

QUEEN MARY'S PSALTER

MINIATURES AND DRAWINGS BY AN
ENGLISH ARTIST OF THE 14TH CENTURY
REPRODUCED FROM ROYAL MS. 2 B. VII
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

WITH INTRODUCTION BY

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PREFACE

THE three series of *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts* published by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1907-8 gave a selection of plates from a large number of manuscripts of various dates and schools. In the present volume, on the contrary, the whole of the plates are taken from a single manuscript only, every miniature and drawing in which has been reproduced. That Queen Mary's Psalter, as a singularly fine example of English art at the beginning of the fourteenth century, deserves this exceptional treatment will hardly be disputed; and, so far at any rate as its tinted drawings are concerned, collotype photography may perhaps be trusted to do it adequate justice. The plates from the illuminated miniatures suffer of course to a greater extent from the absence of colour. At the same time, if they occasionally fail to give an altogether correct impression of the originals, it is chiefly in the diapered backgrounds, where, owing to the difficulty of preserving the exact relative values of the several colours, the patterns, though really the same, are in some cases apparently different. Reproductions in colours of two of these illuminated pages may be found in *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 1899-1903, pl. 28, and in Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1895, pl. 15.

With regard to the Introduction, the manuscripts there referred to include three for the loan of which I have to thank the Earl of Leicester, Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins, and Mr. H. Yates Thompson. Cordial thanks for assistance are also due to Dr. M. R. James, Provost of King's College, and Mr. S. C. Cockerell, Keeper of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and to my late colleagues, Mr. J. P. Gilson and Mr. J. A. Herbert, now respectively Keeper and Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum. To Mr. Herbert I am especially indebted, not only for many valuable suggestions, but for his careful reading of the proofs.

G. F. W.

INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH Queen Mary's Psalter dates from the beginning of the fourteenth century, its right to this title, which has now become familiarly attached to it, was not acquired until considerably later. Very little in fact is known of the early history of the manuscript. That the artist to whom it owes its celebrity did not append his name to it is only in accordance with the self-denying practice of the time; what, however, seems more strange in so sumptuous a volume, there is not only a lack of evidence to show where and for whom it was executed,¹ but no traces have been left in it by any of those through whose hands it passed during a period of two hundred years. The earliest note of ownership appears in a sixteenth-century hand on a page originally left blank between the Calendar and Psalms. Although in essential parts it has been purposely defaced, it is still legible and is in these terms: 'This boke was sume tyme the Erle of Rutelands, and it was his wil that it shulde by successioun all way go to the lande of Ruteland or to him that linyally succedis by reson—of inheritaunce in the saide lande.' It is not made quite clear which Earl of Rutland is here meant. The title was borne by Edmund of York, younger brother of Edward IV, but became extinct when he was barbarously put to death after the battle of Wakefield in 1460. He was, however, a mere youth at the time, and the reference is more probably to Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, in whose favour the earldom was revived in 1525, or to Henry his son, who succeeded him in 1543. The latter, like his father, belonged to the Protestant party, and on the accession of Queen Mary in July, 1553, he was immediately imprisoned on [2] suspicion of favouring the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey.² If the Psalter belonged to him, whether by inheritance or otherwise, this fact, though he was soon released, may have had something to do with its subsequent fate; for a second note,³ written in Latin by a different hand on a fly-leaf at the end, records that, when on the point of being conveyed abroad, it was stopped by Baldwin Smith, a London customs-officer, and presented by him in October of the same year to the Queen. The grounds of this drastic action are not stated, but, even if it was altogether arbitrary, inasmuch as it very probably saved the MS. from destruction and at the least ensured its permanent retention in its native country, it was nevertheless extremely

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- 1 According to Waagen (*Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 1854, i, p. 173) there is internal evidence that it may have been executed for one of the Willoughby family. This is a mistake, for no such evidence exists, either on the page he mentions (f. 54) or anywhere else. No doubt his note really referred to some other MS.
 - 2 He was committed to the custody of the Knight Marshal July 29, 1553, and to the Fleet Prison two days later, and was allowed to return to his house at Halliwell to await the Queen's pleasure Sept. 8 (*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1552-4, pp. 304, 308, 342).
 - 3 'Hunc librum nautis ad exteros transvehendum datum spectatus et honestus vir Baldwinus Smithus Londini a portoribus et vectigalibus retraxit, atque Mariae illustrissimae Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae Reginae donavit mense Octobri A.D. 1553, regni sui primo' (f. 319 v). For Baldwin Smith see *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1552-4, p. 255; 1554-6, p. 254.

fortunate. Mary herself was perhaps unaware of the circumstances under which the volume was offered to her. Apart from its artistic beauty, which she was fully competent to appreciate, it no doubt had a special interest for her from its connexion with the old liturgy which she was anxious to restore, and to judge from the binding, which was renewed in her time and probably by her own direction, she regarded it rather as a cherished personal possession than as an ordinary addition to the royal library. Unfortunately the binding has suffered a good deal from time and wear, and the rich crimson silk velvet with which the wooden boards were covered has lost its colour and nearly all its nap. In the centre of each side a large pomegranate, the device which Mary inherited from her ill-used mother Catharine of Aragon, is worked in coloured silks and gold thread, but is now much frayed and faded. Brass-gilt corner-bosses and clasp-plates (but not the clasps) still remain attached, the latter having engraved on them the fleur-de-lys and lion of the royal arms and the Tudor devices of a portcullis and dragon. Its modern title being thus henceforth justified, the volume remained in the possession of Queen Mary and her successors down to 1757, when the whole royal library at St. James's Palace was made over to the nation with princely generosity by [3] George II. Still retaining its old royal press-mark, 2 B. VII, it has since then been one of the choicest treasures of the magnificent collection of illuminated MSS. in the British Museum.

At the period from which it dates, and for some hundred and fifty years previously, Latin Psalters occupied the same enviable position as Books of Hours a century later, being the particular class of manuscripts on which illuminators and miniaturists were most wont to lavish all the resources of their art. Besides copies executed in or for monastic houses, others, and probably a much larger number, were destined to become the property of princes, nobles, great ladies, and other private patrons, both religious and secular, and doubtless in many cases they were not actually used as books of devotion, but were valued simply as works of art, the possession of which was a source of legitimate pride. Those which are preserved in great public libraries, such as the present MS. and the Winchester, Tenison, Arundel, and other Psalters in the British Museum, the Ormesby Psalter at Oxford, and the Peterborough Psalter at Brussels, are naturally the best known; but the remarkable loan-exhibition of illuminated MSS. held by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1908⁴ fully revealed for the first time what splendid examples exist, though they are less easily accessible, in private collections, college libraries, and elsewhere. Many of these Psalters, especially those of the East Anglian school,⁵ are superbly illuminated, both in the text itself and with scenes from the life of Christ and other subjects, which it was the custom to

4 Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated MSS.*, 1908: an illustrated Catalogue by S. C. Cockerell.

5 See S. C. Cockerell, *The Gorleston Psalter*, 1907; J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated MSS.*, 1911, p. 223.

prefix to it. Queen Mary's Psalter may nevertheless fairly claim to stand in a class by itself, for, although less splendid than some others in its purely decorative work, it excels them all not only from the unusual number and beauty of its coloured miniatures, but still more on account of the multitude of exquisite tinted drawings which are its most remarkable feature. Its text, apart from the descriptions in French attached to the series of Old Testament drawings, represents an ordinary form of the liturgical Psalter, the hundred and fifty Psalms being preceded by a Calendar and followed by the twelve Canticles, including the [4] Athanasian Creed, and by the Litany with its special ferial divisions. In the Calendar, where one would naturally expect to find indications of provenance, the principal feasts are in gold and the next in importance in blue; the rest are in carmine, vermilion, or black, which seem to be used almost indiscriminately as if with the object of avoiding two consecutive entries in the same colour. The English saints included, with the number of lessons apportioned to each and the colour in which the names are written, are the following:—

Jan. 19. Wulstan, bp. (ix, verm.).	July 15. Transl. Swithun, bp. (ix, verm.).
Mar. 2. Cedda, bp. (ix, verm.).	" 17. Kenelm, k. m. (iii).
" 18. Edward, k. m. (ix, carm.).	Aug. 5. Oswald, k. m. (iii, verm.).
" 20. Cuthbert, bp. (ix, verm.).	" 31. Cuthburga (iii).
Apr. 3. Richard, bp. (ix, verm.).	Sept. 4. Transl. Cuthbert, bp. (ix, carm.).
" 19. Alphege, abp. (iii, verm.).	" 16. Edith (ix, carm.).
May 19. Dunstan, abp. (ix, carm.).	Oct. 12. Wilfrid, bp. (iii).
" 25. Aldhelm, bp. (ix, verm.).	" 13. Transl. Edward, k. conf. (duplex, ix, gold).
June 9. Transl. Edmund, abp. (ix, carm.).	" 19. Fredeswida (ix, carm.).
" 16. Transl. Richard, bp. (... carm.).	Nov. 16. Edmund, abp. (ix, blue).
" 17. Botulph, abb. (iii).	" 17. Hugh, bp. (ix, carm.).
" 20. Transl. Edward, bp. conf. ⁶ (ix, blue).	" 20. Edmund, k. m. (ix, carm.).
" 21. Werburg ⁷ (iii).	Dec. 29. Thomas, abp. m. (duplex, iii, gold). With octave (iii, carm.).
" 22. Alban (ix, verm.).	
" 23. Etheldreda (iii).	
July 7. Transl. Thomas, abp. m. ⁸ (duplex, gold).	

