, fol. 72v, (Fig. 38); similar examples can be found in other *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see MS Douce 195, fol. 60v, (P&A.1, no. 787); MS Douce 371, fol. 55v, (P&A.1, no. 632); Lorris and Meun, *Romance*, p. 133.

behaviour by both parties.[109] Adam and Eve were the original example: both were expelled from the Garden, and we can see in the French roundel from the mid-thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée* discussed previously God rebuking Adam, with raised hand, in spite of his attempts to blame his wife for the apple business by placing his hand upon her chest to indicate the site of guilt *(Fig. 32)*.[110] Indeed, their joint expulsion is one of the most frequent, and carefully explored, image types in this sample from the Bodleian collection *(Figs. 22, 39-41)*.[111] Nor is it dissimilar to how, on the mundane level, the second husband of Joan Armburgh had to take responsibility for her debts and those of her first husband because, as a couple, they had joint financial and legal obligations.[112] Marital reputation and responsibility as a collective undertaking is perhaps most powerfully transmitted by the English founders' and benefactors' book of Tewkesbury Abbey, fairly crudely painted and in a rather dirty and worn condition, suggesting use, composed at the beginning of the sixteenth century although referring to deeds from multiple centuries earlier. In each donor image, which covers almost a full page, a couple sits or stands, with the wife on the husband's left in a pose that invokes the marriage ceremony which established their union. The position of the wife to her husband's left is significant: it was the inferior position, and indicates the superior authority of the husband. Despite this, it must be noted that in these images the women are given equal prominence in size – in fact in *Fig. 43* she is actually slightly larger than her spouse – and they both stand on the same horizontal plane, rather than with the wife behind her husband. Both touch or hold a model of the religious foundation they have established or endowed, and

109 *FJM*, p. 33, *cf.* p. 112; for bad wifely words, see *DC*, p. 19; for the abusive husband, see *GL.1*, p. 309; *LA*, p. 338; *GWG*, p. 149; *BKLL*, pp. 26-8, 85, 86-8.

110 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 7v, (Fig. 32); Genesis 3:1-19.

111 In chronological order, for English examples, see MS Douce 88, fol. 29v, (Fig. 22); MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 24v, (P&A.3, no. 665); MS Rawl. D. 939, fol. section 4r, (P&A.3, no. 749); MS Bodl. 263, p. 7, (Fig. 39); for French examples, see MS Douce 215, fol. 32r, (Fig. 40); MS Douce 211, fol. 6v, (P&A.1, no. 581); for Flemish examples, see MS Douce f. 4, fol. 1v, (P&A.1, no. 325); MS Douce 112, fol. 36r, (Fig. 41).

112 *Armburgh*, pp. 77-81, 111-2, 140-42, 147-8, 149-51, 183-4, 188-9, 190-91; c*f. Stonor.2*, no. 238, pp. 77-8; no. 323, pp. 153-4; *Plumpton*, no. 129, pp. 126-7; *Paston.3*, no. 935, pp. 8-9; no. 990, pp. 100-102; no. 1011, pp. 136-8; *Paston.2*, no. 491, pp. 85-6.

the equality of size, position, and attire between them suggests overall an evenly shared partnership in these endeavours *(Figs. 42-44)*.[113] Yet this is only the public face of the married couple; in private, it was women who bore the brunt of ensuring the husband's, and thus the household's, reputation.[114] Unlike Lot's self-obliterated spouse, through obedience a wife gained her identity as an extension of her husband.

DISTINCT ROLES FOR HUSBAND AND WIFE

Whilst in public responsibility, if not authority, appeared evenly apportioned within a married couple, there was at the same time a well-defined division of labour between its constituent partners, and different spheres of activity are apparent in images of husbands and wives. The outdoors are the domain of the man: in one illustration of Joseph, for example, taken from Engelbert of Nassau's Flemish Book of Hours and dated to the late fifteenth century, he is working in the field outside of his house, which is prominently depicted in the background, making explicit the distinction between interior and exterior worlds *(Fig. 45)*.[115] Joseph as he is here becomes particularly significant in the fifteenth century when married men were consciously encouraged to model themselves on his behaviour as a husband, father, and household manager.[116] Mary is positioned much closer to the house, which is contemporary in style to the 1480-90 date of this Book of Hours, bounded on all sides by a garden fence, an open doorway behind her drawing the viewer's eye and emphasising the domestic boundaries that surround her (but not the husband) as well as her virginity.[117] Other

113 MS Top. Glouc. d. 2, fols. 10v, (Fig. 42), 13r, (Fig. 43), 15r, (Fig. 44).
114 *BKLL*, pp. 1-2.
115 MS Douce 219, fol. 153r, (Fig. 45).
116 Pamela Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship: Gender and Family History', in Carol Neel (ed.), *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Household, and Children* (London, 2004), at p. 287; David Herlihy, 'The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment', in Neel (ed.), *Medieval Families*, p. 206; Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Joseph as Mother: Adaption and appropriation in the Construction of Male Virtue', in John Cami Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering* (London, 1996), pp. 103-102, 110.
117 Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 74-9, 158.

illuminations are more explicit about women and their domestic orbit. Images of Creseyde, a popular female character from retellings of the Trojan War, make the connection between the realm of the interior and the proper place of medieval wives. In one room, taken from the previously mentioned fifteenth-century French Boccaccio, the blue and red floor tiles, the carved wooden bench, and the fashionable hennins of the other women are visual cues which situate the house firmly within the contemporary noble household *(Fig. 46)*.[118] The enormous fireplace, a female symbol, stretching the entire width of the room, emphasises the house as a site, of feminine power, in addition to being the symbolic centre of the household.[119] Her situation by a window is indicative of two things. First, the best way to differentiate inside and outside is by an opening, and so the window underlines her position within the bounds of the house. Secondly, it re-emphasises her location in a recognisably medieval noble world, where fully glazed windows were still luxury features.[120] It is true that the elaboration and realism of interiors and architectural spaces in illuminations was a stylistic change of the fifteenth century, particularly in Flemish or Flemish-influenced manuscripts. However, this ideal domestic world of the illuminated manuscript does not just consequentially emphasise the household (whether or not this was the intention of the illuminator) it also mirrors the transformation of domestic space between 1200 to 1500, moving away from defence and towards display, comfort and order, or in the words of Mark Cruse, 'a lavish noble space whose visible perfection mirrors the inner virtue of its inhabitants'.[121] Architectural space and

118 MS Douce 331, fol. 15r, (Fig. 46); *cf. ibid.*, fol. 19v.

119 Camille, *Art of Love*, pp. 90-91, 119.

120 Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining*, pp. 21-2; C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), p. 73.

121 *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8; for general background on domestic buildings, see Geoff Egan, 'Domestic Space: Daily Living in the Home', in Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), pp. 880-83; Jayne Rimmer, 'The Physical Space of the Later Medieval Household and the Law - The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), pp. 121-4; for the layout of Caister, see Woolgar, *Great Household*, pp. 63-7; Mark Cruse, 'Pictorial Polyphony: Image, Voice, and Social Life in the *Roman d'Alexandre* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264)', in *idem*, Coleman, and Smith (eds.), *Social Life*, p. 388; for an overview of domestic space on the page, see Otto Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction* (London, 1994), pp. 198-202.

the social attitudes toward it constructed gender, and here on the illuminated page it was self-consciously employed to delineate the ideal married couple, as well as to police their interactions.[122]

This use of architecture to create gender and reinforce ideal gendered behaviours corresponds to a difference in the activities that the husband and wife are depicted carrying out. A very dirty and worn astrological and ecclesiastical calendar in six pieces from late fourteenth-century England, for instance, contains two images of Adam and Eve. In the first and more static one, the couple, clad in fig leaves, hold gender-specific household objects, he a spade slung over his shoulder, she a distaff resting upon the ground; in the second and more active illustration, these tools are in use, as Adam and Eve are dressed like peasants, presumably after the Fall, whilst Adam digs with his spade as she spins with her distaff *(Figs. 47 and 48)*.[123] This is not an uncommon scene, and multiple examples survive from the late fourteenth through to the beginning of the sixteenth century.[124] A parallel example is a rather jolly non-biblical and well-thumbed French tableau of a married couple in hot pursuit of Reynard the Fox, c. 1339, the wife brandishing a distaff as a weapon, her husband wielding the more masculine branch *(Fig. 51)*.[125] The images are quite clear on the division of labour with a marriage.

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122 Roberta Gilchrist, 'Medieval bodies in the material world: gender, stigma and the body', in Kay and Rubin (eds.), *Framing Medieval Bodies*, pp. 43-61, at. pp. 49-50, for discussion of medieval domestic space, see *ibid.*, pp. 49-58; Susan Broomhall, 'Emotions in the Household', in *eadem* (ed.), *Emotions in the Household, 1200-1900* (Basingstoke, 2008), p. 1.

123 MS Rawl. D. 939, section 4r, (Figs. 47, 48); this division of labour also occurs in vernacular manuscripts: in one version of the *Roman de la Rose*, an image of a wife spinning with a distaff in the home, watched by her spouse, accompanies a text describing this as an ideal, peaceful household, see MS Douce 195, fol. 67v, (Fig. 49); the distaff was explicitly associated with virtuous women, see MS Douce 313, fol. 291v, for a miniature of Solomon and the virtuous woman, (Fig. 50).

124 For a late fourteenth-century example, see MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 24v, (P&A.3, no. 665); for a fifteenth-century example, see MS Douce f. 4, fol. 1r, (P&A.1, no. 325); for an early sixteenth-century example see MS Douce 112, fol. 36r, (Fig. 41).

125 MS Douce 360, fol. 21r, (Fig. 51).

Much of the courtesy literature is in agreement here. The ideal household was one in which the man ruled: the other way around led to husbandly unhappiness and badly raised children.[126] In a bad marriage, 'She maketh hym the chyldren for to bere, Whan they wolde play/ and dady here and there, Also she causeth hym to take and holde, Her spyndell and the thredes to vnfolde'.[127] The main role of the wife was to 'gowerne well this hous', and, as an extension, care for her husband's soul, possessions, and person.[128] This involved the day-to-day running of the household, including overseeing servants; the *Good Wife's Guide* was an entire manual designed for this, and *How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter* may even be advice intended for teaching female servants, an extension of which was careful management of household spending.[129] In the latter, significantly, the women as wife and mother is located within the home, whilst her domesticity is represented as a primary virtue.[130]

The evidence in the letter collections act as a counterpoint to the ideal world of the didactic literature and the models imparted by images, allowing us to explore to some extent how far these norms were understood, followed, and put into practice. General inventories, as well as those attached to wills, survive in the letter collections of the gentry and, aside from logical areas of overlap such as basic items of clothing or storage, indicate that separate sets of objects were owned and used by men and women, corresponding to their exterior and interior domains. Movables in the possession of women tend to be domestic or personal in nature, including dress, decoration, and books. For example, Dame Elisabeth, the wife of Sir George Brown, bequeathed 'all my plate and other juelles' to her daughter Mary on

126 *FJM*, p. 50, 127, esp. pp. 82-3, 129.
127 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-9.
128 *GWWP*, l. 3, p. 173; *BTV*, pp. 37, 129; *GWG*, p. 50.
129 *HGWD*, pp. 36-8, 40; *BTV*, pp. 130-131; there is the suggestion in *BTV* that some men did not think women capable of administrative tasks, see *ibid*., p. 57.
130 Felicity Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text', *Speculum*, 71.1 (1996), p. 68.

marriage.[131] Items owned by men frequently relate to the world outdoors, as can be seen in lists of harnesses and travel equipment. The goods of Sir John Fastolf included 'vij hande gonnes wyth other apparell longyng to the seid gonnes', in addition to 'gret crossebows of stell' and 'other peces harneys and wepon'.[132] A particularly fine example of the contrast between male and female property is in an inventory of goods stolen from the manor of Haylesdon, owned by the Pastons: the listing of the 'gere' taken is by name, bringing out the contrast between Margery Paston's missing 'sylk' and 'blak velwet' and John Wykys' 'hors harnys'.[133]

It may therefore seem a contradiction that, in the Paston letters in particular, there are numerous cases of women making independent decisions in the world of business. Agnes and Margaret Paston were heavily involved in running family affairs, while Lady Boys ran her estates on her own after the death of both her husband and her son Robert.[134] In the case of Robert and Joan Armburgh, two letters written to tenants at Radwinter could plausibly have been authored by either of them, suggesting that wider household business was a matter for the wife as much as the husband.[135] A lady was expected to take over estate management competently and completely, and be knowledgeable of many things including what would be considered more typically masculine areas of expertise such as weapons, leadership, defence, and legal matters.[136] These women interacted with the outside world, which had intruded, in

131 *Paston.1*, no. 123, pp. 210-14; *cf. ibid.*, no. 230, pp. 382-9; *Paston.2*, no. 929, pp. 613-5; no. 930, pp. 615-8.

132 *Paston.1*, no. 64, pp. 107-14.

133 *Ibid.*, no. 195, pp. 324-9; for general inventories, see *ibid.*, no. 87, p. 159; no. 249, pp. 434-6; no. 259, pp. 434-6; *Paston.2*, no. 732, pp. 360-65; no. 923, pp. 601-5.

134 *Paston.1*, no. 15, p. 28; no. 16, pp. 18-9; no. 17, pp. 29-30; no. 72, pp. 126-31; no. 73, pp. 131-4; no. 75, pp. 136-8; no. 76, pp. 138-9; no. 77, pp. 140-45; no. 136, pp. 237-8; no. 142, pp. 243-4; no. 144, pp. 246-7; no. 149, pp. 252-3; no. 179, pp. 293-5; no. 140, pp. 241-2; *Paston.2*, no. 736, p. 368; c*f. ibid.*, no. 789, p. 434; no. 915, pp. 591-2; *Stonor.1*, no. 55, p. 49; *Stonor.2*, no. 233, pp. 72-4; no. 168, pp. 156-7; no. 170, p. 158; no. 171, pp. 158-9; no. 188, pp. 172-3; no. 189, p. 173; no. 217, p. 197; no. 248, pp. 224-5.

135 *Armburgh*, pp. 119-20, 123-4.

136 *BTV*, pp. 110-11.

some cases violently, upon their inner sanctum. In 1449, John Paston I petitioned Henry VI about an attack on his manor at Gresham in which the marauders 'myned down the walle of the chamber where-in the wiff of your seid besechere was', while in 1465, Margaret was on the front line of an attack by the Duke of Suffolk's men.[137] Diane Bornstein argues that such aristocratic women may not have been fighters but were good riders, capable of leading men into the field or coping with a siege, as well as managing the day-to-day complexities of the household.[138] Nor is such behaviour confined to the letters, for in the *Golden Legend* a tax-collector left public monies in the hands of his wife, who protected them during attack by hiding them.[139] Indeed, Christine de Pizan offers instances of mythical women inventing ways of making cloth, making arms from iron and steel in the case of Minerva, and founding agriculture (Queen Ceres), these last two traditionally concerns of men.[140] What has brought about this situation of seeming role reversal?

In the later Middle Ages, the marriages of lords were characterised by long periods of time spent apart. The wives of the Stonors, for example, were regularly left in charge of households and coped with it well, exercising as a corollary control over wider household accounts.[141] Colin Richmond has discussed the marriage of Margaret and John Paston I in great detail: the long separations of the spouses, the efficiency and capability of Margaret, how much John Paston I relied on her and made demands upon her household management

137 *Paston.1*, no. 36, pp. 51-3; no. 74, pp. 134-5; *cf. ibid.*, no. 140, pp. 241-2; no. 160, pp. 267-8; no. 179, pp. 293-5; no. 195, pp. 324-9; and *Paston.2*, no. 692, pp. 313-5; no. 815, p. 457.

138 Diane Bornstein, 'The Ideal of the Lady of the Manor as Reflected in Christine de Pizan's Livre des trois vertus', in *eadem* (ed.), *Ideals for Women in the Works of Christine de Pizan* (Detroit, 1981), pp. 117-26, esp. p. 118.

139 *GL.2*, p. 60; *LA*, p. 485.

140 *BCL*, pp. 66-75.

141 Truelove, 'Commanding Communications', pp. 42-58, esp. p. 48, this article is very good for letter style and discussion of salutations; Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, pp. 94-5.

skills, and the affection existing between them.[142] As a result the noble wife was forced by circumstance to become a business manager, hence even the *Good Wife's Guide* is detailed on how a wife was to manage tradesmen and business coming into the household, in addition to the more expected staff already within, and the general importance of estate management is indicated by the long history of treatises aimed at aiding the lord and lady to do so well.[143] With the proximity or overlap of work and home lives in this period it was inevitable that a woman's role should extend into political and economic spheres.[144] However, Rebecca Krug argues that the encouragement of female literary skills in service of the effective running of the household and providing family support was reinforced by patriarchal gender divisions.[145] To a degree, this activity still falls within the domestic sphere typically occupied by the wife, since it was being taken on for the wellbeing of the household and the family rather than for personal reasons. The vital nature of women caring for the household is of course clear in Margaret Paston enduring a thousand-man siege of the estate, but women, even if by necessity given the absence of their husbands, also had the leeway to do what they wished on the side, so long as they conformed to the standards of marriage, obedience, and chastity.[146]

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142 Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 97-102; for examples of absences, see *Paston.1*, no. 72, p. 129; no. 126, p. 218; no. 167, pp. 276-7; for household management, see *ibid.*, no. 77, pp. 140-45; no. 147, pp. 250-51; no. 150, pp. 253-4; no. 72, pp. 130-31; no. 130, pp. 226-7; no. 134, p. 234; no. 209, p. 354; no. 145, p. 247; no. 148, p. 251; no. 166, p. 275; no. 132, p. 232; no. 136, p. 237; no. 144, p. 246; no. 169, p. 281; no. 178, p. 292; no. 180, p. 298; no. 189, p. 314; no. 191, p. 317; for affection, see *ibid.*, no. 77, p. 144; no. 148, p. 251; no. 126, p. 218; no. 157, p. 264; no. 167, pp. 276-9; for attack, see *ibid.*, no. 196, pp. 329-32.

143 Margaret Wade Lebarge, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (Brighton, 1980), p. 185; Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, pp. 47, 94; *GWG*, pp. 215-9; *cf.* Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (London, 1978), for the numbers and arrangement of a household, see Chapter 2, pp. 13-28; for lay-out, see Chapter 3, pp. 29-80; Eileen Power, *Medieval Women* (Cambridge, 1975), Chapter 2, pp. 35-52; Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), 'Walter of Henley's Husbandry', in *eadem* (ed.), *Walter of Henley's Husbandry* (London, 1890), pp. 1-58; Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), 'Anonymous Husbandry', in *eadem* (ed.), *Walter of Henley*, pp. 59-81; Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), 'Seneschaucie', in *eadem* (ed.), *Walter of Henley*, pp. 83-119; Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), 'Robert Grosseteste's Rules', in *eadem* (ed.), *Walter of Henley*, pp. 121-50.

144 Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, p. 75; *cf.* Coss, *Lady*, pp. 110, 182.

145 Krug, *Reading Families*, pp. 67-9.

146 Ann S. Haskell, 'The Paston Women on Marriage in Fifteenth-Century England', *Viator* 4 (1973), pp. 459-72, esp. pp. 460-66; *Paston.1*, no. 77, pp. 140-45.

Despite all this, however, most courtesy works do not address a woman's economic role.[147] Fear is apparent in this literature on the part of men that women would over-reach their role; they must remain submissive, 'the natural state of things rather than a mere social reality'.[148] But of course this was at odds with how they had to act. There was a sense of joint accountability: spouses were responsible for the reputation of each other, the married couple were praised and condemned together, not unlike their joint presence in the Tewkesbury Abbey benefactors' book.[149] In many ways wives were a crucial cog in the machine of the household, which attempted to show itself to the outside world in a perfect domesticity, appearance, and efficient operation. Whilst it may not be surprising that the messiness of medieval domestic life, which we see a glimpse of in the gentry letters, did not always conform to the didactic ideals of behaviour as transmitted by a variety of texts and images, what matters is that this disconnect is neither simple nor absolute. As the domestic space become more focused, more emphasised, over the course of this period, so too did it become even more important for married women to maintain the outward appearance of the ideal wife and the ideal successful household. The surface ideals of courtesy literature and illuminations were not disregarded by women operating as business managers; rather they self-consciously constructed themselves in accordance with socially accepted ideas in order to run the wider household, to take up their share of marital co-responsibility, with minimal obstruction.

HUSBAND AND WIFE IN MOTION

The transition from a peripatetic household to one based in fewer residences for longer periods of time was one of the biggest changes to the medieval household.[150] Nevertheless,

147 Bornstein, *Lady in the Tower*, pp. 103-114.
148 *Ibid.*, pp. 118-20.
149 *Facetus*, p. 47.
150 Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 46; Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 72, 99.

with multiple landholdings to maintain, social engagements to keep, and businesses to attend to, the noble married couple and their household still spent a great deal of time travelling, usually over land.[151] The travelling noble household with large company was a common site on medieval roads, and nobles could also be accompanied by heralds, physicians, minstrels, and others.[152] Yet despite the frequency with which travel was undertaken, it had dangers; one was advised to journey with companions, never to stay in the house of a red-haired man, and to ride left or right of a stranger depending on whether he carried a sword or spear.[153]

As with household management, on the surface travel offered the opportunity for men and women to change their spousal roles. The key to understanding this changing of roles is the changing of places. When the married couple was on the move together, the traditional division of authority within it remained intact, and this can be illustrated by a series of images of biblical and mythological scenes. The most common of the former is the Flight into Egypt of Mary and Joseph, an image which, although largely unchanging across the period, became a core illustration of French and Flemish books of hours especially in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The husband is always in the lead and guiding the donkey upon which his wife sits, at times even holding its reins firmly in his hands; not only, therefore, is he in a position of authority, despite his face turned to that of the Child, but he is also controlling his wife's movements *(Figs. 52-57)*.[154] Joseph was in this period viewed as the ideal husband for

151 Coss, *Lady*, p. 111; Woolgar, *Great Household*, pp. 181-90; Bornstein, 'Ideal of the Lady', p. 120.

152 Margaret Wade Labarge, *Medieval Travellers: the rich and the restless* (London, 1982), pp. 52, 66; for good overviews to travelling, see Grace Stretton, 'Some Aspects of Medieval Travel', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 7 (1924), pp. 77-97; Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 76; for Sir John Fastolf's household specifically, see Woolgar, *Great Household*, esp. pp. 8, 174. 181-90.

153 *Facetus*, pp. 49-50; *PIS*, ll. 939-52, p. 97.

154 For a fourteenth-century English example, see MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 68r, (Fig. 52); for a fourteenth-century French example, see MS Rawl. liturg. f. 27, fol. 87v, (Fig. 53); for a fifteenth-century French example, see MS Add. A. 185, fol. 81r, (Fig. 54); for a fifteenth-century Flemish example, see MS Buchanan e. 18, fol. 74r, (Fig. 55); for an early sixteenth-century French example, see MS Buchanan e. 3, fol. 39v, (Fig. 56); and a Flemish example, see MS Douce 20, fol. 98v, (Fig. 57); *Schiller.1*, pp. 117-22; Matthew 2:13-23.

men to emulate, making his protection of his wife here a significant element of appropriate masculine behaviour.[155] An identical power dynamic, indicated by the leading position of the husband, is perceptible in illustrations of Mary and Joseph taking Jesus to Jerusalem as well as being refused at the inn, and of Noah leading his wife aboard the ark *(Figs. 1, 58)*.[156] In the world of legend, the story of Arthur and Guinevere provided several episodes of the couple travelling as a unit, and Arthur's stance echoes that of the biblical Joseph. Arriving at Tauroc castle, for example, in two miniatures taken from one late thirteenth-century and one early fourteenth-century French Lancelot Cycle, the latter rather well-used, Arthur is not only ahead of Guinevere in the direction of travel, but also situated in the foreground from the perspective of the viewer *(Figs. 59 and 60)*.[157]

When the husband is absent, however, and the wife makes the journey alone, she takes the lead, as may be seen particularly clearly in an illumination of Creseyda leaving Troy, taken from the aforementioned French Boccaccio dated c. 1450-75. A sizeable gap stands between her and the all-male retinue trailing behind; the higher social status of the woman compared with that of her servants compels her to take the position that would normally be occupied by the man *(Figs. 61 and 62)*.[158] This situation of solitary female travel in the company of men is implicit in certain Paston letters: when Margaret Paston fled the dangers cited above, John Paston I complained that the attackers 'drafe out his wiff and seruauntes there beyng' at Gresham, and she also took flight from Sustead in 1449 for fear of

155 *GL.1*, p. 197; *LA*, p. 217; *BKLL*, p. 147.

156 MS Douce 219, fol. 115r, (Fig. 1); MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 9v, (Fig. 58).

157 MS Digby 223, fol. 189v, (Fig. 59); MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 367v, (Fig. 60); women usually rode, see Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*, p. 16; side-saddle became popular, though not ubiquitous, and home comforts would always be brought, see *ibid.*, p. 57.

158 MS Douce 331, fol. 52r, (Fig. 61); for a similar example with Guinevere, here rejected by Arthur and so her travelling without her husband is associated with marital discord, see MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 129r, (Fig. 62).

kidnapping.[159] Yet this activity contrasts with the assumptions of the courtesy literature, which makes no mention of women travelling long distances, but only into town or to church, while prescribing, indeed, that such trips should be made with suitable female companions 'according to your estate', but certainly not in the company of a retinue of men.[160]

The potential for women to manage travelling alone and thus upend ideal roles was well known to contemporaries, who were keen to maintain the hierarchy between man and wife and accordingly warned against it. Indeed, women travelling alone to pilgrimages and feasts was thoroughly frowned upon as an action that divided a household and encouraged a fractious marriage torn by jealousy.[161] As with managing wider household affairs, women had to tread a careful line between propriety and necessity, between not lingering too long in their chambers and not wandering in public too often.[162] The women of courtesy literature were not to travel alone to feasts, jousts and pilgrimages; rather, they should be at home or take servants with them.[163] Even Christine de Pizan, typically keen to champion the abilities of women, is suspicious of 'roaming', particularly on unnecessary pilgrimages.[164]

The best-known example of the solitary woman is the female saint, characterised in hagiography as being apart from society in both a spiritual and physical sense. For example, Saint Mary of Egypt lived most of her life in the desert, whilst Saint Paula explored in solitude all the sites of the Holy Land that Christ had visited.[165] Parallel to this is the image of the Virgin Mary visiting the sites of the Passion, taken from the fifteenth-century fragmentary

159 *Paston.1*, no. 38, pp. 55-6; no. 132, pp. 230-33; *cf. Paston.2*, no. 444, pp. 29-30; no. 491, pp. 85-6.
160 *GWG*, p. 59; contrast this with the male retinue (for protection and on the order of her father) of Saint Ursula in *GL.2*, p. 257; *LA*, p. 702.
161 *FJM*, pp. 28-33, 87, 103-104; for the wider life of women, see Judith M. Bennett, *Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock Before the Plague* (Oxford, 1987).
162 *BTV*, p. 79.
163 *BKLL*, pp. 35-6.
164 *BTV*, p. 154.
165 *GL.1*, pp. 227-9, 121-6; *cf. GL.2*, pp. 23-6; *LA*, pp. 247-9, 135-40; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 444-7.

Flemish *Speculum humanae salvationis*, where she stands alone, surrounded only by relevant buildings and places *(Fig. 63)*.[166] In general, the few illustrations of solitary women extant convey the sense that her situation has arisen from the departure – by death – of the husband. Thus, another donation page for the founders' and benefactors' book of Tewkesbury Abbey depicts not the expected married couple but the widow Isabel Despenser making an endowment on her own subsequent to the death of her husband in 1421 *(Fig. 64)*.[167] In both images, therefore, women have assumed sole responsibility for actions normally undertaken by their husbands, or else by the couple together but led by him, just as in those situations when the wife took the leadership of a travelling party in the absence of the man. The letter collections of the Celys and Pastons are full of long partings between spouses, the wife left alone in the home, and with every changing of place, a changing of roles followed. Margery Cely wrote to George Cely at Calais in 1484: parted by business, she lamented his absence, saying that she will 'nere be mery to I see you agayn'.[168] Similarly, the lengthy separations of Margaret Paston from her husband John Paston I are the subject of frequent longing letters and requests for news.[169] This is not the impression a reader of the sermons and courtesy literature would have, since these assume the couple to be consistently together until death; in reality, however, separations of spouses, and juggling of their roles, were commonplace.

One final consideration about marital roles is prompted by an image from a well worn, (suggesting use), early fourteenth-century French manuscript of the romance of *Lancelot du Lac*, in which Guinevere and Arthur embrace upon her return from exile. Again we see affection, as the relief palpable in their body language testifies to the real love between them,

166 MS Douce f. 4, fol. 11v, (Fig. 63).
167 MS Top. Glouc. d. 2, fols. 26v-27r, (Fig. 64); *cf. BCL*, pp. 147-8.
168 *Cely*, no. 222, p. 222.
169 *Paston.1*, no. 153, pp. 157-8; no. 165, p. 274; no. 167, pp. 276-8; *Paston.2*, no. 677, pp. 287-9; *cf. Stonor.2*, no. 217, p. 197.

but the back story also has implications for the roles of husband and wife. Whilst Guinevere was apparently able to manage on her own in solitary exile, Arthur himself was never alone; instead he was promptly provided with a replacement wife in the form of the false Guinevere, just as in the story of Griselda, when she is banished by her husband as a test of her loyalty, he does so under the pretence that he is going to get a more suitable second wife *(Fig. 65)*.[170] It therefore seems that, whereas women were able to take on the roles of men in case of need, the reverse was not true; men were more constrained in this sense than women. Indeed, to judge from the letter collections, although men did not marry until later than women, once married they remarried serially in the event of becoming a widower, whereas female widowhood could be prolonged to mortality. Sir William Stonor is a prime example of the serial husband, marrying over the course of his life Elizabeth, Annys, and Anne; Sir William and Sir Robert Plumpton had a pair of wives each.[171] Margaret Paston, in contrast, is a model for the capable, independent widow, slipping into the administration of her deceased husband's estate so easily that she later required a discharge for doing so without licence or authority; Anne, wife of William Paston, lived for thirty years after her husband's demise without remarrying.[172] More than affection may lie behind the relief on the face of Arthur at Guinevere returned: he may have needed her more than she needed him.

CONCLUSION

Husbands and wives were well aware of the ideals of marital behaviour promulgated by the illuminations and texts they consumed, with patron images indicating a lay desire to be associated with these images, and also the importance of owning these manuscripts, even if

170 MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 131r, (Fig. 65); *cf. ibid.*, fols. 123v, 129r.

171 *Stonor.2*, no. 237, pp. 76-7; no. 262, pp. 100-101; no. 306, p. 140.

172 *Paston.1*, no. 210, pp. 356-7; *Paston.2*, no. 926, pp. 608-11; *cf. Paston.1*, no. 140, pp. 241-2; *Paston.2*, no. 545, pp. 138-9; no. 579, pp. 180-81; no. 657, pp. 266-7; no. 897, pp. 551-2; *Stonor.2*, no. 108, pp. 107-8.

their level of use was varied. They aspired to them, but they also used them to their own advantage to maintain their position. The late medieval woman in particular was quite capable of consciously treading the line between reputation and day-to-day necessities, of using ideals of behaviour and marital interaction to promote the success of her household. Love, lust, authority, influence, roles, and responsibilities represented and shaped the married couple. Good and bad examples, like the terrible consequences associated with disobedience and lust, were given dramatic form in illuminations, adding detail and insisting in their repetition on a specific vision of a world of separate spheres, and adding nuance to our understanding of how the ideal of separate spheres may have been communicated. By bringing these images into the discussion of behavioural ideals for marriage, we also realise how areas of concern may have even varied by region, such as the different attitude or at least greater interest in depicting female nudity in France in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Yet the world worked according to its own terms: the episodes preserved in gentry letters and the audience and scenarios anticipated by courtesy literature belie these dichotomies. The 'spheres' of man and woman were far more nuanced, with the public and private lives of husbands and wives and their collective life overlapping considerably.

Ultimately all marital actions or inactions were concerned with outward reputation, and were designed to increase and maintain the couple's – the husband's – reputation. Courtesy literature encouraged the medieval noble couple not only to achieve an ideal but constantly to project that ideal, making the appearance of living this ideal more important than anything else. Anna Dronzek's argument that 'becoming married was crucially important, but being married – the man's behaviour as a husband – was not', cannot stand.[173] Joseph as he inhabits the later medieval illuminated page was explicitly deployed as a model of the good husband

[173] Anna Dronzek 'Gender Roles and the Marriage Market in Fifteenth-Century England: Ideals and Practices', in Davies, Müller, and Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties*, p. 76.

during this period, and to consider the appropriate behaviour of the contemporary husband in the absence of his visual articulation in the person of Joseph is to miss a good part of the expectations which framed his married life. Looked at one way, he is caring but controlling, concerned but in charge. Yet looked at another way, he is anxious and needy, frightened and dependent. Not only did a husband's behaviour feed into the success or failure of a marriage, but he was also finally responsible for the actions of his wife, both before and after the fact. The ideal was of the married couple working towards a common purpose and mutual respect, and that was undoubtedly its strength, but the husband bore the leader's responsibility.[174]

This ideal of the husband as leader, however, is the outward projection. Adultery and its treatment make it apparent that female licentiousness was viewed as a constant threat, more dangerous than the male, hence its common representation in the images of the time. As C.M. Woolgar writes, 'the prime purposes of the household were to maintain the honour, status, profit and well-being of the lord'.[175] Women were vital to the smooth running of the household on a practical level, and there is a further link, made explicit when images and texts are considered together, reinforcing and giving shape to the ideas they communicated, between a woman's control of her body and her control of the household.[176] The wife's behaviour and reputation was the primary support of her household and ultimately of her husband, and thus it had more meaning, for without a stable foundation the household, and eventually the husband, would fall. The husband may have been in charge but in fact his public reputation rested far more heavily upon his wife than hers did upon his.

174 Lebarge, *Baronial Household*, p. 41.
175 Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 8.
176 Karen L. Fresco, 'Gendered Household Spaces in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*', in Sarah Rees Jones, Cordelia Beattie and Anna Maslakovic (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c.850 - c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 187.

CHAPTER THREE

Wider Companionship

If marriage and the marital relationship constituted the ideal bedrock of the late medieval noble household, it was nevertheless not expected to operate within a vacuum.[1] Indeed, one benefit of marriage was that it could dramatically extend a family's friendship network.[2] Friendship and its practice were serious matters across Europe in the Middle Ages, and involved not just bonds of feeling but almost a contract of rights and obligations, underpinned by Classical and Christian theories of friendship.[3] As such, historians have considered how retinues and social networks, particularly amongst the later medieval gentry whose letter collections are a key source of evidence, were constructed and operated, and what the language of 'friendship' and 'companionship' actually meant to contemporaries.[4] But letters do not tell the full story: by bringing courtesy literature, sermons, and hagiography into the discussion alongside the evidence of illuminations, I hope to delineate the more general, aspirational ideal for companionable behaviour which framed their accounts, one

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1 Although there has been work on the marital model of friendship (see Reginald Hyatte, 'Complementary Humanistic Models of Marriage and Male Amicitia in Fifteenth-century Literature', in Julian Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Thrupp, 1999), pp. 251-61), this chapter focuses specifically on social relations outside of the immediate couple.

2 Joan Kirby, 'Survival and Betterment: the aspirations of four medieval gentry families as revealed in their letters', *Family and Community History* 15:2 (2012), p. 100.

3 Gerd Althoff, 'Friendship and Political Order', in Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship*, p. 91.

4 For an exploration of the theoretical underpinnings of friendship in this period, see James McEvoy, 'The theory of friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, contextualization and the transmission and reception of ancient texts and ideas, from c. AD 350 to c. 1500', in Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship*, pp. 3-44; Eoin G. Cassidy, '"He who has friends can have no friend": classical and Christian perspectives on the limits to friendship', in Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship*, pp. 45-67; for a more hierarchical interpretation of social networks, see K. B. MacFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1980), esp. pp. 102-21; for a good discussion of the importance of local social networks and inter-connections with the nobility, see Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 281-346; *eadem*, 'The Stonor Circle in the Fifteenth Century', in Rowena E. Archer and Simon Walker (eds.), *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England* (London, 1995), pp. 175-200; for one of the best works specifically on medieval friendship, see Philippa Maddern, '"Best Trusted Friends": Concepts and Practices of Friendship among Fifteenth-Century Norfolk Gentry', in Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1994), pp. 100-117.

that looked towards the apex of society. And wider companionship also took the form of ritualised social occasions, such as feasting and gift-giving, which feature most prominently in the visual record and were designed to initiate and maintain bonds of friendship and obligation outside the marital relationship, even as they projected an image of the ideal household to the wider world.[5] Much has been written about medieval friendship, feasting, and gift giving, notably how friendship may have operated in practice, but I seek to avoid re-treading the same ground. By examining the interaction between image and text this chapter aims instead to explore how a complex of competing ideals relating to wider social bonds were formed, and how contemporaries may have negotiated these models as well as reflected them back.

FEASTING

The act of feasting brought together the whole household with guests and travellers, and was one of the main forms of wider community interaction which took place within the home.[6] As Bridget Henish has pertinently pointed out, 'in theory, a feast was the epitome of love and fellowship, and while reality often failed to mirror this ideal, a ceremonial dinner was a visible demonstration of the ties of power, dependence, and mutual obligation which bound the host and guests'.[7] Indeed, the very public performance of feasting was a projection of the status and values of the household in which it occurred – the practice was so honoured that to cease hosting in response to straightened circumstances was to advertise one's waning influence unmistakably.[8] Feasts marked important occasions in the medieval lifecycle: we have records of the plethora of fine foods gathered for George and Margery Cely's wedding

5 Althoff, 'Friendship', pp. 94-5.

6 Margaret Wade Labarge, *Medieval Travellers: the rich and the restless* (London, 1982), p. 155; Althoff, 'Friendship', p. 95.

7 Bridget Ann Henish, *Fast and Feast: Food in Medieval Society* (London, 1976), p. 56.

8 Henish, *Fast*, pp. 3, 13; Janet M. Cowen and Jennifer C. Ward, '"Al myn array is bliew, what nedith more?": Gender and the Household in *The Assembly of Ladies*', in Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c.850 - c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 117.

in 1484, though the £12 16*s* spent pales in comparison to the £18 13*s* spent on Agnes Cely's funeral and Month's Mind a year prior.[9] Furthermore, both the food itself and the act of eating were laden with symbolic significance in the late medieval social and cultural world. Much of the historiography focuses on what was actually served and eaten at the feast, but the ideals which governed the behaviour of feasters and how they viewed themselves and their actions are just as important to understand. From the *Bibles moralisées* of the thirteenth century, in which illuminations of food and feasting told wider parables about the interaction between man and God *(Fig. 1)*, to the self-conscious relationship saints and ascetics had with eating and the rhythm of feast and fast in the Church calendar; from the contrast between the long, repetitive treatises on table manners and food preparation which occupy a fair slice of the courtesy literature, to the lively enthusiasm of the table in medieval romance; feasting was a complex space in which relationships were created and extended.[10]

A logical place to begin exploring wider relationships is with the guests who attended such communal meals. A decent meal was one shared, but attendance had reciprocal benefits, for just as a host needed his guests, so too was there value in obtaining a lord's invitation, holding out as it did the promise of food, protection, even alliance.[11] Order was therefore very important, hence the existence of written rules of precedence for specific occasions, and Christine de Pizan's exhortations that the wise princess will dine in hall, with all 'suitable persons ranked according to their position at court'.[12] This intersects neatly with the visual

9 Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English merchant family of the fifteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 312-15.

10 The prime example of this type of manuscript in the Bodleian collection is MS Bodl. 270b, as in a roundel on fol. 171v, (Fig. 1), the image of Elisha welcoming Elijah with a feast is an allegory – Elijah is the Apostles who find doctors and preachers, that is, Elisha, in the field of the Lord's Church, those they take into their fellowship. For other roundels in this manuscript using food and feasting as a parable, see fols. 33v, 45v, 49v, 58r, 59v, 89v, 100r, 106r, 153v, 155v, 179v, 190r, 203v, 205v, 217v, 223v; for the rhythm of feast and fast and saintly attitudes to food, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the religious significance of food to medieval women* (Berkeley, 1987), esp. pp. 33-46.

11 Henish, *Fast*, pp. 17, 57.

12 *OG*, p. 89; *BTV*, p. 34.

evidence, as positioning within images was the basic technique used to differentiate between figures, no matter the illustrative schema. The most important person is almost always sitting in a central position, behind the table; this is true of both biblical images, such as vignettes of the Last Supper *(Figs. 2 to 4)* and the Marriage at Cana *(Figs. 5 and 6)*, and romantic feasts like those of King Arthur and Alexander *(Figs. 7 to 11)*.[13] (It is important to stress that it is strictly representations of feasting that are being discussed here, for images of the blessing of food have a different typology and perform a different function *(Fig. 12)*.[14]) Drawing here from different types of manuscripts is crucial: the historiography of medieval friendship and feasting has often focused on romances, particularly their texts; when not just images are brought in but images from all the sources, ideals of feasting and social cohesion emerge as more interrelated across genre and indeed more complex than at first glance.[15]

In addition to generally occupying a central position, in a technique used across the board in illuminated manuscripts of all genres the primary figure is also established as such by often being slightly taller, or raised in comparison with the guests, drawing the gaze of their companions, even with a hand raised in a traditional gesture of authority and blessing. In one striking example from a late fourteenth-century English illumination, taken from a frequently annotated (implying owner engagement with the text), and enormous (so probably

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13 For examples of the Last Supper, see MS Laud Misc. 3a, fol. 37v, (Fig. 2); MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 470r, (Fig. 3); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 138-40; these are both English examples, but for a Flemish example of the same date, see MS Douce 38, fol. 38r, (Fig. 4); *Schiller.2*, pp. 24-41; Matthew 26:20-30, Mark 14:17-25, Luke 22:14-23, John 13:18-30, 6, 22, I Corinthians 10:16, II Corinthians 23; for an English example of the Marriage at Cana, see MS Selden Supra 38, pt. I, fol. 33v, (Fig. 5); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 62-3; for a French example, see MS Douce 313, fol. 30v, (Fig. 6); *Schiller.1*, pp. 162-4; John 2:1-11; *GL.2*, p. 97; *LA*, p. 527; typical romantic images tend to occur in manuscripts of French and Flemish origin, and for a fourteenth-century Flemish example, see MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 188v, (Fig. 7), *cf.* fols. 67v, 72v, 73v, 104v, (Fig. 14), 146v, 163v, 172v; Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, vol. 2 (London, 1996), pp. 68-73; for French examples across the range of the fourteenth century, see MS Ashmole 828, fol. 44v, (Fig. 8), *cf.* fols. 17v, 19r; MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 27v, (Fig. 9), *cf.* fols. 11v, 57r, 132v, 202r; MS Douce 199, fol. 252r, (Fig. 10); for a fifteenth-century example, see MS Douce 195, fol. 47r, (Fig. 11).

14 For example, see MS Douce 237, fol. 55v, (Fig. 12).

15 Jonathon Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 19; Aisling Byrne, 'Arthur's refusal to eat: ritual and control in the romance feast', *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), pp. 62-74.

rarely moved) Commentary on the Gospels partially written for James le Palmer, clerk of the Exchequer, of Christ turning water into wine at the marriage feast, all of these methods are deployed *(Fig. 13)*.[16] Christ is in the middle, his hand extended across the table, and his authority is established by the way his body draws the gaze of his four followers. The arrangement of each body is such that the curve of the initial that they inhabit creates an arch at the apex of which is Christ, giving the illusion of height and thus a visual cue to his importance. In another fourteenth-century manuscript, at the feast of Alexander depicted in a Flemish *Romance of Alexander*, c. 1338-44, which had an elite lay owner in the person of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, the hero of the story is centrally placed, and his crown is not simply a regal accoutrement, but also lends additional authoritative height, similarly to how varying sizes of nimbus are utilised in biblical images to accomplish the same *(Fig. 14)*.[17] The central placement of a man is significant; although women were expected to eat with their husbands and were instrumental in handling logistics, in the illuminations they are always outnumbered by men, even in romances, and typically either relegated to the sidelines or absent, yet we know from the discomfort of the didactic literature about the marital discord arising from women attending feasts alone that they were certainly present.[18] Large numbers of women in attendance was even associated in imagery with the exotic heathen, hence the four wives of the Kublai Khan who feature feasting in a miniature depicting his birthday from an English *Romance of Alexander*, c. 1400 *(Fig. 15)*.[19]

Nor was this pattern limited to a visual ideal. John Paston III undertook his family's entertaining in Norfolk: the family residences were occupied by his mother and grandmother,

16 MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 97r, (Fig. 13).
17 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 104v, (Fig. 14).
18 *BKLL*, pp. 36, 94-5; *BTV*, p. 68; *FJM*, pp. 16, 28, 32, 65, 83.
19 MS Bodl. 264, pt. III, fol. 239r, (Fig. 15).

rather than by John Paston II.[20] Men had to be the agents of family honour and hospitality. Identifiable guests of importance are, as one might expect, placed on either side of the central figure. For example, in instances of the Last Supper, it is normally very easy to identify Saint John, due to his positioning on one side of Christ, often with his head in Christ's lap, an affective symbol for seeking the friendship of Christ, seen in both a mid-fourteenth-century small and rather dirty breviary, and in a similarly well used c. 1300 Flemish Psalter, (*Figs. 2* and *4*).[21] However, this is where things become more complicated. As one moves along the row of feasters radiating out from the centre, it becomes harder to identify individual diners. They become almost generic placeholders, individual in their gestures for variation's sake, but not necessarily identifiable as specific actors. This ambivalence towards wider groups of guests, especially in allegorical images, is in itself indicative of one of the social roles of feasting: promotion of the guest of honour, as well as the male host, rather than simply the entertainment of the wider community.

This ambivalence is not just limited to guests, for in the textual evidence it extends to a large proportion of the aspects of feasting. Judging from images alone, feasting was one of the most important social events in the household, cropping up regularly in representations, from biblical texts to romances to astrological works. As such, one would expect the written word of the period to focus on meals and feasts as well, and in a sense it does. The courtesy literature treats two elements of feasting: table manners and recipes. Behaviour at table was part and parcel of social interaction at dinner, but there is relatively little detail on the seating of guests or even particulars of how to host.[22] The *Ménagier de Paris* devotes a substantial

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20 Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 75-6; *Paston.2*, no. 778, pp. 420-22; *Paston.1*, no. 332, pp. 541-3; no. 333, pp. 543-6; no. 354, pp. 577-80.

21 MS Laud Misc. 3a, fol. 37v, (Fig. 2); MS Douce 38, fol. 38r, (Fig. 4); McEvoy, 'Theory of Friendship', p. 31.

22 Walter W. Seton (ed.), *A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book* (London, 1914); *HS*, pp. 215-8; Frederick J. Furnivall (ed.), 'The Boris hede furst', in *idem* (ed.), *Early English Meals and Manners* (London, 1868),

portion of his household guide to the minutiae of food and recipes, and indeed, the variation and complexity of his suggestions are astounding, but he stays remarkably quiet about the act of feasting, and the serving of food.[23] Although we have records of the costs and lists of food in letter collections, in the context of discussing events like weddings or visits by prominent persons to the area, detail on the preparation for the throwing or attending of such meals is in short supply. The occasional provision request here or there, a letter between Sir Robert and Dame Agnes Plumpton asking for mutton to be served on Tuesday night when a collection of male friends and relations were scheduled to call; that is about as specific as the logistics get.[24] Evidently this level of management was in fact the domain of serving staff and other such retainers in the noble household. In the images of feasting, in contrast, the preparation is a *fait accompli*, and the feast playing out is free to perform fellowship, community, appropriate entertainment, and above all the nobility of its participants.

The symbolism of feasting is indicated by the huge number of words devoted to table manners, as distinct from hosting, manners which remained incredibly static from the early to the later Middle Ages and feature particularly in poems ostensibly aimed at those not so high up the social ladder.[25] Emulation of the lives and manners of the nobility was built into these treatises, suggesting that self-fashioning of one's exterior was a vital part of medieval life. The particular behaviours associated with the elite were also evidently important for those outside that circle to know and imitate, even as they elevated and divided those at the apex of society from everyone else. This large number of words devoted to the behaviour surrounding

p. 264; *MCT*, pp. 3-5; *CT*, pp. 6-8; *SCT*, pp. 8-14; *PDT*, pp. 15-6; *ACT*, pp. 16-20; *UGM*, pp. 26-9; *MCen*, pp. 34-57; *DM*.

23 *GWG*, pp. 253-339.

24 *Stonor.2*, no. 233, pp. 72-4; *Plumpton*, no. 162, p. 152.

25 *MCT*, pp. 3-5; *CT*, pp. 6-8; *SCT*, pp. 8-14; *ACT*, pp. 16-20; *RTS*, pp. 20-25; *UGM*, pp. 26-9; *MCen*, pp. 34-57; *EU*, pp. 398-408; *Edward*, pp. 420-28; *AN*, pp. 432-7; *PN*, pp. 437-41; *UM.L*, pp. 1-92; for how to wait at table, see R. W. Chambers (ed.), 'A Generall Rule to teche euery man to serve a lorde a mayster', in *idem* (ed.), *A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book* (London, 1914), pp. 11-7.

feasting situates the formal meal at the heart of medieval household management and infuses it with a sense of ritual not so far removed from liturgical rites.[26] The details – not spitting, being clean and tidy, avoiding over-eating and drinking, being generally cheerful and careful of speech – are not so different to our own daily lives, but what is interesting is the repetition. Not only does it place feasting and the table at the heart of domestic courtesy; it also places it at the heart of social interaction. Whereas the bedroom was at the heart of the household as it concerned the couple, the hall was the heart of the household's wider social body.

We turn now to the presentation of food, as opposed to the preparation mentioned previously. Feasting has long been considered an act of display and a delineation of social status.[27] There are many indications as to the importance of food. The wedding celebration was often characterised by heavy feasting and drinking, much to the dismay of moralists, but both played a role in legitimising the sacrament of marriage, as certain sermons recognised.[28] Certainly drinking is central to the Marriage at Cana, where Jesus turns water into wine to replenish the wedding feast, though these images are found in a limited range of manuscripts, essentially of religious texts such as missals, psalters, Gospel commentaries, and the *Gesta infantiae salvatoris*. In some cases, such as in a damaged and worn English *Gesta infantiae salvatoris* of c. 1320-30, the episode was presented in two separate scenes, with the turning of

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26 Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998), p. 27; Kim M. Phillips, 'The invisible man: body and ritual in a fifteenth-century noble household', *Journal of Medieval History* 31:2 (2005), pp. 146-56.

27 Johanna Maria van Winter, *Spices and Comfits: Collected Papers on Medieval Food* (Devon, 2007), pp. 303-14.

28 Jacqueline Murray (ed.), *Love, Marriage, and Family in the Middle Ages: A Reader* (Ormskirk, 2001), p. 271; P. W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 149-50; *Festial*.2, 'Sermo de nupciis', ll. 125-8, p. 255; D. L. d'Avray, 'The Gospel of the Marriage Feast of Cana and Marriage Preaching in France', in N. Bériou and D. L. d'Avray (eds.), *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons – Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 135-53; D. L. d'Avray and M. Tausche, 'Marriage Sermons in ad status collections of the central Middle Ages', in Bériou and d'Avray (eds.), *Modern Questions*, pp. 77-134.

wine into water in one and the feast itself in another *(Figs. 16 and 5)*.[29] In the *Golden Legend*, a sumptuous feast was laid out for the feast of Saint Nicholas, but such culinary generosity was by no means restricted to the saints, for a significant aspect of late medieval hospitality was the offering of a wide variety of dishes to please every guest.[30] Although detail on logistics are sparse, the household accounts of George Cely indicate the wide diet, and heavy wine consumption, of a gentry household.[31] Food was also to be full of variety, colour, display, and deliciousness, as demonstrated by the extensive, mouth-watering recipes in *The Good Wife's Guide*.[32] The only limits were religious regulation – for example, the restriction on meat during Lent – and so the possibility of lavish display via the range, size, and construction of dishes was otherwise limited in the wealthiest of households only by the imagination.

Indeed, there is real joy in the variety and presentation of food in the texts. The carol *The Boris hede furst* is all about the festive presentation of a garlanded boar's head at a feast, and the dishes served alongside it.[33] As P.W. Hammond has pointed out, dinners could contain several courses, consisting of a multitude of different meats and birds prepared in an array of different sauces.[34] The great emphasis placed on their sequence, with records of the courses served to be used as exemplars, adds even more to the sense of ritual that pervaded a

29 MS Selden Supra 38, pt. I; for the changing of water into wine, see fol. 34r, (Fig. 16), for the feast itself, see fol. 33v, (Fig. 5).

30 *GL.1*, p. 26; *LA*, p. 28; Nicole Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining in Medieval Paris: The Household of the Fourteenth-Century Knight* (Cardiff, 1996), p. 170.

31 Hanham, *Celys and Their World*, pp. 327-39; food was the largest expense of aristocratic budgets, see Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 55-70; Christine Carpenter, 'The Fifteenth-Century English Gentry and their Estates', in Michael Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 1986), p. 50; for household food consumption, see C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 11-4, 111-35; for seasonal food availability, see Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining*, pp. 119-35; for fourteenth- and fifteenth-century diet account books, see C. M. Woolgar (ed.), *Household Accounts from Medieval England, Part I* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 164-430.

32 *GWG*, pp. 271-339.

33 'Boris hede furst', p. 264.

34 *CDS*, pp. 90-91; Marian Campbell, 'The Table and Feasting', in Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), pp. 309-11, at p. 309; Hammond, *Food and Feast*, pp. 126-42.

feast.[35] Costly ingredients were transformed: roast swans and peacocks gilded or clad in their own feathers, pork pies painted yellow with saffron (the most pleasing colour to the medieval diner), jellied broths bedecked with colourful heraldic shields.[36] Yet where is this colour, elaboration, and variety on the illuminated table? The food is plain, often appearing as if sketched by the artist upon the table, consisting of bread, cups of wine, occasionally poultry; but each dish is unadorned, laid at regular intervals along the table, and relatively uncoloured, unlike the vivid paintwork that sets the surrounding scene.[37] There is little elaboration here, in comparison with the evidence found in the courtesy literature and discussed by historians, nor a very great number of dishes, nor edible decoration. Furthermore, this plainness persists across genre, time period, and origin of manuscript *(Figs. 2-11, 14, 17-22)*.[38] The visual material provides an entirely different perspective on feasting from what Bridget Ann Henish and other historians more focused on the practice of feasts have suggested. There appears to be a division between the table in 'reality' and how it was conceived in illumination.

Illustrated tables are also extremely limited not just in the range of food depicted but also in how they were laid. The table itself forms a linear delineation within the image, even if not always a strictly horizontal one, regardless of manuscript type or scene.[39] The common elements include a table covered in a white tablecloth, the perspective (for the table at least) at a three-quarters angle, looking down, thereby enabling food and dishes to be seen clearly,

35 *GWG*, pp. 253-70; *OG*, p. 89; *CDS*, pp. 90-91.

36 Campbell, 'The Table', p. 310; Henish, *Fast*, p. 105.

37 For the importance of bread, see Henish, *Fast*, pp. 155-61.

38 For examples with a religious subject matter (in chronological order), see MS Douce 38, fol. 38r, (Fig. 4); MS Lat. liturg. d. 42, fol. 9r, (Fig. 17); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 70-71; MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 33v, (Fig. 5), *cf.* fol. 32v; MS Laud Misc. 3a, fol. 37r, (Fig. 2); MS Douce 313, fol. 30v, (Fig. 6), *cf.* fols. 112v, 118v, 175r, 194v, 223v, 310v; MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 470r, (Fig. 3), *cf.* 97r, 429v; MS Douce 300, fol. 13v, (Fig. 18); MS Douce 374, fol. 17r, (Fig. 19); MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 90v, (Fig. 20); for examples from other manuscript genres, such as romances (also in chronological order), see MS Ashmole 828, fol. 44v, (Fig. 8), *cf.* fols. 17v, 19r; MS Douce 308, fol. 42v, (Fig. 21); MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 27v, (Fig. 9), *cf.* fols. 11v, 57r, 132v, 202r; MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 188v, (Fig. 7), *cf.* fols. 67v, 72v, 73v, 104v, (Fig. 14), 146v, 163v, 172v; MS Douce 199, fol. 252r, (Fig. 10); MS Douce 195, fol. 47r, (Fig. 11), *cf.* fol. 77r; MS Douce 383, fol. 2v, (Fig. 22), *cf.* 17r.

39 The one exception to the linear example is a grisaille miniature of the Last Supper from a French mid-fourteenth-century Franciscan Missal depicting a round table: MS Douce 313, fol. 119v, (Fig. 23).

with the table extending most of the way across the representation.[40] Tablecloths were important, a 'badge of breeding', to be made of fine linen, embroidered, kept white and clean, even scattered with flowers and used to serve important guests of the husband.[41] Table layouts were also significant: over the course of the fifteenth century they became more specialised, a locus of social competition and an indispensible demonstration of wealth and power, with gold and silver vessels and the symbolic and lavish salt cellar predominating in the best houses.[42] Generosity, after all, was a mark of one's resources.[43] Sotelties, or lavish food preparations designed to amaze, were popular, but all five senses were needed for a banquet, hence the hiring of entertainers and musicians who were sometimes even more of highlight than the food itself.[44] In 1378 Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor and the King of Bohemia, visited Paris and was treated to dinnertime entertainment that re-enacted the siege of Jerusalem during the First Crusade.[45] Why then, aside from the stark white linen, do we not see these spectacular table decorations or colourful entertainers, even in the sometimes more elaborate images contained in later manuscripts? This cannot be a consequence of a lack of artistic ability, given that animals, interiors, and clothing were – indeed, even in the same image – rendered in elaborate colours, shapes, and detail.

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40 For types of tables and their configuration, see Penelope Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), pp. 215-27.

41 Henish, *Fast*, pp. 148-55; *BTV*, pp. 130-31; *GL.2*, p. 222; *LA*, p. 665; for flower scattering at a wedding feast, see *GWG*, pp. 265-70.

42 Woolgar, *Great Household*, pp. 151-7, 164-5; Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining*, pp. 118-74; Henish, *Fast*, pp. 103, 147-89; Campbell, 'The Table', pp. 309-11.

43 Henish, *Fast*, p. 56.

44 Hammond, *Food and Feast*, pp. 142-9; Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining*, pp. 169-84; Henish, *Fast*, pp. 206-36; Woolgar, *Great Household*, pp. 27-9; ffiona Swabey, 'The Household of Alice de Bryene, 1412-13', in Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (eds.), *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe* (London, 1998), pp. 133-44, at p. 140.

45 Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*, p. 49; Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (London, 1952), p. 27.

The disjuncture between text and image can only be understood if we call to mind the simplicity of the Last Supper, as clearly propagated in depictions of it *(Figs. 2 to 4)*.[46] The table, and by extension the feast, represent Christian fellowship rather than hierarchy through lavish display. Hospitality was of course a Christian duty, and certainly there was a 'religious ideal of private austerity coupled with public generosity' in the style of Thomas Becket, but many saintly examples were highly conflicted.[47] In the *Golden Legend* the Apostle Matthew is praised for his generosity in holding a great feast in his house for the Lord, and the lavish preparation and the status of the guests are among the reasons it was such an achievement.[48] Yet moderation in food, even to the extent of fasting, was highly regarded too, especially since it avoided the sin of gluttony into which excessive feasting could easily slide.[49] Church regulations often came into conflict with social obligations in the wealthy household, not just in terms of food restrictions like Lent and the 182 to 227 meatless days.[50] Furthermore, the heavy expense of feasting was another target of moralists' ire: the *Knight of La Tour-Landry* is especially against the 'fayne glories' of feasting, much as he is against most fun.[51] It was difficult, as Sir John Fastolf found, to live up to the ideal of 'a lord who used his wealth, neither running foolishly into debt, nor hoarding in a miserly fashion'.[52] How to negotiate ideals in conflict? Medieval householders may have presented themselves in public in the mould of the lavish host, but on the page preferred to behold themselves piously allied with the altogether more austere fellowship of Christ.

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46 MS Laud Misc. 3a, fol. 37v, (Fig. 2); MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 470r, (Fig. 3); MS Douce 38, fol. 38r, (Fig. 4).

47 Henish, *Fast*, pp. 10-11, 191; Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 21.

48 *GL.2*, p. 186; *LA*, p. 625; *cf. GL.2*, p. 174; *LA*, p. 612.

49 *RR*, l. 1280, p. 38; *cf. PIS*, ll. 2038-9, p. 192; *BTV*, p. 146; *DC*, pp. 10, 20; *BKLL*, pp. 13, 59, 115; *GL.1*, pp. 124, 256; *cf. ibid.*, p. 287; *GL.2*, pp. 24, 27, 100-101, 122-3, 305; *LA*, pp. 138, 279; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 314, 445, 448, 530-31, 555, 755; *BGM*, pp. 27-9.

50 Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining*, pp. 113-4.

51 *BKLL*, p. 110; Henish, *Fast*, p. 14.

52 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 91.

This is not to say that the table of fellowship transcended social boundaries. As one might expect, eating or even discussion of eating is strictly a high-ranking affair, whilst the preparation of food remained a low-class occupation. When food is mentioned in the courtesy literature and letter collections, it is in managing the flow of sustenance into the household, the food that is appropriate to serve, and how to consume it politely, rather than suggesting that those at whom this material was aimed actually rolled up their sleeves in the kitchen.[53] The illuminated manuscripts reinforce this point. Calendars in particular, which frequently formed the first folios of a book of hours or psalter, have accompanying the various activities of the months detailed and colourful images of servants gathering and preparing food, both in the fields and in the kitchens, activities that could also more generally appear in historiated borders *(Figs. 24 to 29)*.[54] (The term 'servants' is here used to describe the household staff who cooked, cleaned, and fetched.) Whilst responding to artistic trends in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in France and Flanders to fill the space around the texts with attractive and colourful scenes of a certain vision of daily life, the most elaborate such images occur at the edges of the pages, placing these scenes of lower-born classes at the base of the page and reinforcing the idea that they were at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Michael Camille has argued that these margins, often decorated with depictions of peasants and the like, were part of a knightly urge to 'retain the signs of rank, blood, gesture and manners' in the face of social change by subjugating the lower classes not only in their depictions but also their physical position at the edge and bottom of the page, and this seems to apply here.[55]

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53 *Paston.1*, no. 148, pp. 251-2; no. 215, pp. 363-4; for a description of a kitchen, see Henish, *Fast*, pp. 95-8; for cooking tips, see Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining*, pp. 136-68.

54 For French examples from across the period, see MS Douce 118, fol. 5r, (Fig. 24); MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 12r, (Fig. 25); MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 6v, (Fig. 26); for Flemish examples from across the period, see MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 83v, (Fig. 27); MS Douce 8, fols. xxvi-xxvii, (Fig. 28); MS Douce 112, fol. 21r, (Fig. 29).

55 Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), pp. 22, 100.

Group eating, it becomes clear from the illuminations, was an activity reserved for nobility. Servants and the relatively plainly dressed ambiguous figures who represent the zodiac are shown eating alone or not at all, excluded from the fellowship of the communal table *(Figs. 30 to 32)*.[56] An example of solitary consumption is a full-page miniature from a fourteenth-century English astrological and ecclesiastical calendar, made up of very dirty, variously-sized pieces, rather crudely depicting the month of December seated, wearing a plain blue tunic and a green hat turned up at the front, whilst he prepares his meal *(Fig. 33)*.[57] This scene follows in the tradition of the image of January, as seen in a fifteenth-century miniature, from a Flemish Book of Hours, its calendar annotated with a birth in 1525, suggesting later owner engagement with the text, but its illuminations in very good condition, bright and unworn, as an old man seated alone at a white-clothed table in front of a fireplace, eating a simple meal of bread and chicken leg *(Fig. 34)*.[58] Whilst the room is neatly appointed with a green tiled floor, large white fireplace, and leaded windows, both the room and the man lack the rich detailing often seen in larger feasting images, with the walls and his clothes deliberately plain. A conscious decision has been made by the artist not to depict the solitary diner as a high-born individual. The ideal of social dining in illuminations is inextricably linked to hierarchy, promoting a socially regimented ideal of nobility.

Exclusion from the communal eating designed to encourage relationship ties is given a clear spiritual emphasis in these illustrations of feasting which is simply not articulated in the texts. In almost every image, guests around the table sit on the far side alone; from the perspective of the viewer they sit in a line, with the table in front. The one exception to this rule is Judas at the Last Supper – *he* is on the near side of the table, physically separated from

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56 For a fourteenth-century example, see MS Laud Lat. 84, fol. 1v, (Fig. 30); for a fifteenth-century example, see MS Canon. Liturg. 283, fol. 1r, (Fig. 31); for a sixteenth-century example, see MS Douce 135, fol. 2r, (Fig. 32).

57 MS Rawl. D. 939, section 2ar, (Fig. 33).

58 MS Rawl. liturg. e. 14, fol. 5r, (Fig. 34).

Christ and the other disciples as a demonstration of his sin and betrayal *(Figs. 17 and 3)*.[59] In two other images, both drawn from psalters, one Flemish, the other from England, despite a chronological separation of a century, the powerful pictorial tradition behind this reveals itself, as Judas is shown in the same manner, kneeling, divided by the table from the brotherhood of Christ, the heads of the disciples in the top third of the two pictures looming over the figure of Judas contained entirely in the lower third *(Figs. 4 and 35)*.[60] The illuminators' decisions about colour and variation in style may vary slightly, as we should expect of two images differing by a hundred years in age, but the fundamental exclusion of Judas – the unwelcome guest – remains the same.

Somewhat shockingly, the only figures other than Judas to cross the spiritually charged no-man's-land of the table are the servants attending to the dinner guests. Even in the few images where the seated guests are not positioned in a strict line, Judas and the servants are still placed at the bottom, physically ranking below the other figures. Manuscripts from later in our period, particularly those influenced by the increasing use of perspective and domestic details by Flemish painters, generally became more flexible in their arrangement of figures and furniture such as tables (though it should be noted in reference to the earlier discussion of the importance of table decoration, no more extravagant in terms of table accoutrements and food). One striking Flemish miniature from a 1488 Book of Hours, likely owned by Louis Quarré, Treasurer of the Golden Fleece, provides a clear example of this *(Fig. 36)*.[61] Yet the old divisions remain, for not only is Judas situated at the bottom left corner of the image, so that every disciple and not just Jesus himself towers over him from their seated positions, but he is actually on his knees rather than sitting at the table, physically humbled by his betrayal. Consider then the stooped positions assumed by servants waiting at table, as depicted in both

59 MS Lat. liturg. d. 42, fol. 9r, (Fig. 17); MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 470r, (Fig. 3).
60 MS Douce 38, fol. 38r, (Fig. 4); MS Gough Liturg. 2, fol. 25v, (Fig. 35).
61 MS Douce 311, fol. 29v, (Fig. 36).

romance and biblical manuscripts. The similarity of positioning, posture, and size between a server in a fourteenth-century miniature depicting an Easter feast at King Arthur's court and fourteenth-century images of Judas at the Last Supper is nearly exact *(Figs. 8, 3, 4, and 17)*.[62] Of course, these images may gain much of their similarity from the fact that they were probably drawn from standard models in illuminators' pattern books, with traditional images of the Last Supper providing the basis for depicting the table in romances. Nevertheless, simply because an image is drawn repeatedly from a schematised example does not mean that the nature of its depiction lacks consequences, nor that it has no effect upon its audience. Despite the different genres of manuscript in which these images of feasting are contained, the shared language of gesture and positioning results in a startling and vivid comparison: the servants, like Judas, are physically separated from the fellowship, in imitation of Christ, on the far side of the table. Feasting is not just about social but spiritual delineation as well.

This spiritual division apparent from an examination of images alongside texts adds a new dimension to what historians have considered. Kim M. Phillips argues that household ordinances 'may offer more fantasy and wishful thinking than social practice, but nonetheless provide an insight into noble perceptions about the kind of service they deserved'.[63] Witness the trappings of nobility: the furnishings, the layout of the table, servants' gestures, with the rituals of serving at table creating a 'lay liturgy to rival ecclesiastical ritual'.[64] Courtesy manuals were self-help guides for those aspiring to learn the manners of the social elite and climb the ladder, and when we simply consider the texts this separation is purely social.[65]

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62 MS Ashmole 828, fol. 44v, (Fig. 8); MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 470r, (Fig. 3); MS Douce 38, fol. 38r, (Fig. 4); MS Lat. liturg. d. 42, fol. 9r, (Fig. 17); for other images of servants at table in romance, see MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 188v, (Fig. 7); MS Douce 308, fol. 42v, (Fig. 21); for a biblical example of serving, see MS Douce 313, fol. 30v, (Fig. 6).

63 Phillips, 'Invisible man', pp. 143-62, at p. 146.

64 *Ibid.*, pp. 156-8.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 157; Jorge Arditi, *A genealogy of manners: Transformations of social relations in France and England from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century* (Chicago, 1998), p. 15.

Servants were relied upon, vital to the smooth running of the medieval household: an earlier thirteenth-century text, *Robert Grosseteste's Household Statutes*, in a manuscript dated to 1450-60, demonstrates how crucial the servant was to running the household, particularly when it came to organising meals and order in the hall – required to be trusty, diligent, and 'fit'.[66] It is also apparent in the letter collections, above all the Paston Letters, how much servants were relied on, but nonetheless they were excluded from marriage and fraternisation with their superiors.[67] They were divided from the household, forbidden to dine with women, their sexual lives controlled by their masters.[68] Indeed, the need for servants to be obedient, avoid quarrelling, dress carefully and appropriately, is not so far from strictures for women.[69] John Mirk even puts the care of servants alongside that of children, suggesting that, like children, they needed special, as if remedial, attention; the advice aimed at older servants was the same as that directed to the young, as they seemed one and the same to their educators.[70] The *Ménagier de Paris* goes as far as to group management of servants with care for horses![71] Servants were constructed as things to be controlled: 'That as many seruauntis as a man haase,/ So many theves be in his place', typical of this 'other-ing' of servants'.[72]

Through these discursive strategies, the nobility could not only demarcate themselves from those who served them under the same roof, but also create a role for themselves as the benevolent carers for the less worthy. In the same way courtesy literature aimed at women

66 *HS*, pp. 215-7; *cf.* Elizabeth Lamond (ed.), 'Robert Grosseteste's Rules', in *eadem* (ed.), *Walter of Henley's Husbandry* (London, 1890), pp. 121-50.

67 For an overview of servants in the household, see Woolgar, *Great Household*, pp. 30-45, for a list of servants in George Cely's household, see Hanham, *Celys and Their World*, pp. 322-3; for an overview of duties, see John Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 12 (2002), p. 274; *JRBN*, pp. 47-78; *BC*, pp. 79-121.

68 *HS*, p. 216.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 216.

70 'Sermon for the Transfiguration of Our Lord', in *Festial.NF*, l. 78-80, p. 8; *BB*, pp. 1-9; *Urbanitatis*, pp. 11-16; *LCLB*, pp. 16-21; *YCB*, pp. 21-5; *SPM*, pp. 26-31; *CBC*, pp. 2-53, esp. pp. 12-3, 18-9, 26-7, 30-31; *CJ*, pp. 253-7.

71 *GWG*, pp. 215-28; *cf. PIS*, l. 1298, p. 102; *RTS*, pp. 20-25.

72 *PIS*, ll. 1289-1351, pp. 102-3, esp. ll. 1343-4, p. 103.

suggests in its ideals that there was a wider negative view of women, so too does this material imply that those serving were essentially uncivilised, a world apart within the world of the nobility.[73] By bringing images from both religious and romance manuscripts together with well-known texts on courtesy and feasting, the iconographic relationship between different illustrative schemata becomes clearer (none of these images was made in isolation, despite the temptation to study genres that way), but more importantly nuance is added to our current understanding of nobility as a social construction. Nobility could be modelled upon the fellowship of Christ's table by carefully controlling what was on display at their illuminated feasts in contrast to what we read of their lavish presentations of food. Furthermore, servants could be safely delimited from their masters in this construction of feasting: cast into the same visual space occupied by Judas, their domestic proximity was denied, and their lower station in society given spiritual sanction.

GIFT-GIVING

> Loove also is kept and conserued/ Be riche presentis and giftis grete...
> He must nedis yelde gyfte for gyfte,/ And thenne is frendship euenly shifte.[74]

Feasting was only one of the ways in which relationships could be started, marked, and secured. Another common means was gift-giving, sometimes occurring at the same feasting occasion.[75] Like feasts, gifts could convey many meanings: respect for the receiver, the status of the giver, the relationship between participants, and the importance of that relationship. It could strengthen the bonds between individuals and communities in a 'chain of reciprocally

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73 *BB*, p. 7.
74 *PIS*, ll. 1128-9, p. 100; ll. 1140-41, p. 100.
75 Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Woodstock, 2000), p. 229.

dependent relationships'.[76] But giving could also be an indicator of social mores, a gauge of what was appropriate in diplomatic as well as personal relationships. Indeed, manuscripts like books of hours or psalters could be appropriate gifts in and of themselves, especially popular amongst women in the late fifteenth century; inscribed by their users, they formed a site of memory, giving physical form to the social links between the book's owners.[77] Books were creators and signifiers of networks, of bonds, of society, family, history, diplomacy, religion, and memory. There is no space here (or anywhere) to consider all kinds of gift in this period: it makes the most sense to discuss aspects of giving where image and text enter into dialogue, where bringing illuminations of gift into the conversation will shed new light on how bonds between those outside the family were forged, especially when these bonds marked key points along the medieval lifecycle such as the occasions of birth and marriage.[78]

The initiation and maintenance of a romantic relationship, which we touched on in the first chapter, is one area where considering images alongside texts nuances our understanding of the role of gifts and of sound behaviour in regard to their giving and receiving. The letter collections tell us that gifts were given as part of maintaining relationships: John Paston II sent John Paston III a diamond ring in 1472, for example, and this is followed not long after

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76 Finn E. Sinclair, 'The Power of the Gift: Desire and Substitution in "Daurel et Beton"', *The Modern Language Review* 99:4 (2004), pp. 902-14, at p. 904.

77 Corine Schleif, 'Gifts and Givers that Keep on Giving: Pictured Presentations in Early Medieval Manuscripts', in Georgiana Donavin and Anita Obermeier (eds.), *Romance and Rhetoric: Essays in Honour of Dhira B. Mahoney* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 51-71; Michel-André Bossy, 'Arms and the Bride: Christine de Pizan's Military Treatise as a Wedding Gift for Margaret of Anjou', in Marilynn Desmond (ed.), *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference* (London, 1998), pp. 236-56; Mary C. Erler, 'The Abbess of Malling's Gift Manuscript (1520)', in Felicity Riddy (ed.), *Prestige, Authority and Power in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 147-57; Mary Erler, 'The Book of Hours as Album Amicorum: Jane Guildford's Book', in Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and Kathryn A. Smith (eds.), *The Social Life of Illumination* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 505-35.

78 Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 43-55; although Margaret Paston may have viewed letters as a form of gift, I will not be discussing this further, but see Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 33.

by a discussion about how to deliver a ring to Jane Rothon.[79] More romantically, the marriage of George and Margery Cely is particularly touching with their exchange of rings and tokens as symbols of the marital affection they held for one another.[80] Images, however, can take us beyond such bare transactional outlines. Mainly accompanying romance texts, illustrated gifts between lovers often consisted of rings or wreaths: in one delicately painted miniature from a well worn and annotated French *Roman de la Rose* of c. 1390, Fair Welcome, in the form of a girl, admires in a mirror the effect of a caplet upon her head, a gift from the Lover *(Fig. 37)*.[81] Gifts were an act of initiation, and these images provide a model of how women were supposed to receive such tokens. Thus in another miniature from the same manuscript, the girl is reluctant to accept the gift, for it is the opening to a courtship with the Lover about which she is uncertain. Her hands are raised up defensively, her head and importantly her gaze twisted away from the caplet beseechingly offered by the young man next to her *(Fig. 38)*.[82] Shannon McSheffrey has discussed how, in the giving of gifts in courtship, reciprocal courtship was characterised by male action and female reaction, and the images suggest not only how this female reaction may have played out, but also what models may have governed it.[83] Gifts could be dangerous – they mattered. In 1314 the three daughters-in-law of Philip the Fair of France were accused of adultery in a court scandal and their alleged lovers disembowelled due to their giving of gifts; the *Facetus* was concerned that they excited the 'unjust mind' of a woman.[84] Guides were needed.

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79 *Paston.1*, no. 269, pp. 449-50; no. 270, pp. 451-2; no. 287, pp. 478-9; no. 399, pp. 640-41; *cf. Stonor.2*, no. 162, pp. 2-3; no. 166, pp. 6-8; no. 204, pp. 41-2.

80 *Cely*, no. 214, pp. 208-10; no. 222; p. 222; *cf. Plumpton*, no. 123, pp. 120-21; for the wife as gift mediating social and power relations, see Sinclair, 'Power', pp. 913.

81 For example, MS e Mus. 65, fol. 100r, (Fig. 37).

82 MS e Mus. 65, fol. 99v, (Fig. 38).

83 Shannon McSheffrey, *Marriage, Sex, and Civic Culture in late medieval London* (Philadelphia, 2006), pp. 48, 58-64; *cf.* Britton J. Harwood, 'Chaucer and the Gift (If There Is Any)', *Studies in Philology* 103:1 (2006), p. 34.

84 Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (London, 1998), p. 66; *Facetus*, p. 46.

Several of the romantic gifts mentioned in the letters, however, were signifiers of an ongoing relationship. By comparing with the visual material we can see how initial refusal of a gift was only the first stage; once a relationship was established, body language changed. In one image the woman sits upon the man in the affectionate pose of familiar lovers, their bodies close and intertwined. How to get to that point? In the written record, many lovers' tokens are passed via intermediaries out of convenience and propriety, and in a fourteenth-century image from a slightly smudged and soiled French Lancelot cycle we can see this in action: Guinevere gives Lyonell, Perceval, and Bohort a ring to take to Lancelot as a love token *(Fig. 39)*.[85] It is an interesting two-part image similar to a newspaper cartoon strip. On the left-hand side the action of giving is depicted, with Guinevere handing over the ring; on the right the three knights ride out on their quest to find Lancelot, holding the ring in front of them. This is not simply support for the textual evidence of the employment of intermediaries, as it emphasises the boundaries for women; Guinevere remains within the home, admittedly confined by illness, while her male intercessors carry her token to her lover. Gender differences in giving and receiving gifts are brought to life, and a model for the appropriate behaviour consolidated. Even when women were the givers of gifts, ideally they were still passive, constrained to the domestic sphere as their emissaries ventured forth; when they received, they could not seem too eager.

Romantic images, however, number very few, whilst images of 'diplomatic giving' dominate the manuscripts. I define these as gifts between two lords of high status, though of course subtler differences in status between each person can be distinguished. According to Marcel Mauss such diplomatic gift-giving is an inherent part of human society, in which feasting has a role to play, and his ideas have influenced much of the thinking about medieval

[85] MS Douce 199, fol. 44v, (Fig. 39); for the gift in romance, see Harwood, 'Chaucer and the Gift', pp. 26-46.

gift-giving.[86] Acts of pious or religious giving to churches or monasteries have substantially been the focus of the historiography influenced by Mauss, and this sort of donation is present visually in depictions of patrons holding model buildings, as in donation pages, generating social honour and establishing local relationships on both sides of the transaction.[87] But in the realm of behavioural ideals, illustrations of this type are not nearly as prominent as of other categories of giving, whilst the courtesy literature is similarly focused on daily activities of secular life, rather than the more occasional gifts to religious institutions.

We know that, beyond a romantic context, gift-giving was important to contemporaries: a wise woman was meant to organise her revenue so that a part was set aside for the giving of gifts to strangers and the deserving.[88] Indeed, Christine de Pizan devotes a whole section to the appropriate extension of largesse via gifts, a vital social lubricator for her shrewd princess and an essential component of a visit by high-ranking guests, almost a means to purchase a favourable household reputation.[89] In particular, C.M. Woolgar argues that 'gifts of food in

86 Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London, 2002), pp. 3-8, 77-8; Jan Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach', in Esther Cohen and Mayke B. de Jong (eds.), *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 123-56; Stephen D. White, 'The Politics of Exchange: Gifts, fiefs, and feudalism', in *ibid.*, pp. 169-88; *cf.* Jenny Stratford, 'Gold and Diplomacy: England and France in the Reign of Richard II', in John Mitchell and Matthew Moran (eds.), *Harlaxton Medieval Studies VIII: England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale – Proceedings of the 1996 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 2000), pp. 218-37; Dagmar Eichberger, 'The Culture of Gifts: A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective', in *eadem* (ed.), *Women of Distinction – Margaret of York/Margaret of Austria*, (Leuven, 2005), pp. 287-95; Raymond van Uytven, 'Showing off One's Rank in the Middle Ages', in Wim Blockmans and Antheun Janse (eds.), *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 19-34; Pauline Stafford, 'Queens and Treasure in the Early Middle Ages', in Elizabeth M. Tyler (ed.), *Treasure in the Medieval West* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 61-82; Elizabeth M. Tyler, '"When Wings Incarnadine with Gold are Spread": The Vita Æwardi Regis and the Display of Treasure at the Court of Edward the Confessor', in *eadem* (ed.), *Treasure*, pp. 83-107; as a contrast to Mauss, C. M. Woolgar prefers to stress altruism, for which see C. M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of food in late medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History* 37:1 (2011), p. 7.

87 David Postles, 'Small gifts, but big rewards: the symbolism of some gifts to the religious', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), pp. 23-42; Ilana F. Silber, 'Gift-giving in the great traditions: the case of donations to monasteries in the medieval West', *European Journal of Sociology* 36:2 (1995), pp. 209-43.

88 *BTV*, p. 53.

89 *Ibid.*, pp. 54-6; *cf. ibid.*, p. 32; *RR*, l. 3508, p. 100; *DC*, p. 12; Mario Damen, 'Princely entries and gift exchange in the Burgundian Low Countries: a crucial link in late medieval political culture', *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), pp. 233-49, at pp. 236, 242; Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*, p. 158.

late medieval England were used in nuanced and subtle ways to manage and effect social relationships'.[90] In the texts we can see gifts of food as vital to establishing a new household, as in marriage negotiations.[91] Hence Richard Cely sent a gallon of wine and half a gallon of white rumney in order to smooth the way during a marriage negotiation, which could be seen almost as a diplomatic overture.[92] Food also played a significant role in greeting dignitaries and establishing and maintaining bonds of lordship.[93] Margaret Wade Lebarge mentions how often during the Hundred Years War the main battlefield was a diplomatic site: both sides exchanged gifts, and when the French king was given King Edward's personal drinking cup, he reciprocated with his own cup, once owned by Louis IX.[94] In the *Golden Legend* too, Saint Germain, a bishop, was welcomed in Ravenna by Queen Placidia, who exchanged gifts over dinner of a silver platter and a wooden dish – interestingly, gifts linked to feasting.[95] In many ways the visit of a high-ranking guest could even be thought a gift in and of itself.[96]

Illuminations approach gift-giving from a somewhat different perspective, and stress, as with images of feasting, not the enhancement of the reputation of those involved by means of lavish display, but the social bonds engendered by the act. Overall, mentions of 'diplomatic' gifts in the texts pale in number compared with the number of illuminations of giving, but the material is dominated by biblical imagery; indeed, only the image of gifts between lovers is drawn from a non-religious manuscript. Of these biblical images, variations on the Adoration of the Magi are by far the most common.[97] It is a very stable image, by which I mean that its positioning, personages, and even attributes do not change across the period, even as artistic

90 For a good treatment of food as a gift, see Woolgar, 'Gifts of food', p. 17.
91 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-7.
92 *Cely*, no. 165, pp. 150-52.
93 Woolgar, 'Gifts of food', pp. 12-4, 18.
94 Labarge, *Medieval Travellers*, pp. 46-8.
95 *GL.2*, p. 29; *LA*, p. 451.
96 Damen, 'Princely entries', p. 236.
97 *GL.1*, pp. 82-3; *LA*, pp. 92-3; *Schiller.1*, pp. 100-114.

style evolved. In an English Psalter dated c. 1321-41, probably clerically owned judging by the obits in the calendar, the bottom left-hand frame of a set of four images forming a full-page miniature, all the standard elements are in place: the Christ Child rests on the Virgin's lap as the three kings gather in front, their hands raised to proffer their gifts, with the eldest of the three (as indicated by his beard) kneeling at the fore of the illustration *(Fig. 40)*.[98] Another image from a French Book of Hours, and this time in the possession of lay owners, the married couple featured twice in their own manuscript, shows that across the Channel things were no different, for the essentials are unchanged, even down to the beard of the kneeling magi, despite a softer style moving away from the Gothic *(Fig. 41)*.[99] Crossing back to England in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the same image is replicated in a very worn History of the Three Kings of Cologne, with the addition of Joseph (his identification is not certain, as the image is degraded) but the central group unchanged *(Fig. 42)*.[100] Indeed, a look back to the thirteenth century underlines the static nature of this image over a long period of time: a medallion image from the beginning of a French Psalter, the gold peeling slightly, is nearly indistinguishable from the others *(Fig. 43)*.[101] This visual stability in respect of the gestures and body language of giving is apparent in the duplication of the image over and over again, even whilst other elements, such as the stable, become more elaborate in response to increasing artistic interest, especially in Flemish-influenced French manuscripts, in depicting greater architectural and domestic detail and employing elements of perspective *(Figs. 44-53)*.[102]

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98 MS Barlow 22, fol. 12v, (Fig. 40); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 99-100.

99 MS Rawl. liturg. f. 27, fol. 72v, (Fig. 41).

100 MS Laud Misc. 658, fol. 1v, (Fig. 42).

101 MS Douce 50, fol. xix r, (Fig. 43).

102 For a fourteenth-century English example, see MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 204r, (Fig. 44); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 157-59; a French example, see MS Douce 48, fol. 211v, (Fig. 45); a Flemish example, see MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 88r, (Fig. 46); for a fifteenth-century English example, see MS Laud Misc. 302, fol. 30v, (Fig. 47); a French example, see MS Add. A. 185, fol. 75r, (Fig. 48); a Flemish example, see MS Buchanan e. 18, fol. 60r, (Fig. 49); for a sixteenth-century French example, see MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fol. 41v, (Fig. 50); a Flemish example, see MS Douce 20, fol. 80v, (Fig. 51). Contrast these images with the change between Nativity images from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, an example of how

The second 'diplomatic' type is the Queen of Sheba presenting gifts.[103] This is truly a diplomatic envoy: the gift was a 'symbolic communication' and can be seen as marking and cementing a relationship, acknowledging the status of the receiver and indicating the wealth of the giver.[104] One Flemish miniature from an early sixteenth-century Book of Hours, set within an elaborate historiated border, mirrors illustrations of the Adoration. The Queen takes the position of the bearded king, bending her knees whilst at the same time offering up a gift of gold to Solomon *(Fig. 54)*.[105] This case is thought-provoking, as in the historiated border itself a woman presents two irises upon a salver to a man standing at the top of some steps.[106] Her pose reflects that of the queen in the miniature: bended knee, the gift raised upwards, the receiver in a position of height indicating status and power, all reinforcing the decorum of gift-giving and its importance. Even in an early fourteenth-century French miniature from a regularly annotated *Bible historiale* where the Queen of Sheba is fully standing, she is still substantially smaller than Solomon *(Fig. 55)*.[107] There are no parallels, interestingly, in images of King Arthur and his court from romance manuscripts, a set of images in which one might expect diplomacy at work. Nevertheless, the same ritual of 'diplomatic gift-giving' is endlessly repeated across different scenes, its static quality obvious, its appeal to viewers ceaselessly reinforced. Could not the ring sent 'for my dowter and ȝowrs to be weddyd þer with' also be considered a diplomatic move on a personal scale, to cement good relations between two families?[108]

central biblical images could change over time; see MS Laud Lat. 84, fol. 15v, (Fig. 52); and MS Douce 219, fol. 133r, (Fig. 53).

103 *Schiller.1*, pp. 109-110; I Kings 10:1-10.

104 Damen, 'Princely entries', at p. 234.

105 MS Douce 112, fol. 68r, (Fig. 54).

106 *Ibid.*, (Fig. 54).

107 MS Douce 211, fol. 188v, (Fig. 55).

108 *Stonor.1*, no. 110, pp. 112-4.

These images raise two questions. First, are they stable because they resonate strongly with what I have termed 'diplomatic giving', or indeed with the custom of gifts given by godparents, such that no one aspect needs to be emphasised or changed? Or else because they are so tied to their roots in the Bible that they are preserved in aspic, having very little to do with contemporary life?[109] Although the body language, positioning, and gestures of these images are remarkably consistent, and were almost certainly based standard pattern book examples, the continuing popularity of images of the Adoration, and small but up-to-date contemporary details such as changing dress (despite the overall biblical inspiration), suggest current investment in the ritual as depicted. The Adoration of the Magi was the giving of gifts from earthly kings to their heavenly king, an envoy rendering honour as well as aiming to cultivate good relations. In this sense it is no different from any exchange between kings. Even though these images are relatively static, they correspond in almost all ways with the evidence drawn out of the texts – indeed, the historiography suggests that in the rarefied atmosphere of international royal courts the essentials changed very little across five hundred years, so the biblical images seem less divorced from reality than they initially appear. Inclusion of contemporary dress implies a static ritual retaining pertinent meaning, but it is also indicative of how even images that had a certain stability both influenced and were influenced by their noble consumers, striking a chord with contemporary practice.

COMPANIONS

Having considered the two main ways in which social status and social roles outside of the married couple were extended and solidified, who exactly did the married couple mix with? A constant theme of the courtesy literature was that companionship was an advantage as well as a duty, so vital that it was likened to a body made up of different parts, ideally with

[109] Rob Lutton, 'Godparenthood, Kinship, and Piety in Tenterden, England, 1449-1536', in Isabel Davis, Miriam Müller, and Sarah Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle* Ages (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 217-34.

the limbs all working together to assist the heart, feeling no envy for the roles of the other parts.[110] Both friends and neighbours were important; it was important not to quarrel with the latter.[111] This theme has been picked up by historians, and Philippa Maddern, amongst others, has pointed out how intertwined neighbours, friends, and kin were in the associative networks of any family.[112] Indeed, in a saintly example, Luke the Evangelist was praised because 'his relations with his neighbour were in good order': according to his life in the *Golden Legend*, 'we owe our neighbour three debts, namely, we owe him what we can do for him, what we know, and what we wish for him; and these three lead to a fourth, namely, what we do for him'.[113] His living 'sociably' is part of why his life is in 'perfect order', and so a perfect model for the noble reader.[114] John Paston III similarly waxes lyrical on friendship – to him a good friend was even better than a wife.[115] Peter Idley, a neighbour to the Stonors and contemporary of the Pastons, bridges the gap between courtesy literature and letters nicely, stressing the importance of neighbours as he writes about choosing one's company carefully, avoiding strife, and valuing friends as 'more precious þan siluer or golde'.[116] He 'who hath loue of neighbours is suerly walled', for this protects against enemies, pertinent advice in the litigious and demonstrably dangerous world of the gentry.[117]

The *Ménagier* therefore goes to the trouble of instructing his wife in games and amusements which would enable her to cultivate companions, for gaining friends was so fundamental that he links it directly to increasing the prosperity of the household, preserving

110 *AP*, l. 21, p. 85; *WSD*, pp. 86-7; *GWWP*, l. 50, p. 174; *Facetus*, p. 54; *GWG*, p. 80-81; *DC*, pp. 9, 21.
111 *RR*, ll. 1250-51, p. 37; *GWG*, p. 80-81.
112 Maddern 'Friends', pp. 110-112.
113 *GL.2*, p. 249; *LA*, p. 694.
114 *GL.2*, p. 250; *LA*, p. 695.
115 *Paston.1*, no. 351, pp. 571-3; *FJM*, p. 98.
116 *PIS*, v; for choosing company, see ll. 155-180, pp. 83-4; for strife, see ll. 183-96, p. 84; for friends, see ll. 211-24, p. 84, esp. l. 214.
117 *Ibid.*, ll. 876-99, pp. 95-6, esp. l. 881, p. 95.

possessions, and softening the burdens of old age.[118] Compliance, humility, food, indeed anything that would gain the love of your neighbour was recommended.[119] The story of Ruth, a descendent of King David, was used as an exemplar of how, out of love for her husband, she loved and honoured her husband's friends, as a result being helped by them when she was widowed.[120] The good wife should 'love not only the relatives of her husband, but also all those whom she knows that he loves'.[121] The husband, after all, would bring home guests whom she must suitably welcome.[122]

How this friendship might have operated, to what ends, and indeed how 'the language of friendship' was actively employed are all areas which historians have treated at length. Christine Carpenter propounds that 'social and political relationships were inseparable' in this period, arguing that friendships were vital to a family's wellbeing and using the gentry letters to unpick social connections, where friendship and kinship often overlap in the pursuit of business and other worldly interests.[123] To touch upon just a few examples, the Armburgh family was especially adept at using female ties of friendship to secure financial and legal advantages.[124] Societal ties could also be drawn upon to provide physical support, and in the letters there are several instances of men being called to take part in processions, filling out numbers, boosting the reputation of the lord they served, in a manner similar to the emperor's procession along the base of a folio from the aforementioned early sixteenth-century Flemish Book of Hours *(Figs. 56 and 57)*.[125] Indeed, Clement Paston writes to John Paston I to tell

118 *GWG*, p. 50.
119 *DC*, p. 13; *BKLL*, p. 14; *HGWD*, p. 40; *Facetus*, p. 47.
120 *BKLL*, p. 119; for friendship as a protector in lieu of a husband, see Katherine L. French, 'Loving Friends: Surviving Widowhood in Late Medieval Westminster', *Gender and History* 22:1 (2010), pp. 21-37.
121 *BTV*, p. 40.
122 *Ibid*., p. 131; the bad wife is reluctant to do this in *FJM*, pp. 80-81, 84-5.
123 Carpenter, *Locality*, pp. 281, 285; *eadem*, 'Stonor', pp. 175-200.
124 *Armburgh*, pp. 92-3, 103-4, 114-6, 130-31, 145-6; *cf. Paston.1*, no. 138, pp. 239-40.
125 MS Douce 112, fol. 141r, (Fig. 56); *cf.* MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 172r, (Fig. 57); *GL.2*, p. 99; *LA*, p. 529; for the importance of retinues, see MacFarlane, *Nobility*, p. 113.

him that the wife of their mutual acquaintance Howard has been boasting of his fellowship with the king.[126]

When bonds of friendship are broken the importance of these ties is even more clearly seen – the consequences for the success and security of the whole household were potentially catastrophic. John Paston II realised that the best way of securing the estate of Caister was by the favour of friends.[127] As such the discord between John Paston and William Worcester (Sir John Fastolf's secretary) was disastrous: the latter was a necessary ally to the Paston claim to Fastolf's estate with his knowledge of Fastolf's affairs.[128] The breach with William Yelverton was even worse since he was a judge on the King's bench, and could affect John Paston's prospects.[129] Indeed, as a result of this breach rumours spread that Fastolf's will had been forged.[130] Both situations were acknowledged as serious, particularly as the country slid into war.[131] In order to maintain these crucial relationships, therefore, we encounter a particular epistolary 'language of friendship' used to lubricate a relationship and to lay the groundwork for conducting business, as discussed by Philippa Maddern and Yoko Hirata.[132] There are specific references in the correspondence to friends and friendship: in one case, Elizabeth Rothenhale thanks William Paston for all the true and friendly friendships he has shown her, a sentiment echoed by Robert Lord Willoughby to William Paston in a letter about Sir William Oldhalle and his wife; both are examples of scandal-free cross-gender association.[133] Not only did Margaret Paston in 1469 stress the importance of friendship, for she believed it to be a greater good, but in a famous tale in the Paston letters, the importance of maintaining

126 *Paston.1*, no. 117, pp. 200-202.
127 *Ibid.*, no. 243, pp. 405-7.
128 *Ibid.*, no. 88, pp. 160-63; *Paston.2*, no. 604, pp. 203-5; no. 888, pp. 538-40.
129 *Paston.2*, no. 705, pp. 332-5; *Paston.1*, no. 88, pp. 160-63.
130 *Paston.1*, no. 88, pp. 160-63.
131 *Ibid.*, no. 89, pp. 163-4; *Paston.2*, no. 705, pp. 332-5.
132 Yoko Hirata, 'John of Salisbury, Gerard Pucelle and Amicitia', in Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship*, p. 155; Maddern, 'Friends', pp. 104-108; *cf.* Julian Haseldine, 'Introduction', in *idem*, *Friendship*, xviii.
133 *Paston.2*, no. 423, pp. 2-3; no. 424, pp. 3-4.

the friendship of neighbours and their good opinion was deployed (though unsuccessfully in the end) as a tool to pressure Margery Paston not to marry Richard Calle.[134]

As with spouses, however, all these friends, neighbours, and companions had to be held up and measured against an ideal, and this is where images add a layer largely absent from the historiography, contributing details and emphases to the sometimes dry textual accounts. Courtesy literature was obsessed with the notion of 'fit' companions, counterparts suitable by virtue of social level, age, and gender.[135] As applied to male friendship, a list of the signs of bad companions gives a sense of the ideal companion: bad friends were ignorant whilst hating listening and correction, they lied, and they were wanton, envious, quarrelsome, and generally too quick to everything – a good friend logically displayed the opposite virtues.[136] An entire poem is devoted to the dangers of disloyal companions, but the more affective dynamics of male friendship, which Philippa Maddern stresses should not be divorced from its more instrumental aspects, remain underdeveloped.[137] The visual material, with groups of men in dynamic, active, cooperative, even nurturing poses, adds a human dimension to the formality of the text. For example, in a miniature from a large and very worn early fourteenth-century French romance, two pairs of knights fight *(Fig. 58)*.[138] While it initially seems a violent image, despite the damage to the faces of the combatants the mirrored body language and overlapping bodies in each pair suggest cooperation even amidst struggle. In another small miniature from the same manuscript the nurturing qualities of male friendship,

134 *Paston.1*, no. 202, pp. 340-41; no. 203, pp. 341-4; *cf. Paston.2*, no. 588, p. 191; no. 652, pp. 259-60; no. 660, pp. 170-71; no. 711, p. 339; no. 727, pp. 354-6.

135 *RR*, ll. 2892-3, p. 83; the one example against this were serving maids of Saint Elizabeth who were named as beloved friends in *GL.2*, p. 309; *LA*, p. 760.

136 *RR*, ll. 2964-3144, pp. 85-90.

137 *Ibid.*, ll. 1-32, pp. 90-1; *RTS*, l. 6, p. 20; *WSD*, ll. 1-45, pp. 86-7; *Urbanitatis*, p. 15; *DC*, pp. 9, 12, 21, 23; Maddern, 'Friends', pp. 102-4.

138 MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 104v, (Fig. 58).

reminiscent of the body language of the Visitation (to be discussed in the next paragraph), are given more prominence *(Fig. 59)*.[139]

For women, however, friendship in courtesy literature was more fraught. Certainly the pursuit of friendship with women of good character, similar status, and pious disposition and the avoidance of everyone else were encouraged, like the advice offered to men.[140] Yet their friendships were in many ways vetted by men; the reputation of wives had a direct effect upon the reputation of their husbands. Appropriate companions were an indication of inner virtue, and thus a good virgin should love honest company – to protect and enhance one's public status, one had good reason to project an ideal self, hiding what might shame one from one's friends.[141] Notably detailed advice on this subject is offered in *The Good Wife's Guide*: 'good gentlewomen who will keep you company will provide you with sterling examples, as much by their deeds as by their teaching', for one should be 'suitably accompanied according to your estate'.[142] Pragmatic though these words may be, their sterility lacks the warmth of real human friendship, offering instead relationships based upon mutual betterment. In marked contrast, manuscript illuminations of women grouped together feature a tenderness of composition at times positively touching: women are depicted offering each other comfort and support, rather than stern unyielding example-setting. The most famous example of this is the Visitation, which must combines the affective and practical aspects of a companionship into an altogether more humane ideal of friendly behaviour, with all of these examples, apart from the last, drawn from books of hours *(Figs. 60-66)*.[143]

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139 MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 71r, (Fig. 59).

140 *HGWD*, pp. 32-3; *GWWP*, p. 42, ll. 97-108; *GWG*, p. 94; *TGW*, ll. 116-8, p. 106, ll. 225-8, p. 109.

141 *BGM*, p. 96; *DC*, p. 15; *RR*, ll. 3145-56, p. 90.

142 *GWG*, pp. 49, 59.

143 For fourteenth-century examples of the Visitation, see MS Douce 231, fol. 29v, (Fig. 60); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 95-6; MS Douce 39, fol. 45r, (Fig. 61); for fifteenth-century examples, see MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 23v, (Fig. 62); MS Buchanan e. 18, fol. 42r, (Fig. 63); for early sixteenth-century examples, see MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 28r, (Fig. 64); MS Douce 20, fol. 55r, (Fig. 65); for a non-

Philippa Maddern has argued that horizontal relationships, particularly in the form of friendship, call for more attention, and the images suggest that this was indeed an important social tie both amongst the gentry and those higher up.[144] Differences in age, status, even marital status are easily depicted and recognised in images by gesture, positioning within the image, and dress. Yet illustrators deliberately chose to show companions as mirror images of each other: male or female, they could practically be cut-outs of each gender. When we see Philip III, Comte d'Evreux, paying homage to Philippe de Valois in a late fourteenth-century *Grandes Chroniques de France* in relatively good condition, his male retinue is practically indistinguishable; the two men in front have their hands raised in the same way as each other, all the men are the same height and their tight clustering makes individual characteristics even harder to determine *(Fig. 67)*.[145] Their clothes too are in the same long style, because 'by surrounding themselves with elegant companions, lords demonstrated their superiority and competed with their peers'.[146] Contrast this with a miniature from the previously discussed fourteenth-century French Lancelot cycle featuring the eponymous knight being taken prisoner *(Fig. 70)*.[147] In this image, the opposite of friendship, gestures are wild, indecorous, clothes are not matched in colour, there is no mirroring, all the opposites of the conformity of the ideal friendship group. In his discussion of the theories underpinning medieval friendship, James McEvoy has noted that the equality of friends was very significant to ancient theorists, and claimed that later Christian theorists placed far less

biblical image that echoes the Visitation, see MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 4v, (Fig. 66); for background on the depiction of the Visitation, see *Schiller.1*, pp. 55-6.

144 Maddern, 'Friends', p. 100.

145 MS Douce 217, fol. 330r, (Fig. 67); this type of clustering to create conformity is also frequently seen in images of Christ's disciples, for which, see MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 264v, (Fig. 68); MS Douce 313, fol. 42v, (Fig. 69).

146 Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 53.

147 MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 182r, (Fig. 70).

emphasis upon this aspect of the social bond. Not so: the courtesy literature, reinforced by visual evidence, indicates that equality remained an ideal of medieval friendship.[148]

Nor is such companionship restricted to male society. In a delightful miniature of five Amazons from the Flemish *Romance of Alexander* of c. 1338-44, they converse while riding side-saddle, invoking female friendship in all its gossipy liveliness with their hands waving in gesticulation whilst they lean in to hear the juiciest titbits *(Fig. 71)*.[149] The identity of the group is reinforced by consistent fashion and hairstyling, their clustering, their similar body size and type. In addition, the rigid separation between men and women is enforced by the frequent placement of men and women on opposite sides of an image. Comparison with a similar French miniature of Arthur and his knights riding reveals many of the same features as the image of the Amazons, implying that despite the fears in the courtesy literature for the control of specifically female friendship, many of the features of the ideal companion, and the gestures involved in the relationship, were shared across the gender divide *(Fig. 72)*.[150] As such, although Philippa Maddern has suggested that female friendship outside a monastic context has been overlooked, as the concept of friendship was constructed as essentially male, manuscript illuminations neither deny female companionship nor depict it in a unique manner distinct from male-male relationships.[151] Courtesy literature may be suspicious and controlling of female friendship, but these images give it a place, a voice, and a model.