If the style of art left any doubt of it, these entries would suffice to prove the MS. to be of English origin, but they fail to localize it more precisely. The Calendar, however, is in the main of common Sarum type with some

6 This is a mistake for Edward, king and martyr.

7 Her more usual day is Feb. 3. Her translation is, however, given on June 21 in a thirteenth-century copy of Usuard's Martyrology with English additions in Royal MS. 2 A. xiii. See also William Worcester's *Itinerarium*, ed. Nasmith, 1178, p. 142, 'S. Wereburga Cestriae 21 die Iunii,' from a calendar of St. Mary's, Strand, in 1478 (cf. p. 165).

8 Both here and on Dec. 29 and its octave the name of St. Thomas is erased in accordance with the royal act of 1538. The same is the case with the title 'papa' attached to a name.

variations, such as the addition of Botulph, Werburg, and Wilfrid, and the omission of Cathedra [5] S. Petri (Feb. 22) and Wulfran (Oct. 15). In the general Litany the only English saints are Swithun, Birinus, and Edith, while the ferial Litanies include (Feria iii) Thomas at the head of the martyrs, Dunstan, Grimbold, and Etheldreda, (Feria iv) Cuthbert, (Feria v) Alban and Zechelwold [Æthelwold], (Feria v) Winnoc, Judoc, Petroc, and Botulph, and (Sabb.) Aldhelm, Oswald, and Sexburga. The evidence of these names is, however, no more decisive as to locality than those in the Calendar. In this respect the MS. contrasts strongly with another Psalter⁹ which was illuminated, though merely with historiated and other initials, by the same artist, and apparently also written by the same scribe. Both Calendar and Litany there point conclusively to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury; moreover in the margin opposite one of the initials (f. 115b) the artist has depicted a kneeling Benedictine monk, over whose head is inscribed 'Frater Ricardus de Cant[uar]ia'. There is no reason to suppose that he intended this figure to represent his own portrait. From a fifteenth-century catalogue of the library of St. Augustine's Abbey¹⁰ it appears that a Richard of Canterbury, who was presumably the same person, had been the former owner of several MSS., very few of which from their contents are at all likely to have possessed any artistic interest. He seems therefore to have been a book-collector, and it was probably to his order and at his cost that the Psalter was produced. At the same time it would be rash to assume on the evidence of the Calendar that it came from the scriptorium of St. Augustine's or that its illuminator was necessarily a monk of that house. Even if it was written there, it may nevertheless have been illuminated by a stranger; and if it was written elsewhere specially for Brother Richard's use, care would no doubt be taken to make its Calendar conform to that of the community of which he was a member, probably by copying it from one supplied by him for the purpose. In Queen Mary's Psalter, which evidently came from the same source, there is no sign of any Canterbury connexion; on the contrary the Calendar not only differs from the other materially, but it is not of a Benedictine or of any other monastic type, and [6] the ignorant or careless errors by which it is disfigured¹¹ are more suggestive of an inexperienced lay scribe. In the fourteenth century the production of illuminated MSS. had in fact already ceased to be a monopoly of the cloister.¹² To an increasing extent it was passing into the

9 Now in the collection of Mr. C. W. Dyson Perrins. See S. C. Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illuminated MSS.*, no. 50, pl. 47.

10 M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury*, 1903, p. 539.

11 Such as the transformation of King Edward the Martyr into a bishop and confessor on June 20 (above, p. 4), and the repetition of Peter and Paul on June 30 instead of giving the Commemoratio S. Pauli. So too the curious corruption of Æthelwold into Zechelwold in the Litany.

12 On the change in this respect see the *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury (1281-1345), Bishop of Durham, ed. Thomas, 1888, p. 79. The author himself kept in his 'different manors no small multitude of copyists and scribes, of binders, correctors, illuminators, and generally of all who could usefully labour in the service of books' (Engl. transi. by E. C. Thomas, 1902, p. 63). See also S. C. Cockerell, *The Gorleston Psalter*, p. 3.

hands of laymen who made it a profession, working independently or in schools for private patrons, and perhaps moving about from place to place, and even from monastery to monastery, in quest of employment. Whoever it was who decorated these two Psalters, though on such very different scales, he is far more likely to have been a lay artist of this class, but of exceptional talent and originality, than one who was trained in the seclusion and hampered by the conventions of a monastic scriptorium. From the delightful little pictures of contemporary life with which the margins of so many of his pages are enlivened, it is at least evident that he was no ascetic, but moved freely in the world and was familiar with its enjoyments. And, if the less copiously ornamented MS. of the two found its way into the hands of an obscure Canterbury monk, the other from its unusual richness must almost certainly have been intended for a personage of exalted rank, and there is some slight evidence which may justify a guess at his identity. Besides the great Church feasts and those of the Apostles¹³ the only Calendarentries in gold are the Martyrdom¹⁴ and Translation of St. Thomas and the Translation of St. Edward the Confessor. As regards the former, who, rightly or wrongly, was universally looked upon as the greatest of all English saints, there is nothing in this to call for remark; but from the equal prominence here given to Edward the Confessor it is possible that the MS. had some connexion with [7] the reigning Plantagenet family, by whom he was held in peculiar honour. Henry II, who claimed kinship with him through his grandmother, Queen [Edith] Matilda, had procured his canonization in 1161, and Henry III not only rebuilt his abbey-church at Westminster and transferred his relics to a more splendid shrine, but by giving the name of the saint to his heir Edward I perpetuated it in the line of English kings down to our own times. At the date of the MS. either the first or the second Edward—more probably the latter, who was a prince of luxurious and sumptuous tastes—occupied the throne, and it may therefore well be that one or the other was its original possessor. In this case it did not enter the royal library for the first time in 1553, but by gift or otherwise had been previously alienated from it. The absence of the royal arms would be a more serious objection if the MS. was of the East Anglian school, the artists of which seem to have been specially fond of heraldic ornamentation; but although there are slight indications of the influence of that, school in the treatment of the borders and initials, the artist shows himself otherwise independent of it, and he is more likely to have worked in the capital than elsewhere. His hand is again found in a third MS., which is also in the old

13 St. Thomas Apost. is in blue; as are also SS. Matthias, Barnabas, and Luke. St. Mark, on the contrary, is in gold.

14 The gold has been so effectually scraped away (cf. p. 4, note 3) in this instance that nothing is visible in the plate (146); but the entry 'Thome archiepiscopi et martyris' may still be read in the MS. if the leaf is held up to the light.

royal collection. This¹⁵ is an Apocalypse and commentary in French, and is illustrated with seventy-two extremely interesting miniatures, the figures in which are either slightly tinted or left wholly without colour. Except that they are on backgrounds of fine red or blue, they are thus similar in style to the tinted drawings in this Psalter. Only a certain number, however, in the earlier part of the MS. are by the master himself; the rest are in two other hands, one of which rivals his own and shows at times even more vigour of expression, while the other is distinctly inferior. From the script, which is of a type more commonly associated with documents than with books, the volume seems to be later than either of the two Psalters, and it may belong to a period of his life when he was at the head of a school and had the assistance of pupils. [8]

In Queen Mary's Psalter, though it is a bulky volume of no less than 319 leaves (10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. x 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.), there is no such division of labour, and its astonishing wealth of decoration, the whole of which except the foliated initials on the pages without miniatures is here reproduced, makes it as much a monument of his energy as it assuredly must have been his artistic *chef-d'oeuvre*. It begins with a series of pen and ink drawings illustrating Old Testament history from the Fall of Lucifer and the Creation to the death of Solomon (ff. 1v-66v, pl. 1-118).¹⁶ These are as many as 223 in number, generally two on a page,¹⁷ and are enclosed within frames formed of narrow red bands with a green quatrefoil and a sprig of three variously tinted leaves at each corner.¹⁸ The figures are sketched lightly, but with firmness and precision of outline, on the plain surface of vellum, the drapery, which is cleverly drawn and falls in natural folds, being softly tinted with violet, green, red, or brown. They are admirably proportioned, with none of the stiffness and awkwardness of pose characteristic of an earlier period, and for supple ease, refinement, and elegance are unsurpassed either in English or foreign contemporary art. Many of the female figures in particular have a tender grace and sweetness which says much for the artist's ideal of womanhood. Eve for instance, both at the Fall and after (pl. 5b, 7a), is exquisitely portrayed, and Sarah receiving the ring of espousal from Abraham (pl. 15a), the mother of Moses with her attendant women (pl. 38b), Ruth (pl. 80), and the Queen of Sheba (pl. 112b) are equally attractive. In these cases the gentler attributes of the sex are most prominent; but nothing also could be more expressive than the action of Rebekah urging Jacob forward to secure his father's blessing (pl. 25a), of the 'Queen of Egypt',

15 Brit. Mus. Royal MS. 19 B. xv. It is included in the catalogue of the library at Westminster Palace made in 154.2 (B. M. Add. MS. 25469, f. 4). For a coloured plate from it see Warner, *Illum. MSS. in the British Museum*, 1903, pl. go, and for collotypes Sir E. M. Thompson, *English Illum. MSS.*, 1895, pl. 16, and *Brit. Mus. Reproductions from Illum. MSS.*, ser. i, pl. xiii. See also Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge*, 1884, p. 85.

16 A lithographic reproduction of them by N. H. J. Westlake and W. Purdue, *The Illustrations of Old Testament History in Queen Mary's Psalter*, was published in 1865.

17 It was not thought necessary to letter them as *a* and *b* in the plates, but they are so referred to in this Introduction.