148 McEvoy, 'Theory of Friendship', p. 35.

149 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 98r, (Fig. 71); J. S. Westlake, *The Prose Life of Alexander* (London, 1913), pp. 65-7; for more female examples, see MS Laud Misc. 570, fol. 21v, (P&A.1, no. 695); MS Douce 199, fol. 48v, (P&A.1, no. 592); MS Douce 383, fol. 3r, (P&A.1, no. 367); MS Douce 356, fol. 43v, (P&A.1, no. 714); MS Douce 5, fol. 2r, (P&A.1, no. 296).

150 MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 69v, (Fig. 72).

151 Maddern, 'Friends', pp. 113-5.

Nevertheless, for both men and women it was important that their companions were of the same sex.[152] Thus in the *Golden Legend* an evil king tries to tempt Saint Josaphat by ejecting his attendants and replacing them with women to stir his sexual appetite.[153] Cross-gender friendship was dangerous: despite invocations of friendship between men and women in the letters, it verged onto the disruptive territory of courtship, so much so that Christine de Pizan argued that women who think they can have male friends are deceiving themselves.[154] For an example set in the world of the court, one need look no further than a large and colourful Flemish miniature dated c. 1500, from a Latin Annals of Hainaut made for the son of Nicolas Rolin, Chancellor to Philip the Good of Burgundy, which depicts the court of the Emperor of Constantinople, the men clustered to the left of the throne, the two women to the right, the latter so similar in their outlines that they could be stencilled *(Fig. 73)*.[155] This separation is given greater emphasis in illuminations with a biblical origin. In a common image-type of the Crucifixion, Mary and St. John could not be any more clearly separated than by the vertical dividing line formed by the cross *(Figs. 74-80)*.[156] Yet the Passion is also the ideal vignette of emotional support, a snapshot of high feeling over the common scenario of death and explicitly linked to the pain of betrayal by friends.[157] For this moment of crisis there are versions of the Crucifixion that are not gender separated, and here is where the medieval notion of *spiritualis amicitia* should be given brief mention. One version of the Crucifixion from Norfolk in 1405 is moving in its simplicity, featuring only grey tones that

152 *TGW*, l. 129, p. 107.
153 *GL.2*, p. 365; *LA*, p. 821.
154 *BTV*, pp. 94-6.
155 MS Douce 205, fol. 9r, (Fig. 73).
156 For fourteenth-century examples from England, see MS Gough Liturg. 18, fol. xv verso, (Fig. 74); from France, see MS Canon. Liturg. 251, fol. 1r, (Fig. 75); from Flanders, see MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 71r, (Fig. 76); for fifteenth-century examples from England, see MS Rawl. liturg. d. 1, fol. 108v, (Fig. 77); from France, see MS Add. A. 185, fol. 55v, (Fig. 78); from Flanders, see MS Rawl. liturg. e. 14, fol. 99v, (Fig. 79); one particular Flemish example (MS Gough Liturg. 7, fol. 19r, (Fig. 80)) adds even more emphasis to gender separation by grouping the Virgin with holy female companions; *Schiller.2*, pp. 88-117; Matthew 27:33-50, Mark 15:22-41, Luke 23:33-49, John 19:17-37, Psalm 22:1.
157 *GL.1*, p. 204; *LA*, p. 224.

add to the sombre nature of the subject matter *(Fig. 81)*.[158] Mary stands under the cross, her upper body half collapsing onto her female companion, their heads touching in shared grief, whilst Saint John on the right provides the more active support of reaching out to catch her shoulder to take the weight. The *spiritualis amicitia* was the extension of friendship bonds in a religious context to a relationship between man and woman, which gained increasing traction in the later Middle Ages, but even so these figures still fit very neatly into the gendered aspects of emotion: the woman is contained, her contribution is of a passive, shared nature, whereas the male, whilst comforting Mary, is more active, preventing her collapse.[159]

The exception to the uniformity between oneself and one's companions is when there was a fundamental and unavoidable difference in rank, such as between a king and queen and their companions, or the Virgin Mary and the Apostles. Again mirroring occurs amongst the companions to indicate high and equal rank between them. In a fourteenth-century French representation of the crowning of Lancelot, his newly elevated status is signalled by his much more voluminous robes, shining crown, and throne of office; his elegant court is dressed more simply in comparison, but similarly to indicate an equal rank with each other *(Fig. 84-88)*.[160] As in images of feasting there is no mixing of societal ranks except when a figure has no equal in the scene. In a religious context, the Virgin Mary is depicted with the Apostles in images of the Pentecost, an important miniature frequently found in image cycles of psalters

158 MS Bodl. 758, fol. 1r, (Fig. 81); Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 78-9; for a French example, see MS Douce 144, fol. 111v, (Fig. 82); Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), pp. 106-8; for a Flemish example, see MS Buchanan e. 5, fol. 13v, (Fig. 83).

159 McEvoy, 'Theory of Friendship', p. 35; Brian Patrick McGuire, 'Jean Gerson and the end of Spiritual Friendship: Dilemmas of Conscience', in Haseldine (ed.), *Friendship*, p. 229.

160 MS Douce 199, fol. 99v, (Fig. 84); for a female-dominated example, see MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 97r, (Fig. 85); for a similar effect in representations of earthly kings such as Edward IV and Henry VII, see MS Hatton 10, fol. 290r, (Fig. 86); fol. 336v, (Fig. 87); and for a very good cross-gender example, see MS Douce 336, fol. 97v, (Fig. 88).

and books of hours *(Figs. 89-96)*.[161] One French full-page miniature depicting the Pentecost from a lavish Book of Hours of c. 1440-50, which it has been suggested might have belonged to Henry VII, can provide a model for this type *(Fig. 97)*.[162] The Virgin is centrally positioned, in this case enthroned, obviously in a position of authority with respect to the apostles crowded around her, their heads lower than hers in positioning. The crowding together of the apostles creates a herd-like effect, enforcing an impression of similarity even for those men who are partially obscured. The size, style of clothing, the colours used on the fabrics, even the haloes around the men are uniform in shape and tone, all of it reinforcing the idea of equality between the men. An unusual version of the Pentecost meanwhile hearkens back to the point made earlier about gender and companionship. Taken from a French Book of Hours dated to the end of the fifteenth century, which features (amongst an impressive array of full page miniatures all suffering slightly from peeling due to their extension to the very edge of the page) full page crests illuminated in gold and silver on its first two pages placing ownership at the forefront of the reader, it depicts the Apostles in the usual manner, but also includes a group of holy women *(Fig. 99)*.[163] They are depicted as befits companions of the Virgin: clustered around her rather than mixing with the men, practically indistinguishable in gesture, position, and habit, like the hands clasped in prayer of the woman they emulate.

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161 For fourteenth-century examples from England, see MS Gough Liturg. 8, fol. 71v, (Fig. 89); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 48-9; from France, see MS Rawl. liturg. f. 27, fol. 116v, (Fig. 90); from Flanders, see MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 115r, (Fig. 91); for fifteenth-century examples from England, see MS Laud Misc. 302, fol. 137r, (Fig. 92); from France, see MS Rawl. liturg. e. 18, fol. 34v, (Fig. 93); from Flanders, see MS Canon. Liturg. 92, fol. 97r, (Fig. 94); for early sixteenth-century examples from France, see MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fol. 33v, (Fig. 95); from Flanders, see MS Douce 20, fol. 24v, (Fig. 96).

162 MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 64v, (Fig. 97); only in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries do we occasionally start to see more variation, with less of an emphasis on clustering as a technique. However, reflective body language is still prominent: see MS Douce 256, fol. 36v, (Fig. 98).

163 MS Douce 31, fol. 154r, (Fig. 99).

CONCLUSION

In the later Middle Ages, there was a well-defined concept of friendship governed by ideals; it mattered to contemporaries and applied to both individuals and groups. But this much is well covered in the historiography. What has until now been overlooked is how the dialogue between texts and images (images which judging by marks of ownership and use on theses manuscripts, were well integrated into their mostly lay owners lives) is central to defining the ideal companion, what they might look like, who they might be. Listening to this dialogue in the first place suggests that the horizontal social ties discussed by Christine Carpenter and Philippa Maddern were not only incredibly important, but extended in importance even beyond the realm of the gentry where these historians have concentrated. Unless a person has no equal within an image (for they are the king or queen, the Virgin or Christ), groups of clearly high-born personages are depicted mixing with peers who look and dress like themselves, and even hold their bodies in the same way to emphasise their solidarity and uniformity. Furthermore, this ideal friendship, unless complicated as on occasion by notions of spiritual friendship, was profoundly gender segregated, as much as possible. And yet images, finally, by depicting examples of support and grouping in a very similar manner regardless of gender, do not just bring female friendship unmistakably into focus, but indeed offer a model for it not quite as distinct as we might assume to that which influenced their male counterparts.

If feasting was hierarchical, a performance of status, then less performative interactions were flatter, horizontal, equal. There was of course an outer circle, operating both affectively and instrumentally, beyond the husband and wife. It was a very specific outer circle, with a strict hierarchy, from royalty, or the religious equivalent to royalty, to friends amongst from the high nobility, to retainers drawn from the nobility, including the knights and processional

attendees who boosted and protected reputations and bodies from harm. There was a circle of reciprocation here, of services rendered and favours granted. However, this hierarchy did not reach out uncomplicatedly into the visual world. Instead there was a physical interruption between this higher orbit and the role of the servants living alongside. In the illuminations produced for the wealthiest families in western Europe, servants were such different people that they not only had different occupations, dress, and living conditions, but were either not fit to appear within the same image as their betters, or if they did so were physically separated from the rest of the household they extended and served. Furthermore, this was not just a social deviation. The nobility deliberately positioned themselves as the inheritors of Christ and his disciples, the lower classes as the spiritual inheritors of Judas. In the visual-textual thought world of the later Middle Ages, at least as the nobility perceived it, the household ran on two separate orbits demarcated physically by the table and spiritually by the association through positioning of servants to Judas. And unlike with marriage, where implicit and actual female power, based around the bedroom as the symbolic centre of the household, operated behind a male public face, in the contraction of wider social bonds male power was explicit and dominant. Ideally, in this more public arena, the power of the husband was absolute, pushing both women and all social inferiors to margins of texts and images, whilst stationing the hall as the male centre of the noble medieval household and the world it framed.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Raising of Children

An English depiction of Christ, one hand upon the head of a small child, the other gesturing towards his disciples gathered opposite on the right side of the frame, speaks powerfully to the need to enter heaven in the manner and mind of a child *(Fig. 1)*.[1] Found in an enormous late fourteenth-century Commentary on the Gospels, partially written for James le Palmer, clerk of the Exchequer, and so large it requires a grown man to lift, this image would have had particular impact as one of only a few miniatures in a dense and well-annotated text. The naked child could also represent good works, and while these are both symbolic children, the focus of these images on innocence and purity form part of a strand of medieval theology which laid the groundwork for how real children were viewed as both separate and special *(Fig. 2)*.[2] On the earthly plane, the marital lust which we encountered in Chapter Two led on to pregnancy and birth, and late medieval writers expended a great deal of time and energy thinking about children, with much of the courtesy literature aimed at instilling appropriate decorum in noble (or would-be noble) children through the parent-child relationship. Since Philippe Ariès' controversial *Centuries of Childhood* argued for little parental emotional involvement and the nonexistence of a distinct period of childhood in the Middle Ages, the subject has been a popular area of research.[3] What is lacking from the

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1 MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 344v, (Fig. 1); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 139-40.

2 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 8r (Fig. 2); Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages: Fifth-Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Jody Gladding (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1999), p. 21; Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990), p. 17; William F. MacLehose, *"A Tender Age": Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York, 2008), p. 71.

3 Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (London, 1973) trans. Robert Baldick; Margaret L. King, 'Concepts of Childhood: What We Know and Where We Might Go', *Renaissance Quarterly* 60:2 (2007), pp. 371-407, at p. 374; Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 1-3; Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (London, 2001), pp. 4-10; Colin Heywood, 'Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary - and an Epitaph?', *The Journal of*

debate, however, is a sense of how, at the interface of images and texts, the ideal child and childhood were created, shaped and manipulated, how parents negotiated their duties, and how children learned their responsibilities, and it will be the work of this chapter to fill in this gap in the literature.

LYING-IN

> The bed was large and handsome and hung with exquisite curtains... and the large ornamented hangings, which extended more than a hand span below the bedspread, were of such fine linen of Rheims that they were worth three hundred francs... In this bed lay the woman who had given birth, dressed in crimson silk cloth and propped up on big pillows of the same silk with big pearly buttons, adorned like a young lady. And God knows what money was wasted on amusements, bathing and various social gatherings, according to the customs in Paris for women in childbed.[4]

So wrote Christine de Pizan in 1405 about a merchant's wife who was spending above her station. The introduction of a new baby to the wider household and society was during this 'lying-in' period directly after the delivery. A woman remained lying-in for up to three weeks after birth, initially confined to the bed in which she had given birth for three days to two weeks, visited in candlelight only by women, and later 'upsitting' for a week to ten days when she could get up and receive women as well as male relatives, before leaving the chamber (but not the house) for a further week or so when male visitors were welcome.[5] And so, in a large miniature from a French *Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris* of c. 1470-80, both portable (about the size of a thin paperback) and well-used where the pages were held and turned, we see the birth of the Virgin Mary *(Fig. 3)*, with St. Anne cradling Mary on a grand bed. In another earlier section of a four-part full-page illumination, a later addition of c. 1400 at the

the History of Childhood and Youth 3:3 (2010), pp. 341-65; for a good background to the history of childhood, see Yvonne J. Truscott, 'Chaucer's Children and the Medieval Idea of Childhood', *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 23:1 (1998), pp. 29-34; Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'Medievalists and the Study of Childhood', *Speculum*, 77:2 (2002), pp. 440-60, esp. 440-50.

4 *BTV*, pp. 137-8.

5 Sue Niebrzydowski, 'From Bedroom to Courtroom: Home and the Memory of Childbirth in a Fourteenth-Century Marriage Dispute', *Home Cultures* 6 (2009), p. 129.

start of one of the Bodleian Collection's restricted treasures, a Flemish *Romance of Alexander* dated to 1338-44, which probably originally belonged to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester *(Fig. 4)*, we find that domestic accoutrements were shared by the mythical and the holy, as the mother of Alexander eagerly gazes at her newborn, her body cloaked in blue within an enormous canopied bed, situated within a fully realised chamber with patterned walls, carpet, carved ceiling, and dressed cradle.[6]

Domestic display was of huge importance. Margaret Walker wrote a desperate letter to her step-father requesting a loan, for, due to the financial demands upon her husband and friends, she could not afford 'honest' bedding which would pass muster before those who called upon her.[7] The bed was a symbol of status, the most expensive piece of furniture in the house and often brought to the marriage by the wife, the social site of conception, birth, and death.[8] The higher the headboard, the higher the status of the occupant, and in the second miniature the headboard reaches to the ceiling and extends almost the whole width of the room *(Fig. 4)*.[9] The thick covers which swathed these beds were also governed by rules equivalent to the sumptuary laws governing clothing: hence, although Christine de Pizan

6 MS Douce 237, fol. 7r, (Fig. 3); MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 2v, (Fig. 4); Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, vol. 2 (London, 1996), pp. 68-73; J. S. Westlake (ed.), *The Prose Life of Alexander* (London, 1913), pp. 6-7.

7 *Armburgh*, p. 126-7; for description of the *Ménagier's* likely bedchamber, see Nicole Crossley-Holland, *Living and Dining in Medieval Paris: The Household of the Fourteenth-Century Knight* (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 24-5.

8 Michael Camille, *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator* (London, 1996), p. 88; Martha Howell, 'The Properties of Marriage in Late Medieval Europe: Commercial Wealth and the Creation of Modern Marriage', in Isabel Davis, Miriam Müller, and Sarah Rees Jones (eds.) *Love, Marriage, and Family Ties in the Later Middle* Ages (Turnhout, 2001), p. 47; C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 50, 78; for a general discussion of beds, see Philippe Contamine, 'Peasant Hearth to Papal Palace: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (eds.), *A History of Private Life II: Revelations of the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA, 1988), pp. 489-99; Penelope Eames, *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), pp. 73-93.

9 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 2v, (Fig. 4); Camille, *Master of Death*, pp. 91-2; for canopy size as a status indicator, see Eames, *Furniture*, p. 77; for elaborate cradles as status indicators, see Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 89-90; Orme, *Medieval Children*, p. 62; Eames, *Furniture*, pp. 93-107; for a wonderful example of a baby's cradle see the historiated border in MS Douce 135, fol. 88r, (Fig. 5).

criticised the wealthy merchant's wife who exhibited luxury to the world above her station in life, she nevertheless reveals that the birth of a new child was an opportunity to project family status and wealth.[10] The constant emphasis on the poverty of Christ's birth also stands in contrast to the bed-based nativity of the Virgin from images of the same period, such as an initial from a mid-fifteenth-century English Missal: although far less portable than the French *Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris*, as with Fig. 1 the initial placed within dense text startles the eye into considering the image *(Fig. 6)*. This not only indicates how jarring traditional Nativity scenes must have been to contemporary eyes, but in addition that lavish display was typical, speaking to the importance of domestic space and its accoutrements.[11]

That there was an audience for all this display is reiterated by the same extract from *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*.[12] The two aforementioned miniatures are typical of the relatively restrained, if joyful, audience in similar scenes. In the representation of St. Anne *(Fig. 3)*, her husband and two others stand at the foot of the bed, their raised hands giving the impression of both discussion and thanks for a successful outcome, whilst in the other *(Fig. 4)*, Alexander's mother is attended by her nurse as well as members of court so eager to see

10 *BTV*, pp. 137-8; Woolgar, *Great Household*, pp. 78-9; Howell, 'Properties of Marriage', p. 49; a sumptuous chamber served as a model to others, see Contamine, 'Peasant Hearth', p. 496; Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 19-20.

11 'First Advent', in *Festial.AN*, ll. 177-8, p. 55; George G. Perry, (ed.) 'Mirror of Saint Edmund', in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (London, 1867), ll. 20-35, p. 40; for an English mid-fifteenth-century example of the Virgin's nativity, see MS Laud Misc. 302, fol. 200v, (Fig. 6). To compare this to an English example of Christ's Nativity also from the fifteenth century, see MS Bodl. Rolls 10, membrane 3, (Fig. 7). English examples of Christ's Nativity tend in frequency to occur towards the beginning of the fourteenth century under examination, for example, see MS Laud Misc. 188, fol. 35r, (P&A.3, no. 666); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 171-2; MS Eng. poet. a. 1, fol. 105v, (P&A.3, no. 676); Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 19-24. However, French and Flemish examples frequently occur in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and explore the poverty of Christ's birth in some detail, using architectural detailing in particular to emphasise humble origins. For some French examples, see MS Douce 144, fol. 63r, (Fig. 8), Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), pp. 106-108; *cf.* MS Douce 31, fol. 71r, (P&A.1, no. 779); MS Liturg. 41, fol. 67v, (P&A.1, no. 749); for some Flemish examples, see MS Rawl. liturg. e. 14, fol. 38r, (Fig. 9); *cf.* MS Gough Liturg. 15, fol. 39v, (P&A.1, no. 353); MS Rawl. liturg. f. 34, fol. 45v, (P&A.1, no. 328).

12 *BTV*, pp. 137-8.

the child that they crowd the side of the bed as excited visitors.[13] The texts, however, betray a definite suspicion of the women who came to call, with their presence and support creating a female-dominated space at the heart of the household.[14] It could be an almost dangerously jolly occasion, consuming the husband's goods and distracting the wife from her household duties.[15] Regardless of the gender of the new mother's visitors, the birth of a new baby was an event for the immediate family as much as for the whole community, wishing the family well whilst, in a manner similar to the Adoration of the Magi, acting as a form of recognition and acceptance of the new baby which was a crucial aspect of the later medieval lying-in. A good example of this is the large and finely detailed miniature, illuminated by particularly bright and crisp gold-work and framed by a detailed historiated border, which marks a section start in a notably unmarked, extremely clean French Book of Hours, c. 1450-60, and written for a lady pictured kneeling before the Virgin in fol. 87r *(Fig. 10)*.[16] Less obviously well used than other manuscripts, and more likely an untouched library copy, here the act of ownership rather than use was most important, but the message is consistent: by attending the birth or seeing the baby afterwards community ties were reaffirmed, and by including contemporary material goods in these images of lying-in, even when they involved biblical characters, social status was reaffirmed upon the page.

It was during this lying-in period and afterwards that the father was able to reassert his place in the family unit. Whilst midwives washed the baby, it is not unknown in the images for the father to do so too, though he is never shown actually holding the child. An early

13 MS Douce 237, fol. 7r, (Fig. 3); MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 2v, (Fig. 4).

14 Karen L. Fresco, 'Gendered Household Spaces in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des trois vertus*', in Sarah Rees Jones, Cordelia Beattie and Anna Maslakovic (eds.), *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe, c.850 - c.1550: Managing Power, Wealth, and the Body* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 187-97, esp. 191-7.

15 *FJM*, pp. 101-102.

16 'De ep[ip]hania domini', in *Festial.1*, ll. 1-101, pp. 47-9; *GL.1*. pp. 82-3; *LA*, pp. 92-3; for example, see MS Douce 268, fol 57r, (Fig. 10); *Schiller.1*, pp. 100-114.

fifteenth-century French image of the Nativity, from a Book of Hours written for a member of the La Fresnay d'Aignan family, and appearing fairly used, the paintwork rubbed and faded in places, depicts Joseph reaching for the child as he leans out of his mother's arms, ready to wrap him in the cloth draped across his outstretched arms *(Fig. 11)*.[17] The wooden tub filled with water, reminiscent of baptism, sits beside his kneeling figure; all three are connected by touch to convey the caring family unit and the role of the father alongside the mother.[18] Of course the practicalities of caring for infants are well known, but the particular characterisation in images is designed to emphasise the role of the ideal parent, not to demonstrate how children were actually raised.[19] Illustrations like these were partly based on earlier descriptions of Joseph as a more affective guardian father-figure by Augustine, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), and later expounded more widely in sermons.[20] As the period progressed, the traditional tone of the Holy Kinship began to change, with fathers beginning to take over some of the duties previously discharged by mothers, re-shaping ideas about the roles of men and women in the family and flagging what the church deemed 'appropriate status, behaviour, and honours for fathers'.[21] These types of images are symptomatic of the struggle to define the role of the ideal father in the later Middle Ages. This struggle was not initiated or conducted entirely by the Church, but rather, it was partially

17 *Schiller.1*, pp. 58-76; Luke 2:1-20; Matthew 1:25; MS Rawl. liturg. e. 12, fol. 67r, (Fig. 11).

18 For images of midwives bathing infants, see MS Laud Misc. 93, fol. 144r, (Fig. 12); *cf.* MS Douce 112, fol. 51r, (P&A.1, no. 396); MS Laud Misc. 751, fol. 19v, (P&A.1, no. 357); for Joseph cooking, see MS Canon. Liturg. 75, fol. 62r, (Fig. 13), Meiss, *Boucicaut*, pp. 105-106. These manuscripts tend to be from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century when there was a marked surge in interest in the detailed depiction of household scenes. For an earlier end of the thirteenth century French example, see MS Douce 118, fol. 135r, (Fig. 14); for the artistic development and transmission of this scene, see Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, vol. 1 (London, 1967), p. 18; for the bathing of babies, see Shahar, *Childhood*, p. 41; for bathing as symbolic of baptism, see Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (London, 2007), p. 103.

19 Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 83-8.

20 Rosemary Drage Hale, 'Joseph as Mother: Adaption and appropriation in the Construction of Male Virtue', in John Cami Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering* (London, 1996), pp. 101-116, at p. 103.

21 Pamela Sheingorn, 'Appropriating the Holy Kinship: Gender and Family History', in Carol Neel (ed.), *Medieval Families: Perspectives on Marriage, Household, and Children* (London, 2004), pp. 293, 296; David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (London, 1985), p. 129.

a response to the plagues which ravaged the population of Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and given direction by the rapid growth, fostered by the Church, of brotherhoods dedicated to Joseph, given a major feast on March 19.[22] Yet even this iteration of Joseph was not safe from change. The iconographic motif of Joseph cooking or preparing the child's bath, which appeared around 1350 and circulated until 1450, came to be seen as unmanly and began to be, even as Fig. 11 was painted, gradually replaced in the fifteenth century with a new Joseph similar to the new burgher class, clearly the ideal of fatherhood was far from static.[23]

Thus the fathers of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries were increasingly urged to provide effective care for their wives and children, to love and to protect them, to model themselves on the new Joseph, patron and provider for the Holy Family.[24] Indeed, this ideal image of the sacred father was so promoted that Pamela Sheingorn suggests that it came at the expense of holy mothers.[25] That contemporaries were meant to identify with this more affective permutation of the Holy Family is indicated by the deliberate inclusion by John Mirk of the practical details of childbirth in his Nativity sermon, adapting the backbone of the Gospel text to the social world of his audience.[26] Away from these didactic models, John Paston II teases his brother that now he has a 'wyffe and chylder, and so moche to kare fore thatt ye forgete me', not only indicating the customary affection fathers were meant to have, but also how, on the birth of a child, a husband's attention did in fact turn to the needs of his family.[27] The Holy Household – Joseph, Mary and Child –

22 Hale, 'Joseph as Mother', p. 110.
23 *Ibid*., pp. 106-107.
24 Shahar, *Childhood*, p. 13; David Herlihy, 'The Making of the Medieval Family: Symmetry, Structure, and Sentiment', in Neel (ed.), *Medieval Families*, pp. 205-206.
25 Sheingorn, 'Appropriating', p. 287.
26 Sabine Volk-Birke, *Chaucer and Medieval Preaching: Rhetoric for Listeners in Sermons and Poetry* (Tübingen, 1991), p. 128.
27 *Paston.1*, no. 312, p. 511.

became ‘the paradigm of an idealized family’, ‘an earthly Trinity, in which Joseph’s role paralleled that of God the Father’.[28] Although changing, there was an ideal father, constructed by a range of material, that shaped and was shaped by noble lay interest in his place and role.

Even feeding, the most fundamental aspect of childcare, is suffused with idealism. It is a running theme in the lives of the saints, a mysterious ability to bring forth and sustain new life apart which set women apart.[29] Despite such symbolism, promoted from all sides by sermons and illustrations, wet-nursing was common amongst the nobility and not necessarily frowned upon by wider society.[30] Actual nursing has been a controversial topic amongst historians, with disagreement as to whether or not it was a sign of, or a limit upon, maternal affection, especially in a time of high infant mortality.[31] Yet nursing was the ‘one crucial role of maternal construction’ that could be shown, and images of idealised nursing were popular; they represented the tender mother-son relationship, the transfer of virtues from one to the other and so the beginning of Christian instruction.[32] In one image of c. 1500, the last miniature in a delicate and occasionally smudged but otherwise undamaged and finely painted French Book of Hours, set within an elaborate floral decorated border populated by fantastic creatures and marking the *Fifteen Joys of the Virgin*, the young female patron, differentiated from the Virgin by her contemporary clothes (though not by any identifying heraldry either on this page or anywhere else in the manuscript), prays in the background

28 Hale, ‘Joseph as Mother’, pp. 111, 113.
29 *GL.2*, p. 98; *LA*, p. 528; *GL.1*, p. 378; *LA*, p. 411.
30 Frances and Joseph Gies, *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages* (London, 1987), p. 200; Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 53-76; William F. MacLehose, ‘Nurturing Danger: High Medieval Medicine and the Problem(s) of the Child’, in Parsons and Wheeler (eds.), *Medieval Mothering*, pp. 3-24.
31 Stephen Wilson, ‘The myth of motherhood a myth: the historical view of European child-rearing’, *Social History* 9:2 (1984), pp. 195-6; Ann Haskell, ‘The Paston Women on Marriage in Fifteenth-Century England’, *Viator* 4 (1973), p. 469.
32 Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 93; Tania Colwell, ‘Mèlusine: Ideal Mother or Inimitable Monster?’, in Davis, Müller, and Rees Jones (eds.), *Love, Marriage, and Family*, pp. 185-90.

while Mary nurses the infant Christ *(Fig. 15)*.[33] This image is twofold: the donor, similar in size to the young child, is positioned on the same horizontal axis as the Virgin's breast, symbolising being nurtured by the teaching and blessings of Mary just as Christ is nourished by her milk. But the inclusion of the patron in a miniature so closely associated with the Virgin as mother, a 'symbolic role in the representation of domesticity', suggests that the ideal of the nurturing mother, regardless of actual behaviour, was valued.[34]

PHYSICAL PROTECTION

However, the ideal parent not only nurtured children, but also protected them, even from physical harm. The historiography of childhood has widely explored the harm that could befall children, mostly by listing the various tragedies which could occur during this stage of life.[35] Some researchers, particularly more recently, have begun to consider the fallout from death and injury in childhood – how grief operated in reaction and how texts and stories circulating during the Middle Ages which focused on violence against children helped to fashion communal identities.[36] Yet despite images of violence being both prominent and frequent, whether drawn from Classical tales, romances, or biblical stories, their role in negotiating this aspect of raising children has often been overlooked.

We see different types of physical harm in two miniatures, one from c. 1456 and the other dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The earlier *(Fig. 19)*, from a French *Miracles de Notre Dame* originally created for Philip the Good of Burgundy, indicates the

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33 MS Rawl. liturg. f. 25, fol. 112r, (Fig. 15); *cf.* MS Rawl. liturg. f. 33, fol. 174v, (Fig. 16). For an earlier fourteenth-century French example, see MS Rawl. liturg. f. 27, fol. 132r, (Fig. 17). For an example of a Virgo Lactans image without a donor present, see MS Rawl. liturg. f. 20, fol. 125r, (Fig. 18).

34 Felicity Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text', *Speculum*, 71.1 (1996), p. 76; Shahar, *Childhood*, p. 13; Veronica Sekules, *Medieval Art* (Oxford, 2001), p. 109.

35 Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 95-128; Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 121-49.

36 For grief, see Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 149-55; Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (London, 1997), pp. 153-8; MacLehose, *Tender Age*, pp. 131-46; for communal identity, see *ibid.*, p. 126.

accidental harm that could befall a child: in the grisaille miniature a young child lies propped up on the ground, recounting to his concerned mother and the group of adults around him how he was saved from drowning by the intervention of the Virgin.[37] The concern of the adults is represented through their hands, clasped as if in prayer, and the mother's overriding worry by her body language, bent over the figure of her son, with her hand on his waist and her gaze trained on him. The sixteenth-century miniature, drawn from a lavish book of private prayers and devotions, which was not only made for, and from its condition, used by members of the de Scepeaux family, but covered in marks of ownership from initials, portraits, and arms *(Fig. 20)*, addresses the malicious harm that could befall children: a popular subject of miniatures, the three boys pickled in a tub by a wicked butcher and later saved by Saint Nicholas.[38]

These explicit depictions of the terrible fates which could befall young children suggests not just what could happen, already well explored in the historiography, but further that mediating on these potentialities mattered. They are the background to the exhortations to protect children found in both sermons and letter collections, both making it clear that abdicating this responsibility was a contravention of the norms of the parental-child relationship, and that the death of a child was the supreme sacrifice. This is violently expressed in both Christian and non-Christian images, and it should be borne in mind that the New Testament is based on the sacrifice of the Son of God in order to save mankind.[39] The story of Saint Barbara, the martyr killed by her pagan father, was one popular image, and in a cutting from a Flemish Book of Hours from the third quarter of the fifteenth century *(Fig. 21)*

37 MS Douce 374, fol. 87v, (Fig. 19).
38 MS Douce 264, fol. 18v, (Fig. 20); *cf.* Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 126-39; Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 95-100.
39 'In Die Natiuitatis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi', in *Festial.AN*, ll. 20-23, p. 80.

the violent breaking of the father-daughter bond is made clear.[40] Whilst she kneels, calmly praying, at her father's feet, he draws back her hair with his left hand, right hand raised above his head clutching the scimitar that will behead her. The colour contrast between her red dress and his deep blue robe indicates the break in the familial relationship, a use of colour that will become more significant over the course of this chapter.

In Fig. 23, a *Roman de la Rose* text, dated c. 1400 and originating from Paris, a heavy bound book scattered with relatively small grey ink miniatures enlivened with pale washes of colour, the contravention of the parental duty of physical protection takes a Classical form in the image of Medea strangling her children.[41] The violence of the picture is evident in the splayed limbs of the two children, their extreme youth in the baby-like proportions of their bodies and comparatively large heads. This is in direct contrast to the controlled body language and gestures that dominate so many of the illuminated manuscripts which I have discussed. In the *Golden Legend*, the violation of the parental duty to protect is given further weight by its association to heathens and divine and terrible punishment. In one story a mother lays a terrible curse on her children, in another Herod kills his sons, whilst in a third a woman even kills and eats her own infant.[42] Horror over the death of children is evident in the powerful images of Abraham about to slay his son, acknowledged as the ultimate test of faith because it was the ultimate sacrifice, and seen here in a regularly annotated Parisian

40 MS Douce 381, fol. 85r, (Fig. 21); *cf.* MS Douce 223, fol. 20v, (Fig. 22) the border of which is decorated with daisies, a signifier of virginity but also associated with 'strong' women, and the white rose, a symbol of faith. Flowers were often used in symbolic fashion, particularly in Flemish borders, in a way which related to the larger image they surrounded, see Celia Fisher, *The Medieval Flower Book* (London, 2007), pp. 47, 106-7. Both of these images also emphasise the pagan nature of her father; the violence of his actions in contrast to her controlled limbs, his outlandish dress as well as colour difference, and in the second image, the blackness of his skin.

41 MS Douce 371, fol. 87v, (Fig. 23); Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford, 2008), p. 204.

42 *GL.1*, pp. 49, 58, 276, 322, 255; *LA*, pp. 54-5, 65, 302, 350, 278.

Bible historiale, dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century *(Fig. 24)*.[43] William MacLehose has argued in his work on children in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that this contrast between innocent child and harmful parent was in part repeated to define a 'proper, and pious concept of child rearing', and it is obvious from the proliferation of such images in the later Middle Ages that this remained true.[44] In a dirty, quite badly damaged, though rich in miniatures, English *Gesta infantiae salvatoris* from c. 1315-1325, abhorrence of the death of children is given full reign in a miniature of the Massacre of the Innocents *(Fig. 25)*, a theme which was widely developed from the first centuries of the Middle Ages and retained its popularity throughout the period, explicitly drawing sympathetic attention to the guiltlessness of the very young.[45] One child is held violently by the hand, his naked body flailing helplessly in an invocation of the Medea image, whilst another is speared on a soldier's upturned sword like a piece of meat, again with limbs splayed wide, drawing on the narration of the story of King Herod in the *Golden Legend*.[46] Of course violence was central to these stories, but this consistent focus on it, the similarity of depiction and the concentration on the relationship between parent and child in relation to harm, demonstrates a distinct medieval interest in child-centred stories to underline the innocence of children and indeed to probe the extremes of parental behaviour.

Images were also meant to inspire and model emotional responses. A more expressive invocation of the effect of a dead child comes from the aforementioned *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, in another grisaille miniature from the same manuscript *(Fig. 26)*. Here a mother prays in an abbey for her dead child to be brought back to life. Her quiet demeanour, indicated by

43 MS Douce 211, fol. 24v, (Fig. 24); for a later English example dated c. 1461, see MS Digby 227, fol. 114r, (P&A.3, no. 1065); Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 279-81.

44 MacLehose, *Tender Age*, p. 212.

45 MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 4r, (Fig. 25); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 62-3; *cf.* MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 95v, (P&A.1, no. 299); *Schiller.1*, pp. 114-7; Matthew 2:16-18; Alexandre-Bidon, *Children*, p. 22.

46 *GL.1*, p. 58; *LA*, p. 65.

her contained gesture of prayer, her head lifted in hope towards the altar in front of her, is made poignant by the contrast between the large flat expanse of the alter top and the tiny, swaddled, still form of her dead infant.[47] The death of a child is a theme widely explored in saints' lives, understandably given that martyrdom was such an important aspect of the creation of a saint, alongside the miracles of resurrection. Behavioural models were not always uniform and physical protection was sometimes turned upside-down, when saints saw the martyring of their children as painful but necessary; many a woman 'put aside all maternal feelings for her own flesh and blood'.[48] However, there are multiple cases of parents driven wild by grief at the death of a child, often converting as a bargaining tool to have the child restored.[49] For example, a man 'stricken with grief' at the death of his son is rewarded for his constancy to Saint Nicholas; Saint Paula sickens due to the 'deaths of those dear to her', particularly of her children; the Virgin 'grieved over his [Christ's] death more than the others'; and one story, of a woman praying to Saint Peter with the body of her fourth miscarried child for his restoration, parallels that of the miniature discussed previously.[50] Interestingly, one piece on circumcision suggests that the reason for the rite being performed on a young child is that 'the parents would grieve more than if the children had died when they were only eight days old'.[51] The sheer horror of these examples, conveyed above all

47 MS Douce 374, fol. 38r, (Fig. 26); this image is evocative of another image, this time of the Presentation of the Child Christ at the Temple and Purification of the Virgin, for example, see MS Douce 72, fol. 38r, (Fig. 27). Whilst the positioning of the mother, child and altar is reminiscent, the painful loneliness of the mother in mourning is especially striking when these images are considered together; concern for the accidental death of children is apparent in *IPP*, ll. 1367-9, p. 42.

48 *BCL*, pp. 224-5, at p. 224; *GL.1*, pp. 88, 97-8, 364-5; *GL.2*, p. 343; *LA*, pp. 98-9, 109, 396, 798-9; Shahar, *Childhood*, p. 11.

49 In one story, a desperate woman even steals an image of the Christ Child from a statue of the Virgin and uses it as a bargaining chip to get her own son returned to her. This not only shows the lengths that some would go to for their children, but the complicated relationship between images and what they represented in the minds of contemporaries, see *GL.2*, p. 155; *LA*, p. 591-2.

50 *GL.1*, pp. 26, 125, 261, 88; *GL.2*, pp. 191, 230; *LA*, pp. 28, 139, 285, 98-9, 631, 673.

51 *GL.1*, p. 76; *LA*, p. 84; for background on high child mortality, see Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 149-55; Hanawalt, 'Medievalists', pp. 450-53.

with gestural variations, points toward what Ariès failed to understand, that parents not only loved their children but were expected to love them.[52]

In this world of awful harm and grievous death, we find images too of parents close to their children, bodily shielding them from harm. The repetition of this risky and altruistic behaviour suggests that it was considered an appropriate and even expected action by good parents. We see them shielding infants from violent harm in counterpoint to the Massacre of the Innocents imagery.[53] So in a large miniature from the French *Gesta infantiae salvatoris* from c. 1470-80 discussed previously *(Fig. 28)*, a woman clutches at the back of an armoured soldier, attempting to prevent him from harming a naked babe in the arms of another woman.[54] All of the images in this manuscript are incredibly detailed large miniatures, and this one makes clear the parental self-sacrifice involved in protecting children, as the black, hard, faceless outline of the aggressor contrasts with the soft vulnerability of the woman, her unprotected skin and billowing yellow dress all soft curves, and her loose hair indicating youth. In another such miniature, full page and introducing the Hours of the Virgin, from a fifteenth-century Book of Hours from Tournai, a somewhat smudged arms indicating ownership, a woman holds a child in her arms *(Fig. 29)*, turning away from the soldiers beside her and the dead children scattered upon the tiled floor.[55] Protection meant removing children from harm's way, and although not a parent Saint Christopher carrying the young Christ Child on his shoulders through water to the hermit waiting on the other side is not dissimilar to the protection of children by parents *(Figs. 30, 31, 32)*. Indeed, it was obviously

52 For a discussion of maternal love, see Wilson, 'Myth of motherhood', pp. 181-98.
53 'De festo innocencium et martirum', in *Festial.1*, ll. 1-106, pp. 35-8.
54 MS Douce 237, fol. 30r, (Fig. 28).
55 MS Rawl. liturg. e. 26, fol. 57v, (Fig. 29); *cf.* MS Canon. Liturg. 43, fol. 220r, (P&A.1, no. 748).

an image that resonated as it was reproduced with little variation across this period.[56] In one final shielding image, we have the beautifully touching full-page miniature of Saint Anne sheltering the young Virgin in her cloak, taken from an English Book of Hours, dated from before 1322 and possibly owned by the son of Henry III, Edmund Crouchback, or more probably his son Thomas, bringing these images fully within the purview of a lay audience *(Fig. 33)*.[57] With the child not even as high as her mother's waist, and her whole body contained within the outline of the outstretched cloak, the vulnerability is made very obvious, and Saint Anne's holy status invited contemplation and emulation of her behaviour.

The Virgin Mary's love for her son was made manifest by her role as an intercessor *(Fig. 19)*, and her Assumption was 'the reward of motherhood, the guerdon for raising your child, the return for nursing him and keeping him warm'.[58] The Cult of Mary as interceding mother gained popularity from the twelfth century onwards and found a parallel with the young medieval wife caught between a much older husband and alienated sons.[59] Margaret Paston acted exactly in the mould that the model of the Virgin as intercessor provided. In 1463, disagreement between John Paston II and his father reached fever pitch.[60] Margaret intervened on behalf of her son, but despite her best efforts the father-son relationship completely broke down.[61] Yet she did not give up: John Paston II requested his father's forgiveness at his mother's prompting, she intervened again, and eventually her son was able

56 Examples of this Saint Christopher motif can be found across the period and across geographical boundaries. For an early fourteenth-century English example, see MS Douce 231, fol. 6r, (Fig. 30); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 95-6; for a French mid-fifteenth-century example, see MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 48v, (Fig. 31); for an early sixteenth-century Flemish example, see MS Douce 112, fol. 153r, (Fig. 32)*; cf. GL.2*, p. 12.

57 MS Douce 231, fol. 3r, (Fig. 33).

58 MS Douce 374, fol. 87v, (Fig. 19); Colwell, 'Mèlusine', p. 184; *GL.2*, p. 89; *LA*, p. 518.

59 Herlihy, 'Making of the Medieval Family', pp. 203-205.

60 *Paston.1*, no. 175, pp. 287-8.

61 *Ibid.*, no. 176, pp. 289-90; no. 72, pp. 126-31.

to return to the family home.[62] The way in which her behaviour conforms to a wifely ideal is thrown more clearly into relief when contrasted with *The fyftene joyes of maryage*, in which the mother deliberately lets the children cry in order to spite her husband, forcing him to intervene in order to prevent her from beating one child.[63]

The notion of parental protection is universal, but the extreme focus on the violence that could befall a child in the visual material goes beyond what might occur, as much of the historiography discusses, to suggest a particular interest in the parental-child relationship as it related to harm. It sheds further light on the anxiety about the fragility of children that has been noted by Nicholas Orme: the frequency and detail of these images, which take the material in the texts so much further, demonstrates that this anxiety was acute, hence their consistency of appearance even in manuscripts of different genres – they may even have been a form of cathartic meditation.[64] The actions of the saints and the model they provide not only suggest that, ideally, parents should protect their children, but also speak to the means and manner of the protective relationship of the ideal parent to the child in a time of great danger.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHILDREN AND ADULTS

The other side to the notion of the ideal parent was of course the ideal child, but what differentiated adults from children? The didactic *Ratis Raving* divided life into seven stages, one of several schematic life divisions circulating in this period; three stages concerned childhood, and each had its own distinct activities and desires, clearly demarcating childhood as a phase of life.[65] There is far less textual information, however, about the ages between

62 *Paston.1*, no. 234, p. 394; no. 178, p. 292; no. 179, pp. 293-5.
63 *FJM*, pp. 49-50.
64 Orme, *Medieval Children*, p. 95.
65 *RR*, ll. 1104-1798, pp. 57-76; Shahar, *Childhood*, p. 22.

infancy and fourteen, and the illuminations can fill out our understanding of them.[66] There is some evidence in the Paston letters that a child was partially distinguished from an adult by dress in terms of little caps for children and the different cloth of their clothes.[67] However, in the images, children are really only distinguished by their size and the plainness of their costume, rather than any specific differentiation in dress styles. In the early fourteenth-century *Bible historiale* discussed earlier *(Fig. 34)*, a one half-page miniature, dominated by a bright red and blue colour scheme, has a seated King Nebuchadnezzar address four Jewish children, their youth indicated by their small stature – standing they only reach the chin of the enthroned king.[68] Similarly, in another red and blue image *(Fig. 35)*, this time a beautiful full-page miniature of Saint Anne and her entire family, taken from a sixteenth-century book of allegorical scenes from the Old Testament which was presented to Charles VIII of France, and judging from its clean condition probably kept in a library, the younger members at the front of the image are sized like miniature adults, with similarly coloured clothes, but their clothes lack the hats and head-coverings, over-cloaks and collars, which enliven and bulk out the dress of the adults.[69] The children essentially wear the basic robes of adults without any additions.

All of this matters because the clothes worn by the aristocracy were a means to display and accentuate gender, status, and wealth, and were subject to the government of decorum. Given the enthusiasm of contemporaries for new styles of dress, conservative decorum faced an uphill battle. Geoffroy de la Tour is representative of an anxiety about the threat that new styles of dress posed to tradition, praying that his daughters 'be not the furst to take new

66 King, 'Concepts', p. 389.
67 *Paston.1*, no. 127, pp. 219-20; no. 130, pp. 226-7.
68 MS Douce 211, fol. 222v, (Fig. 34).
69 MS Rawl. A. 417, fol. 23v, (Fig. 35); for the importance of dress colour - red was a sign of wealth, see Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, p. 105.

shappes and gises of array of women'; betraying parental concern as well as the suggestion that at some point he would not be able to stop them, he devoted four chapters of his courtesy manual to denouncing this sinful vice of vain women.[70] Such cautionary advice was aimed at both men and women, but the latter were considered more susceptible to vanity, an irony given that, in this period, men led the way in adopting new fashions.[71] The complex relationship between fashion, decorum, wealth, and display is captured in *The Good Wife's Guide*, which lays down guidelines concerning 'appropriate' attire, yet in principle has no objection to ownership of luxuries.[72] Possessing illustrated devotional manuscripts was itself a statement of fashion and a demonstration of wealth, introducing an intriguing paradox to the study of dress through this medium.[73] However, the texts only reveal anxieties about the clothing of adults, or at a push young adults, not children. Many of these dictates are based on moral concerns: a fear of sexual looseness, religious impiety, aspiring to a class status not one's own; perhaps children were felt to stand outside these problems. We can see from the visual material that children ideally wore simplified versions of adult dress, and it is unclear at what point this changed, or even if in reality the dress of young children was a concern. In an English Book of Hours dated c. 1370-80, both Mary Bohun and her father are dressed in the contemporary fashions so derided in the courtesy literature *(Fig. 36)*, yet she was twelve

70 *BKLL*, pp. 29-32, 62-9; Christine de Pizan, in *BTV*, p. 132, does likewise.

71 *GWWP*, p. 40, ll. 41-56; *BTV*, p. 31; *CBC*, p. 7, ll. 43-54, p. 49, ll. 484-90; *HGWD*, p. 39; *JRBN*, p. 58; *TGW*, p. 178, ll. 29-36; *PIS*, p. 82, l. 105, pp. 159-60, ll. 36-70, pp. 161-3, ll. 177-266; F. J. Furnivall (ed.), 'Of pridd & waste clothynge of lordis mene, which is A-zens her Astate,' in *idem* (ed.), *Booke of Precedence*, pp. 105-8; Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore, 1926), p. 39.

72 *GWG*, pp. 51, 139; Diane Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, 1983), p. 54.

73 R. L. Krueger, '"Nouvelles Choses": Social Instability and the Problem of Fashion in the Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry, the Ménagier de Paris, and Christine de Pizan's Livre des Trois Vertus,' in K. Ashley and R. L. A. Clark (eds.), *Medieval Conduct* (Minneapolis, 2001), pp. 50-7; Alexandra Walsham, 'Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in Late Medieval and Early Modern England,' in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and The Book: Papers Read at the 2000 Summer Meeting and the 2001 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 123-7.

when she married, and this the reason for the creation of the manuscript in which she is depicted, so she was no longer a young child.[74]

While these may be the norm, there are other examples which differentiate children from adults. One particularly lavish and clean (suggesting it was collected rather than used) Book of Hours from the beginning of the sixteenth century produced in Northern France for the barons of Sennecy is decorated with historiated borders of children playing naked. The children *(Figs. 37, 38)*, like those nude children in the Massacre of the Innocents, seem very young, with their large heads and soft limbs, most likely boys from their rambunctious activities of swimming and hunting and ball games.[75] For younger children, particularly those at play, clothes were not always necessary. Another differentiation comes with young girls, who have a standard type of representation. In three various examples from France, Flanders, and England, a young girl is drawn in the same fashion, with loose, flowing, blonde hair, a fitted but plain dress without extra accoutrements, and a soft rounded face indicating youth *(Figs. 39, 40, 41)*.[76] Whether hair was worn bound or unbound was an indicator of age, morality, and emotional state: thus, the virginity of Mary is in part represented by her long, flowing hair – that of a young, innocent girl – whereas female manuscript patrons from the same period tend to have their hair bound in a fashion appropriate to a married woman *(Fig. 42)*.[77] Images of Saint Anne teaching the Virgin Mary are perfect examples of hair as an indicator of age, for the mother wears her hair bound up in a kerchief or band, whilst the daughter wears hers down, long and loose, as in this particularly fine French example from a

74 MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 181v, (Fig. 36); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 157-59.

75 MS Douce 276, fols. 4r, 8r, (Figs. 37, 38); For other examples see the rest of the manuscript.

76 MS Buchanan e. 8, fol. 7v, (Fig. 39); MS Douce 112, fol. 43v, (Fig. 40); MS Rawl. D. 1220, fol. 4v, (Fig. 41); for background to children's dress, see Gies, *Marriage*, p. 197; Piponnier and Mane, *Dress* , pp. 103-109; for dress in the Cely accounts, see Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English merchant family of the fifteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 332.

77 For example, see MS Rawl. liturg. e. 31, fol. 79av, (Fig. 42); for children's hair, see Piponnier and Mane, *Dress*, p. 104.

c. 1440-50 Book of Hours *(Fig. 43)*.[78] Yet there was more than one possible meaning to hair worn down. Women traditionally did so in mourning, but it could also signal loose morals, as in *The Good Wife's Guide* and depictions of Mary Magdalene.[79]

Where children really differed from adults was in their activities. Jacqueline Murray has argued that saints' lives give us an idea of how the 'perfect' child would behave.[80] True, both Saint Nicholas and Saint Elizabeth were characterised as avoiding the activities of their peers.[81] But even Christ did not fulfil this notion of mature sainthood. One fourteenth-century English miniature *(Fig. 44)* drawn from the apocryphal Childhood of Christ depicts the young Jesus wrestling with a boyhood friend, his limbs spread wide in contrary to the more appropriate contained silhouette, whilst Joseph fields complaints.[82] The apocryphal Child dated back centuries, but the trend of idealising childhood fully emerged in the twelfth century; with the playful child evolving parallel to a high valuation of play, real parents could identify with a Holy Family also coping with a whimsical child, suggesting an increasing interest by readers in the parent-child relationship.[83] This was a popular theme for historiated borders, as the small size of the figures and the many possible visually colourful and interesting poses allowed for a creative filling of space. The previously discussed *Romance of Alexander* from 1338-1344 is decorated with numerous small images of children playing along the bottom of the page: watching puppet shows, playing with animals, jumping through hoops, teasing one another, and enjoying swings *(Fig. 45)*.[84] Two centuries later we see this

78 For example, see MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 51v, (Fig. 43).
79 *GWG*, p. 57; *Schiller.1*, p. 115; *cf. CBC*, l. 460, p. 47.
80 Jacqueline Murray (ed.), *Love, Marriage and Family in the Middle Ages* (Peterborough, Ont., 2001), p. 436.
81 *GL.1*, pp. 21, 379; *LA*, pp. 22, 412; *BTV*, p. 68.
82 MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 12r, (Fig. 44).
83 Mary Dzon, 'Boys will be Boys: The Physiology of Childhood and the Apocryphal Christ Child in the Later Middle Ages', *Viator* 42:1 (2011), pp. 179-226; Herlihy, 'Making of the Medieval Family', p. 204.
84 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 65r, (Fig. 45); for other similar examples from the same manuscript, see *ibid.,* fols. 64v, 78v, 90v, 91r.

type of border again in a currently fragile Book of Hours from France, which shows colourfully dressed children playing Blind Man's Buff, ball games, and even having snowball fights, running in boxed strips along the bottom of the pages *(Fig. 46)*.[85] Indeed we find balls, spinning tops, group games, and messing about in streams in an extract from Jean Froissart's (1337-1410) *L'Espinette amoureuse*.[86] These are complemented by the borders discussed earlier featuring younger naked children playing in the countryside in pastoral scenes *(Figs. 37, 38)*.[87] One particular image is rather moving. Taken from a Flemish Book of Hours, marked with the arms of Louis Quarré, Treasurer of the Golden Fleece, the text of the page sits in a white box laid over the background image. In this are two children, dressed in red and blue, playing with whip tops at the bottom of the page. The base of the page is drawn as the steps of a church, with the architectural details of the wall soaring up the right-hand side of the page, dwarfing the two children and making them seem small and very vulnerable as they play below *(Fig. 47)*.[88] Curiously, in the *Instructions for Parish Priests*, games were expressly forbidden both in the church and in the churchyard.[89] But there is an abiding realism and affection for the actual child in courtesy literature and illuminations, beginning with Christ's childhood.

However, these playful activities can also be seen as a rehearsal for adult life. Nicholas Orme argues that play helped children to satisfy their instinct to copy adults, and often makes use of images to illustrate the types of games that medieval children played.[90] The visual material can go further than that: it not only demonstrates the way in which adult illuminators

85 MS Douce 135, fol. 2r, (Fig. 46); for other similar examples from the same manuscript, see *ibid*., fols. 5v, 6r, 7r, 7v.

86 Murray (ed.), *Love, Marriage and Family*, pp. 453-5; for background to play, see Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 103-104; Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 176-89; Nicholas Orme, 'The Culture of Children in Medieval England', *Past & Present* 148 (1995), pp. 48-88, at pp. 51-8; *cf. GL.2*, p. 307; *LA*, p. 758.

87 MS Douce 276, fols. 4r, 8r, (Figs. 37, 38); for further examples see the rest of this manuscript.

88 MS Douce 311, fol. 98r, (Fig. 47).

89 *IPP*, ll. 336-7, p. 11.

90 Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 164-97, esp. p. 172.

and their audience viewed children, but also had a self-fashioning power of its own. As children got older, particularly as they entered adolescence, play became very similar to adult leisure activities. Younger children can be seen practising catching small animals and birds, which acts as a run-through for the hunting pursuits of their elders *(Figs. 48, 49)*.[91] This is paralleled by a brief mention of children shooting birds and animals with a bow in the *Life of Saint John*.[92] In some images, we even see children practicing with weapons, as in the *Romance of Alexander* mentioned already. Depiction of children practicing adult activities in page borders was not just an interest of the early sixteenth century, although it was a theme that was developed in more detail then, and eventually spread to religious manuscripts, especially late French and Flemish examples. There is one half of a border, again from the 1338-44 Flemish *Romance of Alexander*, running along the bottom of the folio *(Fig. 50)* in which youths practice tilting without horses, whilst in a border from another French Book of Hours *(Fig. 51)* boys are depicted firing guns at a target.[93]

As children got older, the division between adult and childhood activities started to blur. In the illuminated manuscripts, particularly in the *Romance of Alexander*, there are examples of boys helping with hunting by holding the nets, supporting the drums for groups of musicians, and even contributing to work activities by operating the bellows for a blacksmith *(Figs. 52, 53, 54)*.[94] In another mid-fourteenth-century image, this time a grisaille miniature drawn from a French Franciscan Missal *(Fig. 55)*, a boy is depicted girding Saint

91 MS Douce 135, fol. 91r, (Fig. 48); *cf. ibid.*, fol. 92v; MS Douce 276, fol. 97v, (Fig. 49); *cf. ibid.*, fol. 77v.
92 *GL.1*, p. 54; *LA*, p. 61.
93 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 82v, (Fig. 50); MS Douce 276, fol. 12v, (Fig. 51); for increasing interest in depicting play, particularly amongst Flemish illuminators, see Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 166-7; Mark Cruse, 'Pictorial Polyphony: Image, Voice, and Social Life in the Roman d'Alexander (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264)', in *idem*, Joyce Coleman and Kathryn A. Smith (eds.), *The Social Life of Illumination* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 390-97.
94 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fols. 119r, (Fig. 52), 149v, (Fig. 53), 165r, (Fig. 54).

Peter, reaching around his waist to tie his robe as two adults look on.[95] What is interesting is the way in which the border relates to the miniature positioned above it on the page. On one page of the 1338-44 *Romance of Alexander (Fig. 56)*, as children play with a hoop, a boy watches, his pose mimicking the pose of the adult Alexander in the miniature above him, suggesting that the play of children was ideally to prepare for adult life.[96] For Orme, 'playing at war' was encouraged by adults, and when we consider the images not only is this made explicit, but it was not mere copying: these illustrative schemata were explicitly fashioning the ideal child into a defined version of adulthood.[97] Play and growing up seem to have involved copying adult activities in gradual fashion until adulthood was reached.

In the saints' lives, children and adults were meant to follow the same path; where division arose, discord and suffering followed. Nowhere is this clearer than when the child reached adulthood. I have already touched upon the difference in clothing choices and colouring between Saint Barbara and her estranged and eventually murderous father. But what happened when children did grow up, as they were encouraged to do, like their parents, especially the parent of the same gender? In images of fathers and sons, we see sons essentially joining their fathers in public life, the connection emphasised by the mirror-imaging and colour-linking via dress, the son become the father, standing alongside him as a public figure.[98] From the writings of Batholomeus Anglicus, in which the father is the origin of conception, resemblance meant continuity. This had both a religious and lay manifestation in the illuminated manuscripts. In an English historiated initial from the end of thirteenth century, from a Psalter decorated with the portraits and arms of its owners *(Fig. 57)*, Christ is

95 MS Douce 313, fol. 285v, (Fig. 55).
96 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 64v, (Fig. 56).
97 Orme, *Medieval Children*, p. 181; *cf.* Alexandre-Bidon, *Children*, pp. 43-5, 110-11.
98 The writings of Batholomeus Anglicus stressed that the son who resembled his father was most loved, see Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 80.

depicted seated on the right hand of God the Father, a standard image type across this period.[99] In this particular initial, so similar are the two figures in gesture, clothing, and size that an imaginary line could be cut vertically between them, and Christ and God would mirror each other. Even when this strict replication does not occur, the connection between the two figures is made clear. In a large miniature from a French Book of Hours c. 1440 *(Fig. 58)*, Christ is indicated by his shorter brown beard, in contrast to the longer grey beard of God the Father; he holds the cross leaning diagonally across his body, whilst God has his left hand resting on an orb.[100] However, a red robe draped around the waists of the two figures that extends to encircle their legs binds them together and provides a colour link between them.[101] Furthermore, Father and Son have the same mirrored outlines and a shared gaze, all making clear the strong familial link between them. Indeed, in an image of the Coronation of the Virgin from a tiny, slightly worn, sixteenth-century Flemish Book of Hours *(Fig. 60)*, Christ and God are enveloped in crimson robes, and the colour match means that the two figures almost merge into one, the Father and the Son equal and the same.[102]

This finds its expression in the lay world as well. In a large French miniature from a *Miroir historial abrégé* decorated with the arms and motto of the second wife of Charles d'Anjou, c. 1451-1472 *(Fig. 61)*, Hugh Capet, founder of the Capetian dynasty and king of France in the tenth century, is depicted with his son and successor Robert in an architectural framework, facing one another but separated by a column cutting vertically through the

99 MS Douce 366, fol. 147v, (Fig. 57); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 49-51.

100 MS Add. A. 185, fol. 135r, (Fig. 58); for background on depictions of the Trinity see, *Schiller.1*, pp. 6-12.

101 For another miniature of the Trinity which also utilises the same encircling red cloak effect, see MS Liturg. 41, fol. 197v, (Fig. 59).

102 MS Douce 20, fol. 104v, (Fig. 60); for another colour and cloth binding example from the early sixteenth century, see MS Buchanan e. 10, fol. 171v, (P&A.1, no. 798); for another early, c. 1300, this time French, example, see MS Douce 23, fol. 229v, (P&A.1, no. 570).

centre of the image.[103] Interestingly, the view from the windows of the tower in which they are placed seems to be their kingdom, spread below the two men. But whilst father and son may be separated by a dividing line, in every other way they are linked, showing on a large scale the connection between them, the son becoming the father. Both are dressed in identical loose robes with wide sleeves, decorated in royal blue patterned with gold fleur-de-lys and white edges. Both are crowned, and in gesture and outline they mirror one another; the way in which they both hold a thin sceptre is as if one is passing it to the other. In this way the images emphasise the importance of children emulating their parents: that this was how parents were supposed to bring up their children, providing them with good examples.

Patron images of parent-child pairings agree with this importance of role models. For girls, courtesy literature was full of upright women after whom readers were to model their character and behaviour. The structure of *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, for example, is a series of contrasting tales of good and bad women, while *The Good Wife's Guide* provides two female role models.[104] The visual material, moreover, implies that women took such paragons seriously, seeking self-consciously to ally themselves with the Virgin Mary in devotional manuscripts, even as they had themselves represented fashionably. Although patron and Virgin wore different styles of clothing, the bond between them in manuscripts of the fourteenth century – although not of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth – was indicated through colour, and several folios from England and Flanders depict women clad in the same hues as Mary, most often blue over-layered with red *(Figs. 62, 36, 63)*.[105] Boys also had their exemplars, especially in the *Golden Legend*. Julitta, a righteous woman who refused to sacrifice to the gods, was whipped on the orders of the governor. However,

103 MS Bodl. 968, fol. 165v, (Fig. 61).
104 *BKLL*, pp. 4-205; *GWG*, pp. 104-37, 149-76.
105 MS Laud Misc. 188, fol. 1r, (Fig. 62); MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 181v, (Fig. 36); MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 118r, (Fig. 63).

her young son became so distressed that he cried out 'I too am a Christian!' and was killed by being thrown to the floor, a fate his mother praised as he reached heaven before her.[106] Not only does this link back to the tension between religiosity and physical protection; it also demonstrates that parents were ideally meant to provide models for their children, both by setting a good example themselves and, as will be discussed in the following section, by introducing them to examples in the visual and textual record. The only time we see this broken is when parents and children hold different faiths, and so Saint Josaphat declares: 'We certainly should not obey those who are trying to turn us away from God, even if they are mother or father', placing piety at the pinnacle of childhood exemplary behaviour.[107]

Parents were explicitly to be models for their children: 'Gud moþer-child gud we presume,/ Sa scho be kepyt sra Ill custume'.[108] After all, apart from *The Book of the Knight of the Tower*, all of the didactic literature is set up as mother-daughter, father-son relationships, encapsulating an ideal of parent-child teaching which will be explored later as well as the idea that it was the same-sex parent who was to provide the model and the advice.[109] This left little room for gender variation; by following a mother or father, whichever was appropriate, a child was moulded to a very narrow set of gender norms, characterised by parenthood itself – fathers prayed to Saint Nicholas for sons.[110] Furthermore, the encouragement of play and clothing differentiation makes clear that there was indeed 'a medieval culture of children'.[111] The ideal child stood apart from his parents, imbued with innocence and playfulness, yet was a malleable creature ready to be shaped in the image of his progenitors. This placed a great

106 *GL.1*, p. 324; *LA*, p. 352.
107 *GL.2*, p. 363; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 19, 353; *LA*, p. 819; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 439-40, 808-809.
108 *RR*, ll. 253-4, p. 97.
109 *BKLL*, pp. 2, 4; *RR*, ll. 1-4, p. 26; *UM*, ll. 9-11, p. 1; *UM.L*, ll. 9-11, p. 1; some literature for boys may have been used by girls, but the father-son address still featured, see John Gillingham, 'From Civilitas to Civility: Codes of Manners in Medieval and Early Modern England', *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002), p. 272; Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 278-81.
110 *GL.1*, pp. 26-7; *LA*, pp. 28-9.
111 Orme, 'Culture of Children', pp. 86-8.

deal of responsibility upon parents to behave with appropriate decorum, whilst promoting wider social cohesion with the household as its source. Bringing images to this discussion makes clear how important models were to the rearing of children. The ideal child did not simply 'copy' the parent as has been explored, but was intended gradually to become the parent, requiring the parents themselves always to act as suitable models.

TEACHING AND READING

Parental protection, however, was not just a physical affair. It extended much more widely, to encompass both the mind and the soul. The very structure of the courtesy literature makes it apparent that teaching a child was not simply a duty, but in fact the most important duty of all; a well-taught child was a happy child, then able to uphold the reputation of the household, 'For to gowerne well this hous and saue theyselfe frow schond./ For to do as I þe teche I charge the þou fonde'.[112] Despite the clerical origin of many of these poems, they offer some glimpses of ordinary human life. For example, in a manuscript unusually explicit about the childhood of Christ in its illustrations, an English *Gesta infantiae salvatoris* c. 1320-30, we have two images that would resonate with any parent. In the first *(Fig. 64)*, three parents are remonstrating with Joseph over the behaviour of Jesus, their anger obvious from their raised fists as Joseph lifts a palm in a conciliatory gesture.[113] The second *(Fig. 65)*, ten folios later, is almost identical except for the lack of children on the right-hand side: an even larger group of furious parents complain to a weary Joseph on the left, his head resting on his hand in tiredness and defeat.[114] Like the typical child of Peter Idley's poem, Christ appears somewhat wild of nature, but it is through parental correction that a child will grow up well,

112 *BGM*, pp. 102-103; *cf. HGWD*, p. 42; *SLW*, p. 122; *TGW*, ll. 288-93, p. 111; *Urbanitatis*, p. 13; *GWWP*, ll. 3-4, p. 173; *GL.2*, p. 266; *LA*, p. 712.
113 MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 14r, (Fig. 64).
114 *Ibid.*, fol. 24r, (Fig. 65).

bringing respect and thus status to the family.[115] Moreover, although Christ may have rather violently beheaded the schoolteacher who dared birch him *(Fig. 66)*, physical correction as a form of discipline picks up on a theme found frequently in the courtesy literature.[116]

Parents had a responsibility to protect children from spiritual harm, and this is given much more emphasis than secular problems in the source material.[117] Most of the formal religious teaching of children took place at home or school: the second book of *The Book of Courtesy* begins by outlining the prayers a child should learn, and parents were to be condemned if they did not educate their children in the Scriptures.[118] Not only do we see what the ideal child ought to be learning, but we can also appreciate the high expectations for parental behaviour as well. In the letter collections there are several references to 'gode moderhode', and in a letter to Agnes Paston from Elizabeth Poynings (Paston) 'gode moderhode' is constantly referenced as if a state rather than a description, whilst John Paston makes numerous mentions of submitting 'lowlely to yowre good faderhood'.[119] Parents had to educate and 'take good hede what is sayd at sermons & prechyng and of the preste whan he is in the pulpyt, and to bere it awaye, & to doo therafter inasmoche as ye maye, in rehersinge and techyng the same to your childern and seruantes', and were instructed to teach them 'a worde or two of theyr *Pater noster*, *Aue Maria* and *Credo*' like feeding them

115 *PIS*, ll. 1268-76, pp. 179-80; *cf.* 'The tale of the blaspheming boy', ll. 1289-1337, pp. 180-81; 'The tale of Eli and his sons', ll. 1338-484, pp. 181-3; ll. 1490-91, p. 183; *cf. GWG*, p. 49.

116 MS Douce 237, fol. 51v; (Fig. 66); *SLW*, p. 126; for Elizabeth beaten by her mother for disobedience, see *Paston.2*, no. 446, p. 32; *BKLL*, p. 159; *HGWD*, p. 41.

117 *Facetus*, p. 47.

118 Nicholas Orme, 'Children and the Church in Medieval England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994), p. 566; *BC*, pp. 85-6; *RR*, ll. 424-6, p. 102; *BKLL*, p. 4; private devotions were especially important in noble households, see Fiona S. Dunlop, 'Mightier than the sword: Reading, Writing and Noble Masculinity in the Early Sixteenth Century', in Elizabeth L'Estrange and Alison More, (eds.), *Representing Medieval Genders and Sexualities in Europe: Construction, Transformation, and Subversion, 600-1530* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 161-72, at p. 164.

119 *Paston.1*, no. 121, pp. 206-7; no. 231, pp. 390-92; *cf.* no. 232, pp. 392-3; no. 234, p. 394; *cf. Paston.3*, no. 1012, pp. 138-40; no. 1013, pp. 140-42; no. 1014, pp. 142-4.

bread.[120] We have parents introducing their children to the religious world: in one letter of 1442 to William Paston I, Alianor Chambre prays that her children 'may be delyuerid vndure scrypture', and in the will of Agnes Paston she leaves a book of prayers to her daughter.[121] The Duke of Suffolk similarly encourages his son to 'knowe his [God's] holy lawes and commaundementes'.[122] Indeed, the relationship between the Archbishop of Canterbury and King Henry VI is treated in terms of fatherhood, with the Archbishop meant to be filling the role of an earthly yet spiritual father.[123] This is a strong feature in the saints' lives, where religious instruction takes the form of example-setting and dedications of children to the Church. So, for instance, in the story of Saint Basil, a man named Heradius intends to consecrate his only daughter to the Lord, whilst Saint Maurice comforts a woman who 'entrusted her son to the abbot of a monastery', and in another 'Saint Sophia wisely brought up her three daughters in the fear of God', all becoming holy martyrs.[124]

This establishment of an ideal of parental behaviour in both sermons and letters finds form in the illuminations. The introduction of children to religious teaching is made explicit with depictions of parents literally bringing their children to Christ. In one fourteenth-century illuminated initial *(Fig. 67)*, again from James le Palmer's Commentary on the Gospels, the two sons of Zebedee are delivered by their mother, her hands resting on their shoulders, emphasising both their small size and her responsibility for them, to ask if they can sit on the right- and left-hand side of Christ.[125] A popular image, this example from a Flemish/English Book of Hours dated c. 1460 *(Fig. 68)*, seen in initials, borders, and miniatures from England,

120 'Sermon for the Transfiguration of our Lord', in *Festial.NF*, ll, 76-9, p. 8; 'Hamus Caritatis', in *Festial.NF*, ll. 65-6, p. 20.
121 *Paston.2*, no. 426, p. 6; no. 930, pp. 615-8.
122 *Paston.3*, no. 980, pp. 82-3.
123 *Ibid.*, no. 1022, pp. 152-3; the holy Church is similarly referred to as a 'gode modur', see 'Dominica in Septuagesima', in *Festial.1*, ll. 3-4, p. 60.
124 *GL.1*, pp. 109, 185-6; *GL.2*, p. 191; *LA*, pp. 122, 203-204, 631.
125 MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 394v, (Fig. 67).

France, and Flanders, and expanded in detail in the fifteenth century, is of Saint Anne and Saint Joachim presenting the young Virgin at the temple, a metaphor for parents taking their children to church or giving them to monasteries, as was their responsibility.[126] In one historiated border from an early sixteenth-century Flemish Book of Hours, which acts in concert with the central miniature of the Presentation of the infant Christ at the Temple *(Fig. 69)*, the parents of the Virgin are seen waiting anxiously at the bottom of a flight of stairs, with the young girl at the top of the stairs being greeted by the rabbi, her hands clasped in prayer between his outstretched hands as he welcomes her.[127] In the world of the patron, a full-page miniature from the famous Bohun Psalter places this religious parental responsibility in the lay context. One can view the image of Mary Bohun at prayer *(Fig. 36)*, kneeling at the feet of the enthroned Virgin and Child, with her father knelt behind her, his hands on her shoulder in encouragement, as the noble version of the sons of Zebedee being introduced to Christ.[128] In this way, the manner in which parental responsibility for religious instruction resonated beyond the strictly biblical subject matter of many of these illuminations can be charted.

Nevertheless, we must consider the tension in the sources between piety and parental protection against physical harm. Both were clearly important, and from the violence of images of parents turning on their children, the latter was evidently deplorable. However, as we see in some illuminations, and in the saints' lives in particular, if those two imperatives collided, the ideal course of action was to sacrifice the physical wellbeing of a child on the

126 For example, see MS Liturg. 98, fol. 77v, (Fig. 68); *cf.* MS Liturg. 401, fol. 105v, (P&A.1, no. 348); MS Rawl. liturg. g. 3, fol. 84r, (P&A.1, no. 378); MS Canon. Liturg. 91, fol. 12v, (P&A.1, no. 317); MS Buchanan e. 3, fol. 15r, (P&A.1, no. 807); for a similar image but with Christ instead of the Virgin, see MS Douce 237, fol. 35v, (P&A.1, no. 746); 'De concepcione beate Marie', ll. 48-54, p. 18; Michael Clanchy, 'Did Mothers Teach their Children to Read?', in Conrad Leyser and Lesley Smith (eds.), *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400: essays presented to Henrietta Leyser* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 129-53, at p. 144.

127 MS Douce 112, fol. 71r, (Fig. 69).

128 MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 181v, (Fig. 36).

altar of piety, ultimately embodied in Abraham and Isaac. So, for one example out of many, in the story of Saint Felicity, her firm teaching of her sons led to them being 'tortured and put to death while their mother looked on and encouraged them'. The hierarchy of ideal parental action is explicit, though it must be noted that *The Knight of La Tour-Landry* seems to have envisioned his daughters combating pagans with knowledge rather than martyrdom.[129]

Religious teaching cannot, however, be divorced from more general education, such as learning to read, and here the duties of the model parent grow ever more encompassing.[130] What children did or did not learn has been carefully explored by Nicholas Orme, but what is at stake here is the changing ideals of learning: who learned what, at what stage in life, and from whom.[131] Education of both genders was ideal which parents were encouraged to support; indeed, whilst it has been suggested that didactic literature was composed to educate children who were away from home, the parent-child structure makes it clear that parental instruction was the educational paragon.[132] From the age of seven children's education divided along gender lines. Girls were kept in the home, in some cases literally taught at their mother's knee, but boys, as they grew older, left the hearthside to enter school, university or religious institutions.[133] Reading and owning books was extremely important, with the books themselves constituting valuable prestige items, and children of both genders learnt to read

129 *GL.1*, p. 364; *LA*, p. 396; *BKLL*, pp. 117-9.

130 *DC*, p. 10.

131 Nicholas Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy, 1066-1530* (London, 1984); *idem*, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973); *idem*, *Medieval Children*; *idem*, 'Education and Recreation,' in R. Radulescu and A. Truelove (eds.), *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 63-83; Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 209-24.

132 *DC*, pp. 13, 17, 19, 21, 24; *CBC*, p. 33; Ruth Massey Tovell, *Flemish Artists of the Valois Courts* (Toronto, 1950), p. 23; Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 243-4; Rachel Moss, 'Printing in the Medieval Household - The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), pp. 131-2; *PIS*, l. 6, p. 81.

133 Kim. M. Phillips, *Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270-1540* (Manchester, 2003), p. 9; Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 170, 174; for medieval childhood at home, see Orme, *From Childhood*, pp. 1-43.

from an early age, mostly from prayer books.[134] Margaret Plumpton learnt from a psalter aged four, and although many of the books used were religious in nature, publishers like Caxton were pioneers in publishing specifically for children, again implying that children were considered to have different needs and desires to adults.[135] Indeed, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies* was originally composed for twelve-year-old Marguerite of Burgundy.[136] Amy Appleford may suggest that the fourteenth century compared poorly with the 'Golden Age' of women's education in the twelfth century, but female education as an ideal certainly does not conform to this timeline.[137]

Reading was primarily associated with women, and courtesy literature encouraged this aspect of female education, implicitly in the aforementioned instances of mothers teaching their daughters, and explicitly in certain exhortations to girls and women to recognise its importance. The historiography of both courtesy literature and literacy devotes some attention to the reading patterns of later medieval women.[138] Christine de Pizan lays out the case plainly: the ideal 'lady will gladly read instructive books about good manners and behaviour

134 Alison Truelove, 'Literacy', in *GC*, pp. 84-99, esp. p. 88.

135 Orme, *Medieval Children*, p. 245-6; *Plumpton*, no. 8, p. 30; for books read by the Pastons, see Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings* (Manchester, 2000), pp. 62-6, 116-7; for types of books read, see Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 178; Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 263-6, 296-7; Gillian Adams, 'Medieval Children's Literature: Its Possibility and Actuality', *Children's Literature* 26 (1998), 1-24; Orme, 'Children', p. 568; *CBC*, p. 35-7; *PIS*, l.7, p. 81, ll. 22-49, pp. 81-2; *TGW*, ll. 204-12, p. 109; Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, p. 64; esp. pp. 62-77 on girls' education; Riddy, 'Mother Knows Best', p. 69.

136 Tracy Adams, 'Fostering Girls in Early Modern France', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household, 1200-1900* (Basingstoke, 2008), pp. 103-118, at p. 109.

137 Amy Appleford, 'The "Comene Course of Prayers": Julian of Norwich and Later Medieval Death Culture', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 107:2 (2008), p. 191.

138 Sharon Farmer, 'Persuasive Voices: Clerical Images of Medieval Wives', *Speculum*, 61.3 (1986), pp. 517-43; Pamela Sheingorn, '"The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta* 32:1 (1993), pp. 74-8; Susan Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture', *Signs* 7:4 (1982), p. 743; P. W. Fleming, 'The Hautes and their "Circle": Culture and the English Gentry', in D. Williams (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 101; Orme, *From Childhood*, p. 162; *idem*, *English Schools*, pp. 53-4; for female networks of book exchange, see Wanchen Tai, 'Reading in the Household - The Later Medieval English Urban Household', *History Compass* 5:1 (2007), pp. 132-4; Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (London, 2002), p. 77; Coss, *Lady* , p. 174; *BTV*, p. 129.

and sometimes devotion', and the wife of *Le Ménagier de Paris*, even when contemplating God, is directed to keep her 'eyes continuously on [her] book',[139] The very existence of *The Book of the Three Virtues* and *The Good Wife's Guide*, as well as *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry*, all aimed at a female readership, indicates that reading was accepted as an appropriate occupation for a noble lady, else these three manuscripts would not have become as popular as they were. The impression of the importance of female reading garnered from the textual evidence is confirmed by the visual, as several female patrons from across the period are depicted before open books *(Figs. 62, 16)*.[140] On a side note, while female patrons are depicted kneeling before the Virgin, male patrons are only pictured with the Virgin alongside their wives or daughters; alone they envision the wounded Christ *(Figs. 36, 70, 71)*, though this seems to be a feature of manuscript ownership, particularly in this sample from the Bodleian collection since male identification with the Virgin is apparent in other media, such as window glass.[141] This calls for more detailed study, but here I shall confine myself to proposing that the book may have been a more important female motif in this period because reading was not only an indoor activity, but one that was restrained, contained, a world away from the hurly-burly action and danger of the male sphere. The unique depiction of solitary female patrons with the Virgin reinforces this sense of a feminine activity within a feminine space, whereas the portrayal of men alongside their wives and daughters suggests a conscious male overseeing of female piety, bringing women to the Virgin within this context. Lone male patrons, in contrast, are shown directly engaging with a visceral version of Christ rather than the Virgin: perhaps this is intended as a more active and obvious contrast with female patron images and their context of books and reading. The overall importance of learning and

139 *BTV*, pp. 31, 146; *GWG*, p. 59.

140 MS Laud Misc. 188, fol. 1r, (Fig. 62); MS Rawl. liturg. f. 33, fol. 174v, (Fig. 16).

141 MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 181v, (Fig. 36); MS Douce 72, 77r, (Fig. 70); MS Douce 264, fol. 32r, (Fig. 71); Nigel Morgan, 'Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England', in Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1993), pp. 38-9.

reading is underscored by the constant presence of 'the book' in a whole host of medieval pictorial sources, as well as by the fact that many of these images are found in books which could command a high monetary and social value. Reading was an exemplary act for women, reinforced by one manuscript featuring four full-page images of female saints doing so, of which *(Fig. 72)*, drawn from a French Book of Hours, c. 1440-50, is a typical example.[142] Women were especially enthusiastic for books of hours, owning them at a ratio of three to one over men, and using them in teaching, as sites of memory and lineage, and as objects of luxurious display.[143] The open book was also a central motif in Annunciation images, associating the written word to the ultimate female role model *(Figs. 73, 74)*.[144]

Pivotal to any consideration of female reading is the image of the Virgin Mary being taught to read by her mother Saint Anne, which first appears in the thirteenth century. This was motivated in part by the increasing attention paid to the feasts of Saint Anne, and became popular not only in England, where in 1382 Pope Urban VI made Saint Anne's day an obligatory feast day in honour of the marriage of Richard II to Anne of Bohemia, but also in France and Burgundy, where the translation of some her relics during the Crusades made her similarly popular amongst French monarchs, and as such it achieves a significant place in the source material.[145] Books of hours were popular teaching aids, and the images painted on their pages of saints reading taught girls to think of themselves as readers, sanctity justifying

142 MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fols. 52v, (Fig. 72); 53v, 55v, 56v; *cf.* MS Rawl. liturg. f. 31, fol. 147r, (P&A.1, no. 831); MS Douce 219, fol. 41r, (P&A.1, no. 361); MS Rawl. liturg. e. 12, fol. 136v, (P&A.1, no. 648) (in this image the young Saint Margaret is converted by her nurse who is holding a book in the manner of Saint Anne).

143 Kathleen Ashley, 'Creating Family Identity in Books of Hours', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32:1 (2002), pp. 145-65; Andrea Pearson, *Envisioning Gender in Burgundian Devotional Art, 1350-1550: Experience, Authority, Resistance* (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 6-41.

144 For a French example, see MS Canon. Liturg. 43, fol. 24r, (Fig. 73); for a Flemish example, see MS Gough Liturg. 15, fol. 23r, (Fig. 74); Krug, *Reading Families*, p. 72.

145 Clanchy, 'Mothers', pp. 129-53; Orme, *Medieval Children*, pp. 244-5; Wendy Scase, 'St Anne and the Education of the Virgin: Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications', in Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fourteenth Century*, pp. 81-2; Joni M. Hand, *Women, Manuscripts and Identity in Northern Europe, 1350-1550* (Farnham, 2013), p. 192.

practice, whilst patron scenes reinforced and shaped this ideal by incorporating the lay reader.[146] Yet these images go beyond a simply female ideal, and link the performance of good motherhood inextricably to teaching.[147] In earlier images especially, it ties this teaching specifically to the instruction of daughters.[148] Hence, in one example drawn from *The Knight of La Tour-Landry*, the father is considered justified in blaming the mother for letting her youngest daughter have her own way; the mother is responsible for the daughter becoming a bad wife and the cause of the ruination of the marital household.[149] The ramifications of good teaching resonate down the female line, for 'Now have I taught thee, daughter, as my mother did me'.[150] The striking similarities between depictions of Anne and her holy daughter reading only serve to reinforce the lesson of the courtesy material. In each image Anne gazes down at her smaller daughter, the two figures often physically touching; the required books are clearly visible, laid out on the lap of Saint Anne, but, significantly, there is also a great deal of emphasis on the domestic setting, with an interior as the background to each illustration, and gaining in elaboration over time *(Figs. 75, 76)*.[151] Of course, it must be noted that this new realism in the depiction of domestic life may not have been intended on the part of the artist to make the home more important. However, by bringing it to the fore in such detail does have the consequence of making the home, as opposed to any other location, more obvious to the viewer.

146 Krug, *Reading Families*, pp. 71-2.
147 *Ibid.*, p. 73.
148 *GWG*, pp. 50, 86.
149 *BKLL*, pp. 8-9.
150 *HGWD*, p. 41.
151 MS Add. A. 185, fol. 65v, (Fig. 75); MS Buchanan e. 4, fol. 172r, (Fig. 76); Veronica Sekules, 'Women's Piety and Patronage,' in N. Saul (ed.), *Age of Chivalry: Art and Society in Late Medieval England* (London, 1992), p. 130; Orme, *From Childhood*, p. 158; K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn, 'Introduction,' in *eaedem* (eds.), *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (London, 1990), pp. 21-7.

Such images may have been enthusiastically adopted by the female patrons of these manuscripts, but they did not develop in isolation. This motif was promoted by the Dominicans, who sought to provide a religious example for the education of noble girls and women, to equip them in turn for the study of sacred texts and the adoption of the religious life; the appearance of such depictions is also intimately connected to the growth of female literacy.[152] One delicately rendered half-page miniature *(Fig. 77)* from an Anglo-Flemish manuscript dated between 1405 and 1413 and containing portraits of the owner and his wife, shows Saint Anne and the young Virgin holding a book between them, the Virgin's youth emphasised by her loose, light-coloured hair and slim figure in plain but tight-fitting and fashionable pink dress, markedly contrasting with the large figure of her mother, her hair covered with a plain white veil and her body enveloped in a loose, deep blue, Classical-style robe.[153] This image must also have resonated with the patrons of these manuscripts, who exercised some control over their visual scheme, and it highlighted the home as a venue for learning, depicting the educational role of the mother here as the appropriate, even requisite model for noble and would-be noble women.[154]

However, this popular image was not static. A new way of representing Holy Kinship which developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries emphasised the female line and placed Anne, Mary, and Jesus as a Trinity like the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This 'trinity' was sometimes even given form in multigenerational depictions of holy grandmother,

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152 Sekules, 'Women's Piety,' p. 130; Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women', p. 755; Sheingorn, 'Wise Mother', pp. 69-80; Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, pp. 62-73; Sekules, *Medieval Art*, p. 113.

153 MS Lat. liturg. f. 2, fol. 104v, (Fig. 77); Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 89-92; *cf.* for another early fifteenth-century English image, see MS Rawl. liturg. d. 1, fol. 100v, (P&A.3, no. 869); to compare these to later images from early sixteenth-century France, see MS Buchanan e. 8, fol. 144v, (P&A.1, no. 797); MS Laud Misc. 93, fol. 105v, (P&A.1, no. 834); MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fol. 101v, (P&A.1, no. 827).

154 Sheingorn, 'Wise Mother', p. 77; Michael Clanchy, 'Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What do They Signify?' in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and The Book: Papers Read at the 2000 Summer Meeting and the 2001 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 121; for the importance of the noble home as the background to these images, see Orme, *Medieval Children*, p. 245.

mother, and son.[155] Thus, an example from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, from a well-used Book of Hours *(Fig. 78)*, illuminated with Flemish decoration and miniatures, depicts a young Christ Child included in the family lesson, a small cloaked figure holding an orb at the base of Saint Anne's chair, presenting the family group across the generations and showing how young boys could be taught at their mother's knee as well.[156] Indeed, despite schools, much education, particularly of the very young, took place at home.[157] Yet in these images there exists a tension between the prominence of women, and the significance of their teaching role, and the perhaps more valued future role of the male child.[158] This is apparent in a more unusual mother-son grouping: in a large, full-page miniature, the last in a somewhat patched-together late fifteenth-century French Book of Hours, *(Fig. 79)* decorated with beautiful pale washes of colour, Elizabeth, seated in a bower of flowers, teaches her son, the young Saint John the Baptist, dressed even at this early stage in his characteristic rough animal pelt, from a large book open on her lap in the manner of Saint Anne and the young Virgin.[159] Two thoughts come to mind when gazing at this image. Firstly, that, as is apparent from his tiny size in relation to his mother, John the Baptist is clearly very young, implying that mother-son teaching was only appropriate in the early years of a child's life. Secondly, the standing pose of John suggests that, while mothers may have been the providers of education as indicated by Elizabeth's holding of the book, boys and men were dynamic learners, in training to become active teachers themselves. Her pose is contained, still, her hands draped almost limply upon her lap on either side of the book. By contrast, her young son is vital, leaning into the pages, touching them with his hands as he engages with the text

155 Sheingorn, 'Appropriating', pp. 277-9.

156 MS Liturg. 401, fol. 30v, (Fig. 78); *cf.* MS Douce 311, fol. 100r, (P&A.1, no. 362); MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 13, fol. 41v, (P&A.3, no. 1115; P&A.1, no. 221).

157 Anna Dronzek, 'Gendered Theories of Education in Fifteenth-Century Conduct Books,' in Ashley and Clark (eds.), *Medieval Conduct*, p. 136; Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women', 756; Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (London, 1978), pp. 13-80; M. Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), pp. 153-6.

158 Sheingorn, 'Appropriating', p. 284.

159 MS Douce 31, fol. 232r, (Fig. 79).

in a far more active fashion than his mother. Joni Hand has discussed a similar image of the Virgin teaching the Christ Child, but she focuses on the well-explored role of the mother, ignoring the contrast with the active pose of her son.[160] Whereas the historiography of childhood learning has concentrated on what young boys learnt, often based on the evidence of the school texts that survive, here the images tell us not only how boys learnt, but also, through the contrast between the dynamic boy and the still woman, how gendered ways of learning were encouraged from the very start of the educational process.[161]

Thus, although women may have gained some control over education in the later Middle Ages, there is a narrative of active male education hinted at by the body language of the young John the Baptist. Like the ideal married woman of the illuminated page, both mothers and daughters were trapped within the walls of their houses. Almost all images of group teaching show boys and youths at school, something that we never see women partaking in. School features heavily in accounts of the *Childhood of Christ*, and we have examples of him, such as one drawn from a French prose version of c. 1470-1480, amazing his masters. In this version, Christ and his schoolmaster hold a large book of the Law between them, whilst in the background ten masters, standing in pyramid formation, gaze on in awe *(Fig. 80)*.[162] In another large miniature taken from the same manuscript *(Fig. 66)*, we see the disciplinary side of school, with Jesus striking dead the schoolmaster who birched him, the master's body crumpled over a closed book lying the floor, Jesus standing above him, hand outstretched, the birch, consisting of a bunch of tied twigs, abandoned on the floor between the two protagonists.[163] We even have a narrow, horizontal, rectangular miniature in

160 Hand, *Women*, p. 201.
161 Shahar, *Childhood*, pp. 209-24.
162 MS Douce 237, fol. 52v, (Fig. 80); *cf.* MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 12r, (Fig. 44).
163 MS Douce 237, fol. 51v, (Fig. 66); for a discussion of medieval corporate punishment, see Alexandre-Bidon, *Children*, pp. 131-2.

red and blue from an English account of Christ's youth visited previously in this chapter *(Fig. 81)*, in which the young Christ, his right hand raised in instruction, encourages a crowd of contemporaries gathered to the right of the picture to attend school.[164] These images are full of movement, unlike the stillness which is a strong feature of Saint Anne and the Virgin reading, and, like Joseph outside the boundaries of the household, they are situated in a far more public world.

These visual representations of boys at school are not limited to those illustrating the life of the young Christ. One folio from the 1338-44 *Romance of Alexander* is decorated along the bottom of the page with a scene of boys learning together *(Fig. 82)*.[165] Three boys sit upon the floor with open books, whilst another shows his open book to yet another boy acting as master, sitting in a chair placing him above the others. Another historiated border, from an early sixteenth-century Book of Hours from Northern France, depicts a schoolmaster holding a birch aloft, his authority shown by his size, which is twice that of the brightly dressed boys messing about at the foot of the page *(Fig. 83)*.[166] This not only provides colour to the hints of boys being sent to school in the texts, but the disciplinary aspect also corresponds with the metaphorical relationship between man and God: 'Whan þei haue offendyd þe fadire and displesyd hym, suche goode and dredefull childre, perseyvyng þat þei haue done amysse, þei take þe rodde and goo to þe fadire and fal to hys fote, axyng forȝeuenes and submittyng hem to betyng at þe faderys wille.'[167] Mentions of school in the saints' lives are very brief, but all pertain to boys, and so, for example, in a story about Saint Nicholas, a man's son 'was learning his letters at school', whilst Saint Sylvester was educated by a priest named Cyrinus who 'taught his lessons', and Saint Dominic was 'sent to Palentia'

164 MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 24v, (Fig. 81).
165 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 123v, (Fig. 82).
166 MS Douce 276, fol. 10v, (Fig. 83).
167 *Paston.3*, no. 961, pp. 53-6; 'First Sunday', in *Festial.AN*, ll. 126-30, p. 53.

for his studies.[168] As for discipline, in one story Saint Felix 'was a schoolmaster and was exceedingly strict with his pupils', obviously altogether too strict as the same pupils later elected to stab him to death with their styluses.[169]

Beginning in the fourteenth century, numerous new schools were founded, whilst free places were created in existing schools, widening access to Latin teaching in society and spreading the ideals of noble decorum to a broader audience. Courtesy literature, after all, occupied a key place in Latin teaching: as Nicholas Orme has argued, 'the social arts formed the second branch of noble or gentle education'.[170] The male-orientated school environment is reflected in this literature, as for example in the very title of the treatise *Stans puer ad mensam*, often an appendix to other teaching aids, and in the way male teaching is visually represented. Women had little place in this formal education system; rather, as the source material suggests, apart from when children were very young, women and girls had an educational life – not necessarily an insignificant one – based in the home. The educational life of boys and men, meanwhile, took them out of the house and into the schoolroom, as a preparation for life outside of the household.

As children grew older, however, this gendered division became more complex. True, in terms of direct teaching, images and texts agree that mothers taught daughters in the home, sons were sent out into the world to learn from other men, and only the youngest sons were taught at their mothers' knees. Yet the texts also suggest that the role of the ideal mother as

168 *GL.1*, pp. 26, 63; *GL.2*, pp. 40, 45; *LA*, pp. 28, 70, 462, 466.

169 *GL.1*, p. 91.

170 In general, see Orme, *English Schools*, pp. 29-30, 44-80, 105-221; John Nelson Miner, 'Schools and Literacy in Later Medieval England', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 11:1 (1962), pp. 16-27; Jonathon Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet* (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 47-56, 140; Addison Amos, '"For Manners Make Man": Bourdieu, de Certeau, and the Common Appropriation of Noble Manners in the Book of Courtesy,' in *MC*, p. 29; Dronzek, 'Gendered Theories,' p. 138; for the literature used, see Gillingham, 'Civilitas to Civility', pp. 267-89, 271; Orme, *From Childhood*, pp. 81-111; *idem*, 'Culture of Children', pp. 75-86.

teacher evolved to become, especially to their sons, that of educational gatekeeper or guardian.[171] 'The wise lady who loves her children dearly will be diligent about their education. She will ensure that they will learn first of all to serve God, and to read and write, and that the teacher will be careful to make them learn their prayers well': so says Christine de Pizan, and her advice applied to the education of both boys and girls, even at a more advanced age.[172] The mother was not only the first teacher but the ultimate overseer of all education and, as Michael Clanchy reminds us, 'in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, clerical learning intersected with the concerns of actual mothers in preparing their children for life in an increasingly literate society.[173] Margaret Paston was a woman, but she was still the person her son Walter's tutor Alyard wrote to not only to give her news of his welfare, but also to know when she, not her male relatives, wanted Walter to switch from the Faculty of Art to the Faculty of Law.[174] With mothers holding such an important position, essentially the intellectual and spiritual nurturers of the reputation of the next generation and thus the household, it becomes less surprising that the written record contains evidence of financial provision for children which includes financial provision for a daughter's education. The will of Thomas Stonor, written in 1431, specifies that 'his wife is to have for life all lands and tenements acquired in Clyve, Westbere, Chestelet, Hopelond, Stureye, and Horton in Kent, and the Manor of Penyton Meysy with the advowson, for the sustinence and finding in food, clothes and education (in victu, vestitu et doctrina)'; this is supported by another document from a year later which consists of an agreement for the maintenance and education of Isabel, Thomas Stonor's daughter.[175] Indeed, considering the interest of women in their sons' education, mothers had a special and particular role within the family, to oversee continually

171 Phillips, *Medieval Maidens*, p. 74.
172 *BTV*, p. 42; Pizan explicitly intended for this advice to apply to all women, see *ibid.*, p. 127.
173 Clanchy, 'Mothers', p. 153.
174 *Paston.2*, no. 734, pp. 366-7; *cf. ibid.*, no. 650, p. 258; no. 734, pp. 366-7; *Paston.1*, no. 406, p. 649; for a good overview of the Pastons' education, see Richmond, *Endings*, pp. 60-61.
175 *Stonor.1*, no. 54, pp. 47-9; no. 56, pp. 50-51.

the education of children, directly and indirectly, returning them to the narrative of medieval education not only as readers and teachers but also central figures in its promotion.

The texts also suggest a re-evaluation of the domestic ideal of the images, in which girls stayed within the home and boys entered the world never to return. Boys may not have stayed with their mothers, but the household itself remains an ideal location of education in the texts. In the early 1460s, for instance, John Paston II and John Paston III were both sent by their father, as was typical of the gentry, to be brought up after their schooling in London in great households, in their cases in the royal household and the household of the Duke of Norfolk respectfully.[176] Here the ideals of the courtesy literature, set and absorbed within the household, also achieved another purpose, which was to nurture the social connections which would advance the family as a whole. In fact, the very teaching of courtesy was often structured around these sojourns in the houses of others.[177]

Of all the aspects of the medieval lifecycle, nowhere is the explicit use of models and self-fashioning by contemporaries made more plain than in the creation of the ideal parent, in particular the mother. Exemplars were a fundamental component of teaching: 'Therfore spare thow for noo shame/ To aske suche as may be shewedde/ Of wyse men and of noble fame;/ As they teche þe sewe the same'.[178] Furthermore, the use of models became more popular and widespread in didactic literature from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the *Knight of La Tour-Landry*, *Le Ménagier*, Peter Idley, and Christine de Pizan all utilising

176 Richmond, *Endings*, p. 60; *Paston.1*, no. 85, p. 156; Nicholas Orme, 'Education and Recreation', in *GC*, pp. 63-83, at p. 68; for fostering and affection, see Haskell, 'Paston Women', p. 470; for a good overview of children living in other households, see Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 50; nor was living in other households restricted to boys, girls, such as Jane Stonor who was sent to the Duchess of Suffolk's household, could also be sent away, see *Stonor.1*, no. 120, pp. 122-3.

177 Woolgar, *Great Household*, p. 101.

178 *PIS*, ll. 37-40, p. 81.

extended examples as teaching aids. 'When the girl is old enough, the princess will wish her to learn to read. After she knows her religious offices and the Mass, she can be given books of devotion and contemplation or ones dealing with good behaviour'.[179] Pamela Sheingorn argues that Anne of Brittany gave her daughter Claude of France an illustrated prayer book intending that the images would offer her 'models of class and gender appropriate to her station, [as] the book worked to shape her in imitation of its construction of the Virgin Mary'.[180] Her mother was very keen on her children's education, and this use of images is supported by the fact that, even as they all had a set programme of prayers to learn, the illustrative schemata were unique to each child.[181] This was not unusual behaviour: as Christine de Pizan makes explicit, it shaped the next generation, for the wise princess who learnt her prudent behaviour from the Virgin 'will be an example to her daughters to govern themselves similarly'.[182]

CONCLUSION

The sources for raising children in the later Middle Ages contradict the contention of Ariès that, in this period, there was little parental emotional involvement in childhood, and indeed a lack of a distinct period of childhood. However, illuminations of parents and children make it clear that childhood was identifiable and even a source of increasing interest to their audience, not only demonstrated by the proliferation of images of the childhood of Christ and children at play or being taught, but also by their inclusion in manuscripts often marked by ownership and use. Images were a way of conveying status, hence the parallel of the lying-in chambers of the mother of Alexander and Saint Anne that mirrored the noble

179 *BTV*, p. 43.
180 Pamela Sheingorn, 'Subjection and Reception in Claude of France's Book of First Prayers', in Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Ellen M. Shortell (eds.), *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 313-32, at p. 314.
181 *Ibid.*, p. 315.
182 *BTV*, p. 43.

world of the manuscript itself. But they were also dynamic, and could work in concert with the texts of the period to reflect and shape contemporary concerns, hence the changing fatherhood of Joseph. More broadly, the historiography of childhood and violence has focused on what happened to children, and only more recently on parental anxiety, but this has been very much based on textual evidence. The proliferation of images of violence against children, with greater explorations of the Massacre of the Innocents, gives even greater weight to the extent of parental anxiety, and defines children firmly as innocent and vulnerable, not as miniature adults, whose protection against harm was a parental responsibility. As for play, the images are active sources, not only providing guidance on the importance of play and the development of children, but explicitly attempting to shape children into perfect replicas of the ideal parent. Finally, whilst texts tell us a great deal about what children, particularly boys, learnt, the image of Saint Anne teaching the Virgin makes clear where children could learn, at school or at their mother's knee, and how there was a gendered body language to learning. Even from a very young age girls were taught to be still, to learn in quiet fashion, whereas the dynamism of boys that we see in the arena of play also characterised male learning from the outset. These images both contribute to defining motherhood and establishing the role of the book as an aspect of feminine identity.

Yet for all the criticism that Ariès' work merits, his assertion that 'the theme of the Holy Childhood would never cease developing in both scope and variety from the fourteenth century on' is accurate.[183] Aspects of ideal fatherhood and motherhood were explored, tested, and refashioned throughout this period. The ideal birth was unachievable, being the Virgin's, but ideals of status through domesticity and good motherhood, ideals of fatherhood and the wider social world at the bedside, could be attained. The Virgin 'represented the pinnacle of

183 Ariès, *Centuries*, p. 34.

medieval stereotypes of the perfect woman and mother', but the Church generally denied that contemporary mothers could achieve this.[184] Instead, 'the image of the Holy Family may have strengthened the sense that a kin group which lived and worked together formed a strongly cohesive moral unit'.[185] Despite these changes, however, some strands remained the same. Women may have promoted the ideas of mother as teacher, even overseeing the education of their older sons, but their role was still defined by the household. The act of holding a book was far more passive than the dynamic poses of men and boys learning from it – their role was still circumscribed, interior. Gender too was reinforced in mother-daughter and father-son pairings throughout the images and texts; the ideal child may have been occasionally wayward, if essentially benign, innocent, and preoccupied with activities at first separate from those of adults, but he or she was preordained to become a parent too.

Leslie Harris argues that courtesy literature presents how adults saw children, not as children saw themselves.[186] But it would be more accurate and meaningful to say that it contains a set of broadly shared social ideals about children which show concern for both parents and their offspring. Parenthood was a complex time in the life of a family, where parents were surrounded by a whole series of competing models in both the images and texts which informed their lives. The potential death of a child and the effect it could have upon the parent were obvious causes of contemporary concern, given the number of times this theme appears in both illuminations and literature across the period. Nevertheless, parenthood involved a series of duties, which, as in the case of piety and protection, could conflict, but the source material provided a series of exemplars on how parents as well as children were to behave in different situations. Furthermore, there is the suggestion that duties changed over

184 Colwell, 'Mèlusine', pp. 185, 194.
185 Herlihy, 'Making of the Medieval Family', p. 198.
186 A. Leslie Harris, 'Instructional Poetry for Medieval Children', *English Studies* 74:2 (1993), pp. 124-32.

time, for women at least, as the education they received, bestowed, and oversaw became more important as we reach the sixteenth century. Most importantly, there was reciprocity: the baton of duty was eventually passed to the child; the ideal result of parenthood was children who upheld the examples they were taught, honouring their parents in return.