18 The similar ornamentation at the corners of the coloured miniatures later on in the MS. includes also daisy-buds and various flowers.

in evidently simulated distress, accusing Joseph (pl. 29b), and of Jael treacherously slaying Sisera (pl. 56a). At the same time, in the features of men and women alike there is hardly enough variety of type; and as a rule even the former are characterized rather by refinement than by virile strength, so [9] that their actions at times harmonize ill with a placid, almost effeminate, expression. This is so to some extent in the heroic exploits of Samson, and surely the fratricide Abimelech in pl. 64a is the mildest mannered man that ever cut a throat. The artist too sometimes forgets to preserve the traits of an individual portrait in different contemporary scenes, as may be remarked in the four subjects from the story of Cain (pl. 7b-9a). In the first he appears as a bearded adult; in the second, which depicts with singular force his murder of Abel, he is a youth; and in the last, where in his embarrassment at being questioned by the Creator he is represented with a touch of humour as standing on one leg,¹⁹ he is younger and more innocent-looking still. There are equally rapid changes, but in this case from youth to age and again to youth, in Gideon in pl. 61, 62.

Allowing for such slight imperfections, these beautifully executed drawings tell their story with admirable simplicity and directness, a tree or two or a few rather rudely sketched buildings being almost the only scenic accessories. Under each of them a description of its subject is given in Anglo-Norman French, the grammar and orthography of which present frequent difficulties. These descriptive titles are sometimes in a single line, but often extend to some length.²⁰ In the early part of the series many of them are in rhyming verse, as in the final scene of the story of Cain above mentioned:

‘Ici demaunde deu, “Ou est toun frere?”
 Cam li respound, “Demore est derere.”
 “Maudit seis to e kauns qe tei resemble.
 Tu las occis, vous dusees estre ensemble.” ’

The occurrence of these verses tends to suggest that the artist had recourse to some metrical French paraphrase of Bible history, which he quoted almost verbally when he could conveniently do so, but otherwise merely abridged in prose. If so, the work is not known to be still extant; at least it does not appear to be that of Herman de Valenciennes or any other of those from [10] which extracts have been given by Bonnard.²¹ At the same time the French text is not limited to that which is attached to the drawings; for there are several pages²² (not reproduced here) which contain text exclusively, summarizing matter which the artist abstained from illustrating or which is still more briefly

19 This, however, is also the case with Esau in pl. 24, and may be merely a mannerism, like the common fashion at the time of representing a king seated with one leg crossed over the other (see pl. 28, &c.).

20 A transcript of all of them, with a translation, will be found in an appendix to the Introduction. (*Not included in this digital edition.*)

21 Jean Bonnard, *Les Traductions de la Bible en vers français au moyen âge*, Paris, 1884.

22 Viz. ff. 14, 20v-22, 31v-32 v, 35, 35 v, 39 v, 41 v, 42.

repeated under the subjects that follow. The first of these passages (f. 14), which separates pl. 25 and pl. 26, is in verse and begins thus:

‘De ysaach nos lesserom, plus ne volom dire;
Si en parlerum de soun fiz iacob, qe deuint grant sire.
Il engendra vnze²³ enfaunz, de le vn volum lire.
Joseph il out a noun; pur li crout grant ire.’

It then continues, for thirty lines in all, with so much of the history of Joseph as is covered in pl. 26-29. This certainly looks as if it had been transferred bodily from some work akin to Herman’s, though written more probably in England; and the same is the case with the twenty lines of verse in pl. 13. In the Earl of Leicester’s library at Holkham²⁴ there is another MS., of singular interest artistically and otherwise, in which a series of Biblical miniatures is similarly accompanied by descriptions in French, partly verse and partly prose. The volume, which contains nothing else, is perhaps a little later than Queen Mary’s Psalter, and the Old Testament subjects end with the drunkenness of Noah, the longer series which follows being taken from the Gospels, largely supplemented from apocryphal sources. The rhyming descriptions in the earlier series differ from those here, but there seems to be some relation between them, such as might be accounted for by their being based on a common original. The story of Cain, for example, is in the following form, which may be compared with the four lines quoted on the preceding page from pl. 9a:

‘Coment Caym de grant enuie
Tollit Abel son frere la vie. [11]
De la ioue de vn arne le occyit,
E de motes de tere le coueryit,
E purs returnat deueer loustel.
Si encontrat deux (sc. dieu) qe viint de ceel,
Ke luy diyt, “Caym, v est toun frere?”
E y luy respounyt, “yl est derere.
Puys qe yl me fu a garder balie,
Piir ne sou ieo v yl fu muce.”
“Tu le as occiis a grant tort.
Porceo murras tu de maueyse mort.
Maudy sey tu e ki te resemble;
De dreyt vous dusees estre ensemble.”’

Apocryphal matter has been freely interpolated in both volumes, but the Old Testament portion of the Holkham MS. comes to an end too soon to afford sufficient materials for comparison. As will appear presently, there is a good deal here throughout Genesis and Exodus; but whether the artist found it ready to hand in his principal authority, or introduced it himself from other

23 Sic, perhaps wrongly copied for ‘duze’. See pl. 42a, where, in speaking of the plagues of Egypt, ‘treis’ is apparently written for ‘dyis’ = dix.

24 MS. 666. See Léon Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures ... à Holkham Hall*, Norfolk, 1908, p. 34, pl. xxiii-xxviii.

sources, written or oral, it is impossible to say. Some of it is extremely curious and is difficult to trace to any known authority, and it may possibly have been derived from the imaginative eccentricities of the religious drama, which was being developed at just this time.²⁵ There is the same uncertainty also with regard to the origin of some extraordinary blunders made in following the Scriptural text; but even if they were merely copied by the artist, his failure to correct them shows that his own knowledge of the Bible was very superficial.

In the first of the six drawings which deal with the Creation the calm, benign, Christ-like figure of the Creator, holding a pair of compasses as the great designer of the universe and adored by angels and seraphim, contrasts with the hideous, grinning devil who represents the fallen Lucifer beneath His feet, squatting with arms and legs akimbo over the open jaws of hell. In the corresponding subject in the Holkham MS. the Creator is seated, compasses in hand, within the circle of the spheres, with angels above and only a flaming hell-mouth below. There is, however, a closer resemblance in the second subject, which in [12] both MSS. depicts Him as sitting surrounded by a crowd of cleverly drawn birds and beasts.²⁶ The creation of fishes, 'Convent deu creast les miers e les pessouns en mier,' which here forms the subject of a third drawing, is in the other MS. included in the second, being represented by a single small fish in a stream in the lower corner; at the same time, the Almighty there, with His right hand raised in the act of creation high above His head, is a more impressive and majestic figure than He is here. Elsewhere the designs in the two volumes have not much in common; those, however, in the Holkham MS., though ruder in execution, are on the whole more forcibly expressed. To return to the Psalter, the beauty of the angels in these first few plates, whether in flight, or kneeling in adoration, or again, in pl. 5, playing musical instruments, cannot fail to attract attention, and the artist's drawing of the nude in the figures of Adam and Eve is decidedly in advance of his time. The introduction of devils into the scene of the Fall (pl. 5b) is very remarkable; for the temptation is made to come, not from the serpent, which, with the head of a woman, is coiled, as usual, round the trunk of the tree, but from a devil who stands behind Eve and points to the fruit, while two other devils, one in a very grotesque attitude, seem to be giving support to the shrinking figure of Adam on the other side. This rare motive is explained in the verses below:

Ici fet Eue Adam peccher,
Par mauueise timent de diable lecher
Friaunt;²⁷ li deable qe est Eue par derere
Le enseygne a la pome qe deu tint chere.'

25 'The English miracle play reaches its full development with the formation of the great processional cycles almost immediately after the establishment of the Corpus Christi festival in 1311', E. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 1903, ii, p. 108.

26 For the miniature in the Holkham MS. see Dorez, *op. cit.*, pl. xxiii.

27 'Friant (friend), voluptueux, gourmand', Godefroy, *Dict. de l'ancienne langue française*, iv, p. 146.

In the expulsion from Paradise (pl. 6a), where the angel is a noble figure, there is again a curious difference in the demeanour of the man and woman, Adam having a timid and deprecatory air, while Eve appears nonchalant, if not disdainful. The beautiful scene of the two digging and spinning is followed by the first of the Cain and Abel subjects (pl. 7b). This is very un-Biblical, Cain being represented, not as a tiller of the earth,²⁸ but as a [13] herdsman, while his jealousy of Abel seems to have been excited over some game of the nature of hockey in which their crooks and a ball were employed. How this extraordinary perversion of the story originated it is difficult to imagine. In the next two scenes the artist merely supplements the text of Genesis, putting a jawbone into Cain's hand as the weapon with which he slew his brother, and making him hide the body in the earth and cover it with clods. The jawbone, it may be noted, appears in the well-known eleventh-century illustrations to Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Hexateuch in Cotton MS. Claudius B. iv, and, as that of an ass, in a thirteenth-century anonymous Anglo-Norman metrical Bible history.²⁹ Together with Cain's vain attempt to conceal Abel's body, which is recorded by Josephus,³⁰ it is also mentioned among other places in the fourteenth-century Northumbrian poem *Cursor Mundi*:³¹

Wid þe cheke bon of ane asse
Men say þat Abel slain wasse.
And quen he had his broþer slain
He wild haue hid his cors onan,
Bot proued was sone his sori pride,
þe bodi mith he na gat hide.'

As the artist shows such a taste for the apocryphal it is a little curious that he omits the story (fully illustrated in the Holkham MS.) how Cain met his death from a chance arrow shot by old blind Lamech.

The five Deluge subjects (pl. 9b-12) embody a still larger proportion of quaint adventitious matter. They begin with the appearance of an angel to Noah (both figures extremely well executed), giving him tools wherewith to build a ship which should save the world, and charging him to do it in absolute secrecy. The first blow, however, that Noah struck was heard through all the world; the angel thereupon reappears and chides him, and gives him rods and wattles (*ces verges et les cleyes*) bidding him finish his ship by wicker-work as best he could, [14] since the flood was imminent. Something of the same kind appears in the Holkham MS., but it is God Himself who comes to Noah and there is no injunction for secrecy. The trouble is that Noah cannot get on quickly enough, so God comes to him again and bids him finish by wattling, as there is no time

28 'A caym ke cutefiur (sc. cultivateur) estoyt, ke de tere de tut viuoyt', Holkham Ms., f. 5.