CHAPTER FIVE

The End of Life

As the noble householder turned his attention from the present to the future, what lay beyond in the afterlife, and the point of crossing over, weighed upon his mind:

> Whan it ys soo that what a man maketh or doeth, it is made to come to some ende, and yf the thynge be goode and well made, it muste nedes to come to goode ende, thenne by better & gretter reason, euery man oughte to entende in suche wyse to lyue in this worlde, in kepynge the commaundementes of God that he may come to a goode ende...And therfore hath this present treatyse be made, composed in shorte termes, for to teche euery man wel to deye.[1]

Death, especially in the wake of the Black Death, was a preoccupation of medieval life. Life was a preparation for death and the afterlife, and how one behaved in this world, indeed how one died, had a direct relationship to the fate of the soul in eternity.[2] The actions of the living could also change this fate, as by praying for the deceased one could reduce the time they languished in purgatory. There were myriad ways in which one could die, both in a 'natural' and an 'unnatural' fashion. A natural death was from old age, such as Moses dying at the age of one hundred and twenty (living to a grand old age is a common feature of Old Testament figures) *(Fig. 1)*, or from the constant threat of disease *(Fig. 2)*, or from childbirth with its own continual risks *(Fig. 3)*.[3] An unnatural death was usually from violence, such as murder, with the death of Abel setting the violent pattern for mankind *(Fig. 4)*, or execution *(Fig. 5)*, or fighting *(Fig. 6)*, or else turning against oneself in suicide, an act that is, in the

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1 *ACKWD*, p. 21.

2 Frances and Joseph Gies, *Marriage and the Family in the Middle Ages* (London, 1987), Chapter 11, pp. 223-34.

3 For Moses, see MS Auct. D. 4. 8, fol. 96r, (Fig. 1); Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190-1250* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 123-4; for disease, see MS Digby 232, fol. 3br, (Fig. 2); for death in childbirth, see MS Rawl. D. 939, section 4v, (Fig. 3); *Stonor.2*, no. 168, pp. 9-10; no. 169, pp. 10-11; no. 170, p. 12; *Plumpton*, no. 138, p. 132.

illuminations and in stories such as that of Lucretia *(Fig. 7)*, often (but not always) an act of honour *(Fig. 8)*.[4]

With death ever present, it is important to consider what contemporaries thought of it and everything that surrounded it, and what role ideals played in forming their ideas and influencing their behaviour.[5] More than for any other aspect of the medieval lifecycle, appropriate decorum had far-reaching consequences here. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the Latin treatise the *Ars Moriendi* was composed. It discussed the spiritual issues surrounding death, providing the laity with a practical guide to aid the dying, particularly when the sacraments of the Church were unavailable, and it formed the backbone of a specialised group of didactic texts on the subject. Linking back to the importance of companionship, at the moment of death 'it is most necessary to have a special friend' who could aid one to die well.[6] The practical aspect of this treatise, and its resonance with its audience, is emphasised by its translation into English as the *Book of the Craft of Dying* in the second quarter of the same century; its reach extended still further with William Caxton's edition in 1490.[7] Not only was it a guide to one's last moments, but it treated the importance

4 For Abel, see MS Douce 211, fol. 8r, (Fig. 4); for execution, see MS Douce 131, fol. 32r, (Fig. 5); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, vol 2 (Oxford, 1986), pp. 117-8; for fighting, see MS Bodl. 421, fol. 28r, (Fig. 6); for Lucretia, see MS Douce 371, fol. 57r, (Fig. 7); for the prohibition of suicide, see MS Douce 313, fol. 384r, (Fig. 8); *Plumpton*, no. 142, pp. 134-5; George G. Perry (ed.), 'Mirror of Saint Edmund' in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (London, 1867), ll. 29-35, p. 18; *BCL*, pp. 122, 147-8; *GWG*, p. 71, for precepts against suicide, see *GL.2*, p. 325; *LA*, p. 779-80.

5 For a good general overview of medieval death, see Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London, 1998).

6 *HMS*, p. 93.

7 The best exposition of the relationship between these translations is G. R. Morgan, 'A critical edition of Caxton's *The Art and Craft to Know Well to Die* and *Ars Moriendi*, together with the Antecedent Manuscript Material' (unpublished DPhil thesis: University of Oxford, 1973), esp. pp. 64-8, 103-6; *cf.* Nancy Lee Beaty, *The Craft of Dying, A Study in the Literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England* (London, 1970), Chapter 1, pp. 1-53; for one (albeit unusual) interaction with *Ars Moriendi* texts, see Amy Appleford, 'The "Comene Course of Prayers": Julian of Norwich and Late Medieval Death Culture', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 107: 2 (2008), pp. 190-214; for more usual use, see Andrew Taylor, 'Into his secret chamber: reading and privacy in late medieval England', in James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (eds.), *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 57.

of ideal behaviour throughout one's entire lifespan so that one would be ready whenever death came to call.[8] It was likewise in death that images gained their greatest power over medieval behaviour and even fate. From the thirteenth century, images were being consciously used as 'a means by which salvation might be gained', and their use by the viewer, for example, 'might actively contribute to their passage through Purgatory'.[9] There has been a great deal of research on medieval death in recent years, and this chapter seeks not to re-tread the same ground, but to focus specifically on the interface between the texts and the images and how they worked to create ideals, enforce correct action, and dissuade their audience from inappropriate behaviour by considering select aspects of medieval death: the deathbed, the moment of death itself, practicalities, ceremony, mourning, and memory.

THE DEATHBED

The deathbed lay at the heart of a 'good' or ideal medieval death, particularly for the lay elite, and its significance is indicated by the large number of images relating to death that use the deathbed as a central motif.[10] It was the lifecycle come full circle, from the bed of lying-in discussed in the previous chapter to the bed of death. Many of the social and spiritual aspects of childbirth held sway at the point of death, and indeed, given that death could so easily occur during childbirth, this is perhaps unsurprising.[11] But it also positioned the final stage of life, like its initial stage, securely within the confines of the household.

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8 *CKDW*, p. 3; *ACKWD*, p. 22; Daniell, *Death*, p. 34.

9 Paul Binski, *Medieval Death*, (London, 1996), p. 198.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 29-36.

11 *IPP*, ll. 98-106, p. 4, ll. 109-148, pp. 4-5; for explicit detail on the dangers of childbirth, see Conor McCarthy (ed.), 'Trotula', in *idem* (ed.), *Love, Sex and Marriage in the Middle Ages: A Sourcebook* (London, 2004), pp. 259-61; for an English early fifteenth-century treatise on obstetrics, see Jacqueline Murray (ed.), *Love, Marriage and Family in the Middle Ages* (Peterborough, Ont., 2001), pp. 401-411; for background on childbirth, see Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990), pp. 32-9; Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (London, 2001), p. 21; Emilie Amt (ed.), 'Liturgy for Mothers', in *WL*, p. 97; *BKLL*, p. 109; *cf. GL.2*, p. 244; *LA*, p. 688; for childbirth as a reminder of the Fall, see Kathryn Smith, 'Mary or Michael? Saint-Switching, Gender, and Sanctity in a Medieval Miracle of Childbirth', *Church History* 74 (2005), p. 770; Michael Camille, *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator* (London, 1996), p. 91; MS Rawl. D. 939, section 4v, (Fig. 3).

The deathbed was the place where the dying person, male or female, could make their final preparations for the end, both in terms of the mortal world and in reference to the soul.[12] This was particularly achievable in cases of slow natural death, when a resting period before the end was possible, and such an ideal demise could even rectify a life badly led, so its significance was unmatched.[13] In the Stonor Letters there is a long account of a visit Richard Bryan made to the deathbed of Thomas Betson in September 1479.[14] There they 'desired and praide him to be of gode comfort and so comfortid him as hertely as we coude', as well as helping him to make his will. This is paralleled by a common image of the deathbed, found in a range of different manuscript types, where the individual dying is counselled by those around him, both in terms of his worldly life but in particularly in reference to confession and the soul. In a famously richly-illuminated Flemish *Romance of Alexander*, dated 1338-44, which probably belonged to Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, we see Alexander dividing up his empire into twelve parts as he rests on a magnificent bed under a beautiful coverlet decorated like a great cloak, indicating his position at court, with the centre light-covered square made up of furs and edged with a pattern of escutcheons *(Fig. 9)*.[15] More common is the dying receiving counsel to prepare their souls. For example, in one historiated border, drawn from a late fifteenth-century Flemish book of offices and private prayers, its good condition suggesting only light use, a priest kneels at the bedside, his tonsured head bent towards the tilted head of the dying man, his open mouth implying that he is confessing the listening man, a vital act before death *(Fig. 10)*.[16] The means to obtain this confession are found not only in versions of the *Ars Moriendi* but also in the very well ordered *Seven Questions to be Asked of*

12 Eamon Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, (New Haven, 2005), pp. 312-27.
13 *CD*, p. 6.
14 *Stonor.2*, no. 249, pp. 86-8.
15 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 191r, (Fig. 9); Kathleen Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490*, vol. 2 (London, 1996), pp. 68-73; J. S. Westlake, *The Prose Life of Alexander* (London, 1913), pp. 111-4.
16 MS Douce 8, fol. 8, (Fig. 10).

a Dying Man, exactly what the title suggests, as well as in the *Instructions for Parish Priests*, which include the administering of extreme unction.[17] Nor was this an image type found only within Flemish manuscripts. In another miniature, this time from England c. 1430 and set within a somewhat dirty and marked example of the text *To lerne to die*, the emaciated, dying occupant is attended by a priest whose hands are crossed in prayer across his chest, while the figure of Death himself approaches *(Fig. 11)*.[18]

The clearest visual example of this ideal moment before death is a large miniature from a Flemish Book of Hours, c. 1480-90 made for Engelbert of Nassau, which shows the death of the Virgin, the woman who provided the exemplar of appropriate behaviour to the pious across Christendom. The miniature is framed by a floral border scattered with purple iris, a symbol and colour of royalty; red roses, a symbol of love and also of the Virgin, who was a rose without a thorn; poppies, which were associated with the battlefield; and lastly periwinkles, often wound into garlands for those condemned to die – the *fiore di morte* in Italian.[19] Here she demonstrates a model death, ensconced in a massive, canopied bed, leaning towards her confessors who bend over her, holding open books as they counsel her and hear her confession *(Fig. 12)*.[20] In fact this image combines every aspect of the ideal death in the person of the Virgin. Not only is the religious aspect present, vital given that the fate of the ordinary soul was held in the balance, but also the social and domestic aspects of dying. In many ways the deathbed had a social function, not unlike the resting period after birth; indeed the posture of the dying and the posture of the resting mother are almost

17 *CKDW*, pp. 9-11; *ACKWD*, pp. 26-31; *CD*, pp. 22-7; *HMS*, p. 96; George G. Perry (ed.), 'Seven Questions to be Asked of a Dying Man' in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces*, p. 69-71; *IPP*, ll. 1699-1748, pp. 53-4, ll. 1839-92, pp. 57-8; *GL.2*, p. 287; *LA*, pp. 738-9; James 5:14.

18 MS Selden Supra 53, fol. 118r, (Fig. 11).

19 Celia Fisher, *The Medieval Flower Book* (London, 2007), pp. 66-7, 106-7, 100-101, 94-5; for sainthood and flowers in text, see *GL.2*, p. 41; *LA*, pp. 462-3.

20 MS Douce 220, fol. 170v, (Fig. 12).

identical. As during the lying-in, this resting period before death was one in which the bed became the focal point of friends, family, and societal connections.[21] This is demonstrated by the five figures arrayed at the base of the bed, closest to the viewer, two of whom are on their knees, their upper bodies resting upon the end of the bed as if so heavy with sorrow that they can no longer support their own weight. Continuing in this holy vein, a grisaille miniature, drawn from a French, c. 1456, *Miracles de Notre Dame*, of the death of a monk is very similar, with his bedside to the left of the miniature encircled by his concerned brethren *(Fig. 13)*.[22] This manuscript is interesting, for although originally made for Philip the Good of Burgundy, by the sixteenth century an abbot's cap and insignia had been added to fol. 4, showing how images originally made for a lay audience could also be appropriate for a more clerical one. In another French miniature, from a large, but unfinished *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus*, dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, we observe the death of Darius, the dying man's companions also including a white dog, his colour associated with nobility (since only the nobility were permitted to own greyhounds and tended to prefer white fur which was more easily spotted), but also symbolic of faithfulness and domestic virtue *(Fig. 14)*.[23] In these images, further supported by our knowledge of known owners, saint, cleric, and lay elite all follow the same deathbed model. The placement of the Virgin within this strictly domestic scene also demonstrates the overriding importance of the household and the home in this period: it is the ideal place to die as well as be born, preferable to any other place even for the exalted Virgin. In this illumination not only is the bed carefully realised both spatially and in detail, but the room in which it is situated is plainly a domestic dwelling. It has high but flat wooden panelled ceiling, and a diamond-paned window to the right fitted

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21 A bad death was not just sudden, but 'without witness or ceremony'. In addition, families of murder victims sometimes had to pay a fine to ensure Christian burial. See Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, (London, 1981), p. 11-2.

22 MS Douce 374, fol. 13v, (Fig. 13); *cf.* fol. 97r, 4r.

23 MS Auct. F. 2. 29, fol. 20v, (Fig. 14).

with shutters on the lower half to keep out the light, whilst the room beyond is dominated by a fireplace, to the right of which is a shelf over the door supporting domestic knick-knacks in the form of small boxes, jars, and bottles. This impression of the house being the appropriate and ideal place to die is supported by a second complex miniature in which the house containing the deathbed and the patient stands to the left of a central road, while the church with its surrounding graveyard stands to the right, the road dividing the two very clearly *(Fig. 15)*.[24] Dying and the moment of death are for the home, indicated by its domestic architecture of small windows, pitched roof, and chimneys; the church is the place of the dead. Thus *Figures 9* to *15* demonstrate, through the constant presence of the domestic bed and the fully realised residence, how important the home was as a location for the ideal death. Furthermore, this emphasis on the home only becomes more stylistically pronounced, especially in Flemish manuscripts, as we get into the early sixteenth century, which regardless of the intentions of artistic innovation would still have had the effect of emphasising the domestic in the mind of its audience.

However, this visual notion of the good death, supported by the sermon literature and mentions in the letter collections, is at odds with the deaths leading to the ultimate reward of heaven – the deaths which stand at the heart of saints' lives. A tiny number of these deaths were peaceful, like that of Saint Felix, who 'celebrated mass, gave the *Pax* to his people, stretched himself on the floor of the church in prayer, and departed to the Lord', but even these calm demises have none of the hallmarks of the classic deathbed scenario.[25] The majority of saintly deaths are incredibly gruesome, violent, and painful, in accounts that self-consciously acknowledge these passions or martyrdoms as 'a model inviting imitation'.[26] We

24 MS Douce 374, fol. 97r, (Fig. 15).
25 *GL.1*, p. 92, *cf. ibid.*, pp. 25, 234; *GL.2*, pp. 25, 143, 149; *LA*, p. 103, *cf. ibid.*, pp. 26, 255, 446, 578, 584.
26 *GL.2*, p. 71; *LA*, p. 497.

find, amongst others, Saint Sophia and her three daughters tortured and murdered in a variety of inventive and terrible ways, including being 'put in a frying pan', 'put in a caldron full of pitch, wax, and resin', 'thrown into a fiery furnace', and finally 'stabbed with white-hot nails'.[27] Indeed the death of Christ himself, who stands at the pinnacle of the saintly models found in both the texts and the illuminations, is the ultimate violent end, and not only set the pattern for saints down the ages but is found within the same visual world that propounds the deathbed as a late medieval ideal.[28] Thomas Becket too is happily included in books of hours, missals, and breviaries as a contemporary saint who suffered a violent end alongside didactic literature emanating from his own church that encouraged a rigid, domestic, and ritualised ideal demise *(Figs. 16, 17, 18, and 19)*.[29] It seems that there was a line that ran right through the middle of both the visual and textual evidence, a line drawn by the church, and accepted by the lay elite, which divided the behaviour to be emulated from that only to be admired.[30]

THE MOMENT OF DEATH

Continuing the domestic theme, let us consider another deathbed image set within the household, but instead concerning the soul. The moment of death was perceived by those in the medieval period as a battle between good and evil over the soul of the deceased.[31] Nowhere is this more clearly envisaged than in a full-page vividly coloured and realised

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27 *GL.1*, pp. 185-6; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 29, 44, 103, 130, 153, 202, 226, 244, 315, 318, 324, 370; *GL.2*, pp. 14, 22, 109, 167; *LA*, pp. 203-204, 31, 48, 115, 145, 168, 223, 247, 267, 343, 345-6, 352, 403, 434, 443, 539-40, 604-605.

28 *GL.1*, pp. 203-214; *LA*, pp. 223-35.

29 For a mid-fourteenth-century example, see MS Laud Misc. 3a, fol. 44v, (Fig. 16); for a later English example, see MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 13, fol. 34v, (Fig. 17); examples of Becket are not confined to English manuscripts, for a French example, see MS Douce 313, fol. 21r, (Fig. 18); *cf.* MS Rawl. D. 939, section 2c v, (Fig. 19); this interesting example, featuring Becket in a line of saints including John the Evangelist representing their respective feast days in this English calendar, shows Becket with a knife sticking graphically out of the top of his skull; Perry (ed.), 'Seven Questions', p. 69-71; *IPP*, ll. 1699-1748, pp. 53-4; ll. 1839-92, pp. 57-8.

30 For emphasis on following Church regulations, see *CKDW*, p. 4.

31 Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, pp. 108-9.

miniature taken from a French Book of Hours, c. 1470-1480 *(Fig. 20)*.[32] It has all the attributes of a good deathbed scene: the intricately drawn domestic elements of the bed and room, the priest and his aides performing the all-important last rites (in this case demonstrated by the application of holy water), and the lay attendant, in this image a kneeling and praying woman, at the bedside. Above the head of the deceased man a cosmic struggle is taking place over his soul, to which those still mortal in the room seem oblivious. The soul is stretching out his arms and his gaze towards the Lord, who looks down on him from a window at the top-centre of the miniature. It is clever how even God is carefully incorporated into the scene in such a way as not to disrupt the architectural and mental space of the home. This soul is held around the waist by a guiding angel, Saint Michael, in white, voluminous robes, holding a tall cross in his other hand and taking him to heaven, but not before the devil, a hideous figure with a man's head, dragon's wings, and a greenish, reptilian skin makes a grab for the departing feet of the ascending soul in an attempt to drag him down to hell. Nowhere is the vital battle for the souls of the deceased more clearly visualised. This actual struggle between the powers of good and evil is present within *Ars Moriendi* texts: the devil is the tempter of the dying man, while Saint Michael and the angels, to whom some of the prayers of the dying would be addressed, are the protectors of the departing soul.[33] What is interesting is that the soul is not necessarily depicted as the spirit of the departed, in a pale copy, but more like a naked small child, suggesting the way in which people enter the world, completing the cycle from birth to death.[34] Clothes (returning once more to the complications of dress) were also a metaphor for sin and vice. This idea is employed most effectively in John Mirk's second Advent sermon, in which he says: 'Thi soule is clad in fowl clothis whan it is wrappid in wrecchednes of synfull surfettes of gullyng, of gloteny in etyng and drinking,

32 MS Liturg. 41, fol. 147r, (Fig. 20).
33 *CKDW*, pp. 5, 12; *ACKWD*, pp. 23, 33-4; *CD*, pp. 10-11, 13, 30, 42; Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 156.
34 Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, p. 248; Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 176.

in sluggy slouth of ydilness and to vanytese yeving or in lothly lust of lechory, vnlefull desyryng. This vnclene, combrous garment we must cast awey'.[35] By divesting the individual of all the trappings of status and position, both actual and metaphorical, that are agonised over so painstakingly in terms of ideals and appropriate decorum in both the images and the texts, and especially in the courtesy literature, the soul rises above the earthly concerns of the very manuscript in which he is drawn *(Figs. 21, 22, 23)*.[36]

But what did death look like? Here there are several things to consider: the person or figure of Death, what distinguished the living and the dead in the minds of medieval people, and the complication of the resurrection in the death narrative. Images of the personification of Death, often in the process of attacking the living, were regularly placed at the start of the *Office of the Dead*, a series of prayers to be said in anticipation of death, as part of a funeral, or in remembrance of the dead.[37] *The Office of the Dead* was a standard part of books of hours, placing the subject of death at both the forefront of medieval pious meditation and the interface of text and image; by depicting Death as a sudden and frightening figure, liable to strike anyone at any time, it also compelled the viewer to prayer. Death could be a brittle skeleton, as in one image, selected from a Book of Hours from Bayeux, c. 1450-60, which was written for a lady pictured kneeling before the Virgin on fol. 87, where he looms over a fallen horseman, spear at the ready *(Fig. 24)*.[38] Or he could be a cadaverous grey man, as in another image, almost like a walking corpse, his modesty protected only by a windblown

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35 'Item Dominica Prima Aduentus Domini', in *Festial.AN*, ll. 42-6, p. 60; for the casting off of riches, see *CKDW*, p. 8; *ACKWD*, p. 25; *CD*, p. 20; *PIS*, ll. 1373-86, p. 104.

36 The naked soul and the battle over its fate also occurs in earlier manuscripts, for a mid-thirteenth-century English example, see MS Tanner 184, fol. 34v, (Fig. 21); it also occurs in manuscripts across the region under study, for a further French example, see MS Douce 300, fol. 55v, (Fig. 22); and a Flemish example, see MS Douce 374, fol. 61v, (Fig. 23); *cf. ibid.*, fol. 79r.

37 For background to the Office of the Dead, see Roger Wieck, *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (London, 1988), pp. 124-8; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 53-5; Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, p. 369; Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, p. 168-81; Daniell, *Death*, pp. 43-4.

38 MS Douce 268, fol. 123r, (Fig. 24).

sheet, his spear once again raised in a threatening fashion, this time over the bodies of the richly dressed pierced by arrows, and situated within a French Book of Hours dated to the early sixteenth century, again featuring a depiction of its kneeling owner, and lavishly decorated with very large, entirely full page miniatures, their peeling and slightly smudged condition suggesting use *(Fig. 25)*.[39] In one other image type, this time from a slightly smudged, French *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, c. 1400, we see the version of Death perhaps more familiar to modern viewers, which started to appear from the fifteenth century, a black-robed figure holding a scythe, here suffocatingly and threateningly crouched on the bed of a dying pilgrim *(Fig. 26)*.[40] Thinking about death was only intensified by the recurring Black Death of the fourteenth century, and it is then that the Dance of Death, an allegory on the universality of death, began to emphasise, with a touch of grim humour, the presence and levelling effect of death upon all men and women regardless of their worldly positions.[41] Yet actual fear of death was not appropriate: death came to all, and to fear it was to lose the life one was living; rather, one should be mindful, prepared, and thus glad.[42] What we see in all of these images of the personification of Death is a constant reminder: repent now, pray now, to be prepared for when Death comes.[43]

In light of this, it is worth spending a brief period of time considering the difference between the living and the dead. There is good opportunity to do so in the frequent miracles of people being raised from the dead, as well as the death and resurrection of Christ himself,

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39 MS Rawl. liturg. f. 10, fol. 72r, (Fig. 25).

40 MS Douce 300, fol. 121v, (Fig. 26).

41 In one particular manuscript the Dance of Death is interwoven with the Life of Job, emphasising the presence of Death even in the midst of life, a very medieval attitude, see MS Douce 135, fols. 68r-89v; for example, see fols. 75v-76r (Fig. 27); for similar sentiments, see *DC*, p. 23; for a general discussion of the medieval macabre, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 123-63; Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, pp. 110-28; Florence Warren (ed.), *The Dance of Death* (London, 1931); Daniell, *Death*, pp. 62-3.

42 *DC*, pp. 12, 15, 19, 21; *BGM*, p. 116-120; *CKWD*, pp. 2-3; *ACKWD*, pp. 21-2; *DC*, pp. 6-7; Gillian Pritchard, 'Religion and the Paston Family', in Richard Britnell (ed.), *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 69-73.

43 *GWG*, p. 80.

which not only allow comparison, at least as regards appearance, between living and dead, but also reinforces the centrality of death in the medieval psyche, constantly dwelt upon in images and text.[44] Returning to the c. 1470-1480 miniature of the struggle for a man's soul above his deathbed, the deceased status of the man is indicated by his closed eyes and the limp aspect of his arms lying crossed upon his abdomen *(Fig. 20)*.[45] Compare this with a late fifteenth-century French miniature from another Book of Hours, its poor condition and the annotations along the bottom of some of the pages suggesting heavy use, of the deceased Christ lying in his mother's lap *(Fig. 28)*.[46] Christ not only has his eyes closed in death, but his body is so limp that it forms an upside-down 'U' across her lap, his head supported by the hand of Saint John. These are key features of the dead, and contrast neatly with images of those recently resurrected. In two English manuscripts – one a rather well used Psalter, the other a Missal in relatively clean condition, both from the fourteenth century – we see the limp, closed-eyed, dead Christ being prepared in his tomb in the one, and in the other the tall, standing, solid, resurrected Christ, eyes open to the world *(Figs. 29, 30)*.[47] One popular miracle of sainthood was raising the dead, but the most famous example must be that of Christ raising Lazarus, the archetypal man returned from the dead.[48] In an early sixteenth-century Book of Hours from Normandy, which although it features its married owners being presented to the Virgin on fol. 77r, is spotlessly clean, suggesting it was collected rather than used, we see Lazarus standing in his tomb, his firm, sculpted body partially covered by his

44 *GL.1*, pp. 25, 32, 48, 53, 216-24; *GL.2*, pp. 24, 39, 43, 230; *LA*, pp. 27, 35, 54, 60, 235-45, 445, 460, 465, 673.
45 MS Liturg. 41, fol. 147r, (Fig. 20); for closed eyes in death, see *GL.1*, p. 127; *LA*, p. 142.
46 MS Don. f. 33, fol. 13r, (Fig. 28); *Schiller.2*, pp. 164-8.
47 MS Gough Liturg. 8, fol. 62r, (Fig. 29); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol 2, pp. 48-9; MS Hatton 1, fol. 100v, (Fig. 30); Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 34-5; *Schiller.2*, pp. 168-72.
48 *GL.1*, pp. 48, 61; *GL.2*, pp. 7, 24, 43, 230; *LA*, pp. 54, 68, 426-7, 445, 465, 673.

winding sheet, and his vigour shown in his upturned head and open eyes and expression *(Fig. 31)*.[49]

It must be noted that there is a difference between the resurrection of a body and the resurrection of souls. As mentioned previously, souls are overwhelmingly depicted as nude, almost childlike figures, soft in form and outline; bodies are quite different, adult if adult is appropriate, and with a much more defined form. This is seen most clearly when comparing the images of Lazarus and Christ rising from the grave, their bodies adult and defined, with images of the soul rising from the grave. In a large miniature introducing the Penitential Psalms from an especially clean Book of Hours produced in Hainaut, c. 1450-75, the figures rising from the open graves towards Christ, positioned at the top of the page upon a vivid rainbow with the Virgin and Saint John kneeling below, are childlike, nude, and anatomically unformed *(Fig. 35)*.[50] In a second manuscript, a French Book of Hours of c. 1460, which contains the obits of the de Matignon family suggesting patron interaction with the book, the rising souls are larger, somewhat better formed, but their naked state and the loose hair of the women is not only reminiscent of youth, but in this context suggests the stripping of worldly artifice *(Fig. 36)*.[51] What matters here is not just the specifics of the dead, the living, and resurrection, but the constant repetition of the theme of death intertwined with life – its importance in the medieval lifecycle, and so how it could act as the final focus for the inculcation of ideals.

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49 MS Douce 72, fol. 55r, (Fig. 31); just risen vigour is consistent across the period, for a mid-fourteenth-century example, see MS Douce 313, fol. 106r, (Fig. 32); for a c. 1490 example, see MS Douce 51, fol. 175v, (Fig. 33); for an example of a risen man who is not Lazarus but depicted very similarly, see MS Douce 264, fol. 19v, (Fig. 34); *Schiller.1*, pp. 181-6; (John 11:1-45).

50 MS Buchanan e. 5, fol. 100v, (Fig. 35); *cf.* for an account of the Doomsday, see *IPP*, ll. 520-25, pp. 16-17, ll. 826-36, p. 26; *Schiller.2*, pp. 113-4.

51 MS Rawl. liturg. f. 26, fol. 92v, (Fig. 36).

One aspect of the resurrection narrative which stood somewhat outside of it was the motif of the Man of Sorrows.[52] Nowhere are medieval attitudes to death, and indeed its gendered contemplation, more densely focused than on this one image. It originated from a story about Pope Gregory I, also found in the *Golden Legend*, who was saying Mass when a woman doubted that the bread was really the body of Christ.[53] Gregory prayed for a sign, and the bread turned into a bleeding finger; this over time became a vision of Christ wounded and surrounded by the instruments of the Passion. A typical image of this can be seen in a French Book of Hours from the end of the fifteenth century, its borders scattered with initials indicating ownership, in which the kneeling Gregory, with the doubter standing behind, his mouth open in astonishment, is faced by the nude figure of Christ rising from the tomb, clothed in his winding sheet and surrounded by instruments of the Passion: the cross, the ladder of deposition, the rooster, the sword, and the pillar from the Flagellation *(Fig. 37)*.[54] This image is particularly significant given its increasing popularity in the thirteenth century in Northern Europe. It is therefore interesting to note that this model is also used in patron images, but only in the presence of a male patron. Female patrons, as we have seen previously, are depicted with the Virgin as their model of behaviour and contemplation, though it must be noted that, while this is a prominent feature of Bodleian manuscripts, it is not universal; elsewhere and in other media the Virgin is a popular intercessor for both sexes.[55] We see the pairing of the Man of Sorrows and the male patron in a striking early

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52 *CKWD*, p. 11; for the body and the Man of Sorrows, see Michael Camille, 'The image and the self: unwriting late medieval bodies', in Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin (eds.), *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester, 1994), pp. 74-7; for general discussion, see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (London, 1989), pp. 294-7; Suzanne Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 144-63; Thomas Lentes, '"As far as the eye can see...": Rituals of Gazing in the Late Middle Ages', in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton 2006), p. 369; *Schiller.2*, pp. 197-229.

53 *GL.1*, pp. 179-80; *LA*. p. 198.

54 MS Douce 152, fol. 85v, (Fig. 37).

55 Catherine Oakes, *Ora Pro Nobis: The Virgin as Intercessor in Medieval Art and Devotion* (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 46-59.

sixteenth-century French manuscript created for the De Scépeaux family in which three different male members of that family are depicted in the manner of the Mass of Saint Gregory. In this striking manuscript, made up of private prayers and devotions, not only does it bear signs of use, but marks of ownership are everywhere, with initials, donor portraits, and arms scattered throughout. In the first miniature, a richly dressed young man kneels in a tiled room, his family indicated by the badge on his hat, observing the instruments of the Passion, but not Christ himself, as they appear to him *(Fig. 38)*.[56] In the second, set in a garden, another young man, though with slightly different features, dressed in furs and again identified by the badge on his discarded hat, faces Christ standing over him and showing him his wounds *(Fig. 39)*.[57] In the third, an older man with greying hair and slightly lined face, identified again as kin by his hat, kneels in front of a more traditional Man of Sorrows, the wounded Christ sitting upon his open tomb, displaying his injuries with the instruments of the Passion arrayed on the wall at the back of the miniature *(Fig. 40)*.[58] It is clear that this family, its male members, thought it significant to ally themselves obviously with this image type. Perhaps this model, imbued with the self-sacrifice of Christ and his bravery in the face of death, appealed to male ideals of strength, loyalty, and good character. Just as the association with the Virgin suggested the path of good behaviour, and proximity to her allowed her piety to encompass the praying patron, so too did the virtues of the post-Passion Christ lend themselves to their viewer, both on the page and outside of it. It seems as if all of this was a way of meditating not only upon the sacrifice of Christ but also on death, and the popularity of this image in texts designed for private contemplation demonstrates the importance of

56 MS Douce 264, fol. 26r, (Fig. 38).
57 *Ibid.*, fol. 32r, (Fig. 39).
58 *Ibid.*, fol. 42r, (Fig. 40).

death itself, not just preparation for its occurrence, in the medieval mind.[59] Contemplating death was an ideal in and of itself.

PRACTICALITIES

After death there were certain physical practicalities which had to be dealt with. It was important that the body was disposed of properly: it was the second work of mercy to 'bery dede men', and as it decayed it was not only unpleasant but could also attract animals, as a rather graphic Bestiary image of hyena eating a corpse, its front paws and jaws digging into the torso of the body, makes vivid *(Fig. 41)*.[60] Indeed, so important was burial that Saint Paul the hermit was buried by two miraculously helpful lions when Saint Anthony was unable to manage the task alone.[61] There was also the stench of decay to cope with, and one of the counterpoints of the miraculous raising of Lazarus, surrounded as he is by astonished onlookers, is the presence of one or two figures covering their noses to resist the smell of decomposition emanating from the open grave. Indeed, as the poem *Earth to Earth* so bluntly warns, despite a man's gold and castles, when he returns to the earth he will 'hafe a foulle stynke' *(Fig. 33)*.[62]

In the realm of ideals and mentalities, however, what could be a dry, straightforward discussion of the practical side of the disposal of the dead gets trickier. *The Office of the Dead* in particular, as part of books of hours, gave the illuminator and his audience a great

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59 For the Man of Sorrows as a form of mental pilgrimage, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 125.

60 George G. Perry, 'Dan Jon Gaytryge's Sermon' in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces*, l. 13, p. 9; *IPP*, ll. 1357-8, p. 42; MS Douce 151, fol. 13v, (Fig. 41); for other instances of the importance of honourable burial, see *GL.1*, pp. 18, 107, 244, 248-9, 315, 318, 323-5; *GL.2*, pp. 22, 40, 143, 146, 266; *LA*, pp. 19, 120, 267, 271-2, 342-3, 346, 351-3, 443, 461-2, 578, 582, 712; Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 26; Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, p. 207.

61 *GL.1*, p. 85; *LA*, p. 95; Saint Mary of Egypt was also buried by a helpful lion, see *GL.1*, pp. 227-9; *LA*, pp. 247-9.

62 MS Douce 51, fol. 175v, (Fig. 33); George G. Perry (ed.), 'Earth to Earth', in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces*, ll 19-20, p. 96; *cf. RTS*, l. 137, p. 24; GL*.1*, p. 206; *LA*, p. 226; this contrasted with the often sweet odour of the saintly body, see *ibid.*, pp. 245, 285, 327, 374; *GL.2*, pp. 55, 92, 266; *LA*, pp. 267, 312, 355, 406, 479, 521, 712.

deal of space in the manuscript to ruminate on various aspects of death and burial, and as such there is a rich seam of visual material here to explore.[63] There are certain images that are consistently repeated, one of which is the Entombment of Christ, a crucial aspect of the Resurrection narrative; we have a large number of miniature and historiated initial examples from both the period as a whole and the geographical area of this investigation *(Figs. 42 to 47)*.[64] Although these images may vary stylistically in level of detail, by taking just one of these images as a typical example – in this case an historiated initial from c. 1420, English in origin, found in a well-used Book of Hours – we can see the features that characterise all of these images of the Entombment of Christ *(Fig. 48)*.[65] The body of Christ is held by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus at each end, so that it is presented at a three-quarter angle to the viewer, allowing his torso and head to be seen clearly. He is covered by a shroud, but so delicately rendered as to be see-through, and he is being laid in stone tomb, reminiscent of a plainly rendered sarcophagus, under the watchful gaze of his mother Mary, Mary Magdalene, and John. The background of this image is a red and gold swirled patterning, behind the figures in place of the sky, with a greenish floor at the base of the initial reminiscent of grass. This particular rendering of the entombment is not explicitly set outdoors, though a popular setting for this image type particularly in the latter part of the period is a garden, but neither does it clearly take place indoors. The burial of Saint Margaret, found in a miniature from an

63 Kathryn A. Smith, 'A 'Viewing Community' in Fourteenth-Century England', in Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and eadem (eds.), *The Social Life of Illumination* (Turnhout, 2013), p. 142.

64 For the fourteenth century, and an English example, see MS Barlow 22, fol. 13v, (Fig. 42); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 99-100; for a French example, see MS Douce 313, fol. 236r, (Fig. 43); for a Flemish example, see MS Douce 6, fol. 43v, (Fig. 44); from the fifteenth century and an English example, see MS Bodl. 850, fol. 28r; (Fig. 45), for a French example, see MS Liturg. 41, fol. 116r, (Fig. 46); for a Flemish example, see MS Douce 219, fol. 92r, (Fig. 47); for further English examples (in chronological order), see MS Gough. Liturg. 8, fol. 62r, (P&A.3, no. 546); MS Lat. liturg. e. 41, fol. 57r, (P&A.3, no. 652); Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 132-3; MS Gough Liturg. 6, fol. 32r, (P&A.3, no. 812); Scott, *Later Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 111-2; MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 13, fol. 102v, (P&A.3, no. 1115, P&A.1, no. 221); for further French examples, see MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 117v, (P&A.1, no. 524); MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 107v, (P&A.1, no. 670); for further Flemish examples, see MS Laud Lat. 84, fol. 268v, (P&A.1, no. 295); MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 73r, (P&A.1, no. 299); MS Douce f. 4, fol. 20r, (P&A.1, no. 325); MS Douce 8, fol. 81v, (P&A.1, no. 371); for an account of the Resurrection of Christ, see *GL.1*, pp. 216-24; *LA*, pp. 235-45.

65 MS Rawl. liturg. d. 1, fol. 32v, (Fig. 48).

early fifteenth-century Norman Book of Hours, written for a member of the La Fresnay d'Aignan family, pictured at prayer on fol. 202v, and in fairly well-thumbed condition, is very similar, again set in an indeterminate location, and involving a plain stone sarcophagus as the site of interment *(Fig. 49)*.[66] The saints' lives correlate to this visual account of the appropriate tomb for the holy, the tomb being 'part of the necessary dossier of sanctity'.[67] For Saint James the Greater, 'the rock promptly softened, miraculously shaping itself into a sarcophagus' in order to receive his body, whilst Saint Nicholas, who was believed to have been buried in 'the year 343', a typically early date for the martyred saints in these texts, is laid to rest in a 'marble tomb'.[68] Burial location, alongside the use of a Classical-style sarcophagus, the 'monumente of stane', raised above the ground, is a matter of significance that will come to the fore later.[69]

In comparison with this image type, historiated borders, initials, and miniatures which deal with contemporary practicalities of death are fewer in number. Moreover, unlike many of the illuminations discussed in this thesis, in which images with contemporary features (that is, medieval dress, medieval locations, or persons unconnected to a biblical or saintly narrative; usually a combination of all three factors) explicitly follow or involve saintly models, in death there is a distinct delineation between the holy and the human world. One border, selected from the aforementioned 1338-44 *Romance of Alexander*, illustrating gravediggers at work is relatively simple, showing two men with shovels raised over grass, a pile of earth between them, and a tree in the background for interest and setting *(Fig. 50)*.[70] In another border from the same manuscript, the heads of the dead can been seen poking over

66 MS Rawl. liturg. e. 12, fol. 162r, (Fig. 49).
67 Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 84.
68 *GL.2*, p. 5; *GL.1*, p. 25; *LA*, pp. 424, 26; for other saintly tombs, see *GL.1*, pp. 156, 202, 266, 312; *GL.2*, pp. 55, 80-82, 91; *LA*, pp. 173, 223, 291, 341, 479, 507-510, 520.
69 'Mirror of Saint Edmund', ll. 2-5, p. 44.
70 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 69r, (Fig. 50).

the top of a horse-drawn cart as they are gathered up and transported *(Fig. 51)*.[71] There are also two images of a body being prepared for burial by women. In one, a French miniature from the mid-fifteenth-century, from a clean copy of a Book of Hours, its male owner featured kneeling before John the Baptist on fol. 73v, a woman kneels upon the ground sewing a corpse into its shroud, with only the head still visible as she stitches vertically up from the feet *(Fig. 52)*.[72] Her beautiful pink dress is fashionably cut with a wide skirt, tight, dusky pink bodice, and sleeves that bag out at the elbow, while the child and two men also in the picture sport bright blue and green clothes accented with gold, a world away from the plain, voluminous, Classical robes of the figures in the aforementioned initial of the entombment of Christ. In another miniature from the same period, from the *Miracles de Notre Dame* discussed previously, a dissolute monk, redeemed before death, is laid out naked upon a sheet by two women who are cleansing his body in a purification ritual before they sew him into his shroud *(Fig. 53)*.[73] A wooden coffin lies open to the fore of the picture. Behind the women stand four watching men, one even dressed in a rakish outfit of tights and dipped hat, all distinct from the dress of the watchers and mourners found in saintly tableaux. What is particularly significant about this image is its determined domesticity, reminiscent of the deathbed scenes discussed previously. The room is a detailed space, complete with windows, their wooden shutters open; the accoutrements of household life scattered about, including a dish on the floor and a candlestick; the four-poster bed in the next room; and even a sense of the wider space of the house, with a corridor leading out of the room at the back of the picture. Once more death, even the period after death, is made domestic, set within the household and not the realm of the Holy Family or the Saints.

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71 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 152v, (Fig. 51).

72 MS Rawl. liturg. f. 9, fol. 98r, (Fig. 52); *cf. BKLL*, pp. 144-5.

73 MS Douce 374, fol. 60v, (Fig. 53); Chris Given-Wilson, 'The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England', *English Historical Review* 124:507 (2009), p. 264; the swaddling of the body by women was also equated with birth, see Camille, *Master of Death,* p. 90.

Where the real tension lies between holy and contemporary in the visual and textual evidence is in the manner of burial. Almost all of the non-biblical burials involve either a shroud or a shroud and wooden coffin, with a ground internment in a simple, body-sized hole in the earth, directly in line with the precepts of a moral poem taken from a mid-fourteenth-century manuscript which muses that 'Sałł þou noghte hafe, I hete,/ Bot seuen fote, þare-in to rote,/ And a wyndynge schete'.[74] In one Book of Hours from Rouen, dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, peeling and smudged in places, an illumination shows a shrouded body, the shape but the not the features of the corpse indicated by its tight wrapping, being lowered into a rectangular hole dug into the ground *(Fig. 54)*.[75] Behind the body stand the funeral participants, the priest in his white vestments and red cope, a deacon dressed in blue behind him holding an open book, and three black cloaked figures, possibly women, their hands pressed together in the manner of prayer and their head modestly bowed in mourning. Note the surroundings: behind the figures stands the unmistakable structure of a church, its tracery windows along the side and rose window over the door, while to the left of the image is a long wall and a contemporary grave marker, making this burial ground an enclosed cemetery attached to the church.[76] In addition, the dead could also be buried in a coffin, and in another large miniature from c. 1500, again from a Book of Hours, though a particularly miniature sized one, very easily held in one hand and eminently portable, a narrow coffin is

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74 George G. Perry (ed.), 'Moral Poem: "with E.I.O." ' in *idem* (ed.), *Religious Pieces*, ll. 50-52, p. 81; *cf. PIS*, ll. 1716-22, p. 187; Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 55.

75 MS Buchanan e. 13, fol. 97r, (Fig. 54); for another very similar French example, see MS Rawl. liturg. f. 26, fol. 117r, (P&A.1, no. 713) for a Flemish example, see MS Rawl. liturg. g. 6, fol. 110v, (P&A.1, no. 316).

76 John Mirk propounds the importance of burial in a churchyard, see 'In die sepulture alicuius mortui', in *Festial.2*, ll. 67-82, p. 258; 'Qui sunt sepeliendi in cimit[e]rio', in *ibid.*, ll. 2-5, pp. 259-60; for an interesting discussion of cathedral burial monopoly and the possible disputes surrounding burial, see Ian Forrest, 'The Politics of Burial in Late Medieval Hereford', *English Historical Review* 125: 516 (2010), pp. 1110-38; for a good background on the church regulations of burial, especially on body division, see Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'Authority, the Family, and the Dead in Late Medieval France', *French Historical Studies* 16:4 (1990), pp. 803-32.

depicted being lowered on ropes into a ground-level hole, with the funeral participants once more standing behind clad in their vestments *(Fig. 55)*.[77] This image also shows burial within a church, indicated by the tiled floor and the delicate and detailed rendering of not just the altar, draped in red, but also the soaring Gothic columns reaching to an unseen roof and the narrow windows allowing light into the interior.[78] Both church burials and burials in church ground are equally well represented, but the key is the way in which contemporary burials are placed within a specific ecclesiastical sacred space at odds with the varied and vague sense of location of the Entombment of Christ.

Another difference is the placing of the body either straight into the ground or within a plain wooden coffin. We have one manuscript, a small Psalter from the third quarter of the thirteenth century from Metz, its gold particularly bright despite some occasional scrapping, that shows Jacob plainly shrouded and placed in a coffin, but otherwise all such burial types are contemporary in nature *(Fig. 56)*.[79] Even in images of the Dance of Death, the corpses the skeleton leans over are shrouded next to their open, earthly graves, whilst at the resurrection of the dead, the dead rise from equally earth-bound resting places *(Figs. 57, 36, 35)*.[80] In images of the Mass of Saint Gregory, the open stone tomb acts as both a resting place and an altar *(Fig. 37)*.[81] If Christ's raised stone tomb is at once his temporary grave, his place of resurrection, and his altar, then in the mind of the late medieval viewer and reader it would be inappropriate to imitate his burial in depictions of their own. At the same time, the particular

77 MS Douce 30, fol. 65v, (Fig. 55).

78 For the importance of internal burial in England, see Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Thrupp, 2004), p. 173.

79 MS Douce 48, fol. 26v, (Fig. 56).

80 MS Douce 135, fols. 73v-74r, (Fig. 57); MS Rawl. liturg. f. 26, fol. 92v, (Fig. 36); MS Buchanan e. 5, fol. 100v, (Fig. 35); 'Item de Aduentu Christi ad Iudicium', in *Festial.AN*, ll. 23-32, p. 73.

81 MS Douce 152, fol. 85v, (Fig. 37).

type of burial indicated in resurrection images also places the lay reader within the visual narrative of their own psalter or book of hours.

Where does this place what we know about the tomb furniture of the period, in terms of memorials and tomb sculpture, in relation to this tension between relatively simple burial and Christ's tomb that we find in the illuminated manuscripts? Towards the end of the fifteenth century there was an increasing personalisation of grave furnishings as well as a strong desire to be buried within the church.[82] English memorial brasses from this period are striking for their religious imagery, including that of the Man of Sorrows and the Mass of Saint Gregory, as well as depictions of the Virgin and various saints, and are virtually identical to the models in the illuminations *(Figs. 58-61)*.[83] This should act as a reminder of the overlaps between different aspects of medieval visual culture, but the evidence of tomb sculpture is different. While the base of a tomb was, in essence, a plain, stone sarcophagus, this was decorated with shields, figures, and architectural details, its top supporting the effigy of the person or persons contained within.[84] A good example of this is the French tomb of Jehan de Florigny and his wife Marguerite Ferières (died c. 1420 and 1414 respectively), which conforms to John Mirk's knight, appropriately 'byried in a tombe of stone, as lordys ben' *(Fig. 62)*.[85] The sides of the tomb are decorated with the crests of the family, while the effigies of husband and wife, hands clasped in prayer, rest on top. Their clothes are not only

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82 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 331-4; for a more general discussion of medieval tomb and church development, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 70-122; Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, pp. 82, 216; Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England: 1000-1500* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 48-51, 76-85, 97-9.

83 For a Man of Sorrows example, see MS Rubbing Evans 17, fr. 25, (Fig. 58); for the Mass of Saint Gregory, see MS Rubbing Evans 288, fr. 33, (Fig. 59); for the Virgin, see MS Rubbing Evans 121, fr. 16, (Fig. 60); for Saint Christopher, see MS Rubbing Evans 20, fr. 15, (Fig. 61); for brasses as a form of lay intrusion into the church, see Given-Wilson, 'Exequies', p. 278.

84 Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 105-7; for tombs of women and the use of contemporary dress, see Veronica Sekules, 'Women and Art in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (eds.), *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London, 1987), p. 45.

85 MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 8, fol. 145, (Fig. 62); 'De dominica in Quadragesim[a] sermo', in *Festial.1*, ll. 112-3, p. 80.

contemporary, but also covered in family symbols, and a dog, a medieval representation of fidelity, lies at the husband's feet. We can only assume that this is the type of tomb that John Paston II intended to decorate with 'cloth of tissue' in honour of his father who was buried there – the tomb which he hoped would be so grand that there would be none like it in Norfolk, bringing joy to his mother.[86] Certainly the mention of eschutcheons on the tomb of the Lord of Clifton and his wife is supportive of the physical evidence.[87] The medieval tomb, in or near the church and decorated with effigies in prayer and even representations of the saints or holy family, not only placed the dead within the religious world but also proclaimed to everyone who passed by their family ties, their household, and indeed that death was a domestic affair.

There is only one illuminated manuscript with a tomb of this type depicted within. A mid-sixteenth-century grisaille miniature from a very large, Flemish manuscript containing the *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, an allegorical poem by the expert in court etiquette Olivier de la Marche, shows an elegantly dressed woman leading an armoured man through a cemetery filled with stone tombs of knights, their effigies resplendent in repose on the upper slabs *(Fig. 63)*.[88] This image, whose large size and clear paintwork only gives its content even greater impact, is a tense clash between the courtesy literature and illuminations of the period, both of which sought to influence the behaviour of their readers and viewers: here, with the image set into a poem, we see the late medieval urge to display and status apparently given reign in death, outside the constrictions of propriety found in psalters and books of hours. Yet this image is more complex than that. Considered alongside the poem written beneath it on the same folio, it is in fact an allegory of Memory, taking the author around the tombs of those

86 *Paston.2*, no. 295, pp. 489-90; no. 311, p. 510; Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings* (Manchester, 2000), p. 79.
87 *Paston.3*, no. 969, pp. 70-71.
88 MS Douce 168, fol. 32r, (Fig. 63).

killed by accident or weakness, casting these contemporary-style tombs, and the wealth and status they represent, in a less flattering light. Even outside the boundaries of more obviously pious manuscripts, there is ambivalence about such elaborate burial. One wonders if as a consequence of such practices the approximation of the tomb of Jesus to medieval tombs (both in similarity of sarcophagus shape and literal proximity within the covers of the same manuscript) was thought unsuitable for most illuminated manuscripts. In this instance his burial was not intended as a model for lay behaviour; rather, it acted as a differentiation, a barrier between Christ and his medieval followers, in way we have not seen in previous image types dealing with the medieval lifecycle. The medieval stone tomb may well have been 'both a descendant and an adaptation of the sarcophagus of the ancient world' and, according to Margaret Aston, an inspiration for both admiration and prayer, but with the link between the holy and lay burial it was certainly not appropriate to represent such a symbol of 'pryde and of vanyte' in illuminations, even in the form of the shroud and transi-tombs of the later Middle Ages which attempted to balance piety and display.[89] Christ's tomb was an altar: no representation of lay burial could be mistaken for this. Of these simple lay burials may be harking back to earlier images found within pattern books, however, the fact remains that a choice was made to continue using these images rather changing them, as was perfectly possible, and as a result, a stark delineation between lay burial and Christ was made on the page. The simple burial, in or near the church, was the illuminated ideal, not necessarily the reality, and both were set firmly within the household and its lay members.

CEREMONY AND MOURNING

One of these practicalities of death was of course the funerary rites that occurred before and during burial. These consisted of the funeral procession, the vigil, the *Office of the*

[89] Margaret Aston, 'The Use of Images', in Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (eds.), *Gothic Art for England 1400-1547* (London, 2003), p. 72; *BGM*, p. 122-3; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 79, 81.