29 'De la joue de un asne expandi son cervel', Bonnard, p. 97; see also the passage from the Holkham MS. quoted above, p. ii, *The Towneley Plays*, Early Engl. Text Soc., 1897, p. 18, l. 324, and *Ludus Coventriae*, ed. Halliwell, 1841, p. 37.

30 *Antiq. Jud.*, lib. i. 2, ed. Dindorf, 1845, p. 7; see also the Towneley and Coventry Plays as above.

31 Early Engl. Text Soc. ed., 1874, pt. i, p. 71, l. 1073

to lose.³² Each of the two drawings here (pl. 9b, 10b) includes a second scene showing Noah hard at work on the ark, the upper part of which, as in the other MS., is of wattling; but between them another (pl. 10a) intervenes, which tells in three scenes how the devil came in human form to Noah's wife, excited her jealousy at her husband's mysterious doings, and gave her some grains to concoct a potion which would make him divulge his secret, and how she acted accordingly. The source of this strange legend, which is not in the Holkham MS., is obscure, but it is by no means improbable that the artist had seen it acted as an interlude on the stage. In some of the early mystery plays Noah's wife supplied the comic relief which seems to have been regarded as indispensable, being represented as obstinate, intractable, and shrewish;³³ and this identical story in fact occurs in a fragmentary fifteenth-century Deluge play from Newcastle-on-Tyne,³⁴ where the devil addresses her thus:

'3it sall I tell þe how
 þou sall wete all his will.
 Do as I sall bid þe now,
 Þou sall wete ilka dele. [15]
 Haue here a drink full gud [i wis]
 Þat makid is of mi3tfull maine;
 Be he has dronkin a drink of þis
 Ne langir sall he laine (sc. conceal).'

The rough humour of the stage may also perhaps be detected in pl. ii, where Noah is climbing up a ladder into the ark with one of his sons on his back, while the other two and their mother are waiting their turn below;³⁵ and still more in the part played by the devil in pl. 12. Noah is there seen at the prow of the ark sending out the raven and the dove. The raven's failure to return is accounted for by his finding a drowned horse's head,³⁶ which engrosses his attention, but the dove is flying back with the olive-branch to Noah, 'where he sits at the helm'. In his relief at the subsidence of the flood Noah cries out

32 'Noee coment yl chapentoyt
 Por fere le uessel qe deux disoyt,
 E au tens ne le pout cheuer.
 Si viint deux por luy enseygner,
 E diit "Noee, ore te auance tot".
 Noe le acuidoyt e ne sona mot.
 "Pren de uerges, si les lace auant,
 Car le tempeste est enuenaunt." '

33 See *The Towneley Plays*, p. 29 (and for a broadly humorous scene between Cain and his boy 'Pikeharnes' in the 'Mactacio Abel', p. 20); *York Plays*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, 1885, p. 47.

34 R. Brotanek, *Noahs Arche: Ein Mysterium aus N. upon T.*, Vienna, 1897, p. 177; F. Holthausen, *Das Noahspiel von N. upon T.*, Göteborg, 1897; O. Waterhouse, *The Non-cycle Mystery Plays*, E. E. T. S., 1909, p. 22. The fragment was first printed by H. Bourne, *Hist. of Newcastle*, 1736, p. 139, in a modernized form from a MS. which has since disappeared. Brotanek's text, as here quoted, is a highly ingenious restoration.

35 In the Holkham MS. he carries sheep, and his daughters-in-law are also below.

36 This detail is in the Holkham MS.: 'sure caroine yl se assyt e ne viint plus la semanie'. See also *The Towneley Plays*, p. 38, l. 501.

‘Benedicite’, whereupon the devil escapes through the bottom of the ark,³⁷ and the hole which he makes in so doing is plugged by the serpent with his tail. Apparently, too, the devil is striking viciously with a flesh-hook at a man who is swimming past. The instant effect of the word ‘Benedicite’ in exorcizing him is analogous to that of the sign of the cross in so many mediaeval tales. The idea seems to be that, so soon as he heard Noah (in spite of the anachronism) ejaculate the initial word of the well-known canticle of praise to the Creator, he realized the failure of his attempt to hinder the salvation of mankind and gave up the contest in disgust. At the same time, as Dr. M. R. James has suggested, there may possibly be an allusion to the very old custom of exclaiming ‘Bless you’ on hearing a sneeze, with the object seemingly of averting some noxious influence. In the Holkham MS. the devil does not appear, and when the dove returns Noah’s exclamation is ‘A deux (sc. dieu) fesums feste’. Without illustrating the exit from the ark, the covenant of the rainbow, Noah’s drunkenness, or the tower of Babel, the artist then passes on to the life of Abraham or ‘la tierce estorie apres Adam’. This is introduced [16] by twenty lines of verse (pl. 13), which tell how ‘Thare’ (Terah) his father was a maker of idols and gave them to his son to take to market and sell; and how Abraham threw them down and broke them and brought the news himself to his father, declaring he would not believe in them and would go to seek a better master. Wherever the artist found this story, it appears to have been a Jewish tradition and is most fully told in the Apocalypse of Abraham, now extant only in a Slavonic version.³⁸ It is illustrated here in three finely drawn scenes (pl. 13-14b), the idols being made to resemble the golden calf in form. Some of the other subjects, however, in the Abraham series, which are taken from Genesis, are still finer, such as his espousal of Sarah (pl. 15a) and telling her of the promise (pl. 19b), Hagar and the angel (pl. 18b), and both scenes of the sacrifice of Isaac (pl. 21), where Abraham’s vigorous action may be compared with that of the angel in the expulsion from Paradise (pl. 6a). It may be noted that, among other episodes, the whole story of Lot is omitted. Pl. 23a, in which Rebekah is riding in company with Abraham’s servant, shows not only the artist’s crude notion of a camel, but how little pains he took to give the proper complement of limbs to beasts or men in close proximity. Instances of this constantly occur throughout the MS. How well he could draw animals with which he was more familiar may be seen in pl. 29a, ‘Coment li Rey de Egypte va chacer au boys’, where the galloping horses and the hare and greyhounds are capital; there are, however, three riders to two horses, and the latter have only six legs between them. The three highly dramatic scenes in the story of

37 There is an allusion to this in Mandeville’s Travels, where the veracious author, after stating that the ark may still be seen on Mount Ararat in clear weather, goes on, ‘Sum saise þai hafē bene þare att and putte þaire fyngers in þe hole whare þe fende ȝode out when Noe said “Benedicite”, bot þai say noȝt sothe,’ Roxburghe Club ed., 1889, p. 74.

38 G. N. Bonwetsch, *Die Apokalypse Abrahams*, Leipzig, 1897. See also Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus*, p. 336, from Suidas, s. v. Abraam; and the supposititious *Book of Jasher* (probably written by a Spanish Jew in the thirteenth century), ed. N. M. Noah, 1840, p. 29.

Isaac's blessing (pl. 24, 25) are followed by the page of text in verse already mentioned.³⁹ Jacob's dream, which was a favourite subject with mediaeval miniaturists, is not represented, and the next drawing begins the life of Joseph at the point where he tells his dreams to his father. Both this subject (pl. 26a) and that below it, where he is assaulted by his brethren and cast into the pit, are good examples of animation and skilful grouping of figures. It will be observed that Joseph is not sold to Midianites, [17] but to the Seneschal of Egypt (pl. 27), who on his return home gives him to the King (pl. 28b). It is thus the Queen of Egypt, instead of Potiphar's wife, who becomes enamoured of him and who appears twice, tempting and maligning him, in pl. 29b. This is so also in Herman de Valenciennes and other French metrical paraphrases. A further apocryphal incident is introduced in pl. 33a, where Joseph throws chaff into the Nile, and Jacob, in spite of geographical difficulties, sees it come floating down past his 'castle', whence he infers that there is corn up the river and sends his sons to purchase it. This again is in the French paraphrases, and it is well told also in the *Cursor Mundi*:⁴⁰

'In bokis find we of a wile
 þat ioseph did þat was sotile.
 Þe chaf of corn he kest vmquile
 Into þe flum þat men call Nile;
 For-qui þat watir þat rennis þare
 To iacob hus it has þe fare.

.
 Betid þan in a littel quile
 Iacob 3ode walkand bi þe Nile.
 He saw apon þe watris reime
 Chaf cum fletand wid þe streme.
 Of þat sight wex he ful blith,
 And til his sonis he tald it suith.'

The execution of some of the next few subjects is excellent, as in pl. 34a, where Jacob, the man emptying the sack, and the asses are all equally good, and in pl. 35, where Joseph makes himself known to his brethren and welcomes his father to Egypt. Pl. 37b, 'Convent Joseph amene soun pere e sa mere en Canaan,' is an extraordinary misconception on the artist's part. He had already (pl. 35b) made Rachel, though she had long been dead, accompany Jacob to Egypt, and here, when he ought to have represented Joseph conveying his father's corpse to Canaan for burial, parents and son are all riding gaily together!

This plate, which brings Genesis to an end, is followed by four pages of narrative in prose (ff. 20v-22), after which the artist again takes up the story with Pharaoh's command to the Hebrew midwives and the exposure of the infant Moses (pl. 38). In both [18] these drawings, as in so many others, he

³⁹ Above, p. 10.