Dead, which served as the main funeral service and could be followed by the laity in their books of hours or primers, and the funeral Mass.[90] We have very little visual evidence about the procession in illuminations, despite it being an opportunity not only to involve the wider community but also to display the status of the deceased. One of the few examples in these manuscripts is a very plain depiction of the funerary procession of Saint James, son of Zebedee, found in the historiated border of an early sixteenth-century Flemish Book of Hours, his body laid out in red and blue clothing on a bare wooden two-wheeled wagon, pulled by two miraculously tamed bulls and followed behind by two mourners *(Fig. 64)*.[91]

What we do have, however, is a plethora of large-scale miniatures and historiated initials, especially from the *Office of the Dead*, depicting the vigil and funerary rites that took place in the church in the presence of the deceased. In one fairly typical example of the vigil, decorating in this instance an initial from a rather worn English Book of Hours of c. 1420, we see clerics praying over a draped coffin *(Fig. 65)*.[92] As is the case in all of these images, the coffin itself is not the narrow rustic affair discussed in the previous section on burial, but much larger in size and draped in cloth, here black with a white cross along the length and breadth of the box. The clerics themselves, their status indicated by their vestments and tonsured heads, lean over an open book held above the coffin as they chant and pray. Some of these images are incredibly detailed. For example, in a large-scale French miniature from c. 1430-70, from an exquisitely beautiful, though slightly stained, Book of Hours, painted by the circle of Maître François, the border, rectangular with a rounded arched top, mimics the windows of the church painted within, as if the viewer is looking down into the church

90 Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 53-5; Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, p. 369; Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, p. 168-81.
91 MS Douce 112, fol. 151r, (Fig. 64).
92 MS Rawl. liturg. d. 1, fol. 59r, (Fig. 65).

through the page *(Fig. 66)*.[93] Within, in front of the altar, the funeral service is taking place, with the deacon and sub-deacon dressed in blue dalmatic and tunics, their backs to the viewers as they say Mass at the altar to the rear of the image. Lining either side in the choir stand the clergy, and in pride of place in the centre of the image rests the draped coffin. All of these images are very clerical in nature, heavily emphasising the role of the church not only with the attendees, who are almost always only members of the clergy, but also in the attention paid to the location: this is always inside the church, drawn with such careful detailing that no mistake can be made as to its significance. However, despite ecclesiastical control over these last rites, as with burial the domestic concerns of the deceased and their wider family are not forgotten. Michael Camille argues that these images did not represent a reality; rather, the splendid accoutrements in them were a way of indicating the status of the deceased.[94] Certainly a late fifteenth-century exemplar designed to guide the reader in planning the ideal funeral suggests that even in death the actions of the nobility were to be emulated, albeit William Caxton's *Arte & Craft* was directed at 'euery man'.[95] The drapery over the coffin is often elaborate and brightly coloured in vivid blue, emphasising the wealth and status of the family in the midst of death. In this particular miniature, the cloth is richly woven in blue and gold, and the gold is not a random pattern but the repetition of family emblems, with the family shield woven on the narrow end of the coffin, facing the viewer and centred within the miniature itself. Even in the heart of the church, family, status, and the household is placed at the fore.

93 MS Douce 77, fol. 1r, (Fig. 66).
94 Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 182.
95 *OF*, pp. 29-31; *ACKWD*, p. 21; for discussion of these funeral *ordines* and the burials of kings, see Given-Wilson, 'Exequies', pp. 257-82; Margaret Wade Labarge, *Medieval Travellers: the rich and the restless* (London, 1982), pp. 195-210.

Returning again to the Flemish version of the *Romance of Alexander* dated 1338-44, absent the constraints of a religious manuscript context, this family feeling is given free reign *(Fig. 67)*.[96] The pall covering the coffin in one miniature is not only brightly striped in red and blue, but a total of four large red and gold chevrons are also scattered across the cloth.[97] The importance of this display of wealth is present in the letter collections, intersecting very neatly. On the 17th of January 1476, John Paston II discusses in a epistle to his mother the need to get 'cloth of gold for the covering for his [the recently deceased Lord of Norfolk's] body and hearse', in order to uphold his Lord's honour.[98] According to a letter from John Palmer about Robert Armburgh, probably sent in the 1440s, the costs of such a display could apparently be detrimental to a family's purse.[99] Fleshing out what these accounts and illuminations tell us, the Stonor letters contain a list of funeral expenses, which include torches (seen in the images) at a cost of 'viij. s.', as well as a whole list of provisions including claret, beef, swans, geese, fish, and pigs in large quantities, introducing a feasting element to the wealth on display at a funeral, and with it the opportunity that such feasting offered for strengthening and renewing household ties to the wider community.[100] Indeed, the lavish Month's Mind for Richard Cely senior in 1482 also acted as a marriage advertisement for the Cely sons.[101] Death, like almost all of the main life markers in the medieval lifecycle,

96 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 193r, (Fig. 67); Westlake (ed.), *Alexander*, p. 114.

97 For the pall and mourning dress, see Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (London, 2007), pp. 112-3.

98 *Paston.2*, no. 295, pp. 489-90.

99 *Armburgh*, pp. 184-5.

100 *Stonor.1*, no. 47, pp. 39-41; no. 138, pp. 143-4; *Stonor.2*, no. 257, p. 95; for an insightful discussion of the various Paston funerals, see Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Fastolf's will* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 44-6, 71-4, 154-7; funerals re-integrated bereaved families back into society, see Andrea Brady, ''A share of sorrows': Death in the Early Modern English Household', in Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Emotions in the Household, 1200-1900* (Basingstoke, 2008), p. 185.

101 Alison Hanham, *The Celys and Their World: An English merchant family of the fifteenth century* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 255-63; for John Paston I's funeral as a claim to gentility, compared to the shame of the poverty of John Paston II's, see Richmond, *Endings*, pp. 77-9; for the importance of family burial sites, see Joel T. Rosenthal, 'Three-Generation Families: Searching for Grandpa and Grandma in Late Medieval England', in Cathy Jorgensen Itnyre (ed.), *Medieval Family Roles: A Book of Essays* (London, 1996), pp. 225-37, at p. 227; for the Month's Mind, see Daniell, *Death*, p. 56; C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), pp. 105-110; Gies, *Marriage*, p. 269.

was ideally a public affair, and as such an opportunity to emphasise family ties and status. Michael Camille may claim that the images do not represent reality, and of course we cannot be sure beyond doubt that these images are exact representations of funeral accoutrements.[102] However, when combined with evidence drawn from the letter collections, it is clear that a very similar elaborate and expensive display was made, and that the ideal of demonstrating wealth in this context approached the reality.

Having dealt with the practical, it is now time to consider the emotional. How did people mourn? What was the purpose of mourning? Did it have a social function, purely a private function, or a combination of the two? What clothing was appropriate, and did mourning entail a cessation of normal behaviours? What was appropriate decorum during mourning and how was it inculcated? In the illuminations just discussed, there is actually very little in the way of lay mourning: it is suppressed under a swath of black, with the church dominating the representations. An exception to this is an image of a church funeral, from a worn and stained Book of Hours, its condition and scribbled annotations suggesting heavy use, dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century and Dutch in origin *(Fig. 68)*.[103] It has all the usual features: draped coffin, church location, attending clergy, but there is the unusual addition of what appears to be two women at the back of the image behind the coffin. They both hold tapers whilst one also clutches a rosary which hangs down out of her raised hand. The deep black of their robes, a common colour in these images, seems to suggest that black was considered an appropriate mourning colour, which will become significant in later discussion of lamentation.[104] What is most interesting, though, is that the raised hand of the women holding the rosary reveals in the parting of her cloak a dress of

102 Camille, *Master of Death*, p. 182.
103 MS Liturg. 400, fol. 67v, (Fig. 68).
104 *BTV*, p. 58.

green, while the high and tilted shape of the top of both women's heads intimates that underneath all this black cloth they wear colourful dress and the elaborate hairpieces of the period. The discomfort of the courtesy literature with such fashionable hair and clothing styles has been well documented, and it is not surprising, therefore, that there would be a tension between fashion and both church and funerary propriety.[105] What then can be drawn from this image? First, that black was often the colour of mourning, and that elaborate fashion was not appropriate in such cases.[106] Yet this did not mean a wholesale rejection in these images, but rather that worldly status and lay piety could be combined even in the solemnity of death – by dressing in the colour and cloak of propriety whilst hinting at the status and wealth that lay just beneath the surface.

Away from the structured images which accompanied the *Office of the Dead* in books of hours and psalters we see a great deal of lamentation in the illuminations, often only a few pages away in the same manuscripts. Grief is represented physically, through gesture and body position. The model for this physical form of mourning was that of the Virgin and the Disciples grieving over the body of Christ, and this found its classic iterations in images relating to the Crucifixion, which David Freedberg suggests were specifically designed to arouse and shape feelings of sorrow.[107] In a typical French example, from a Book of Hours dated to the late fifteenth century, all the gestures of grief are present *(Fig. 28)*.[108] The Virgin sits at the base of the cross with the body of Christ in her lap, his lifelessness indicated by the bent, slumped angle of the body and the limp arm dangling down to the ground, his head supported by Saint John the Evangelist. All four figures – Mary, John, Mary Magdalene and

105 *BKLL*, pp. 62-3; Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (London, 1952), p. 55.
106 Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, p. 164.
107 Freedberg, *Power of Images*, pp. 169-70; yet grief at the bedside was discouraged as being distracting, see *CKDW*, p. 7.
108 MS Don. f. 33, fol, 13r, (Fig. 28); *Schiller.2*, pp. 164-8.

another woman, the latter two kneeling behind the primary figures – have their heads bent, with a downcast gaze and serious expression to indicate sorrow, heightened by the small cloth Mary Magdalene holds to her right eye as if to soak up her tears. This indication of grief is seen even more clearly in a much earlier English full-page miniature, taken from a worn and annotated cycle depicting the Life of Christ, dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century *(Fig. 69).*[109] Depicting an earlier stage of the Crucifixion, the piercing of Christ's side by the soldier's lance, the Virgin is shown standing underneath the cross on the left-hand side of the image, with Saint John to the right, the cross a delineation between them and separating the two halves of the miniature. Despite this parting and their different genders, Mary and John display the same indications of grief, to the extent that they could be stencilled versions of one another.[110] Both hold their left hands to their cheeks as if weeping in the manner of Mary Magdalene, their heads tilted into their hands and their gaze downcast and angled away from the viewer. Nor are the Virgin and the Evangelist the only biblical examples of mourning. In the funeral procession of Jacob, taken from a French, mid-thirteenth-century *Bible moralisée*, the bier is accompanied by all of his sons, massed behind the coffin (from the perspective of the viewer) and so clustered together as to create an overwhelming sense of uniformity, a multiplication of grief that is moving even as it emphasises this particular mode of expression *(Fig. 70)*.[111] In addition, their grief is indistinguishable from the gestures used in images of the Crucifixion. All of the sons press their right hands to their cheeks, with their heads tilted into the supporting hand.

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109 MS Gough Liturg. 8, fol. 61r, (Fig. 69); *Schiller.2*, pp. 88-117; Matthew 27:33-50, Mark 15:22-41, Luke 23:33-49, John 19:17-37, Psalm 22: I.

110 Sorrow seems to have applied to both men and women, see *BKLL*, pp. 1; though it was more appropriate for women to be more pitiful, see *ibid.*, p. 136.

111 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 35r, (Fig. 70); for movement of body on a bier, see *PIS*, ll. 1625-31, p. 185; for the rituals surrounding burial, see John Shinners (ed.), 'Burial of the dead (c. 1425)', in *idem* (ed.), *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500* (Peterborough, ON, 1999), pp. 537-8; for funeral processions, see Camille, *Master of Death*, pp. 186-7.

These models for mourning are not restricted to liturgical manuscripts. The romance genre also emulated these examples of sorrow. In one historiated initial of c. 1320-30 from a French version of the *Romance of Lancelot du Lac*, known to have been owned in the fifteenth century by an Alys Scrope, and in a somewhat dirty condition, the knights Gauvain and Yvain stand to the left of the initial behind a tomb, their heads bowed together as if offering one another mutual support, and again the gesture of hand raised to lowered cheek is utilised by the illuminator *(Fig. 71)*.[112] Women too react in the same manner as men: contrary to what Paul Binski has asserted in his *Medieval Death*, there is no gender difference in their responses to death.[113] Taken from the same manuscript, the right-hand side of another initial depicts Guinevere and her female companion lamenting Lancelot, whom they believe to be dead *(Fig. 72)*.[114] Like the men in the previous initial, the two women stand together, their bodies overlapping to give a sense of uniformity and support, and in this image it is Guinevere who holds her right hand up to her cheek as she weeps. Only in an allegorical image taken from an annotated and quite worn French *Roman de la Rose* are these demonstrations of grief any different. In this miniature of c. 1390, consisting of a grisaille figure against a gold and red filigree background, Sorrow is represented as a woman seated upon a pedestal *(Fig. 73)*.[115] All of the gestures present in the previously discussed illustrations have been taken to their extremes: her hair is long and unkempt, straggling in two sections down across her chest, whilst her hands, instead of simply supporting her head, beat upon her breast, barely covered by her disordered clothing. Her person, with her elbows stuck out sideways and trailing flowing robes, takes up a great deal of space, as if her grief should physically impinge upon the viewer.

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112 MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 38v, (Fig. 71).
113 Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 51.
114 MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 210v, (Fig. 72).
115 MS e. Mus. 65, fol. 6v, (Fig. 73); Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *The Romance of the Rose*, trans. Frances Horgan (Oxford, 2008), p. 7.

Significantly, this one wilder version of sorrow is, in the story, a misfortune banished from the courtly world where it was completely unseemly to engage in a lavish or violent display of any emotion. Indeed the literature is much stricter than the images would suggest – control, even concealment, of such feelings was preferable.[116] The *Golden Legend* is emphatic. Mourning is not just characterised by wild gestures, 'hair disheveled, garments torn, and breasts bare' and heads 'sprinkled with dust', but when felt too deeply it 'disturbed her believing soul', threatening even one's salvation.[117] It was far better to fight such emotions internally, and excess, particularly in lamentation, was to be avoided.[118] Individual images of mourning of course factor into the narratives of their manuscripts, and yet, when looked at from a broader comparative perspective, representations of appropriate and inappropriate mourning are so consistent across both stories and genres that it communicates a shared sense of idealised mourning. Mourning behaviour ideally took place in public, but it was not to impinge on that public; if one were to confine oneself to the didactic textual evidence, in contrast, emotional decorum in the face of death was complete suppression of feeling.

Beyond this tension with visual depictions of mourning previously discussed, there are subtle changes in the depiction of emotion from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, discreetly challenging the more static textual precepts. The early fifteenth century saw the rise of the 'soft style' in response to an increasing desire by lay consumers for a more human

116 *DC*, p. 14; 'ABCE of Aristotill,' p. 66, l. 9; *LF*, ll. 33-5, p. 80; *BTV*, pp. 31, 133, 147; *BB*, p. 8; *Urbanitatis*, p. 15; *YCB*, p. 24; *SPM*, p. 26; *HGWD*, pp. 33-4; *BKLL*, p. 152.

117 *GL.1*, pp. 98, 125; *LA*, pp. 109, 139; for a connection between wilder mourning and sin, see Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976), p. 18.

118 *GL.1*, p. 122; *LA*, p. 136; Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, pp. 144, 162-4.

depiction of biblical figures, especially the Virgin Mary.[119] Manuscript illustrations consequently began, quietly but undeniably, to feature more emotion, particularly in the case of the Holy Family, a development at odds with the total restraint advocated by the didactic literature. It is not as simple as Paul Binski's assertion that 'mourners were suspended from social norms for the duration of grieving': the evidence suggests that, by the fifteenth century, a visual model had been created for the expression of grief. This was partially in response to the desires of lay patrons themselves, and their restrained form of sorrow finds some expression in the letter collections. Its mention in the Paston Letters is restricted to the feeling of being 'right hevy' on the part of Margaret Paston in fear of her son's possible death, a phrase repeated as 'grete hevynesse' in the Stonor Letters when the wife and friends grieve over the severe illness of William Abell.[120] In many ways we have a confused picture: outright mourning is seemingly excluded from illuminations set within the *Office of the Dead*, yet its significant presence both within the same manuscripts as well as in other materials available to the lay elite, often tied into the primary and revered model of the Virgin, suggests its endorsement on some level as an appropriate model of behaviour. Public mourning could be made acceptable and so it had an ideal type, but it was still controlled and directed, and stepping beyond the remit of decorum was frowned upon.[121]

MEMORY

The *Office of the Dead* not only concerned the recently deceased, but all who had died. One of its functions was memorial, as a corollary of saying Mass for the souls of those who had died was that it kept their memory alive within their communities.[122] We can see the

119 *Schiller.1*, pp. 39-47, *Schiller.2*, pp. 152-4; Harris, *Shaping the Nation*, p. 369; *cf.* Isa Ragusa and R. B. Green, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1961), pp. xxi-391; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 45-6.

120 *Paston.2*, no. 213, pp. 360-61; *Stonor.2*, no. 295, p. 130.

121 Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 52.

122 Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, pp. 327-30.

communal aspect of this in a folio from a mid-fourteenth-century French Franciscan Missal which contains two grisaille miniatures *(Fig. 74)*.[123] The first, at the top of the left-hand column of the page, depicts a monk with a young assistant standing behind him, his hands raised, saying Mass in a cemetery littered with grave markers. The partner to this miniature, situated at the bottom of the right-hand column, shows another monk, this time alone and facing an altar, saying Mass on the anniversary of dead souls, with two coffins behind him. The multitude of the dead are not forgotten, but nor is the individual, for in the same manuscript we find another pair of overlapping miniatures, one showing Mass being given for a deceased man, his soul rising above his coffin behind the officiating monk, and in the other Mass being given for a deceased woman, the difference between the two images the female physical characteristics of the soul in the second *(Fig. 75)*.[124] Once again the evidence from these images and coincides with the texts: with two references made to Thomas Stonor's Twelve Month's Mind (the Mass held in memory of a person a year after death), and in the *Life of Saint Thomas of Canterbury* to the clergy singing the Mass of the dead.[125] The urge to be remembered is not only perceptible in this form, for in a small square miniature from Lorraine, accompanying the *Bestiaire d'Amour* by Richard de Fournival, the author is depicted handing a scroll to another, 'presenting his Bestiary, so that when he is not present his words and paintings will recall him to memory' *(Fig. 76)*.[126] Bridging the gap between the Stonor and the bestiary examples, the author of the *Instructions for Parish Priests* hopes to remembered through his work, like Richard de Fournival, but this remembrance will take place 'In þy masse when thow dost synge'.[127] The scroll stands out from the page, a stark white diagonal against the deep blue background, making it the focus of the image and thus

123 MS Douce 313, fol. 401r, (Fig. 74).
124 *Ibid.*, fol. 400r, (Fig. 75).
125 *Stonor.1*, no. 141, p. 148; no. 149, pp. 154-5; *GL.1*, p. 61; *LA*, p. 68.
126 MS Douce 308, fol. 86d v, (Fig. 76).
127 *IPP*, ll. 1913-6, p. 59.

emphasising its importance; the author will live on after death in memory, and it is significant that he do so not only to him, but also in our understanding of medieval attitudes towards a remembered life after death.

Returning to communal memory, there is also remembrance via reliquaries, shrines, and martyrdom to consider. The literature on the religious significance of reliquaries and shrines is profuse, but examining them briefly from a visual and textual perspective can raise some interesting questions about death and memory.[128] In one English *Romance of Alexander* from c. 1400, a group of people, including two pilgrims with mantles, hats, and staffs signifying their status, surround an elaborate shrine of Saint Thomas, a shrine interestingly very reminiscent of an elaborate funerary coffin on an arched stand *(Fig. 77)*.[129] The whole act we see here of paying homage at a shrine shows the reaffirmation of the memory of the saint in the minds of the depicted believers, and also, in its representation upon the page, immortalises this memory in ink, disseminating it even further in the minds of its viewers. Similarly with the popular image of the suffering of Saint Thomas Becket, a violent death constantly re-invoked in the memories of the lay elite by its inclusion for meditation in books of hours: he lived on after his death in the memory of the household and community *(Figs. 16-19)*.[130]

None of these features of death and memory can be discussed without mentioning Purgatory, the intermediate place between heaven and hell which all souls hoped to speed their way through with the aid of Mass said in their name. As such it was both a motivation

128 Binski, *Medieval Death*, p. 14.
129 MS Bodl. 264, pt. III, fol. 266v, (Fig. 77).
130 For a good example of this image, see (Figs. 16-19).

and a preoccupation of medieval life.[131] What is interesting to consider here is not the details of Purgatory itself but medieval reactions to its existence.[132] In the *Instructions for Parish Priests*, the priest is advised to question his parishioners to see if they have said prayers for the dead; implicit is the need to encourage this ideal behaviour.[133] The sermon given on All Souls Day would have reminded parishioners to pray for the dead as well as acting as a focal point of memory within the rhythm of the year.[134] One grisaille miniature, again from the French *Miracles de Notre Dame* of c. 1456, imagines Purgatory within the huge open mouth of toothed monster reminiscent of a gigantic whale, the naked souls within obviously distressed, their mouths open, eyes wide, and limbs flailing uncontrollably, so it is not surprising that contemporaries sought to escape this fate as swiftly as possible *(Fig. 78)*.[135] The flipside of the coin was mindfulness of death, the *memento mori* or reminder that one would eventually die, a prod to focus on the afterlife, and indeed a way of modifying behaviour towards an ideal way of living – this hung on the peg of death and the fear of hell, the discomfort of Purgatory, and the hope of Heaven.[136] We see it in the visual record most starkly in a medallion from a mid-thirteenth-century Parisian *Bible moralisée*. In this image a midwife holds a newborn baby out to his mother, yet the new mother's gaze, coupled with her gesture of grief, hand held to cheek, is fixed upon a white-shrouded corpse nested in its

131 Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, p. 303.

132 For a detailed exposition on medieval Purgatory, see Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, pp. 338-76; Camille, *Master of Death*, pp. 224-8; *cf.* Daniell, *Death*, pp. 183-4.

133 *IPP*, ll. 909-10, p. 28, ll. 1383-4, p. 43; Thomas Frederick Simmons (ed.), *The Lay Folks Mass Book or The Manner of Hearing Mass: from Manuscripts of the Xth to the XVth Century* (London, 1879), ll. 452-65, p. 42; *cf. BKLL*, pp. 7, 51, 192; *BTV*, p. 58; praying for the dead is a common feature of the didactic material more associated with table manners, see *PDT*, ll. 8, 16, p. 15; *ACT*, ll. 81-2, p. 19; for a detailed description of both purgatory and the ways of aiding the souls within, see *GL.2*, pp. 280-90; *LA*, pp. 728-39.

134 'Sermo in die animarum ad parochianos', in *Festial.2*, ll. 1-93, pp. 241-4.

135 MS Douce 374, fol. 14v, (Fig. 78); for a discussion of the relatively few images of Purgatory, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 186-99.

136 *GWG*, p. 80.

wooden coffin lying at the base of the bed *(Fig. 79)*.[137] The reminder is stark: even in the midst of life death must always be remembered.

One final aspect of memory I wish to address is that of wills and donations, two things that were utterly woven into the notion of Mass, Purgatory, and memory.[138] We even have a representation of will-making: Alexander on his deathbed, sitting up in bed, his hand raised to his mouth in a gesture of speech, his gaze fixed upon the four men in attendance at his bedside, whose hands are also raised in gestures of listening and speech, and this image dovetails neatly with a declaration in William Paston I's papers, describing the deathbed will of Joan Mariot made in the presence of the vicar *(Fig. 80)*.[139] The end result of a will or donation, both often heavily or even wholly concerned with the saying of Mass, was an indelibly cast memory of the deceased in the minds of the living, both on an individual and communal scale, an aspect of death for which the evidence from the letter collections really comes into its own.[140] The best example is the bequest of Sir John Fastolf, amongst others, which not only explicitly mentions the founding of 'a college of vij prestes and vij porefolk at Caster in Flegge in Norffolk, for the soule of Sir John Fastolff, knyght', but also how the granting of a suitable livelihood to William Worcester means that he and his 'wiffe, and my childre schuldre haue cause to prey for hym'.[141] The fact that Fastolf's name dominates the

137 MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 215v, (Fig. 79).
138 Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, pp. 181-3.
139 MS Bodl. 264, pt. I, fol. 191r, (Fig. 80); for a French example containing the same theme of passing things over before death, see MS Douce 202, fol. 2r, (Fig. 81); Westlake (ed.), *Alexander*, pp. 111-4; *Paston.3*, no. 938, pp. 16-7.
140 Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, p. 311; for female benefaction to the church, see Sekules, 'Women and Art', p. 44.
141 *Paston.2*, no. 686, pp. 300-302; no. 604, pp. 203-205.

final letters of the Paston collection demonstrates the power of such a donation – how it dictated the behaviour of those who became honour-bound to carry out his wishes.[142]

Donors were immortalised too in representations of themselves in donor books, a medium which beautifully encapsulates both sides of the written and drawn form. The *Founders and Benefactors Book of Tewkesbury Abbey*, English, and dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century, is a document unlike any other in the Bodleian collection from this period. Smudged and frequently annotated in a variety of hands, it consists of fairly crudely painted, though brightly coloured, representations of the donors, who despite dying between the early twelfth and the late fifteenth centuries are all depicted in the fashionable dress of the early sixteenth century, decorated in the symbols of their household and families, and surrounded by large escutcheons emphasising family ties. Taking one as an example, a married couple, Robert Fitzhamon (d. 1107) and his wife Sybil, we can see all of these features in their full glory *(Fig. 82)*.[143] They stand as a pair, taking up two-thirds of the page with their bodies alone, holding a model of the reconstructed abbey between them, the symbol of their contribution and joint patronage. Fitzhamon is dressed in full armour, his outfit enlivened by his blue tunic, resplendent with a large golden lion rampant guardant the full length of his torso, completed by a bright red bonnet. His wife, however, is even more colourfully dressed, and her clothing much more distinctly influenced by the fashions of the day. Not only is her dress a striking red, but underneath it and on her draped sleeves can be seen an underlying blue cloth, with the top of these sleeves slashed to show white beneath, while her gable and sleeves are embroidered in gold to match her belt. It is a truly sumptuous outfit that would leave Geoffroy de la Tour, distrusting of the 'new shappes and gises of array

142 *Paston.2*, no. 892, pp. 543-4; no. 894, pp. 545-7; no. 895, pp. 547-8; no. 900, pp. 554-61; no. 914, pp. 586-90; *Paston.3*, no. 947, pp. 31-3; no. 948, pp. 33-5; no. 1049, pp. 186-8; *cf. Stonor.2*, pp. 186-7; *Plumpton*, App. II, no. 1, pp. 245-6.

143 MS Top. Glouc. d. 2, fol. 13r, (Fig. 82).

of women' and equating their vanity with sin over four forceful chapters, spluttering with indignation.[144] This manuscript may have been produced in a religious house in honour of those who had aided its fortunes in return for an easier passage through purgatory, but the illustrator fundamentally understood that these bequests were also matters of family honour and a display of status on the worldly as well as religious stage. Hence the depiction of these donors with their household links heavily emphasised and in all the fashionable glory available at the time of illustration, regardless of how much courtesy literature railed against such display. This manuscript can stand perfectly for the tension between the rigid precepts of contemporary courtesy literature, the motivations of piety, and the pressures of status and display, all playing out against the increasing encroachment of noble fashion onto the pious page.

In addition to creating and ensuring a memory of the deceased, wills and donations were also attempts to influence the behaviour of those left behind, not just in the manner of Masses, but also by bequeathing books and clothes which they passed onto the next generation that had not only shaped their own behaviour, but also represented how they themselves had negotiated these ideals and what they believed to be significant.[145] Thus both Margaret Paston, widow of Edmond Paston, and Agnes Paston, widow of John Paston III, left books to the female members of their families in their wills. Margaret left her 'prymer clad with grene veluet' to her daughter-in-law, whilst Agnes left her 'grete booke of prayers' to her daughter Isabell Isley and her 'other booke of prayers keured with redde and having a siluer claspe' to Mistress Bygote.[146] These books contained all of the visual models for

144 *BKLL*, pp. 29-32.
145 Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, p. 353.
146 *Paston.2*, no. 929, pp. 613-5; no. 930, pp. 615-8; for a discussion of Margaret Paston's will, see Richmond, *Endings*, pp. 122-7; for the inheritance of books, see Rebecca Krug, *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England* (London, 2002), pp. 77-8; for general background

appropriate behaviour that we have considered, passed down to the next generation to influence younger members of the household. However, books were not the only thing worth preserving and handing down. Both wills also bequeath many items of dress, some rather elaborate, such as Margaret's 'beste girdill wherof the herneys is siluer and gilt and the corse is of damaske goolde' and Agnes' 'furre of grey'; these demonstrate, as the illuminations suggest, that regardless of the precepts of courtesy literature fashion mattered, enough to communicate and transmit to others after one's own death.[147]

CONCLUSION

What did this all mean for death and dying? The rituals and practicalities surrounding both had religious as well as social functions, and the omnipresence of death in the medieval imagination is reinforced by the myriad and sizeable images of funeral services, dramatically exceeding in size and quantity the number of images we have of the earlier life ceremony of marriage. Structuring this approach to medieval life around the lifecycle, rather than treating death and marriage separately as is common amongst historians, reveals that contrast, but also begs an explanation for it. The preponderance of images related to death has a context. The theology of death, coupled with a greater consciousness of mortality in the wake of the devastating Black Death, and the creation of the *Office of the Dead* which gave greater space for funerary images within manuscripts, all lies behind these greater numbers, and reflects the far higher level of ritual surrounding death than marriage.

Furthermore, when we consider the images and texts of ideal behaviour it becomes apparent, more than with any other aspect of the medieval lifecycle, that death is problematic

to wills, see Daniell, *Death*, pp. 29-30; S. Cavanaugh, *A Study of Books Privately Owned in England, 1300-1450*, 2 vols., Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1980, p. 862; MS Douce 231, (P&A.3, no. 575) was bequeathed by William de Thorp to his sister, see Sandler, *Gothic*, vol. 2, pp. 95-6.

147 *Paston.2*, no. 929, pp. 613-5; no. 930, pp. 615-8; *GWG*, p. 57.

in terms of behaviour and exemplars. Whilst examples of appropriate behaviour, practice, and dress abound, there is a barrier between biblical models and illuminations with a more contemporary flavour not as explicitly present in the rest of the illuminations. This may partly be a result of the overwhelming presence of the *Office of the Dead*, which was not only heavily illustrated and contained in both the books of hours and psalters dominating the illuminated record, but was also uniquely tied into a specific and important medieval practice. That is not to say that these images from the *Office of the Dead* are direct depictions of 'reality'; they are just as imbued with notions of the 'ideal' as any more fantastical allegory or biblical story. The dominating force of worldly display in funerary rites and tombs has been a frequent object of study for historians and art historians alike, and indeed tombs have both an undeniable physical presence and importance at points of reference in the letter collections.[148] However, considering didactic texts and images suggests a critical nuance, that within the space of the page itself status and piety were in constant tension over display and propriety. Historians too have frequently considered the role of the church, in reality as well as on the page, as a physical place, in the context of death.[149] Yet bringing the images alongside the didactic texts indicates that a delineation was intended between home and church, and ideally different aspects of the death ritual were to take place in distinct locations.

Finally, the parallel between mentions of death in the letter collections and the ideas we see in the illuminations acts as a counterpoint to the differing models expounded in the courtesy literature and saints' lives. We know the medieval lay patron from the condition of the manuscripts, which frequently signals use, and from explicit records of their owners, was

148 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 331-4; Binski, *Medieval Death*, pp. 70-122; Ariès, *Hour of our Death*, pp. 82, 216; Coss, *The Lady*, pp. 48-51, 76-85, 97-9; Sekules, 'Women and Art', p. 45.

149 Gloria K. Fiero, 'Death ritual in fifteenth-century manuscript illumination', *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), p. 279-84.

constantly engaging with the images contained within them. The evidence for appropriate decorum regarding death does not divide neatly between the visual and the textual, but rather, at each point along the journey through the rituals of death, that same lay patron had to negotiate tensions in models that supported and contradicted each other within both sources of behavioural guides. Much as he lived, the late medieval noble householder died by example.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this work has been to explore the ideals of behaviour governing family life in England and northern Europe in the later Middle Ages through the lens of not only the more familiar texts but also the largely untapped resource of the images which came together to form them – to ask how the behavioural models both explicit and implicit in these sources may have shaped and indeed been shaped by their audience. So how has bringing images into dialogue with texts better informed our understanding of the various stages of the medieval lifecycle, each in itself already amply studied in isolation? In many instances the inclusion of images nuances the ideals applying to different points in the later medieval lifecycle. One case in point is the way in which a woman's control of her household was also linked to how she controlled her body – so much more apparent when images are considered. Lust and the female body, indeed, emerge as a particular focus of French meditation when the regional expansion of depictions on these themes in books of hours are taken into account. And the proliferation of images of violence against children throws substantial weight behind what we regard as the extent of contemporary parental anxiety, clearly characterising the child as an innocent, which can be fed back into recent discussions of medieval childhood that by and large have taken a textual – and thus partial – approach.[1] Beyond nuance, the images also articulate change over time, such as the growing importance of reading to women, for which they provided both a justification for and a model of how to go about teaching in the form of Saint Anne educating the young Virgin, defining their role in the household as educators and encouraging through their popularity the incorporation of reading into feminine identity.

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1 Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (London, 2001), pp. 95-128; Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990), pp. 121-49; Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (London, 1997), pp. 153-8; William F. MacLehose, *"A Tender Age": Cultural Anxieties over the Child in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (London, 1997), pp. 131-46.

Still further, beyond nuance and change over time, including images in the discussion of ideals takes a step (or two) past current historiography. For example, the gender difference between girls' and boys' reading suggests that not only was the ideal male child dynamic and bold, as seen in the arena of play, but male learning itself was also characterised as dynamic from the outset, contrasting with the style of quiet learning and reading expected of girls. In the study of medieval friendship in particular, a field led by Christine Carpenter and Philippa Maddern, images not only support their suggestion that horizontal social ties were important amongst the gentry, but suggests that these were an ideal for those higher up in the social hierarchy as well; female friendship too comes more sharply into focus, in its ideal form and expression perhaps surprisingly not so different from the male equivalent.[2] Finally, when the issue of marriage is considered, images of the ideal ceremony fall in line with what historians have gleaned from legal records of marital disputes from the period, but at the same time they present a potential channel through which the notion of what constituted a proper marriage was supposed to look like may have been propagated. What is clear is that tapping only texts or images, approaching these topics half-blind, results in a partial narrative which both distorts our understanding of aspects of medieval life and indeed the ways in which contemporaries themselves understood and coped with milestones in their own lives and the lives of their households. Such a view would have been alien to how later medieval people processed the world around them, at the confluence of textual and visual models for thought and action.

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2 Christine Carpenter, *Locality and Polity: A Study of Warwickshire Landed Society, 1401-1499* (Cambridge, 1992); Philippa, Maddern '"Best Trusted Friends": Concepts and Practices of Friendship among Fifteenth-Century Norfolk Gentry', in Nicholas Rogers (ed.), *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1994), pp. 100-117.

Michael Baxandall has discussed how difficult it can be to interpret gesture in images with a contemporary eye, rather than an anachronistic one. To solve this problem with regard to limewood sculpture in Renaissance Germany, he considers the stage directions of miracle plays.[3] Gesture and body language are central to appreciating the illuminations, especially for the transmission of models of good and bad behaviour, and the didactic literature, which contrived many regulations for controlling the body and thereby projecting a good reputation, is consequently a valuable tool for reading contemporary images. To take just one example, on the subject of modesty treated in Chapter One, the descriptions of the body language of a good virgin, awaiting marriage in Christine de Pizan's *Treasure of the City of Ladies* with her 'eyes lowered', make our interpretations of the stance of the Virgin about to marry more certain.[4]

How then did illuminations and the didactic texts of courtesy literature, sermons, and hagiography interact and co-operate to form these ideals? Both source sets offered models, but not always straightforwardly so, or even in agreement with each other. Parenthood, for example, was governed by a complex of competing models of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, which could sometimes conflict as in the cases of piety and protection. Similarly, the evidence for appropriate decorum regarding death does not divide neatly between visual and textual, but rather, at each point along the journey through the rituals associated with it, the lay patron negotiated tensions in models which both supported and contradicted each other. At times, as with parent-child models in illuminations, the images visualised the father-son, mother-daughter models established in deep structure of much of the courtesy literature, and in doing so provided an explicit model for the development of children into replicas of the ideal parent. The work of John Barrell, specifically his approach of bringing poetry into

3 Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (London, 1980), pp. 153-63.
4 *BTV*, pp. 145-6.

contact with painting to discuss how and why the rural poor were depicted in a particular way between 1730 and 1840, offer insight into one way in which text and image may have related to one another.[5] And indeed, in the example of images of servants at the feasting table and their physical exclusion, when we consider such texts of the period as the sermons of John Mirk, which placed servants on the level of children, and the *Ménagier de Paris*, who treated them alongside the care of horses, we can grasp why they are depicted as excluded in the first place, even as we can also appreciate an implicit further level of spiritual exclusion.[6]

If complementary and competing sources communicated a complex of ideals to their audience, how might their audience have shaped these models in turn? Throughout we have seen indications of patron investment in the contents – both textual and visual – of these manuscripts. In the Introduction, we looked at their commissioning and ownership, such as with the patronage of William Caxton and the popularity of the *Golden Legend*. With regard to the illuminations, the manuscripts in which they are contained show many levels of use: staining, wear, annotations – and yet, even when they are fairly clean, suggesting collection instead of use, owner investment and association with the images contained within is often still present in the form of patron portraits, initials, and arms. And it is when we look more carefully at the fine details of these images, the increasing inclusion of contemporary dress in biblical scenes and the increasing elaboration of contemporary domestic architecture, that we perceive a greater articulation of the lay patron's outlook and interests encroaching onto the manuscript page, and so the messages which those pages transmitted. But audience affected images by another route: in the case of books of hours and their patronage, the enormous fashion for owning them, especially towards the end of this period as partly inspired by the

5 John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730-1840* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 35-88.

6 'Sermon for the Transfiguration of Our Lord', in *Festial.NF*, ll. 78-80, p. 8; *GWG*, pp. 215-28.

example set at the apex of society, encouraged the proliferation of images featuring in certain sections of them, such as the *Hours of the Virgin* and the *Office of the Dead*, thus reinforcing the messages contained within those particular images.

I suggested in the Introduction, along the lines of T. J. Clark, that illuminations did not just express notions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour, but in their construction and their interaction with the texts of the period both revealed and shaped anxieties about piety, decorum, and social status.[7] Images of marriage provided more than an example of an ideal ceremony; the encroachment of contemporary dress onto biblical characters like the Virgin flags the importance of dress as an indicator of social status for the viewers of these images. However, the association of the most elaborate forms of dress with allegorical figures on the margins of propriety and its constraints, and indeed with poor behaviour as in the rebuking wife of Job, simultaneously articulates anxieties raised by courtesy literature about elaborate dress and its complex relation to piety and good behaviour, and subtly nudges its audience away from wearing the most lavish fashions. As with making any rule effective, decorum is about persuasion as much as direction, images were a space capable of accommodating both. The dialogue between texts and images about the later medieval lifecycle was one means to relieve the tensions between rule and reality – to support, exemplify, qualify, or contradict the regulations governing behaviour, and in doing so to work out the right way to be.

7 T. J. Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (London, 1973), p. 13.

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READING AND IMAGINING FAMILY LIFE IN LATER MEDIEVAL WESTERN EUROPE

SARA RHIANYDD GORDON
Corpus Christi College

PART TWO: APPENDIX

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION



Fig. 1: MS. Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 79r
Book of Hours,
1382-94
Flemish, but brought to England: P&A.1, no. 299



Fig. 2: MS Laud Lat. 84, fol. 15v
Psalter
c. 1300-25
French Flanders: P&A.1, no. 295

CHAPTER ONE

Betrothal, Marriage and Courtship

CHAPTER ONE



Fig. 1: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 97r
Commentary on the Gospels,
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739



Fig. 2: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 6r
Bible Moralisée,
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524



Fig. 3: MS Canon. Misc. 110, fol. 123r
Alanus de Insulis, Martianus Capella
c. 1400
Norwich: P&A. 3, no. 775



Fig. 4: MS e Mus. 60, fol. 78r
Boniface VIII Sext
c. 1320-30
English: P&A.3, no. 577



Fig. 5: MS Douce 217, fol. 313v
Grandes Chroniques de France
Late 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 618



Fig. 6: MS Bodley 596, fol. 96r
Life of Our Lady
c. 1450-75
English: P&A.3, no. 1084



Fig. 7: MS Douce 237, fol. 16r
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 746



Fig. 8: MS Douce f. 4, fol. 3r
Speculum humanae salvationis
c. 1460-70
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 325



Fig. 9: MS Douce 135, fol. 74v
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851



Fig. 10: MS Douce 202, fol. 82r
Valerius Maximus Memorabilia
After 1401
French: P&A.1, no. 640



Fig. 11: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 20, fol. 4r
Book of Hours
c. 1500
Evreux: P&A.1, no. 806



Fig. 12: MS Douce 276, fol. 1br
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Northern France: P&A.1, no. 829



Fig. 13: MS Douce 195, fol. 7r
Le Roman de la Rose
Late 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 787



Fig. 14: MS Douce 313, fol. 164v
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 15: MS Douce 374, fol. 24v
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
French: P&A.1, no. 322



Fig. 16: MS Douce 308, fol. 210cr
Misc. Romances
c. 1300-25
French: P&A.1, no. 587

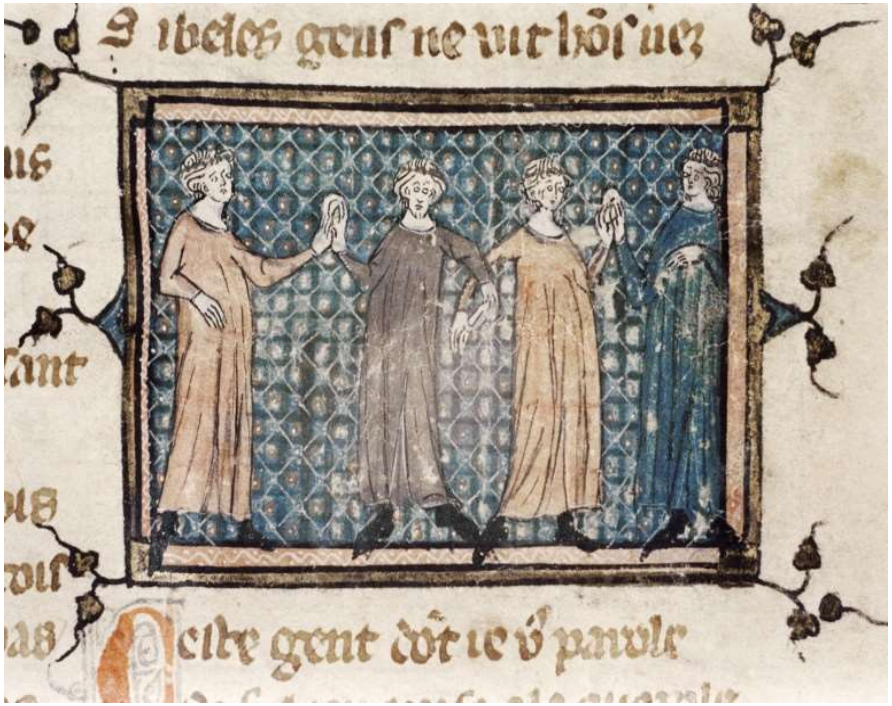


Fig. 17: MS Add. A. 22, fol. 15r
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1300
French: P&A.1, no. 566



Fig. 18: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 181v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 19: MS Douce 371, fol. 6r
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1400
Paris: P&A.1, no. 632



Fig. 20: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 275r
Commentary on the Gospels
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739

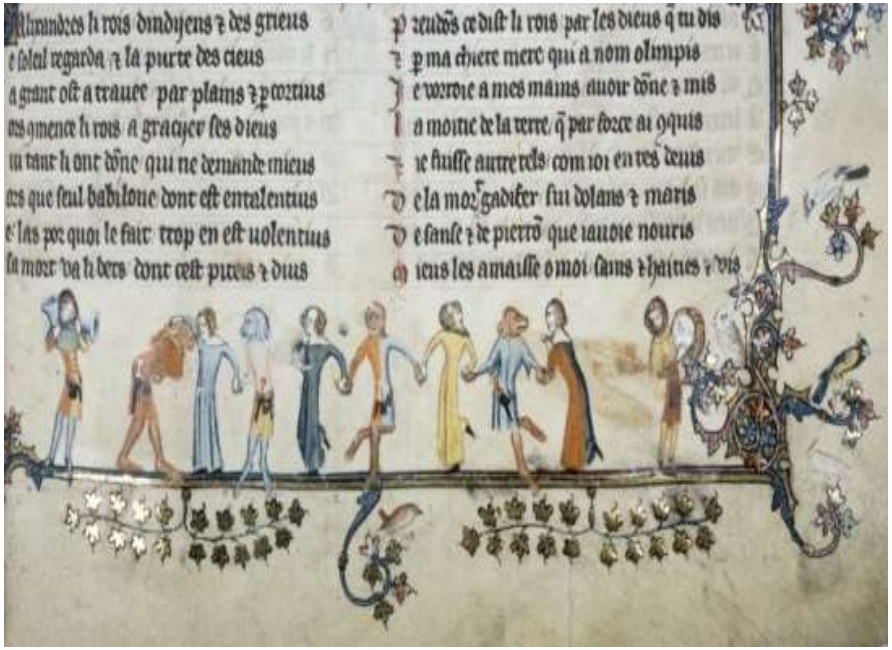


Fig. 21: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 110r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 22: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 117v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 23: MS Auct. D. 3. 2, fol. 238r
Bible
Late 13th century
English: P&A.3, no. 473



Fig. 24: MS Rawl. D. 939, section 3r
Astrological and ecclesiastical almanac in six pieces
c. 1350-1400
English: P&A.3, no. 749



Fig. 25: MS Ashmole 828, fol. 88r
Lancelot Cycle
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 573

CHAPTER TWO

The Roles of Husbands and Wives

CHAPTER TWO



Fig. 1: MS Douce 219, fol. 115r
Book of Hours
c. 1480-90
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 361

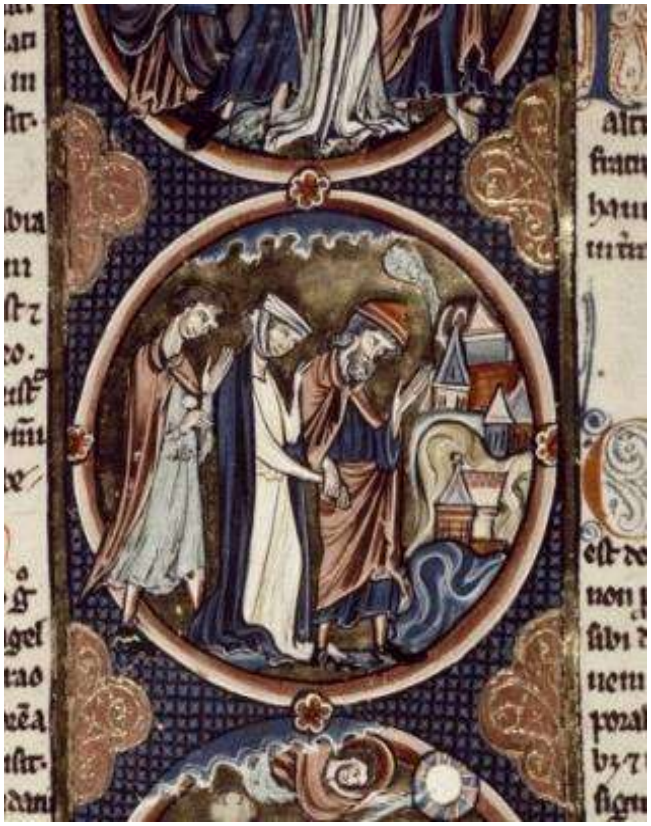


Fig. 2: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 12r
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524



Fig. 3: MS Rawl. A. 417, fol. 9r
Allegorical scenes from the Old Testament
Early 16th century
French: P&A.1, no. 838



Fig. 4: MS Auct. D. 4. 8, fol. 631v
Bible
c. 1250-75
English: P&A.3, no. 444



Fig. 5: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 204r
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524

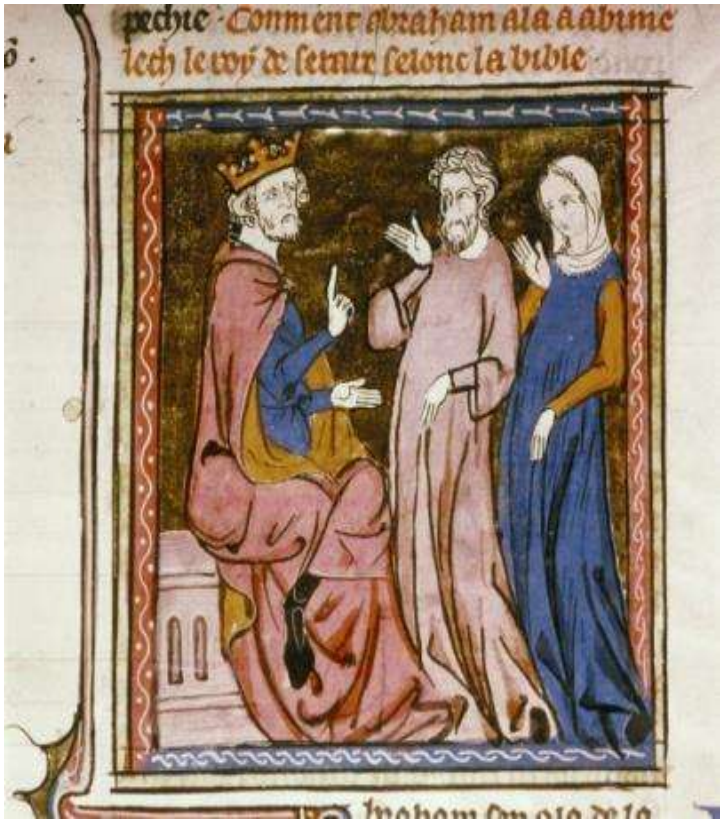


Fig. 6: MS Douce 211, fol. 23r
Guyart Desmoulins: Bible historiale
c. 1300-25
Paris: P&A.1, no. 581



Fig. 7: MS Douce 371, fol. 91v
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1400
Paris: P&A.1, no. 632



Fig. 8: MS Douce 371, fol. 57r
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1400
Paris: P&A.1, no. 632



Fig. 9: MS Rawl. D. 939, section 3r
Astrological and ecclesiastical almanac in six pieces
c. 1350-1400
English: P&A.3, no. 749



Fig. 10: MS Lat. liturg. d. 42, fol. 40r
Breviary
Early 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 543



Fig. 11: MS Liturg. 59, fol. 54r
Book of Hours
c. 1450-75
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 733

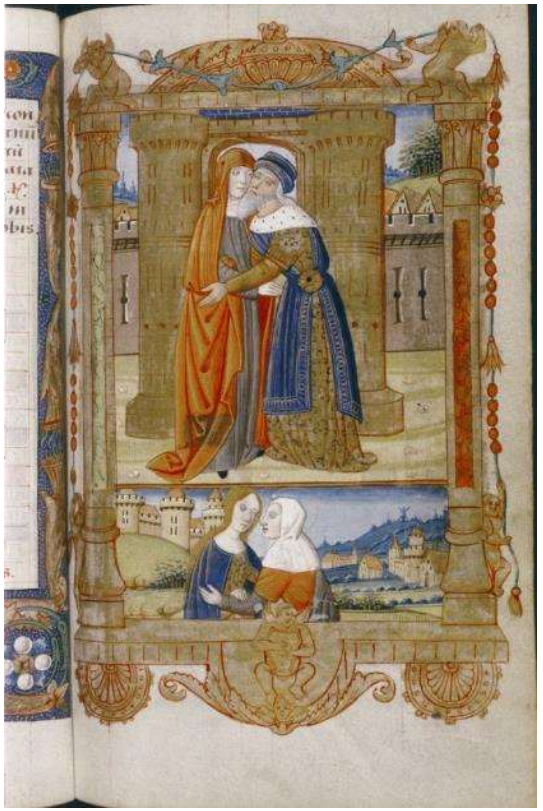


Fig. 12: MS Douce 72, fol. 22r
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 843



Fig. 13: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 33, fol. 52r
Book of Hours
Late 15th century
East France: P&A.1, no. 781