⁴⁰ E. E. T. S. ed., pt. i, p. 279, l. 4749.

economizes space by combining two subjects in one. The effect, however, is rather enhanced than otherwise; for in the upper drawing the staid, respectful demeanour of the women is well contrasted with the noisy, obtrusive group of Egyptians, while in the lower one the two scenes together make a charming composition. The life of Moses as depicted in pl. 38-49 is marked by omissions as well as by legendary accretions. The latter include (pl. 39b) a story of doubtful origin, how he struck Pharaoh's son when they were playing together as children, and was only saved from death by the intercession of the king's daughter and the court. Another story of his childhood is in the next plate, the artist's version of it being that Pharaoh put his crown on the child's head, and, when Moses tore it off and threw it into the fire, commanded him to be slain unless he would eat a burning coal, as he is ruefully doing. As Josephus tells it,⁴¹ Moses, who was only three years old at the time, threw the crown on the ground and trampled on it, and, when a priest ran forward to kill him, was snatched away by Pharaoh's daughter Thermuthis. According to Petrus Comestor⁴² he threw the crown down and broke it, and was saved by the device of a sage, who persuaded the king to offer him a hot coal, and as he put it in his mouth and burnt the end of his tongue with it (thereby accounting for the defect of speech to which he alludes in Exodus iv. 10), he was adjudged to be merely an irresponsible infant. This is elaborated by Herman de Valenciennes,⁴³ who says that he was offered two bowls, one full of clear crystal, the other of hot coals, and escaped by taking the latter, Thermuthis having nudged his arm, when he was about to make a wrong choice. Similarly in the narrative here on f. 20v, as distinguished from the text attached to the drawing, he is given the choice between a hot coal and a gold coin (vn denar de oor) and takes the coal.⁴⁴ The episodes of his slaying the [19] Egyptian and parting the two Israelites and that of the burning bush (pl. 40b-41b) are immediately followed by the Exodus, without any representation of the ten plagues or the institution of the Passover.⁴⁵ There is, however, an allusion to the plagues in the first scene of pl. 42a, where Moses (whose rod ends in a dragon) is said in the text below to be showing three (*sic*)⁴⁶ signs to Pharaoh, which he dares not resist. The substitution of Mount Olivet for Sinai in pl. 43a is of course a mere blunder, though a very curious one, but another Mosaic legend is introduced in pl. 44a. This is in three scenes: on the left Moses is breaking the tables of the Law; in the centre the people are casting gold coins

41 *Antiq. Jud.* ii. 9, ed. Dindorf, i, p. 65.

42 *Hist. Scholast.*, Exod. cap. v, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxcviii, col. 1144.

43 Bonnard, *op. cit.*, p. 16. He refers to the Midrasch Rabba, according to which it was the angel Gabriel who nudged the child's arm.

44 The various versions of this widely spread story in Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, as well as in Latin and other languages, have lately been analysed exhaustively by Mr. G. L. Hamilton in the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, xxxvi, p. 129. For the text of both stories as narrated on f. 20v see the Appendix below, in notes to the transcript of the text in the plates.

45 They are omitted also by Herman, who passes immediately from the story of the crown to the wandering in the desert.

46 'treis', perhaps a misreading of 'dyis' = dix (cf. pl. 47b, text).

and vessels into a fire, from which a golden calf, adored by kneeling crowds, is emerging; and on the right a man is drinking from a cup which Moses hands to him, and other men are fighting together. The last scene alludes to Exodus xxxii. 20, 27, where Moses makes the people drink their golden calf ground to powder, and sends the Levites to slaughter them. According to the text here all the idolaters who drank had a drop of gold hanging from their beards, and turned and slew one another. In the *Historia Scholastica*⁴⁷ their beards are gilded and there is no mention of any such mutual slaughter; and so also in the *Cursor Mundi*,⁴⁸

‘And all þa men þat had þe gilt (sc. guilt)
 Þai had þair berdis all ouer-gilt,’

whereas in the case of those who were innocent,

‘Þe watir prouid þaim for clene,
 Was na gold on þair berdis sene.’

Wherever he appears, Moses himself is a singularly dignified and gracious figure, more especially at the Red Sea (pl. 42b) and where he is holding a veil before his face after descending the second time from Mount Sinai (pl. 45b). From the latter point onwards he is depicted with horns, as was commonly the case in the Middle Ages, the text below explaining that the [20] people thought him horned when they could not look upon his face for its brightness.⁴⁹

After Exodus the artist confines himself more strictly to the Scriptural narrative, though it is sometimes misinterpreted in the accompanying text, as when Jael’s exploit is attributed to ‘Delbola’ (Deborah, pl. 56a), Samuel is represented as the son of Hannah’s rival, Elkanah’s other wife ‘Fenenna’ (Peninnah, Vulg. Phenenna, pl. 82a), and Joab is persistently called David’s son (pl. 93b, &c.). The Book of Joshua, or ‘lestorye Josue e coment it amena soun poeple en la terre de promissioun,’ is somewhat cursorily treated (pl. 49-52), the episode in it which is best shown being the judgement and stoning of ‘Acor’ or Achan (pl. 51). In Judges, where the artist was able to indulge his taste for battle-mêlées, the continuity of the illustrations is four times⁵⁰ interrupted by pages of text. Next to the life of Samson, which is distinguished by a separate title, the stories most fully illustrated are those of Gideon or ‘Jeroboal’ (Jerubbaal), Abimelech, and Jephthah or ‘Gypte’. The treatment of many subjects, especially in the Gideon series, is highly interesting, such, for

47 Exod. cap. lxxiii, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxcviii, col. 1190.

48 E. E. T. S. ed., pt. ii, p. 383, l. 6619.

49 The horns appear in Ælfric’s eleventh-century Hexateuch, Cotton MS. Claud. B. iv. So the *Cursor Mundi*, ii, p. 385, l. 6653:—

‘Quen Moyses had broght þe law
 And his folk in face him saw,
 Þaim thought him hornid apon fer (sc. from afar)
 And doutd him to cum him nere.’

50 Ff. 31v-32v, 35, 35v, 39v, 41v, 42.

example, as Jael ('Delbola') and Sisera (pl. 56a), Gideon choosing his men (pl. 58b),⁵¹ spying in the enemy's camp (pl. 59a), and refusing the crown (pl. 62b), the making of Gideon's ephod (pl. 63a), Abimelech arguing with the people (pl. 63b), and Jephthah's victory and fulfilment of his vow (pl. 69). To [21] Jephthah some injustice is done, for he is represented as sacrificing his daughter, not against his will after the battle, but before it in order to ensure success. The Samson series, 'le storie de Sampson le fort e de Dalida sa femme qe li fit tort,' begins with two beautiful drawings of the angel appearing to Manoah and his wife, and an exceptionally high level is maintained throughout (pl. 70-78), notably in the scenes where Samson is feasting at Timnath, taking the honeycomb from the lion's mouth, marrying 'Dalida', burning the Philistines' corn, and being blinded. It is curious, however, to mark the sudden change within a few minutes' interval from the stripling in pl. 75b to the bearded man on the next page. There is some confusion also with regard to Samson's wife, who is made identical with Delilah or 'Dalida', and in spite of Judges xv. 1, 2 is consequently (pl. 76b) restored to him when he brings the kid; and similarly the thirty Philistines whom he slew are confused with those who guessed his riddle (pl. 74a). In the last scene a detail is added which, slight as it is, is not without interest, the blind Samson being credited with the kindly thought to delay his vengeance on the Philistines until the lad who had guided him into the house where they were feasting signalled with a horn that he had placed himself out of danger (pl. 78). The lower part of the same page is filled with a prose summary of the Book of Ruth, the idyllic charm of which is reflected in the four lovely scenes from it which follow (pl. 79, 80).

On the whole the rest of these Old Testament drawings are hardly so good or so interesting for their subjects as those which precede them. Among the exceptions are the first four scenes from the First Book of Samuel, more particularly Hannah with her newly-born infant (pl. 81b) and presenting the child to Eli (pl. 82a). In the latter scene, however, as well as in the next, where Eli is warned by the angel, the High Priest's sons are absurdly made to look as young as Samuel himself. In the long series of subjects drawn from the life of David some of the most successfully rendered are his victory over Goliath (pl. 88b), the slaughter of the priests of Nob (pl. 89b), his reception of the murderers of Ishbosheth (pl. 95b), his playing before the Ark (pl. 98a) and

51 In this scene the artist, either directly or through a French translation, has followed Petrus Comestor. In Judges vii. 4-7 God directs Gideon to send back all those who knelt down to drink from the river and did not lap with the tongue like a dog, and he is represented as so doing on the right of the miniature. The *Historia Scholastica*, however, adds to this reason for rejection three others from Deut. xx. 5-7, 'Tamen intelligendum est alia tria quae mandavit Dominus clamanda in populo cum non tacuisse... "Qui edificavit domurn et non dedicavit earn revertatur." Similiter, "Qui plantavit vineam et nondum fecit eam communem, et qui desponsavit uxorem et nondum accepit eam"' (Jud. cap. viii, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* cxcviii, 1278). Accordingly the man and woman on the left represent a newly-wedded couple whose marriage has not yet been consummated, the two men next them holding vine-leaves have lately planted vineyards, and presumably the two others in the background have built, but not dedicated, houses.

parting from Absalom (pl. 104a), the death of Absalom, with Joab as a fully armed mediaeval knight [22] (pl. 106a), Bathsheba pleading for her son's rights (pl. 112b), and Solomon receiving his father's instructions how to govern (pl. 114a); and to these may be added the Judgement of Solomon (pl. 115b), his meeting with the Queen of Sheba (pl. 116b), and the mourning at his death (pl. 118b). The text below pl. 116b states that the Queen of Sheba told Solomon that 'in the Temple was that tree on which Jesus Christ should die'. This is a variation from what is commonly found in the legends of the Holy Cross,⁵² how at that stage in its marvellous history the tree was laid across a brook for a bridge, and how the Queen, when she came to it, bowed to the ground, raised her skirt and removed her shoes and walked across, or waded the brook, barefoot. The battle-scenes in pl. 87, 97, 100, 105 are also extraordinarily vivid, and there can be little doubt that the artist had been a keenly observant eyewitness, if not of actual warfare, at least of jousts and *mêlées* in the lists. In common with similar subjects elsewhere in the volume, especially in the marginal drawings, they have a special value as trustworthy illustrations of English arms and armour at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