Fig. 14: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 20, fol. 66r
Book of Hours
c. 1500
Evreux: P&A.1, no. 806



Fig. 15: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 21, fol. 58r
Book of Hours
c. 1500
Rouen: P&A.1, no. 808



Fig. 16: MS Canon. Liturg. 99, fol. 72r
Book of Hours
c. 1500
French: P&A.1, no. 813



Fig. 17: MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fols. 57v-58r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Anjou: P&A.1, no. 827



Fig. 18: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 61r
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
French: P&A.1, no. 844



Fig. 19: MS Douce 72, fols. 44v-45r
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 843



Fig. 20: MS Douce 135, fol. 57r
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851



Fig. 21: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 20r.
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
French: P&A.1, no. 844



Fig. 22: MS Douce 88, fol. 29v
Bestiary
c. 1300
English: P&A.3, no. 524



Fig. 23: MS Lat. liturg. e. 41, fol. 7r
Book of Hours
c. 1350-75
English: P&A.3, no. 652



Fig. 24: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 152r
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524



Fig. 25: MS Douce 371, fol. 107v
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1400
Paris: P&A.1, no. 632



Fig. 26: MS Douce 195, fol. 71r
Le Roman de la Rose
Late 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 787



Fig. 27: MS Douce 332, fol. 156r
Le Roman de la Rose
Late 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 619



Fig. 28: MS Douce 331, fol. 26r
Boccaccio: Filostrato
c. 1450-75
West France: P&A.1, no. 729



Fig. 29: MS Douce 211, fol. 146v
Bible historiale
c. 1300-25
Paris: P&A.1, no. 581



Fig. 30: MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 88v
Book of Hours
c.1370-80
English: P&A.3, no. 665



Fig. 31: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 366v
Commentary on the Gospels
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739



Fig. 32: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 7v
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524



Fig. 33: MS Barlow 53, membrane 1, (medallion 1)
Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi
c. 1420-30
English: P&A.3, no. 883



Fig. 34: MS Douce 135, fol. 79v
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851



Fig. 35: MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 72v
Book of Hours
c.1440-50
French: P&A.1, no. 670



Fig. 36: MS Douce 261, fol. 5v
Romances
c. 1561
English: P&A.3, no. 1197



Fig. 37: MS Douce f. 4, fol. 12r
Speculum humanae salvationis
c. 1460-70
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 325



Fig. 38: MS e Mus. 65, fol. 72v
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1390
French: P&A.1, no. 612



Fig. 39: MS Bodley 263, p. 7
Fall of Princes
After 1439
English: P&A.3, no. 892



Fig. 40: MS Douce 215, fol. 32r
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
c. 1300
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 571



Fig. 41: MS Douce 112, fol. 36r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 396



Fig. 42: MS Top. Glouc. d. 2, fol. 10v
Founders and Benefactors Book of Tewkesbury Abbey
Early 16th century
English: P&A.3, no. 1177



Fig. 43: MS Top. Glouc. d. 2, fol. 13r
Founders and Benefactors Book of Tewkesbury Abbey
Early 16th century
English: P&A.3, no. 1177



Fig. 44: MS Top. Glouc. d. 2, fol. 15r
Founders and Benefactors Book of Tewkesbury Abbey
Early 16th century
English: P&A.3, no. 1177



Fig. 45: MS Douce 219, fol. 153r
Book of Hours
c. 1480-90
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 361



Fig. 46: MS Douce 331, fol. 15r
Boccaccio: Filostrato
c. 1450-75
West France: P&A.1, no. 729

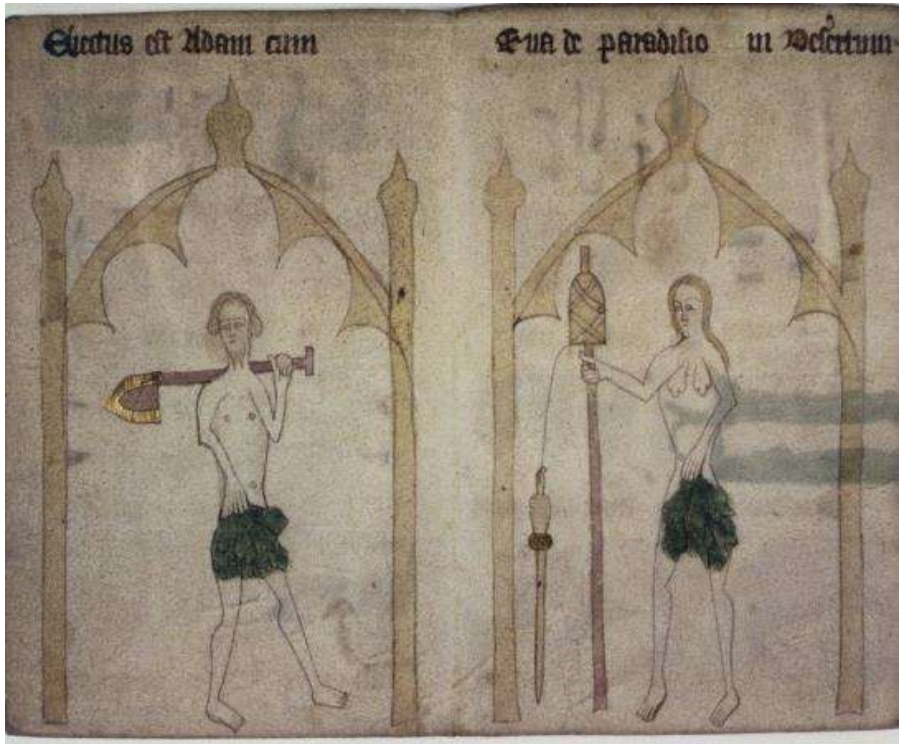


Fig. 47: MS Rawl. D. 939, section 4r
Astrological and ecclesiastical almanac in six pieces
c. 1350-1400
English: P&A.3, no. 749



Fig. 48: MS Rawl. D. 939, section 4r
Astrological and ecclesiastical almanac in six pieces
c. 1350-1400
English: P&A.3, no. 749



Fig. 49: MS Douce 195, fol. 67v
Le Roman de la Rose
Late 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 787



Fig. 50: MS Douce 313, fol. 291v
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 51: MS Douce 360, fol. 21r
Romance of Reynard the Fox and Isengrin
c. 1339
French: P&A.1, no. 589



Fig. 52: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 68r
Commentary on the Gospels
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739

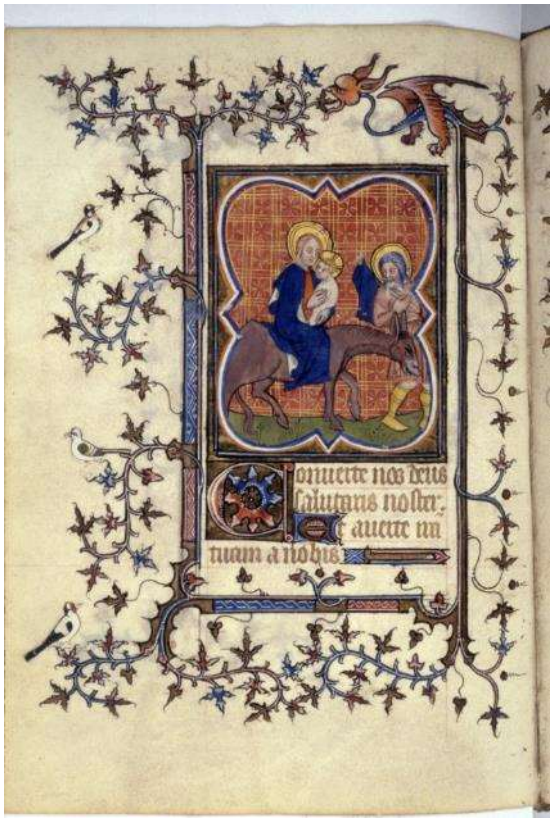


Fig. 53: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 27, fol. 87v
Book of Hours
c. 1380-90
French: P&A.1, no. 611



Fig. 54: MS Add. A. 185, fol. 81r
Book of Hours
c. 1440
French: P&A.1, no. 669



Fig. 55: MS Buchanan e. 18, fol. 74r
Book of Hours
c. 1450-75
Bruges: P&A.1, no. 327



Fig. 56: MS Buchanan e. 3, fol. 39v
Book of Hours
c. 1500
Rouen: P&A.1, no. 807



Fig. 57: MS Douce 20, fol. 98v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 395



Fig. 58: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 9v
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524



Fig. 59: MS Digby 223, fol. 189v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Late 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 552



Fig. 60: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 367v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586

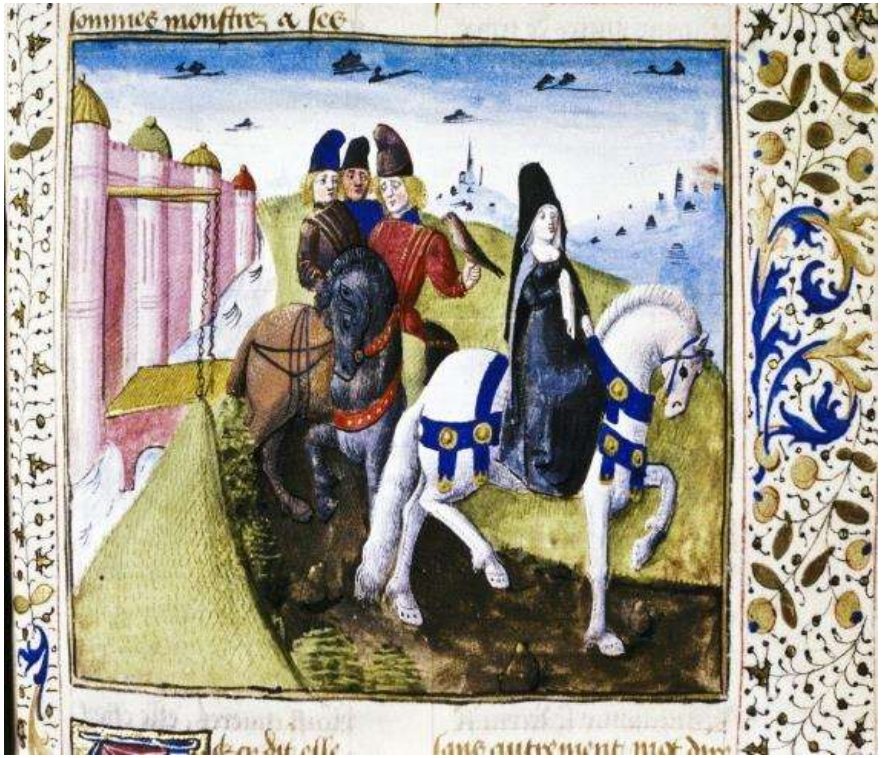


Fig. 61: MS Douce 331, fol. 52r
Boccaccio: Filostrato
c. 1450-75
West France: P&A.1, no. 729



Fig. 62: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 129r
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586



Fig. 63: MS Douce f. 4, fol. 11v
Speculum humanae salvationis
c. 1460-70
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 325

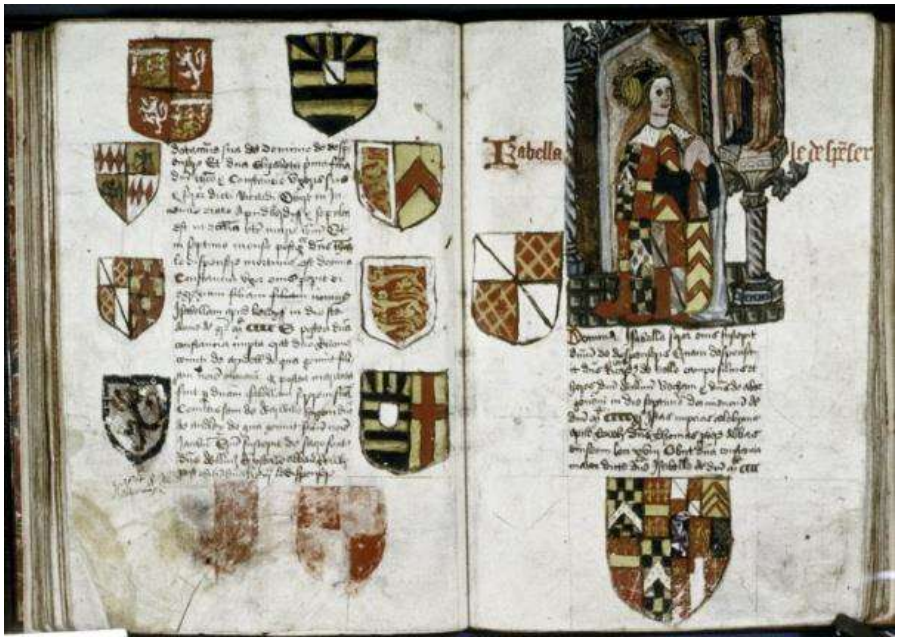


Fig. 64: MS Top. Glouc. d. 2, fols. 26v-27r
Founders and Benefactors Book of Tewkesbury Abbey
Early 16th century
English: P&A.3, no. 1177



Fig. 65: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 131r
Lancelot Cycle
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586

CHAPTER THREE

Wider Companionship

CHAPTER THREE



Fig. 1: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 171v
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524



Fig. 2: MS Laud Misc. 3a, fol. 37v
Breviary
Mid 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 642



Fig. 3: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 470r
Commentary on the Gospels
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739



Fig. 4: MS Douce 38, fol. 38r
Psalter
c. 1300
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 293



Fig. 5: MS Selden Supra 38, pt. I, fol. 33v
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1320-30
English: P&A.3, no. 579



Fig. 6: MS Douce 313, fol. 30v
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 7: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 188v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297

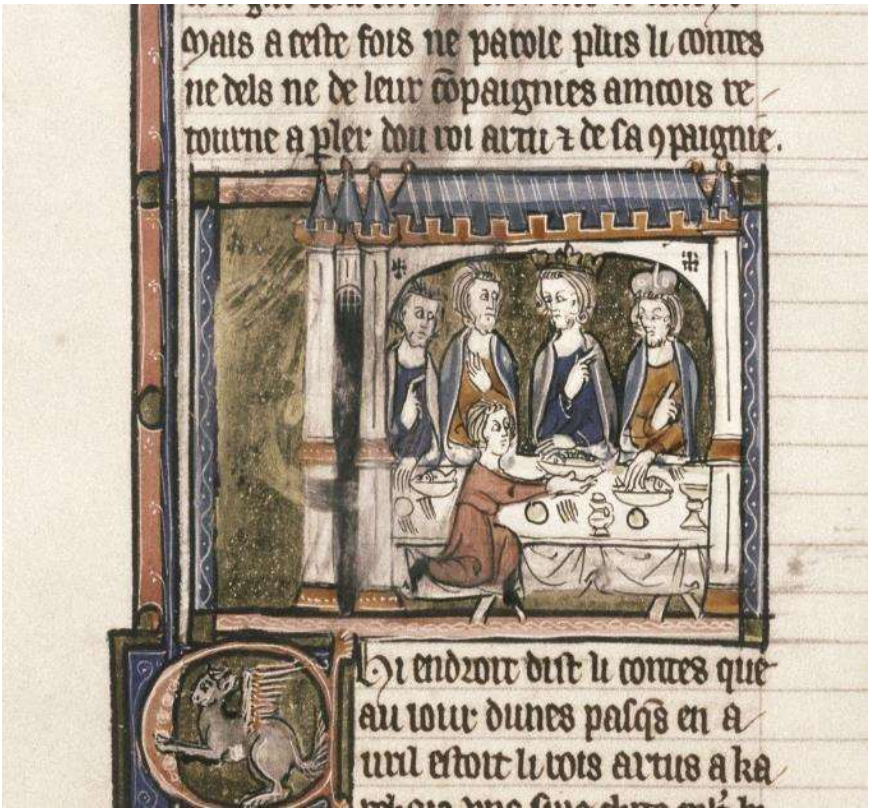


Fig. 8: MS Ashmole 828, fol. 44v
Lancelot Cycle
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 573



Fig. 9: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 27v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586



Fig. 10: MS Douce 199, fol. 252r
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4
c. 1325-50
French: P&A.1, no. 592



Fig. 11: MS Douce 195, fol. 47r
Le Roman de la Rose
Late 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 787



Fig. 12: MS Douce 237, fol. 55v
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 746



Fig. 13: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 97r
Commentary on the Gospels
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739



Fig. 14: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 104v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 15: MS Bodley 264, pt. III, fol. 239r
Romance of Alexander
c. 1400
English: P&A.3, no. 793



Fig. 16: MS Selden Supra 38, pt. I, fol. 34r
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1320-30
English: P&A.3, no. 579



Fig. 17: MS Lat. liturg. d. 42, fol. 9r
Breviary
Early 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 543



Fig. 18: MS Douce 300, fol. 13v
Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine
c. 1400
French: P&A.1, no. 639

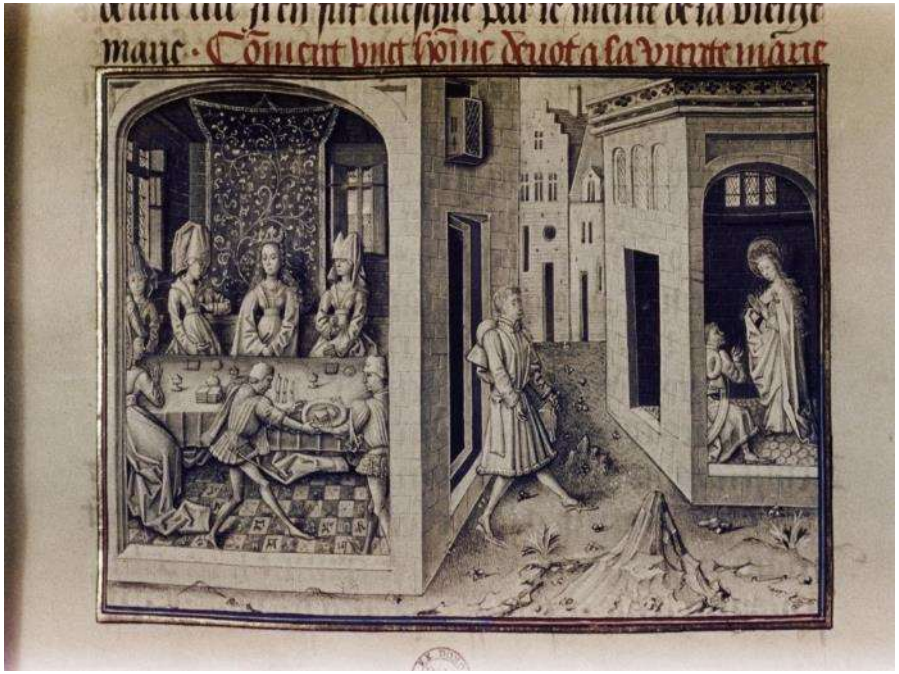


Fig. 19: MS Douce 374, fol. 17r
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
French: P&A.1, no. 322



Fig. 20: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 90v
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
French: P&A.1, no. 844



Fig. 21: MS Douce 308, fol. 42v
Misc. Romances
c. 1300-25
Lorraine France: P&A.1, no. 587



Fig. 22: MS Douce 383, fol. 2v
Guiron le Courtois
Before 1500
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 367



Fig. 23: MS Douce 313, fol. 119v
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 24: MS Douce 118, fol. 5r
Psalter
Late 13th century
Artois: P&A.1, no. 554



Fig. 25: MS Auct. D. inf. 11, fol. 12r
Book of Hours
c. 1440-50
French: P&A.1, no. 670



Fig. 26: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 6v
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
French: P&A.1, no. 844



Fig. 27: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 83v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 28: MS Douce 8, fols. xxvi-xxvii
Offices, Prayers for private use
Late 15th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 371



Fig. 29: MS Douce 112, fol. 21r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 396



Fig. 30: MS Laud Lat. 84, fol. 1v
Psalter
c. 1300-25
French Flanders: P&A.1, no. 295



Fig. 31: MS Canon. Liturg. 283, fol. 1r
Book of Hours
1450-75
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 732

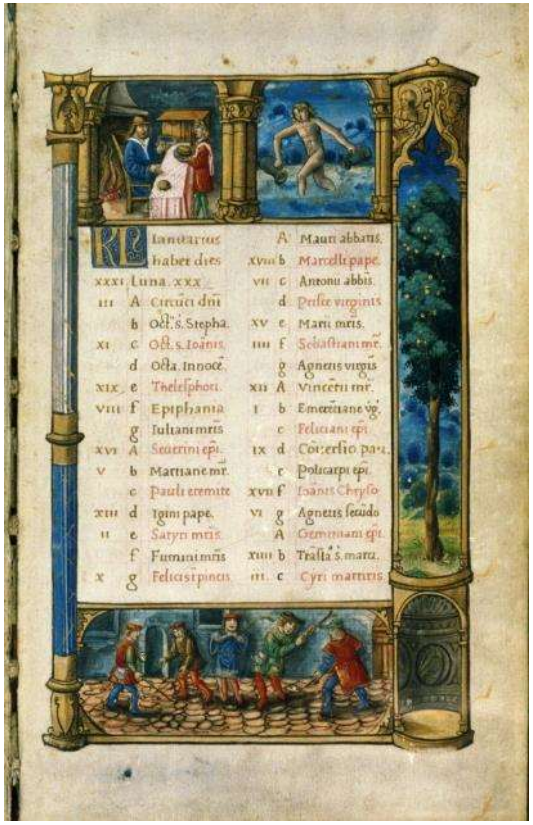


Fig. 32: MS Douce 135, fol. 2r
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851

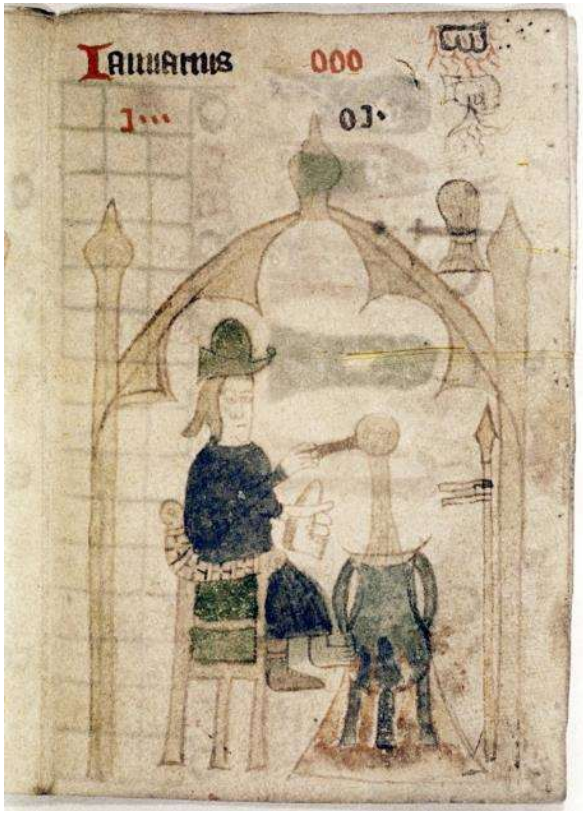


Fig. 33: MS Rawl. D. 939, section 2ar
Astrological and ecclesiastical almanac in six pieces
c. 1350-1400
English: P&A.3, no. 749



Fig. 34: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 14, fol. 5r
Book of Hours
c. 1440
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 313

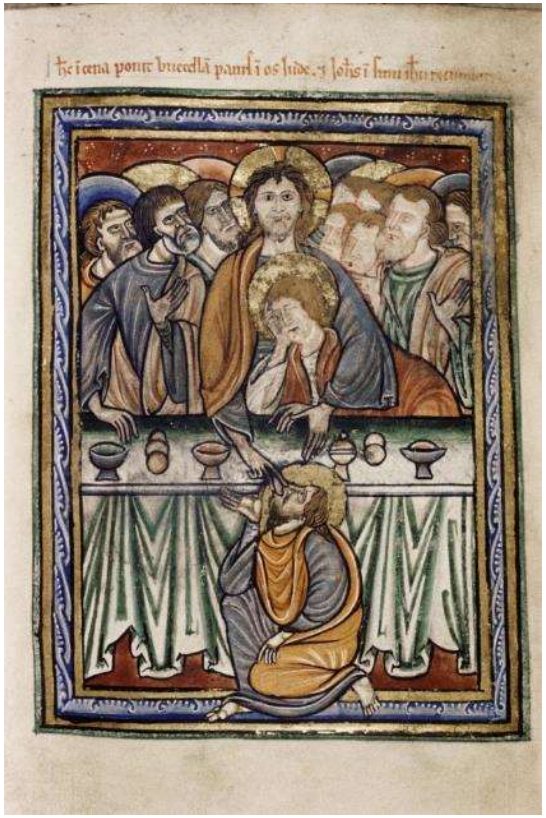


Fig. 35: MS Gough Liturg. 2, fol. 25v
Psalter
c. 1200
English: P&A.3, no. 290



Fig. 36: MS Douce 311, fol. 29v
Book of Hours
After 1488
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 362



Fig. 37: MS e Mus. 65, fol. 100r
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1390
French: P&A.1, no. 612



Fig. 38: MS e. Mus. 65, fol. 99v
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1390
French: P&A.1, no. 612



Fig. 39: MS Douce 199, fol. 44v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4
c. 1325-50
French: P&A.1, no. 592



Fig. 40: MS Barlow 22, fol. 12v
Psalter
c. 1321-41
Peterborough: P&A.3, no. 572



Fig. 41: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 27, fol. 72v
Book of Hours
c. 1380-90
French: P&A.1, no. 611

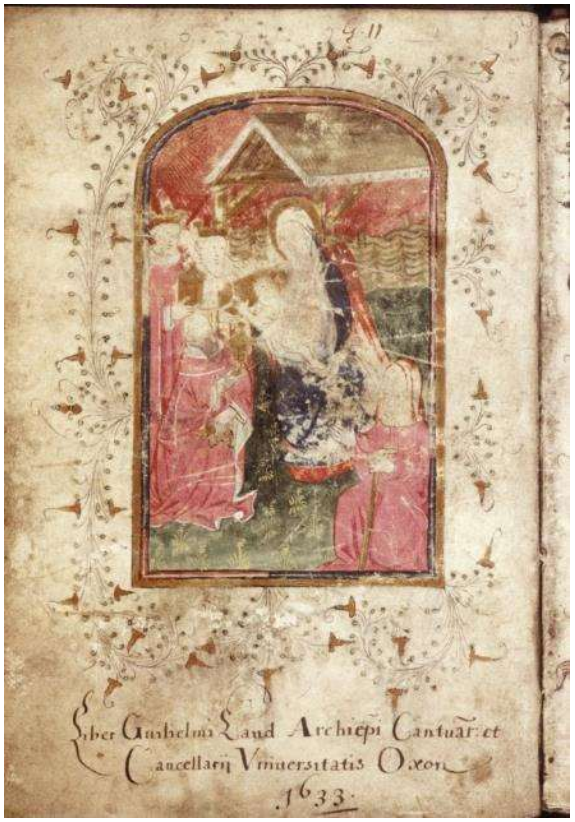


Fig. 42: MS Laud Misc. 658, fol. 1v
History of the Three Kings of Cologne
c. 1425-50
English: P&A.3, no. 936



Fig. 43: MS Douce 50, fol. xix r
Psalter
c. 1250-75
French: P&A.1, no. 535



Fig. 44: MS Auct. D. 4. 4, fol. 204r
Book of Hours
c. 1370-80
English: P&A.3, no. 665



Fig. 45: MS Douce 48, fol. 211v
Book of Hours
Early 14th century
Metz: P&A.1, no. 579



Fig. 46: MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 88r
Book of Hours
c. 1382-94
Flemish but brought to England: P&A.1, no. 299



Fig. 47: MS Laud Misc. 302, fol. 30v
Missal
Mid 15th century
English: P&A.3, no. 1011



Fig. 48: MS Add. A. 185, fol. 75r
Book of Hours
c. 1440
French: P&A.1, no. 669



Fig. 49: MS Buchanan e. 18, fol. 60r
Book of Hours
c. 1450-75
Bruges: P&A.1, no. 327



Fig. 50: MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fol. 41v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Anjou: P&A.1, no. 827



Fig. 51: MS Douce 20, fol. 80v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 395



Fig. 52: MS Laud Lat. 84, fol. 15v
Psalter
c. 1300-25
French Flanders: P&A.1, no. 295



Fig. 53: MS Douce 219, fol. 133r
Book of Hours
c. 1480-90
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 361



Fig. 54: MS Douce 112, fol. 68r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 396



Fig. 55: MS Douce 211, fol. 188v
Guyart Desmoulins: Bible historiale
c. 1300-25
Paris: P&A.1, no. 581



Fig. 56: MS Douce 112, fol. 141r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 396

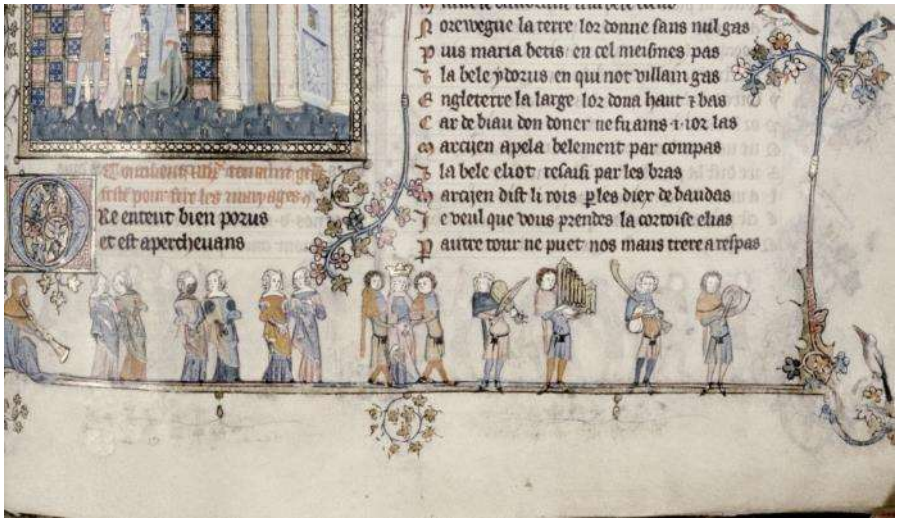


Fig. 57: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 172r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 58: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 104v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586



Fig. 59: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 71r
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586



Fig. 60: MS Douce 231, fol. 29v
Book of Hours
Before 1322
English: P&A.3, no. 575



Fig. 61: MS Douce 39, fol. 45r
Book of Hours
Mid 14th century
Metz: P&A.1, no. 605

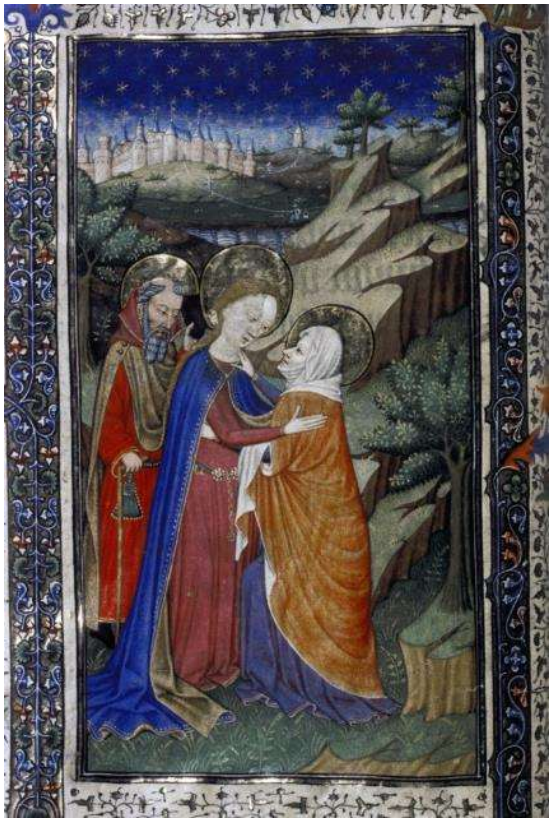


Fig. 62: MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 23v
Book of Hours
c. 1440-50
French: P&A.1, no. 670



Fig. 63: MS Buchanan e. 18, fol. 42r
Book of Hours
c. 1450-75
Bruges: P&A.1, no. 327



Fig. 64: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 36, fol. 28r
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
French: P&A.1, no. 844



Fig. 65: MS Douce 20, fol. 55r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 395



Fig. 66: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 4v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586



Fig. 67: MS Douce 217, fol. 330r
Grandes Chroniques de France
Late 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 618



Fig. 68: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 264v
Commentary on the Gospels
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739



Fig. 69: MS Douce 313, fol. 42v
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 70: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 182r
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586



Fig. 71: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 98r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 72: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 69v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586

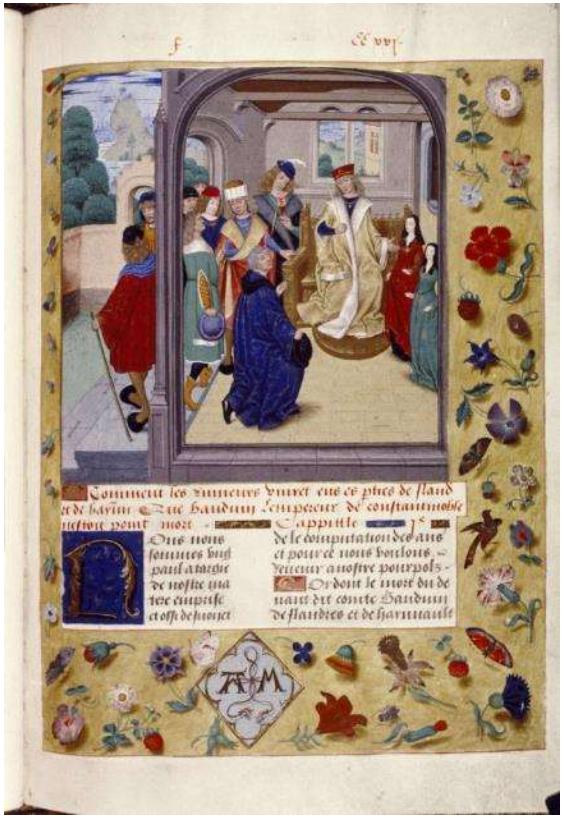


Fig. 73: MS Douce 205, fol. 9r
Jacques de Guyse, Latin Annals of Hainaut
c. 1500
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 388

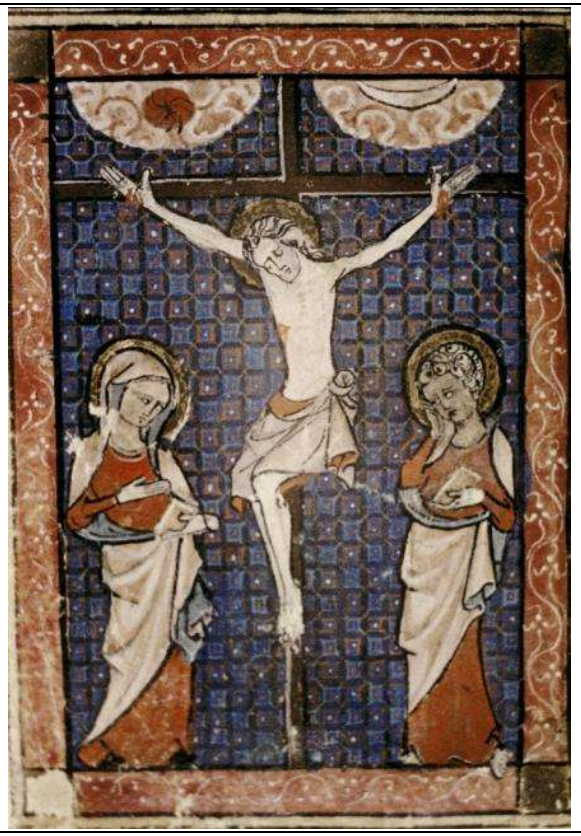


Fig. 74: MS Gough Liturg. 18, fol. xv verso
Psalter
Early 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 553

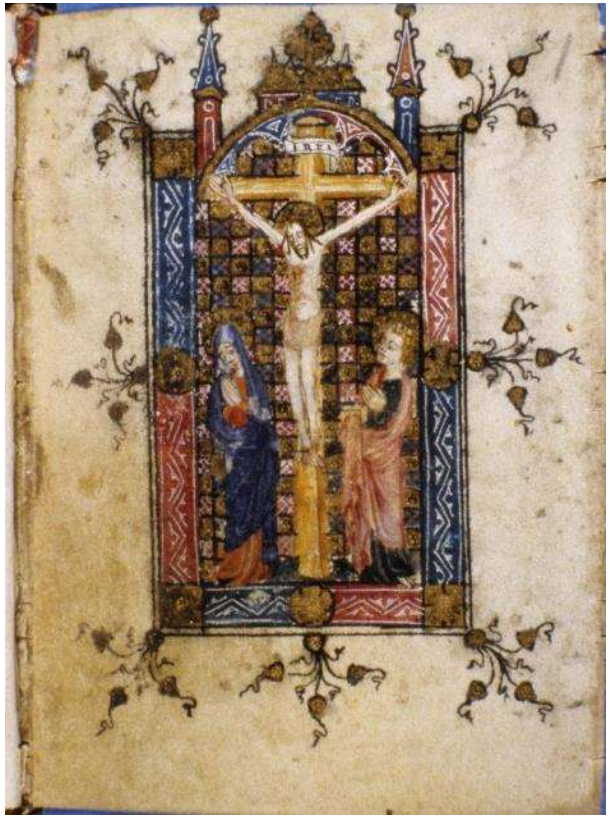


Fig. 75: MS Canon. Liturg. 251, fol. 1r
Book of Hours
Late 14th century
Southern France: P&A.1, no. 617



Fig. 76: MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 71r
Book of Hours
c. 1382-94
Flemish but brought to England: P&A.1, no. 299



Fig. 77: MS Rawl. liturg. d. 1, fol. 108v
Book of Hours
c. 1420
English: P&A.3, no. 869



Fig. 78: MS Add. A. 185, fol. 55v
Book of Hours
c. 1440
French: P&A.1, no. 669

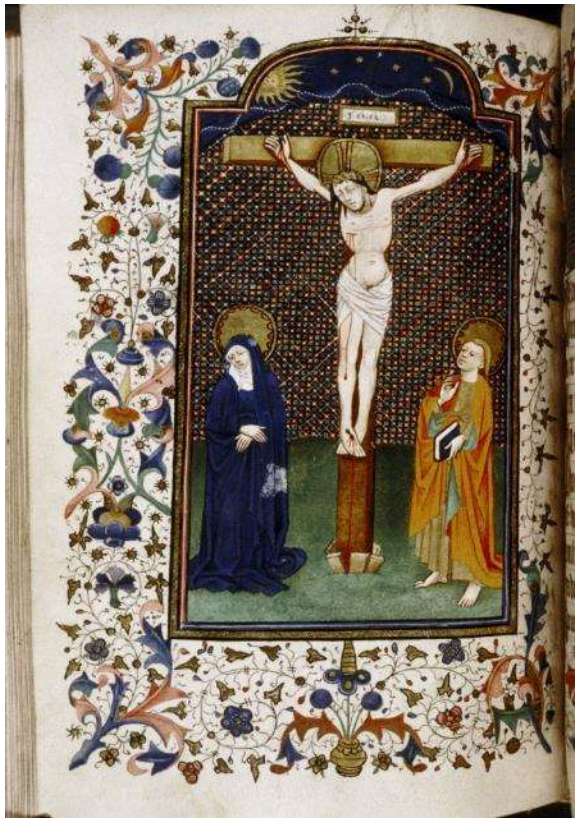


Fig. 79: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 14, fol. 99v
Book of Hours
c. 1440
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 313

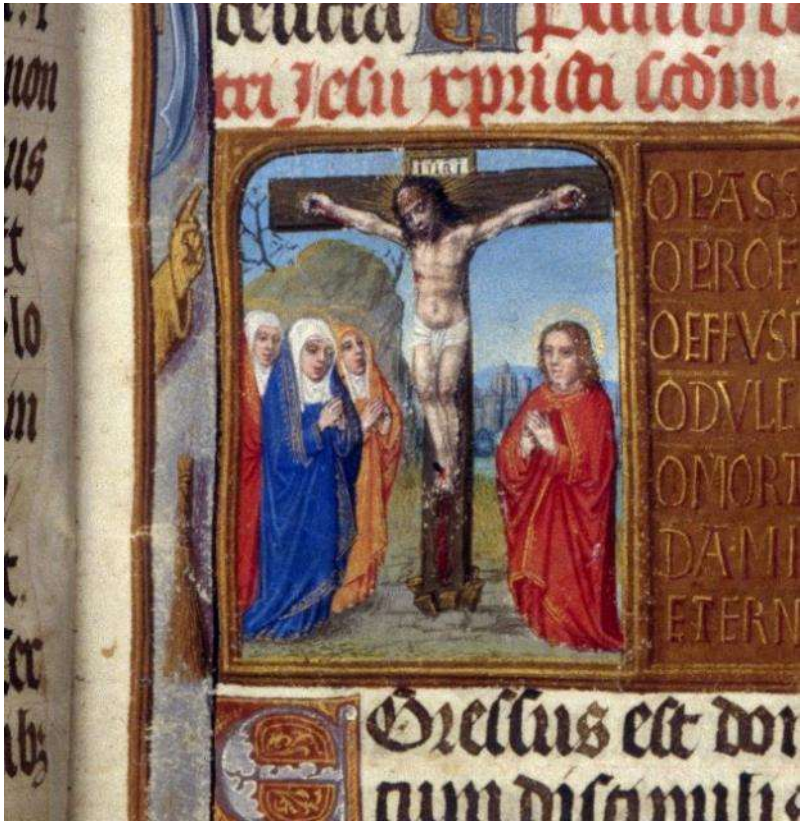


Fig. 80: MS Gough Liturg. 7, fol. 19r
Private Prayers with Hymns
c. 1500
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 390



Fig. 81: MS Bodley 758, fol. 1r
On the Passion of our Lord
c. 1405
Norfolk: P&A.3, no. 794



Fig. 82: MS Douce 144, fol. 111v
Book of Hours
c. 1407
Paris: P&A.1, no. 641



Fig. 83: MS Buchanan e. 5, fol. 13v
Book of Hours
1450-75
Hainaut: P&A.1, no. 329



Fig. 84: MS Douce 199, fol. 99v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4
c. 1325-50
French: P&A.1, no. 592



Fig. 85: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 97r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 86: MS Hatton 10, fol. 290r
Statutes of England to 1495
Late 15th century - 1500
English: P&A.3, no. 1168

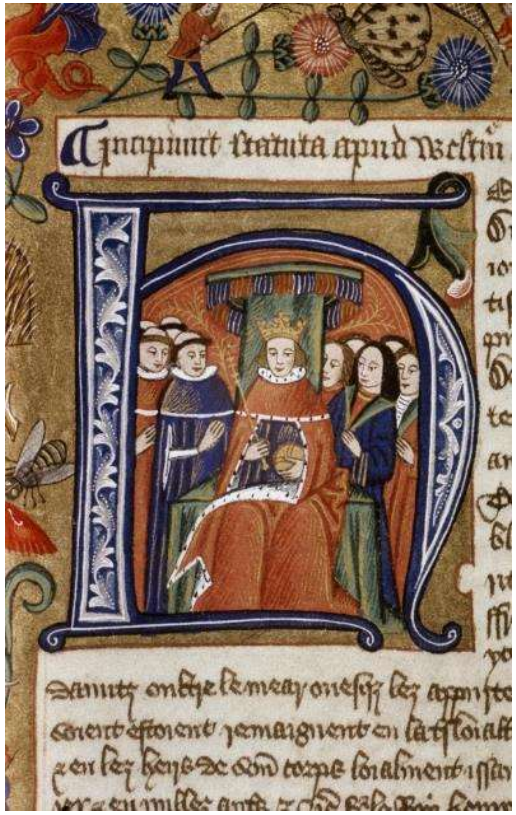


Fig. 87: MS Hatton 10, fol. 336v
Statutes of England to 1495
Late 15th century - 1500
English: P&A.3, no. 1168



Fig. 88: MS Douce 336, fol. 97v
Universal history from Creation to the birth of Christ
Before 1463
French: P&A.1, no. 715



Fig. 89: MS Gough Liturg. 8, fol. 71v
Miniatures of the Life of Christ
Early 14th century
East Anglia: P&A.3, no. 546



Fig. 90: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 27, fol. 116v
Book of Hours
c. 1380-90
French: P&A.1, no. 611



Fig. 91: MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 115r
Book of Hours
c. 1382-94
Flemish but brought to England: P&A.1, no. 299



Fig. 92: MS Laud Misc. 302, fol. 137r
Missal
Mid 15th century
English: P&A.3, no. 1011



Fig. 93: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 18, fol. 34v
Book of Hours
c. 1450-75
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 736



Fig. 94: MS Canon. Liturg. 92, fol. 97r
Book of Hours
c. 1430-40
Hainaut: P&A.1, no. 310



Fig. 95: MS Canon. Liturg. 178, fol. 33v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Anjou: P&A.1, no. 827



Fig. 96: MS Douce 20, fol. 24v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 395



Fig. 97: MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 64v
Book of Hours
c. 1440-50
French: P&A.1, no. 670



Fig. 98: MS Douce 256, fol. 36v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 397

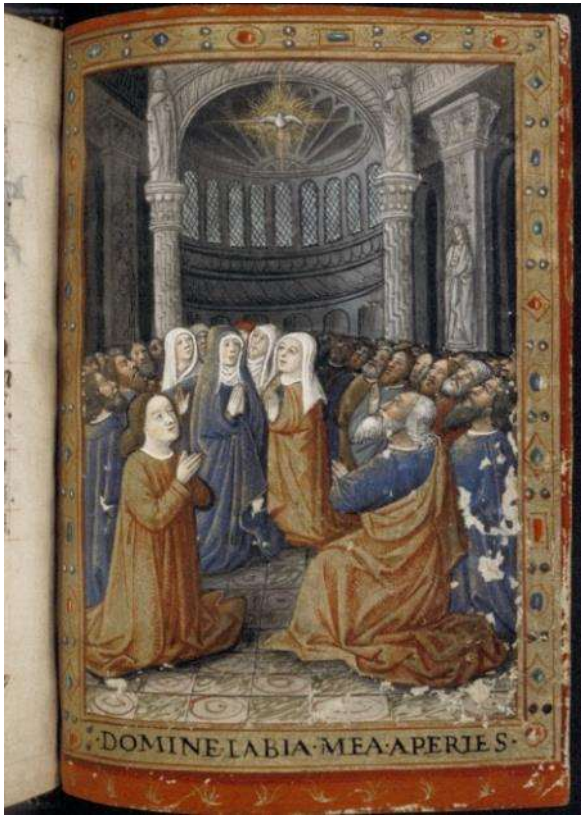


Fig. 99: MS Douce 31, fol. 154r
Book of Hours
Late 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 779

CHAPTER FOUR

The Raising of Children

CHAPTER FOUR



Fig. 1: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 344v
Commentary on the Gospels,
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739



Fig. 2: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 8r
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524

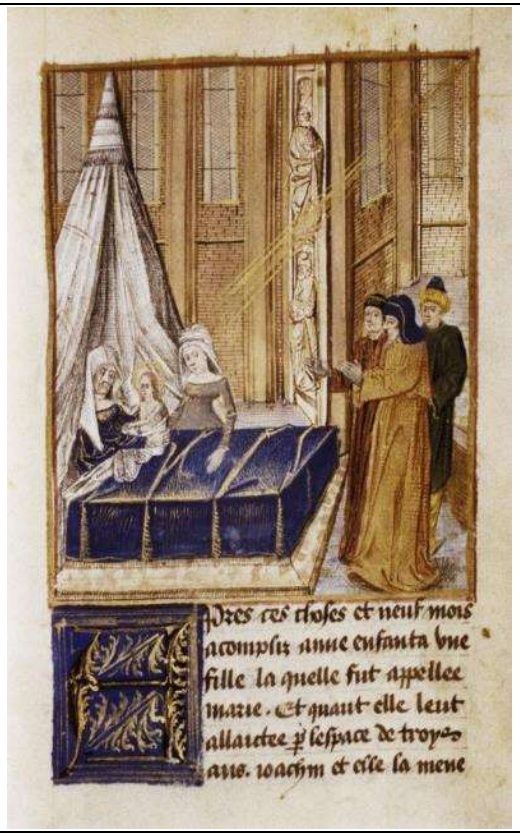


Fig. 3: MS Douce 237, fol. 7r
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 746



Fig. 4: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 2v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 5: MS Douce 135, fol. 88r
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851



Fig. 6: MS Laud Misc. 302, fol. 200v
Missal
Mid 15th century
English: P&A.3, no. 1011



Fig. 7: MS Bodley Rolls 10, membrane 3
Genealogy of the Kings of England to Henry V
c. 1425-50
English: P&A.3, no. 927



Fig. 8: MS Douce 144, fol. 63r
Book of Hours
c. 1407
Paris: P&A.1, no. 641



Fig. 9: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 14, fol. 38r
Book of Hours
c. 1440
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 313



Fig. 10: MS Douce 268, fol. 57r
Book of Hours
c. 1450-60
Bayeux: P&A.1, no. 707



Fig. 11: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 12, fol. 67r
Book of Hours
Early 15th century
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 648



Fig. 12: MS Laud Misc. 93, fol. 144r
Choir Breviary
Early 16th century
Northern France: P&A.1, no. 834

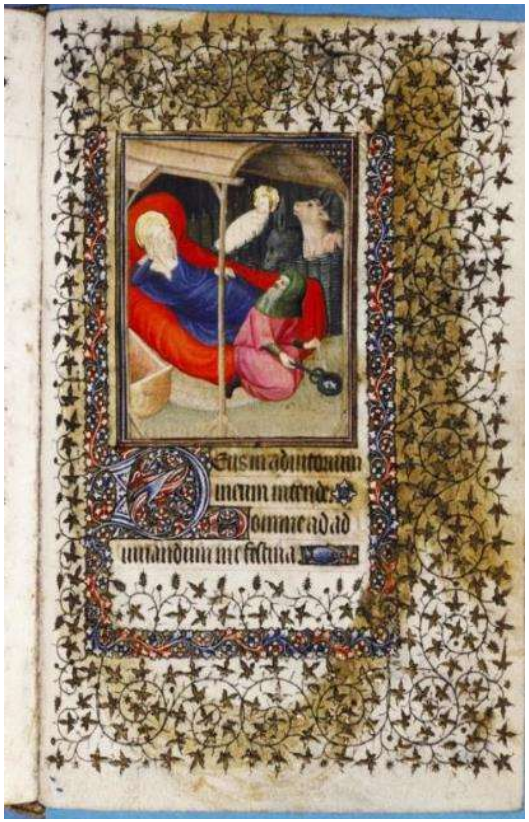


Fig. 13: MS Canon. Liturg. 75, fol. 62r
Book of Hours
Early 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 642



Fig. 14: MS Douce 118, fol. 135r
Psalter
Late 13th century
Artois: P&A.1, no. 554



Fig. 15: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 25, fol. 112r
Book of Hours
c. 1500
Rouen: P&A.1, no. 809



Fig. 16: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 33, fol. 174v
Book of Hours
1566
French: P&A.1, no. 859



Fig. 17: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 27, fol. 132r
Book of Hours
c. 1380-90
French: P&A.1, no. 611



Fig. 18: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 20, fol. 125r
Book of Hours
Late 15th century
Paris: P&A.1: no. 767



Fig. 19: MS Douce 374, fol. 87v
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
French: P&A.1, no. 322



Fig. 20: MS Douce 264, fol. 18v
Private Prayers and Devotions
Early 16th century
French: P&A.1, no. 836



Fig. 21: MS Douce 381, fol. 85r
Book of Hours (fragments)
c. 1450-75
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 345



Fig. 22: MS Douce 223, fol. 20v
Book of Hours
c. 1480
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 360



Fig. 23: MS Douce 371, fol. 87v
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1400
Paris: P&A.1, no. 632