After this Old Testament series there are no more tinted drawings of similar style except those inserted in the lower margins from the beginning of the Psalms onwards, which will be separately considered later on. On the other hand, the fine nearly full-page Jesse-tree reproduced in pl. 119 is the first of a large number of miniatures in full body-colour which are introduced at frequent intervals from this point (f. 67v) to the end of the MS. The majority of them deal with more conventional subjects than the tinted drawings, but their artistic qualities and beauty are no less striking, and they are undoubtedly by the same masterly hand, any apparent indications to the contrary being due to the difference of medium and their rather larger scale. The colours employed are blue, vermilion, pink, carmine, violet or mauve, and green, together with a peculiar powdery matt gold with dull greenish shading; and, combined as they are with backgrounds either of finely burnished and stippled gold⁵³ or of [23] elaborately diapered patterns in gold and colours, they give to the greater part of the volume a richness and brilliance which it is impossible to realize from the collotype plates. Like the Jesse-tree itself, the three composite miniatures which immediately follow it serve to connect the Old Testament drawings with the coloured miniatures of scenes from the Gospels which enrich the text of the Psalms. Thus, as explained in French below, the four rows of figures in pl. 120, beginning from the bottom, represent (1) St. Anne and her three husbands, Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome; (2) the three Marys her daughters and their respective husbands, Joseph (with the Holy Dove descending between him and the Virgin), Alpheus, and Zebedee; (3) the Virgin and Child, James the Less,

52 *Cursor Mundi*, pt. ii, p. 517; R. Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E. E. T. S., 1871, p. 83.

53 The patchiness observable in many of the backgrounds in the plates is due to the gold in the original being rubbed or worn away, or sometimes to the incidence of light on the uneven surface.

son of Alpheus, and James the Greater, son of Zebedee; and (4) Christ enthroned, Simon and Jude, sons of Alpheus, and John, son of Zebedee. This ingenious solution of difficulties connected with the family history of Christ was commonly accepted in the Middle Ages, and is summarized in six Latin verses in the *Legenda Aurea*.⁵⁴ Similarly each of the twelve compartments which make up pl. 121, 122 contains the figures of a prophet and an apostle, who stand facing each other in easy and natural attitudes, the pairs being as follows:—

Jeremiah, Peter.	Zephaniah, Philip.
David, Andrew.	Joel, Bartholomew.
Isaiah, James the Greater.	Micah, Matthew.
Zechariah, John.	Malachi, Simon.
Hosea, Thomas.	Daniel, Thaddeus.
Amos, James the Less.	Ezekiel, Matthias.

In addition to their names inscribed below them some of the apostles are also distinguished by their emblems, St. James the Greater, for instance, carrying a bag on which is a scallop-shell, and St. Bartholomew a flaying-knife. All the figures, moreover, hold scrolls, those of the apostles being inscribed with the several clauses from the Apostles' Creed, and those of the prophets with corresponding prophecies taken, but not always accurately, from the Vulgate.⁵⁵ The decoration of the Calendar, which (after four [24] blank pages) intervenes between these miniatures and the Psalms, is still more interesting. Each month covers two opposite pages,⁵⁶ the entries, as before stated, being in gold, blue, vermilion, carmine, and black, with initials in gold on coloured grounds. Across the upper part of the page on the left is a miniature depicting, as is usual, the occupation associated with the month, while facing this is another miniature, in which the artist, instead of merely representing the zodiacal sign by itself, introduces it into a dramatic scene. The subjects of these miniatures, two for a month, are as follows:

54 Ch. cxxxi, *De nativitate b. Mariae*, ed. Graesse, 1846, p. 586.

55 These inscriptions are: Jeremiah, *Patrem invocabitis qui terram*; Peter, *Credo—omnipotentem*; David, *Dominus dixit ad me filius meus* (Ps. ii. 7); Andrew, *Et in Ihesum—unicum dominum*; Isaiah, *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet* (vii. 14); James, *Qui conceptus est de spiritu sancto*; Zechariah, *Aspicient omnes ad me quem* (xii. 10); John, *Passus—crucifixus*; Hosea, *O mors ero mors tua*, &c. (xiii. 14); Thomas, *Descendit—tercia die re[surrexit]*; Amos, *Qui edificat in celo ascensionem* (ix. 6); James the Less, *Aecendit—ad dextram dei pa[tris]*; Zephaniah, *Accedam ad vos in iudicio et er[er]o* (Malachi iii. 5); Philip, *Inde venturus—vivos et*; Joel, *Efundem (sic) de spiritu meo super* (ii., 28); Bartholomew, *Credo in spiritum sanctum*; Micah, *Invocabunt omnes no[m]en*; Matthew, *Sanctam eccl. cathol. sanctorum [communione]*; Malachi, *Deponet dominus omnes ini[quitates]*; Simon, *Remissionem peccatorum*; Daniel, *Educam vos de sepulcris* (Ezek. xxxvii. 12); Thaddeus, *Carnis resurreccionem*; Ezekiel, *Evigilabunt omnes alii* (Dan. xii. 2?); Matthias, *Vitam eternam. Amen*. The same series of figures with the same inscriptions are in Brit. Mus. Arundel MS. 83, f. 12; in Mr. H. Yates Thompson's Taymouth Horae both the order and the prophecies in some cases are different (*Descr. Cat. of Fifty MSS.*, second series, 1902, p. 58).

56 In the plates the second half of the month is on the verso page, not opposite the first half.

Pl. 123, 124. January. A king, queen, and an elderly man seated at table, with a cup-bearer and harper on either side; three men in a boat on a rough sea bailing out water with pitchers (*Aquarius*).

Pl. 125, 126. February. A man seated on the foot of a bed before a blazing fire, with a kneeling youth handing him a stocking, and another youth, erect, behind him; three men in a boat hauling in a long net enclosing two fish (*Pisces*).

Pl. 127, 128. March. Three men pruning and planting trees; two rams butting, with two shepherds (one holding a dog) and sheep (*Aries*).

Pl. 129, 130. April. Five maidens picking daisies and primroses and weaving chaplets; a woman driving two cows, and another driving a bull (*Taurus*).

Pl. 131, 132. May. A gaily dressed youth, with a hawk on his left wrist, mounted on a white horse, with two attendants on foot, also carrying hawks; two nude figures, male and female, standing behind a large shield, a lion and lioness (?) on either side, and birds in trees (*Gemini*).

Pl. 133, 134. June. Three men mowing grass; two men in a boat lifting a crab out of the water (*Cancer*). [25]

Pl. 135, 136. July. Three men weeding, and a woman with a sheaf on her head; a man leading a lion by a chain, a lioness following (*Leo*).

Pl. 137, 138. August. Three men reaping corn, and a farmer directing them; three maidens and a youth standing hand in hand, and two other maidens tending flowers (*Virgo*).

Pl. 139, 140. September. Two men in a large vat, with bare legs, treading grapes, and two others bringing them grapes in baskets; a youth holding scales, with a seller and buyer on either side (*Libra*).

Pl. 141, 142. October. Two youths sowing corn, and a man leading a horse with a sack on its back; two men holding up a huge creature meant for a scorpion (*Scorpio*).

Pl. 143, 144. November. Two men with clubs beating oak-trees, and swine feeding on the acorns; two centaurs (finely drawn) shooting arrows at birds in trees (*Sagittarius*).

Pl. 145, 146. December. A man killing a pig with the back of an axe, and another cutting open a dead pig suspended head downwards; two goats and two goatherds, one playing a flageolet, the other a curious long slightly curved instrument with a mouthpiece at the side (*Capricornus*).⁵⁷

The Psalter itself, which extends from f. 85 to f. 280, is illustrated with miniatures of the Life of Christ, mostly enclosed in Gothic architectural settings with single figures occupying niches at the sides. The first of them faces the beginning of Psalm i as a frontispiece. Their subjects briefly described are:

Pl. 147 (f. 84v). The Annunciation, and, under an embattled gateway below, the Visitation. In niches are: (a) The Law (Synagogue), as a female, blindfolded, dropping the two tables; (b, opposite) the Gospel (Church), as a female, crowned and nimbed, holding a church and a chalice; (c) a king; (d) a king holding a church; (e) Moses, horned, holding the two tables of the Law; (f) an Evangelist holding the Gospel.

57 On a blank page following this (f. 83 v) a leaf of smaller size (6 X 43, in.), perhaps containing a miniature, was formerly pasted. On f. 84, otherwise blank, is the later inscription quoted above, p. 1.

Pl. 148 (f. 85, Ps. i). The Nativity; Joseph seated at the foot of the Virgin's couch, and angels above, holding scrolls inscribed *Gloria in Excelsis*, &c. In niches, SS. John the Baptist (Agnus Dei), John (palm-branch), Peter (key), Paul (sword), Andrew (diagonal cross), and James the Greater (scallop-shell), with their emblems. In the initial B below, David seated, playing a harp; above, the Holy Dove whispering in his ear.

Pl. 162 (f. 112, end of Ps. xxv). The Shepherds at Bethlehem, one with a dog, another with a bagpipe; an angel on raised ground pointing upwards and downwards, others in clouds holding scrolls inscribed *Gloria in Excelsis*.

Pl. 163 (f. 112v, Ps. xxvi, *Dominus illuminatio*). The Adoration of the Magi: one kneeling, another pointing to the Child, and the third to the star, which, however, does not appear in the picture. In niches: (a) the [26] Virgin, with crown and sceptre; (b) a female saint holding a book; (c) St. Catharine, with a wheel; (d) St. Margaret, with a long cross, standing on a dragon; (e) a female saint, with no emblem; (f) St. Mary Magdalene, with an unguent-pot. In the initial D below, David pointing to his eyes; above, the head of the Almighty in a cloud.

Pl. 173 (f. 131, end of Ps. xxxvii). The three Magi, crowned, before Herod. In niches, two men, in banded mail, with coifs and surcoats.

Pl. 174 (f. 131 v, Ps. xxxviii, *Dixi custodiam*). The three Magi, crowned, lying in one bed, with an angel, in a cloud above, warning them to depart. In niches, six prophets, the last (David) crowned. In the initial D below, David, kneeling, with his finger on his lips; above, the head of the Almighty in a cloud.

Pl. 175 (f. 132, *ibid.*). The Massacre of the Innocents: Herod in the centre, seated, drawing a long sword, above him a devil. In niches, six more prophets.

Pl. 184 (f. 148v, end of Ps. 1). In two compartments: above, the Virgin reclining on a couch and suckling the Child, Joseph leaning on the foot of the couch, an angel (with a blank scroll) in a cloud, warning him to flee into Egypt; below, the Flight into Egypt, Joseph leading the ass, on the right idols falling.⁵⁸ In niches, six prophets.

Pl. 185 (f. 149, Ps. li, *Quid gloriaris*). The Presentation in the Temple: Joseph with a basket containing three doves, and a woman holding up a long taper, Simeon nimbed. In the initial Q below, David severing the head of Goliath.

Pl. 186 (f. 150, end of Ps. li). The Virgin, crowned and enthroned, suckling the Child, with an angel on either side swinging a censer. In niches, two angels holding tapers.

Pl. 187 (f. 150v, Ps. lii, *Dixit insipiens*). Christ in the Temple disputing with the doctors; the Virgin, with her hands on His shoulders, about to lead Him away. In niches, six prophets. In the initial D below, David seated, before him a fool with bauble and round cake; above, the head of the Almighty in a cloud.⁵⁹

Pl. 188 (f. 19, *ibid.*). The same subject differently treated: in the centre, Christ, seated on the summit of a tall, slender column, expounding; on the left, the Virgin and Joseph expressing surprise. In niches, six prophets.

Pl. 198 (f. 168v, Ps. lxxviii, *Salvum me fac*). The Marriage Feast at Cana. The treatment of this beautiful miniature, in which a kneeling maid-servant is holding up a cup of the miraculous wine, is unusual, the scene ordinarily represented being the filling of the jars with water.⁶⁰ The two [27] nimbed figures seated on the right and left of the Virgin may be Christ and a disciple, but more probably the latter is Christ and the former the

58 In allusion to a story in the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, how when the Holy Family entered for repose into a temple in Egypt in which there were 365 idols they were all found prostrate and broken (Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 1876, p. 90).

59 For a coloured plate of this page see Warner, *Illum. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 1903, pl. 29.

60 See J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated MSS.*, p. 222, note 2.

ruler of the feast (*ἀρχιεπίκλητος*), nimbed under his mediaeval guise as St. Architrclin. In niches, six gracefully drawn angels with musical instruments. In the initial S below, Jonah being thrown into the sea and cast up on land by the whale.

Pl. 199 (f. 169, *ibid.*). The Feeding of the Five Thousand; on the left, behind Christ, a disciple and the lad holding loaves and fishes. In niches, six nimbed figures (apostles?).

Pl. 211 (f. 190v, Ps. lxxx, *Exultate Deo*). The Baptism of Christ, who stands erect, full-face, in water heaped up round Him, with the Holy Dove hovering above and an angel holding His garment. In niches, four seraphim, and two angels worshipping. In the initial E below, David striking a row of five bells with hammers.

Pl. 212 (f. 191, *ibid.*). The Temptation: Christ standing on a pinnacle of the Temple, with the Devil addressing Him from below, and angels in clouds above; in a lower compartment, on the left the Devil offering Christ a stone, and on the right Christ standing on a mountain, with the Devil below and also issuing from a hole in the side of the mountain. In niches, two kings with swords and sceptres, two seraphim with spears, and two angels, one with a sword, the other with a spear.

Pl. 223 (f. 210v, Ps. xcvi. 6). Christ, with three disciples, addressing a woman who holds out her hands (with a blank scroll) in supplication, and who may be either the woman with an issue of blood, or the Canaanite woman, or possibly Martha (John xi. 20). In niches, four male figures, unnimbed.

Pl. 224 (f. 211, Ps. xcvi. 9). The Raising of Lazarus: Mary (nimbed) stands at the head of the tomb, and Martha (unnimbed) kneels at the foot of it. In niches, two male and two female figures. In the initial C of Ps. xcvi, *Cantate Domino* (pl. 225), three choristers singing at a music-desk.

Pl. 227 (f. 213v, Ps. c. 4). St. John the Baptist, with an Agnus Dei in his hand, preaching; behind him a lion, ox, and calf. In niches, four male figures.

Pl. 228 (f. 214, Ps. c. 6). Christ, with book in hand, preaching. In niches (pl. 229), four male figures. In the initial D of Ps. ci, *Domine exaudi* (f. 214v), the anointing of David by Samuel; above, in a cloud, the hand of God.

Pl. 239 (f. 233v, Ps. cix, *Dixit Dominus*). The Entry into Jerusalem two disciples only. A man in a tree and another on the top of the gateway are throwing down branches. In the initial D below, the Trinity, the Father and Son seated, holding spheres, the Holy Dove descending between them.

The following miniatures mostly include four subjects in as many compartments, often within quatrefoils, upon diapered grounds:

Pl. 240 (f. 234, Ps. cix). Christ (a) giving sight to blind Bartimaeus; (b) anointed by Mary Magdalene; (c) answering the Pharisees concerning tribute (Mark xii. 4) or possibly entrusting money to Judas (John xii. 6), as keeper of the bag; and (d) giving Judas the sop. The subject of the third [28] miniature is a little doubtful, but coins are apparently passing between our Lord and the figure on the right.

Pl. 245 (f. 241v, end of Ps. cxvii). (a) St. Peter delivered by the angel out of prison (Acts xii. 6-10);⁶¹ (6) Christ enthroned, with the emblems of the Evangelists; (c) the mystical institution of the Eucharist: Christ, with two disciples, behind an altar,

61 This is apparently the subject depicted, but it seems out of place here.

pointing to Himself in form of a child sitting on a corner of the altar;⁶² (d) Christ washing St. Peter's feet.

Pl. 246 (f. 242, *ibid.*). Four scenes at Gethsemane, viz. (a) Christ addresses the three disciples; (b) finds them sleeping; (c) prays a second time; (d) again finds them sleeping.

Pl. 248 (f. 244v, Ps. cxviii. 33). Four scenes at Gethsemane, viz. (a) Christ prays a third time; (b) again finds the three disciples sleeping; (c) addresses those who come to take Him; (d) Judas kisses Him and He is seized, Peter smiting off Malchus' ear. In the initial L below, Christ before the High Priest.

Pl. 249 (f. 245, *ibid.*). (a) Christ before the High Priest (with mitre); (b) a man seizing another by his cloak (? the young man mentioned in Mark xiv. 51, 52); (c) Christ scourged, the High Priest and Peter standing by; (d) Peter warming himself at the fire, and the maid accusing him.

Pl. 252 (f. 248 v, Ps. cxviii. 79). (a) Christ mocked and buffeted and (b) before Pilate; (c) Judas throwing down the thirty pieces of silver and (d) hanging himself, a devil carrying off his soul.⁶³

Pl. 253 (f. 249, Ps. cxviii. 81). (a) Christ again before Pilate, and (b) mocked and scourged; (c) Pilate's wife lying in bed, and a devil appearing to her (a curious version of her dream); (d) Pilate listening to his wife and washing his hands. In the initial D below, Christ bound to a column and scourged.

Pl. 256 (f. 252v, Ps. cxviii. 129). (a) Christ crowned with thorns; (b) the Jews laying hold of Simon of Cyrene; (c) the shaping of the Cross with an axe; (d) the smith's wife forging the nails.⁶⁴ In the initial M below, a Jew asking Pilate to set a watch by the tomb. [29]

Pl. 257 (f. 253, *ibid.*). (a, b) Christ bearing the Cross, the Virgin also apparently supporting it; (c) nailed to it; and (d) raised upon it, the Jews mocking.

Pl. 260 (f. 256v, Ps. cxix, *Ad dominum cure tribularer*). The Crucifixion: on the left the Virgin is swooning, supported by one of the Marys, and Longinus,⁶⁵ kneeling, without his spear, is touching his eyes; on the right are St. John, the centurion, who is pointing to Christ, and a mailed soldier; at the foot of the Cross two men, not soldiers, are casting dice on the seamless coat. In niches, eight male figures, unimbed. In the initial A below, a pope (with a high conical tiara, springing from a crown and terminating in a ball), king, bishop, and others kneeling before an altar.

62 The same subject appears in the Horae of Queen Juana of Castile (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 18852, f. 323), where a nude child is seated on a cushion under a canopy in the centre of the altar.

63 The soul is not making its usual exit through the lips, with which Judas had kissed Christ, but through the bowels (*Cursor Mundi*, iii, p. 943).