Fig. 24: MS Douce 211, fol. 24v
Guyart Desmoulins: Bible historiale
c. 1300-25
Paris: P&A.1, no. 581



Fig. 25: MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 4r
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1320-30
English: P&A.3, no. 579



Fig. 26: MS Douce 374, fol. 38r
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
French: P&A.1, no. 322



Fig. 27: MS Douce 72, fol. 38r
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 843



Fig. 28: MS Douce 237, fol. 30r
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 746



Fig. 29: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 26, fol. 57v
Book of Hours
c. 1450-75
Tournai: P&A.1, no. 333



Fig. 30: MS Douce 231, fol. 6r
Book of Hours
Before 1322
English: P&A.3, no. 575



Fig. 31: MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 48v
Book of Hours
c. 1440-50
French: P&A.1, no. 670



Fig. 32: MS Douce 112, fol. 153r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 396

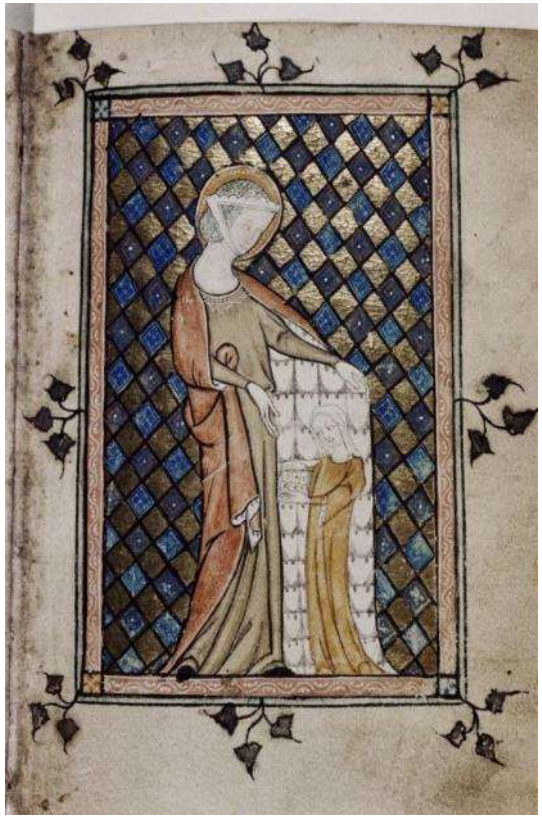


Fig. 33: MS Douce 231, fol. 3r
Book of Hours
Before 1322
English: P&A.3, no. 575



Fig. 34: MS Douce 211, fol. 222v
Guyart Desmoulins: Bible historiale
c. 1300-25
Paris: P&A.1, no. 581



Fig. 35: MS Rawl. A. 417, fol. 23v
Allegorical scenes from the Old Testament
Early 16th century
French: P&A.1, no. 838



Fig. 36: MS Auct D. 4. 4, fol. 181v
Book of Hours
c.1370-80
English: P&A.3, no. 665



Fig. 37: MS Douce 276, fol. 4r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Northern France: P&A.1, no. 829



Fig. 38: MS Douce 276, fol. 8r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Northern France: P&A.1, no. 829



Fig. 39: MS Buchanan e. 8, fol. 7v
Book of Hours
c. 1500
Paris: P&A.1, no. 797



Fig. 40: MS Douce 112, fol. 43v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 396



Fig. 41: MS Rawl. D. 1220, fol. 4v
Astrological treaties
c. 1450-70
English: P&A.3, no. 1110



Fig. 42: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 31, fol. 79a v
Book of Hours
c. 1500
French: P&A.3, no. 805



Fig. 43: MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 51v
Book of Hours
c. 1440-50
French: P&A.1, no. 670



Fig. 44: MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 12r
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1320-30
English: P&A.3, no. 579

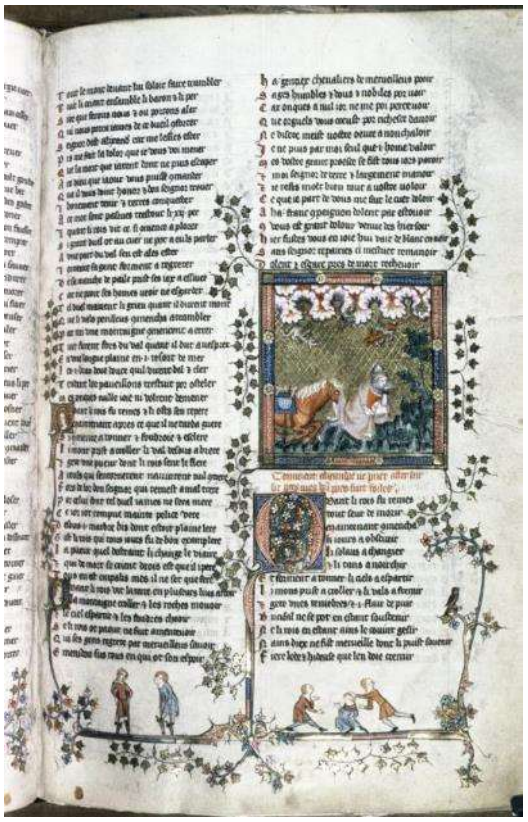


Fig. 45: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 65r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 46: MS Douce 135, fol. 2r
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851

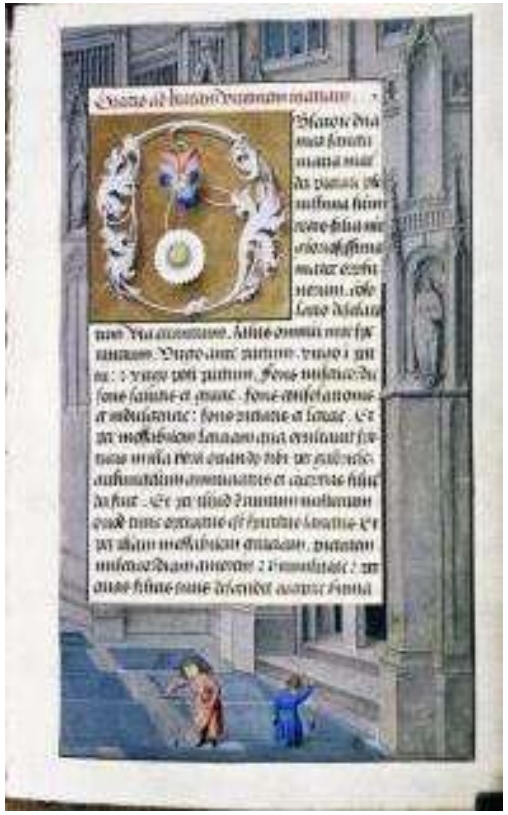


Fig. 47: MS Douce 311, fol. 98r
Book of Hours
After 1488
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 362



Fig. 48: MS Douce 135, fol. 91r
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851



Fig. 49: MS Douce 276, fol. 97v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Northern France: P&A.1, no. 829

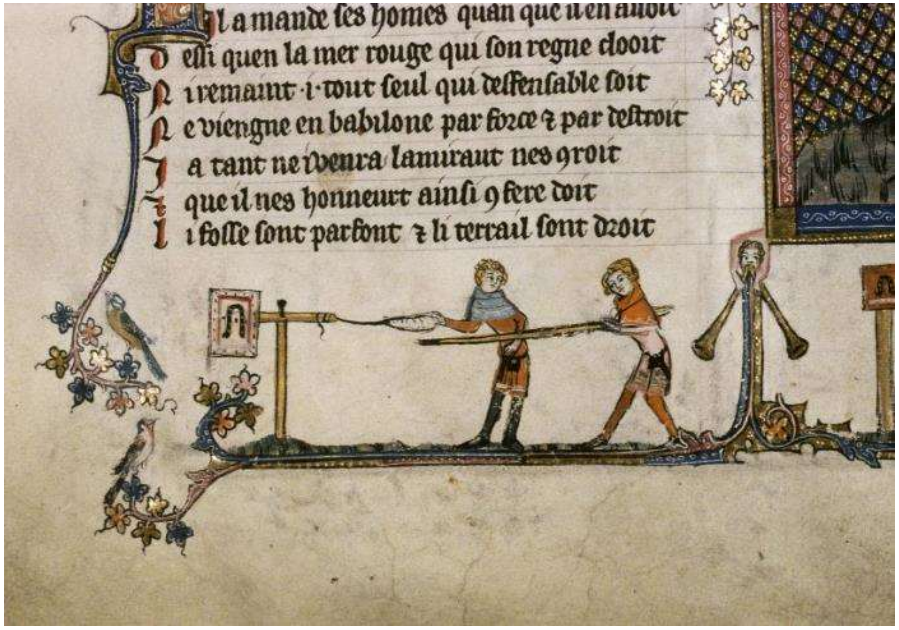


Fig. 50: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 82v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 51: MS Douce 276, fol. 12v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Northern France: P&A.1, no. 829



Fig. 52: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 119r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 53: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 149v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 54: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 165r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 55: MS Douce 313, fol. 285v
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 56: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 64v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 57: MS Douce 366, fol. 147v
Psalter
Late 13th century - c. 1300
East Anglia: P&A.3, no. 499



Fig. 58: MS Add. A. 185, fol. 135r
Book of Hours
c. 1440
French: P&A.1, no. 669

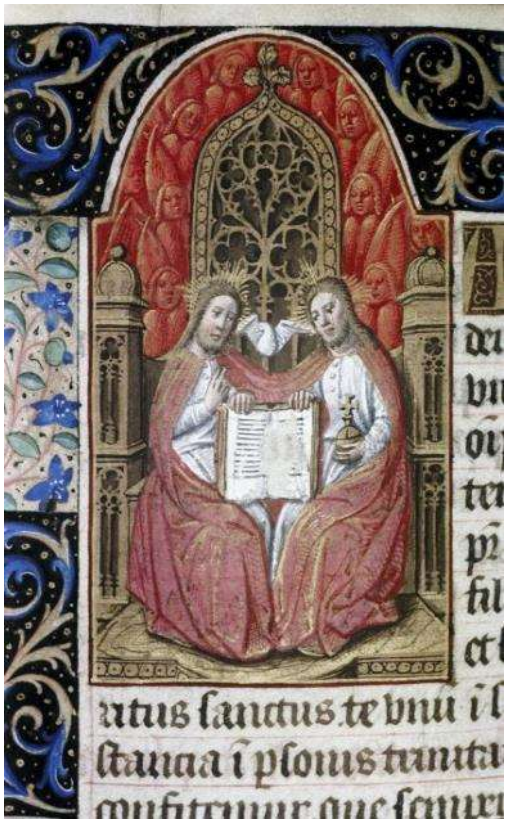


Fig. 59: MS Liturg. 41, fol. 197v
Book of Hours
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 749



Fig. 60: MS Douce 20, fol. 104v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 395



Fig. 61: MS Bodley 968, fol. 165v
Miroir historial abrégé
Before 1472
Western France: P&A.1, no. 724



Fig. 62: MS Laud Misc. 188, fol. 1r
Book of Hours
c. 1380
English: P&A.3, no. 666



Fig. 63:MS Lat. liturg. f. 3, fol. 118r
Book of Hours
c. 1382-94
Flemish but brought to England: P&A.1, no. 299



Fig. 64: MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 14r
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1320-30
English: P&A.3, no. 579



Fig. 65: MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 24r
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1320-30
English: P&A.3, no. 579

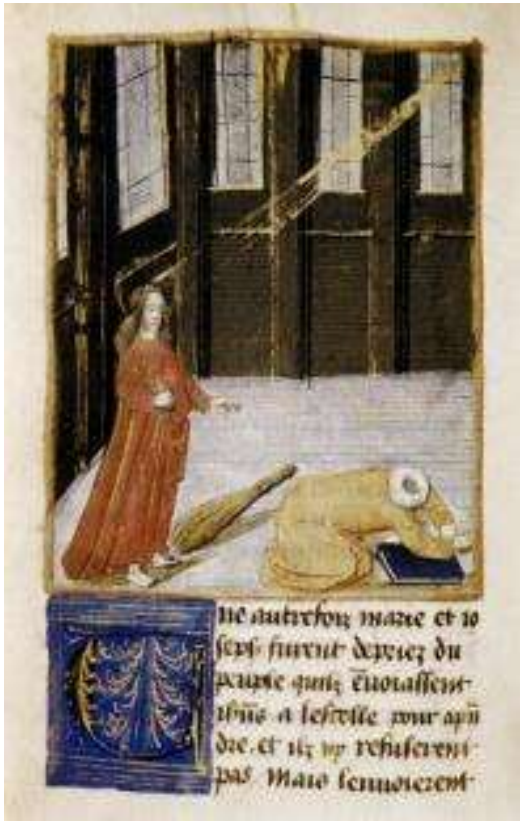


Fig. 66: MS Douce 237, fol. 51v
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 746



Fig. 67: MS Laud Misc. 165, fol. 394v
Commentary on the Gospels
Late 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 739



Fig. 68: MS Liturg. 98, fol. 77v
Book of Hours
c. 1460
Flemish and English: P&A.1, no. 323



Fig. 69: MS Douce 112, fol. 71r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 396



Fig. 70: MS Douce 72, fol. 77r
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 843



Fig. 71: MS Douce 264, fol. 32r
Private Prayers and Devotions
Early 16th century
French: P&A.1, no. 836



Fig. 72: MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 11, fol. 52v
Book of Hours
c. 1440-50
French: P&A.1, no. 670



Fig. 73: MS Canon. Liturg. 43, fol. 24r
Book of Hours
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 748



Fig. 74: MS Gough Liturg. 15, fol. 23r
Book of Hours
c. 1470-80
Ghent: P&A.1, no. 353



Fig. 75: MS Add. A. 185, fol. 65v
Book of Hours
c. 1440
French: P&A.1, no. 669



Fig. 76: MS Buchanan e. 4, fol. 172r
Book of Hours
Late 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 777



Fig. 77: MS Lat. liturg. f. 2, fol. 104v
Book of Hours
c. 1405-13
English: P&A.3, no. 795



Fig. 78: MS Liturg. 401, fol. 30v
Book of Hours
c. 1450-75
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 348



Fig. 79: MS Douce 31, fol. 232r
Book of Hours
Late 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 779



Fig. 80: MS Douce 237, fol. 52v
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 746



Fig. 81: MS Selden Supra 38, pt. 1, fol. 24v
Gesta Infantiae Salvatoris
c. 1320-30
English: P&A.3, no. 579



Fig. 82: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 123v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 83: MS Douce 276, fol. 10v
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Northern France: P&A.1, no. 829

CHAPTER FIVE

The End of Life

CHAPTER FIVE



Fig. 1: MS Auct. D. 4. 8, fol. 96r
Bible
c. 1250-75
English: P&A.3, no. 444

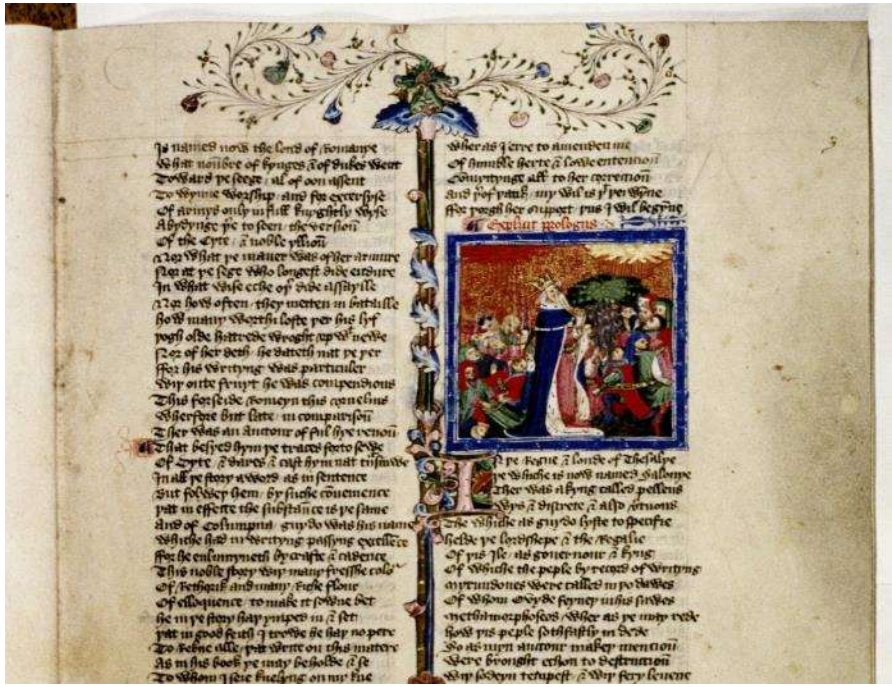


Fig. 2: MS Digby 232, fol. 3b r
Siege of Troy
After 1420
English: P&A.3, no. 868

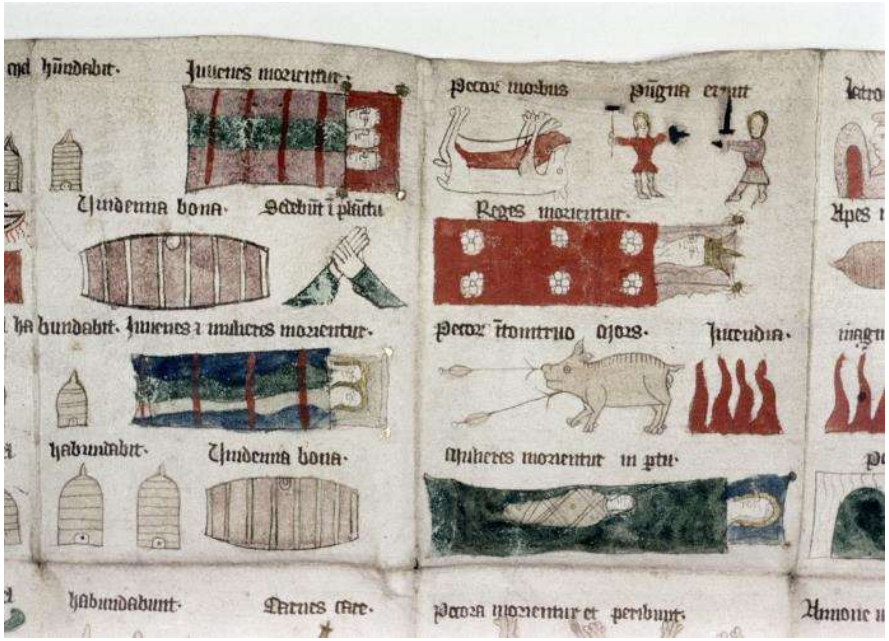


Fig. 3: MS Rawl. D. 939, section 4v
Astrological and ecclesiastical almanac in six pieces
c. 1350-1400
English: P&A.3, no. 749



Fig. 4: MS Douce 211, fol. 8r
Guyart Desmoulins: Bible historiale
c. 1300-25
Paris: P&A.1, no. 581



Fig. 5: MS Douce 131, fol. 32r
Psalter
c. 1340
East Anglia: P&A.3, no. 590

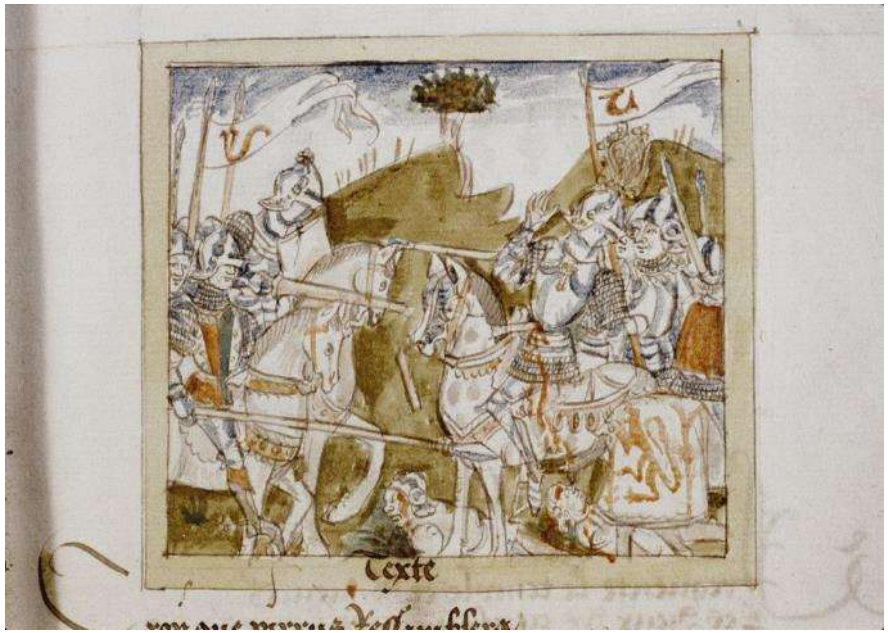


Fig. 6: MS Bodley 421, fol. 28r
Works by Christine de Pisan and Alain Chartier
c. 1450-75
French: P&A.1, no. 728



Fig. 7: MS Douce 371, fol. 57r
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1400
Paris: P&A.1, no. 632

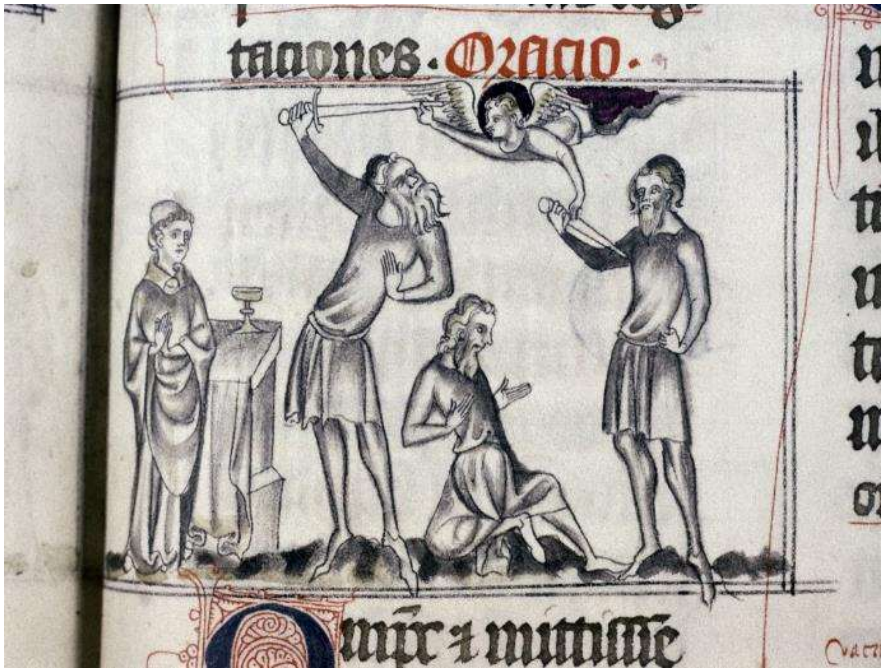


Fig. 8: MS Douce 313, fol. 384r
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
France: P&A.1, no. 603

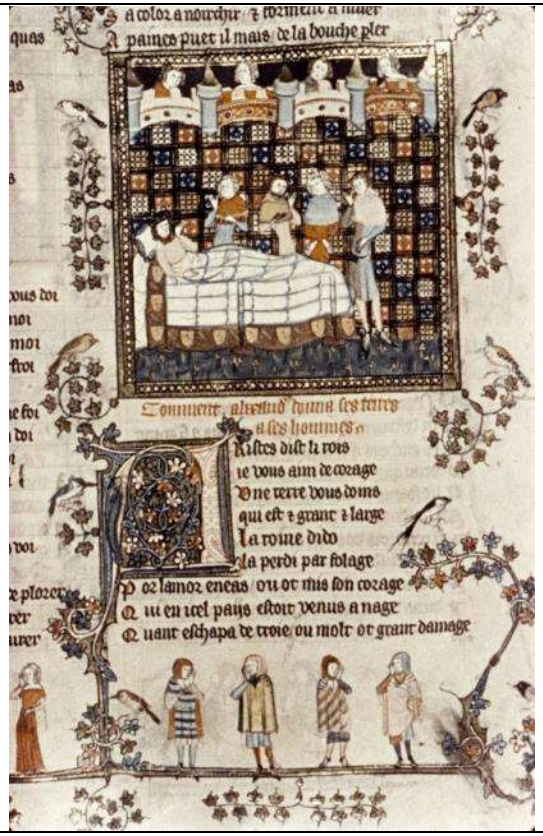


Fig. 9: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 191r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 10: MS Douce 8, fol. 8
Offices, Prayers for private use
Late 15th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 371



Fig. 11: MS Selden Supra 53, fol. 118r
Thomas Hoccleve: various poems, John Lydgate: Dance of Death
c. 1430
English: P&A.3, no. 888



Fig. 12: MS Douce 220, fol. 170v
Book of Hours
c. 1480-90
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 361



Fig. 13: MS Douce 374, fol. 13v
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
French: P&A.1, no. 322

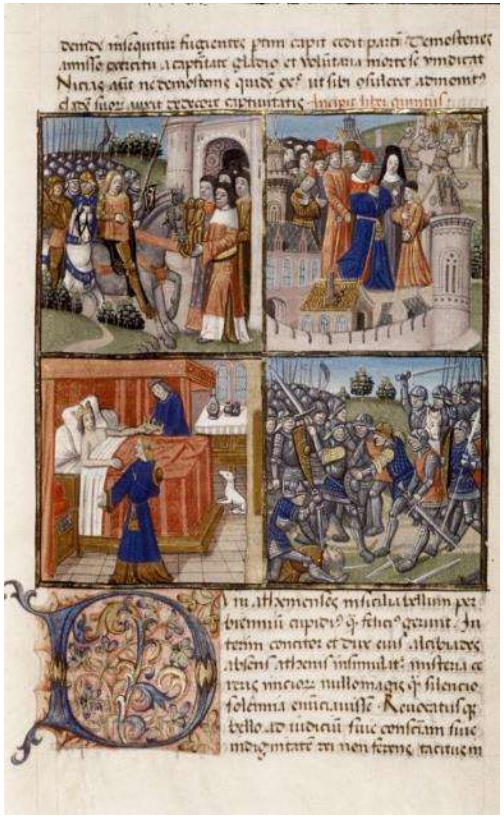


Fig. 14: MS Auct. F. 2. 29, fol. 20v
Justinus, Epitome of Pompeius Trogus
c. 1450-75
French: P&A.1, no. 727



Fig. 15: MS Douce 374, fol. 97r
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
French: P&A.1, no. 322



Fig. 16: MS Laud Misc. 3a, fol. 44v
Breviary
Mid 14th century
English: P&A.3, no. 642



Fig. 17: MS Auct. D. inf. 2. 13, fol. 34v
Book of Hours
1450-75
English and Dutch: P&A.3, no. 1115, P&A.1, no. 221



Fig. 18: MS Douce 313, fol. 21r
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 19: MS Rawl. D. 939, section 2c v
Astrological and ecclesiastical almanac in six pieces
c. 1350-1400
English: P&A.3, no. 749



Fig. 20: MS Liturg. 41, fol. 147r
Book of Hours
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 749



Fig. 21: MS Tanner 184, fol. 34v
Summa de penitentia
c. 1250-75
English: P&A.3, no. 463



Fig. 22: MS Douce 300, fol. 55v
Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine
c. 1400
French: P&A.1, no. 639



Fig. 23: MS Douce 374, fol. 61v
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
French: P&A.1, no. 322



Fig. 24: MS Douce 268, fol. 123r
Book of Hours
c. 1450-60
Bayeux: P&A.1, no. 707



Fig. 25: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 10, fol. 72r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Western France: P&A.1, no. 828



Fig. 26: MS Douce 300, fol. 121v
Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine
c. 1400
French: P&A.1, no. 639

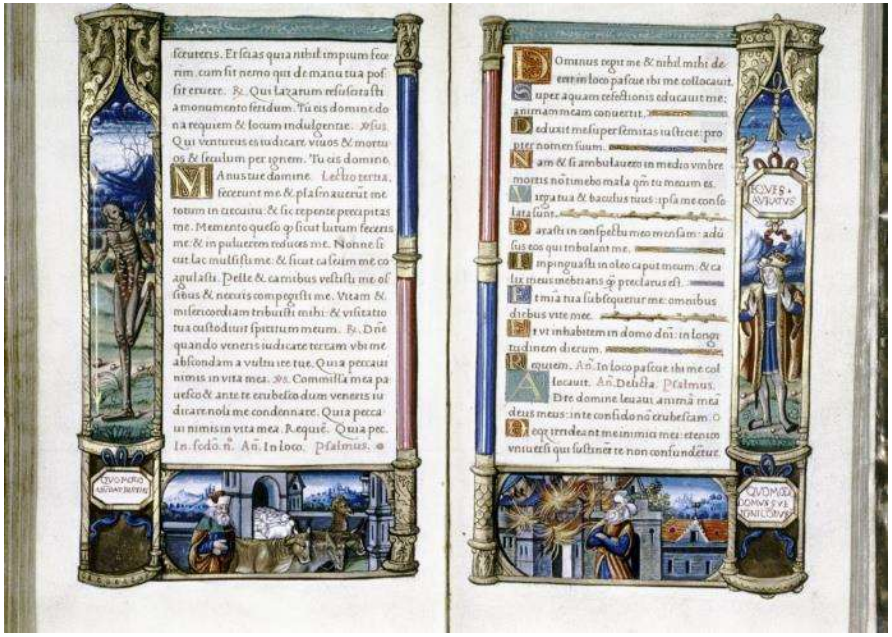


Fig. 27: MS Douce 135, fols. 75v-76r
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851



Fig. 28: MS Don. f. 33, fol. 13r
Book of Hours
Late 15th century
Paris: not in P&A - late accession



Fig. 29: MS Gough Liturg. 8, fol. 62r
Miniatures of the Life of Christ
Early 14th century
East Anglia: P&A.3, no. 546



Fig. 30: MS Hatton 1, fol. 100v
Missal
Late 14th century
East Anglia: P&A.3, no. 713



Fig. 31: MS Douce 72, fol. 55r
Book of Hours
c. 1500-25
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 843

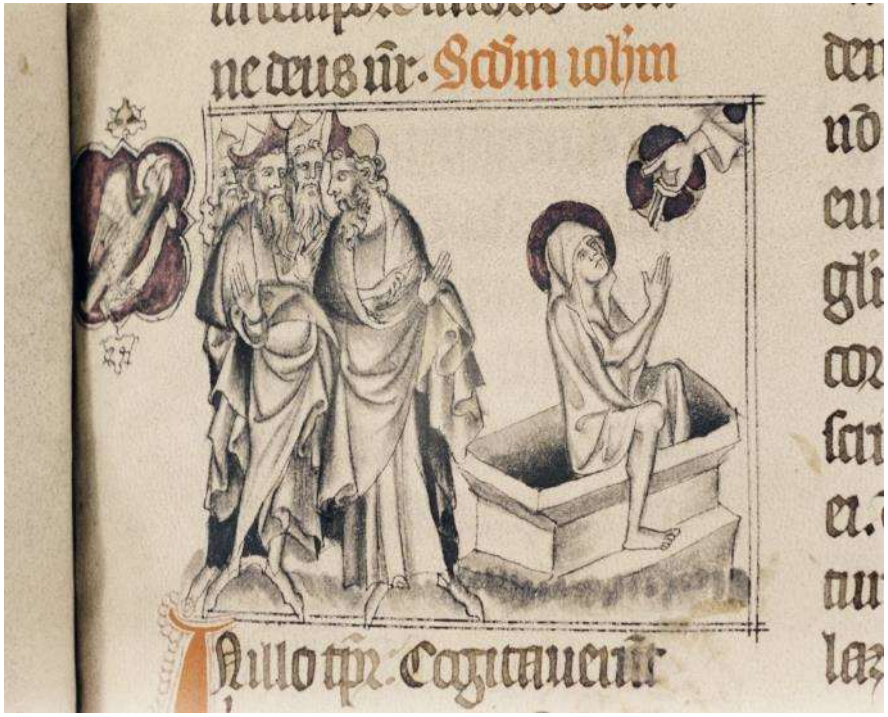


Fig. 32: MS Douce 313, fol. 106r
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 33: MS Douce 51, fol. 175v
Book of Hours
c. 1490
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 365



Fig. 34: MS Douce 264, fol. 19v
Private Prayers and Devotions
Early 16th century
French: P&A.1, no. 836



Fig. 35: MS Buchanan e. 5, fol. 100v
Book of Hours
1450-75
Hainaut: P&A.1, no. 329



Fig. 36: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 26, fol. 92v
Book of Hours
c. 1460
Brittany: P&A.1, no. 713



Fig. 37: MS Douce 152, fol. 85v
Book of Hours
Late 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 780



Fig. 38: MS Douce 264, fol. 26r
Private Prayers and Devotions
Early 16th century
French: P&A.1, no. 836



Fig. 39: MS Douce 264, fol. 32r
Private Prayers and devotions
Early 16th century
French: P&A.1, no. 836



Fig. 40: MS Douce 264, fol. 42r
Private Prayers and devotions
Early 16th century
French: P&A.1, no. 836



Fig. 41: MS Douce 151, fol. 13v
Bestiary
c. 1300
English: P&A.3, no. 527



Fig. 42: MS Barlow 22, fol. 13v
Psalter
c. 1321-41
Peterborough: P&A.3, no. 572



Fig. 43: MS Douce 313, fol. 236r
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 44: MS Douce 6, fol. 43v
Psalter
c. 1320-30
Ghent: P&A.1, no. 296



Fig. 45: MS Bodley 850, fol. 28r
Book of Hours
c. 1450-75
English: P&A.3, no. 1087



Fig. 46: MS Liturg. 41, fol. 116r
Book of Hours
c. 1470-80
French: P&A.1, no. 749



Fig. 47: MS Douce 219, fol. 92r
Book of Hours
c. 1480-90
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 361



Fig. 48: MS Rawl. liturg. d. 1, fol. 32v
Book of Hours
c. 1420
English: P&A.3, no. 869



Fig. 49: MS Rawl. liturg. e. 12, fol. 162r
Book of Hours
Early 15th century
Normandy: P&A.1, no. 648



Fig. 50: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 69r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297

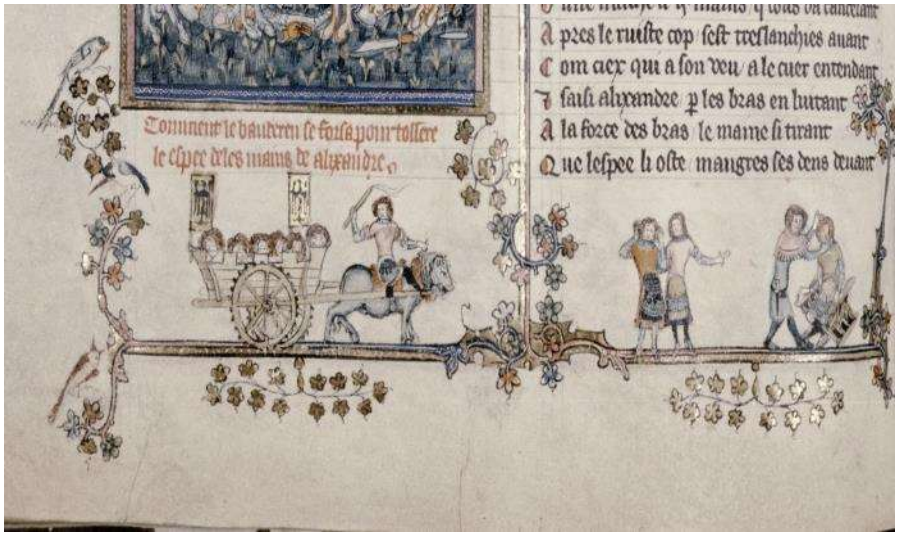


Fig. 51: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 152v
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 52: MS Rawl. liturg. f. 9, fol. 98r
Book of Hours
Mid 15th century
French: P&A.1, no. 705



Fig. 53: MS Douce 374, fol. 60v
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
France: P&A.1, no. 322



Fig. 54: MS Buchanan e. 13, fol. 97r
Book of Hours
c. 1470-80
Rouen: P&A.1, no. 752



Fig. 55: MS Douce 30, fol. 65v
Book of Hours
c. 1500
Utrecht: P&A.1, no. 255

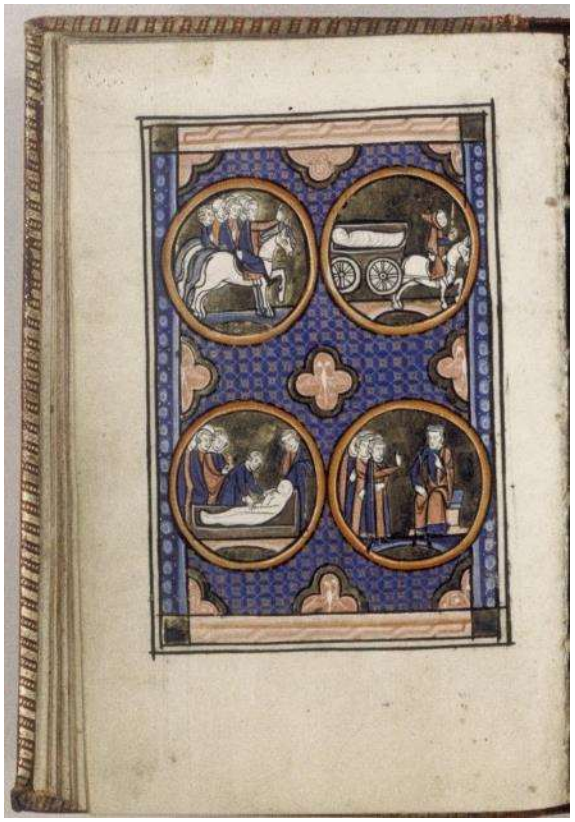


Fig. 56: MS Douce 48, fol. 26v
Book of Hours
Early 14th century
Metz: P&A.1, no. 579

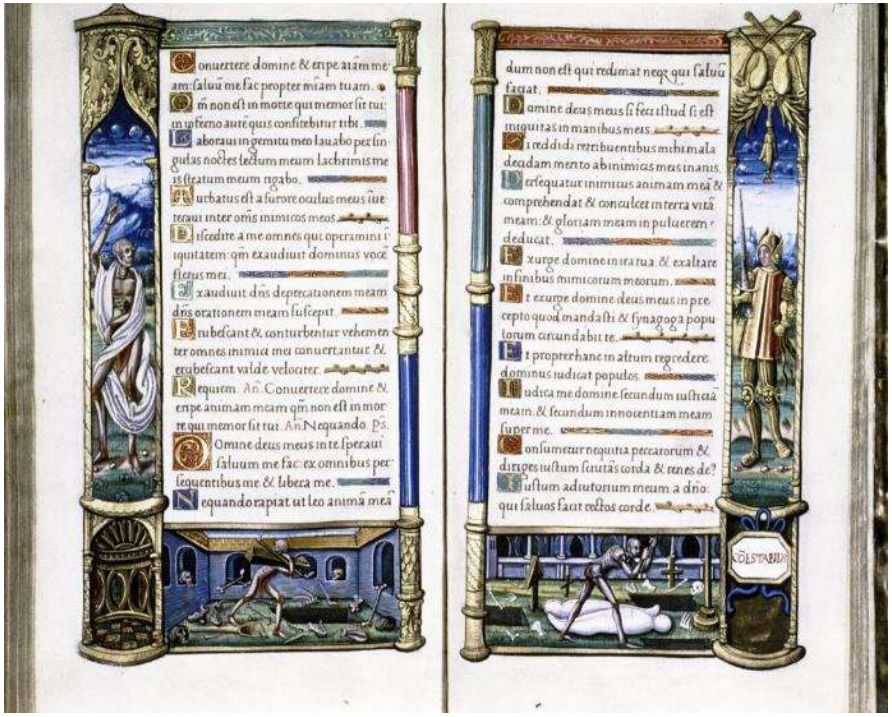


Fig. 57: MS Douce 135, fols. 73v-74r
Book of Hours
c. 1525-50
French: P&A.1, no. 851



Fig. 58: MS Rubbing Evans 17, fr. 25
Thomas Wayte
1482
English: Stoke Charity, Hampshire

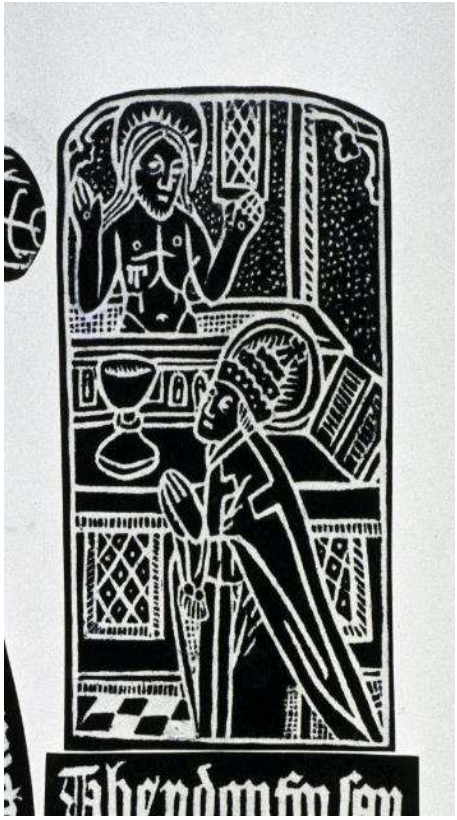


Fig. 59: MS Rubbing Evans 288, fr. 33
Robert Legh and Wife
1506
English: Macclesfield, Cheshire



Fig. 60: MS Rubbing Evans 121, fr. 16
Robert Brampton and Wife
1468
English: Brampton, Norfolk



Fig. 61: MS Rubbing Evans 20, fr. 15
John Stathum and Wife
1454
English: Morley, Derbyshire

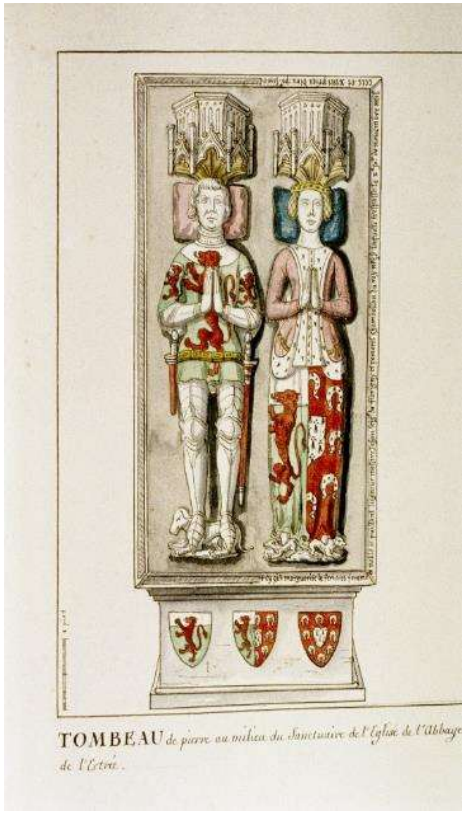


Fig. 62: MS Gough Drawings Gaignières 8, fol. 145
Jehan de Florigny, c. 1420, and wife Marguerite Ferières. d. 1414
Drawing date c. 1700
French: L'Estrée Abbey



Fig. 63: MS Douce 168, fol. 32r
Le Chevalier délibéré
Mid 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 403



Fig. 64: MS Douce 112, fol. 151r
Book of Hours
Early 16th century
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 396



Fig. 65: MS Rawl. liturg. d. 1, fol. 59r
Book of Hours
c. 1420
English: P&A.3, no. 869



Fig. 66: MS Douce 77, fol. 1r
Book of Hours
c. 1450-70
French: P&A.1, no. 709



Fig. 67: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 193r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297

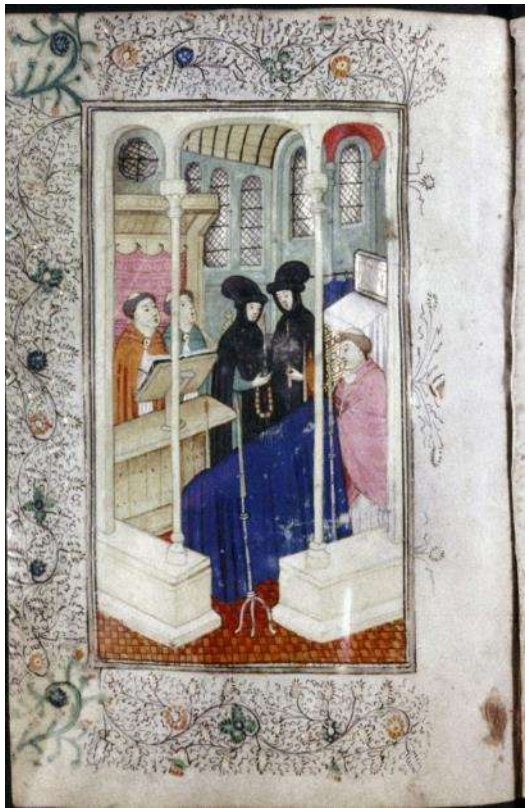


Fig. 68: MS Liturg. 400, fol. 67v
Book of Hours
c. 1425-50
Dutch: P&A. 1, no. 212

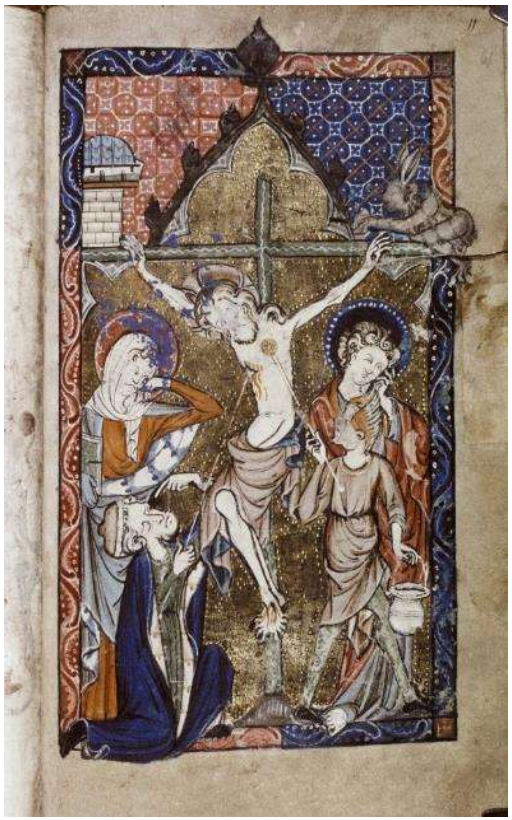


Fig. 69: MS Gough Liturg. 8, fol. 61r
Miniatures of the Life of Christ
Early 14th century
East Anglia: P&A.3, no. 546



Fig. 70: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 35r
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524



Fig. 71: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 38v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586



Fig. 72: MS Rawl. Q. b. 6, fol. 210v
Lancelot Cycle, Branches 3, 4, 5
Early 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 586



Fig. 73: MS e. Mus. 65, fol. 6v
Le Roman de la Rose
c. 1390
French: P&A.1, no. 612



Fig. 74: MS Douce 313, fol. 401r
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 75: MS Douce 313, fol. 400r
Franciscan Missal
Mid 14th century
French: P&A.1, no. 603



Fig. 76: MS Douce 308, fol. 86d v
Misc. Romances
c. 1300-25
Lorraine France: P&A.1, no. 587

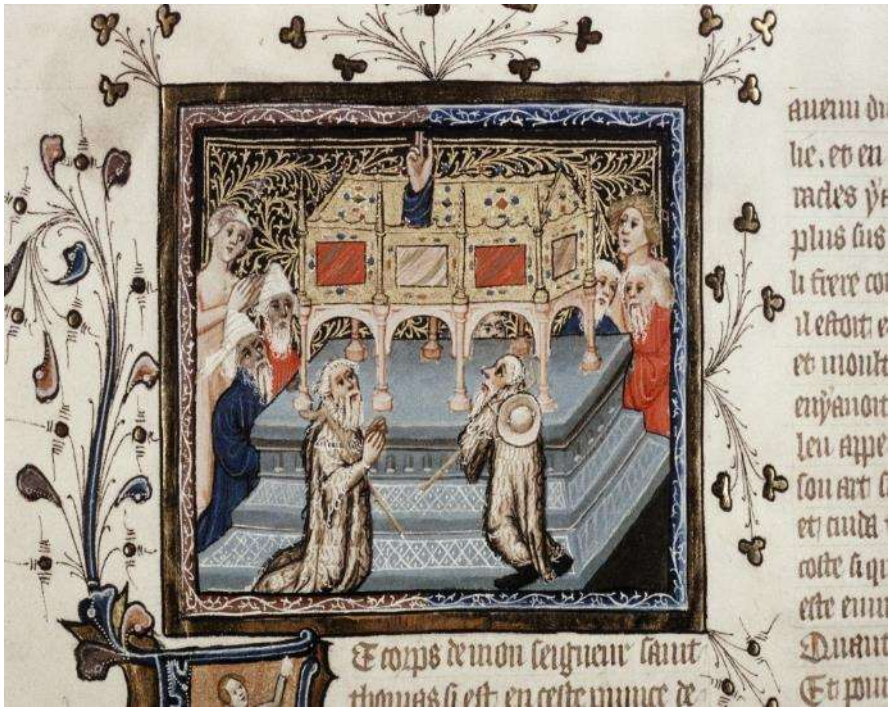


Fig. 77: MS Bodley 264, pt. III, fol. 266v
Romance of Alexander
c. 1400
English: P&A.3, no. 793



Fig. 78: MS Douce 374, fol. 14v
Miracles de Notre Dame
c. 1456
French: P&A.1, no. 322

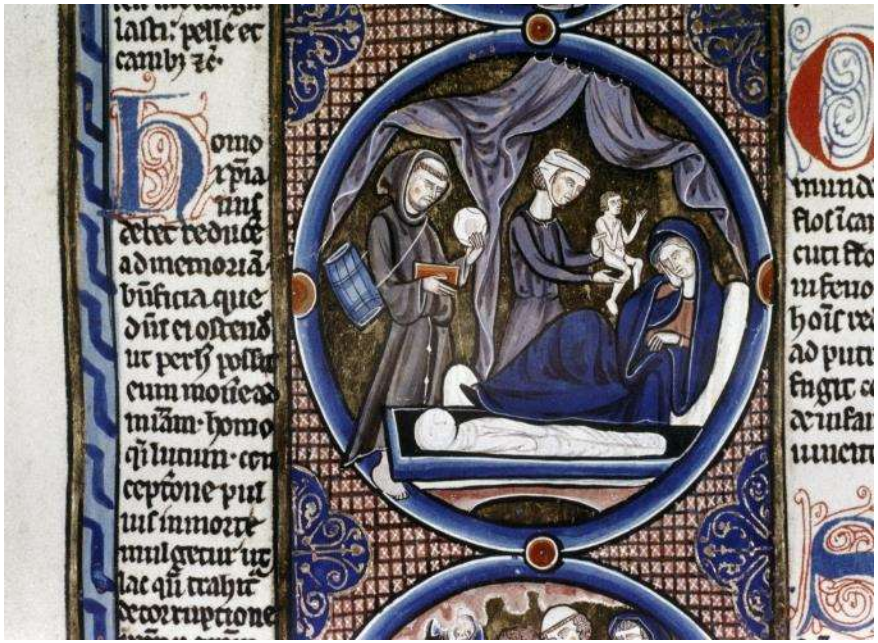


Fig. 79: MS Bodley 270b, fol. 215v
Bible Moralisée
Mid 13th century
French: P&A.1, no. 524



Fig. 80: MS Bodley 264, pt. I, fol. 191r
Romance of Alexander
1338-44
Flemish: P&A.1, no. 297



Fig. 81: MS Douce 202, fol. 2r
Valerius Maximus Memorabilia
After 1401
French: P&A.1, no. 640



Fig. 82: MS Top. Glouc. d. 2, fol. 13r
Founders and Benefactors Book of Tewkesbury Abbey
Early 16th century
English: P&A.3, no. 1177