64 This is also represented in the Holkham MS., f. 31. See R. Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E. E. T. S., 1871, p. 84. The story was that the smith to whom the Jews applied to make the three nails happened to be a believer in Christ. He therefore declared he could not forge them as he had injured his hand, and, when they called upon him to show it, it was miraculously made to appear sore. His wife, however, 'a fell woman and full of strife,' came out and scolded him, and forged them herself:

'Þe iews helpid hir forto smite,
So þat thre nayles war made ful tite;
Hir husband saw and stode ful still,
He durst nocht say þat scho did ill.'

65 The blind soldier who was compelled by the Jews to pierce Christ's side with his spear and whose blindness was healed by the blood falling upon his eyes. See *Legenda Aurea*, 1846, p. 202; Hulme, *Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*, E. E. T. S., 1907, p. 63.

Pl. 261 (f. 257, *ibid.*). (a) Pilate giving Joseph of Arimathaea leave to have the body of Christ;⁶⁶ (b) the Deposition, Joseph supporting the body and Nicodemus drawing the nail from the feet with pincers, the Virgin on the left, St. John on the right; (c) Pilate and the High Priest giving orders to the soldiers; (d) the Entombment, Joseph supporting Christ's head, Nicodemus holding a pot of spices, the Virgin, weeping, and St. John behind.

In the Canticles (ff. 280v-302) there are only six detached composite coloured miniatures; in other cases the subjects are enclosed within the initial letter of the Canticle. The subjects are:

Pl. 274 (f. 280v, *Confitebor*). (a) Christ lying in the sepulchre, which is uncovered, and soldiers apparently repulsing a disciple, perhaps Joseph of Arimathaea; (b) Joseph sent by the Jews to prison;⁶⁷ (c) the Resurrection Christ, with resurrection cross, stepping out of the sepulchre, two angels in clouds above, and two sleeping soldiers in the foreground; (d) Christ, with resurrection cross, delivering Joseph from prison. On the left of the last subject, within the same quatrefoil, is another very similar one, in which two angels are delivering a prisoner. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the Taymouth Horae, where there are two similar miniatures, one of which is entitled 'Cy uient nostre seignour apres sa resurexion e deliure ioseph hors de prisun' (f. 125v), and the other 'Cy deliure mychael longis (sc. Longinus) [30] hors de prisun' (f. 127).⁶⁸ In the initial C below, a kneeling figure (Isaiah) with upraised hands clasped by those of the Almighty in a cloud above.

Pl. 275 (f. 281, *ibid.*). (a) The Harrowing of Hell: Christ, with resurrection cross, leading Adam and Eve out of the mouth of Hell; (b) the three Marys at the sepulchre, on which the angel is seated; (c) the Supper at Emmaus, the two disciples nimbed; (d) the Incredulity of St. Thomas and the *Noli me tangere* (within the same quatrefoil).

Pl. 276 (f. 281v, *Ego dixi*). In the initial E, Hezekiah lying in bed with his hands raised in prayer; above, in a cloud, the head of the Almighty.

Pl. 277 (f. 283, *Exultavit*). In the initial E, Hannah bringing Samuel to Eli (cf. pl. 82a).

Pl. 278 (f. 284, *Cantemus*). In the initial C, Moses, horned, with hand upraised to the Almighty in a cloud above; on the right Miriam with a tambourine, and the Egyptians whelmed in the Red Sea.

Pl. 280 (f. 286, *Domine audivi*). In the initial D, the Virgin standing with outstretched arms; above, in a cloud, Christ on the cross.

Pl. 282 (f. 288, *Audite caeli*). In the initial A, Moses, horned, praying to the Almighty in a cloud above; on the right three Israelites and the flaming mouth of Hell.

66 This interpretation of the miniature seems probable from its position in the series, but it is not certain. The building on the right (cf. Pl. 274b) looks like a prison, but it is perhaps meant for the gate of the city.

67 According to the Gospel of Nicodemus the Council imprisoned him until after the Sabbath, when they intended to put him to death, but at night the tower was miraculously lifted from the ground by the four corners and Christ appeared and drew him from under it, the locks and seals remaining intact (Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. 366, 381).

68 *Descr. Cat.* of Mr. H. Yates Thompson's collection, second series, 1902, p. 67, no. 266. The source of this story of the imprisonment of Longinus is doubtful. In the Holkham MS., however, it is Nicodemus who is imprisoned as well as Joseph (f. 84), and so also in the romance of *Titus and Vespasian* (ed. J. A. Herbert, 1905, p. 20, l. 425).

Pl. 285 (f. 292v, *Te Deum*). In the initial T, a bishop with an asperging brush, and five figures in white vestments.

Pl. 287 (f. 294, *Benedicite*). In the initial B, the Three Children in the fiery furnace.

Pl. 289 (f. 295v, *Benedictus*). In the initial B, St. John the Baptist, with the Agnus Dei, standing on a hill, and Pharisees questioning him.

Pl. 290 (f. 296v, *Magnificat*). In the initial M, the Annunciation, and, on the right, the Virgin kneeling, with the Almighty in a cloud above.

Pl. 291 (f. 297v, *Nunc dimittis*). (a) The Ascension, the Virgin and five apostles only; (b) Pentecost, the Virgin and five apostles; (c) the death of the Virgin, Christ, standing on the further side of the bed, carrying her soul (nimbed), four apostles in the room and six others outside. In the initial N below, the Presentation in the Temple.

Pl. 292 (f. 298, *ibid.*). (a) The Funeral of the Virgin, the bier borne by four apostles, the Jew who ventured to touch it hanging to it by his hand;⁶⁹ (b) the Coronation of the Virgin; (c) the Entombment of the Virgin by the apostles, St. John seated in the foreground weeping; (d) the Assumption of the Virgin, crowned, within a mandorla supported by four angels, her open tomb below.

Pl. 293 (f. 298v, *Quicumque vult*). Christ enthroned, holding a sphere, with four angels in clouds adoring; within a lozenge, outside which are the [31] emblems of the evangelists and their names on scrolls. In the initial Q below, a pope, with tiara as in pl. 260, addressing a council.

Pl. 294 (f. 299, *ibid.*). The Trinity: the Father enthroned, holding a tau-cross on which hangs the Son, over whose head descends the Holy Dove; in the corners four angels, two swinging censers and holding incense-boats.

The Litany (ff. 302v-318) is illustrated with sixteen coloured miniatures, chiefly figures of saints, who from the absence of emblems cannot always be identified, viz.:

Pl. 297 (f. 302v). The Last Judgement: Christ seated on an arc, with hands extended; on His right kneels the Virgin, baring her breast to enforce her appeal for mercy for one of her votaries, who kneels behind her; on His left are other kneeling figures; and above, in clouds, are angels holding emblems of the Passion. In a lower compartment figures in grave-clothes are rising from their tombs at the sound of trumpets blown by two angels. In the initial K, a pope, bishops, and others kneeling.⁷⁰

Pl. 298 (f. 303). St. Peter, with an angel, admitting souls into heaven, where Christ sits enthroned; below, an angel, armed with a sword, is driving souls into hell, where devils are receiving them and casting them into a flaming hell-mouth.

Pl. 299 (f. 303v). The Virgin, enthroned, suckling the Child; above, two angels are supporting drapery behind her (cf. pl. 186). In niches, two angels playing a guitar and a violin, and two others, below, holding tapers.

Pl. 300 (f. 304). Nine small compartments: (1, 2) two six-winged seraphim, standing on wheels; (3-5) three four-winged archangels, holding a sceptre, a sword and sceptre, and (Michael, in armour) a battle-axe; (6) a six-winged angel standing before an altar; (7-9) three six-winged angels, one holding a spear, another a trumpet. The wings of the first six figures are gold, of the others silver.

69 *Legenda Aurea*, p. 508; cf. the Taymouth Horae, *op. cit.*, p. 67, no. 279.

70 For a coloured plate of this fine page see Sir E. M. Thompson, *Engl. Illum. MSS.*, 1895, pl. 15.

Pl. 301 (f. 304v). Moses, horned, standing with three patriarchs on either side of him; below, St. John the Baptist (Agnus Dei) with three prophets on either side.

Pl. 302 (f. 305). Four apostles, without emblems; below, SS. Peter (keys), Paul (a sword), Andrew (a diagonal cross), and John (a palm-branch and eagle).

Pl. 303 (f. 305v). Eight apostles and evangelists, without emblems.

Pl. 304 (f. 306). Eighteen saints (disciples), nine and nine.

Pl. 305 (f. 306v). Eight saints (martyrs), four and four, with or without emblems, including St. Stephen (stones in a napkin) and St. Clement the pope (an anchor). [32]

Pl. 306 (f. 307). Twelve saints (martyrs), eight and four, including a pope, a king, and bishops, and St. Denis (carrying his severed head).

Pl. 307 (f. 307v). Eight saints (confessors), four and four, without nimbi or emblems, including a pope (Silvester) and two bishops.

Pl. 308 (f. 308). Thirteen saints (confessors), nine and four, without nimbi or emblems, including a pope (Leo) and a king.

Pl. 309 (f. 308v). SS. Mary Magdalene (with an unguent-pot), Mary of Egypt (covered with long white hair and holding a loaf), Margaret (piercing a dragon with a long cross), and another (with a palm-branch).

Pl. 310 (f. 309). Seven virgin saints, one holding a palm-branch.

Pl. 311 (f. 309v). Seven kneeling figures, one with a crown and two with mitres; above, Christ in a cloud, His right hand raised in benediction, in His left a sphere.

Pl. 312 (f. 310). Six kneeling figures, three of them women; above, Christ as in pl. 311.

The tinted drawings in the lower margins before mentioned begin on the second page of the Psalms (f. 85 v) and continue without intermission to the end of the Litany (f. 318), their total number thus amounting to 464. They have all been reproduced (pl. 149 sqq.), but from exigencies of space are detached from the rest of the page above them unless it contains a coloured miniature, in which case the page is given entire.⁷¹ The subjects represented are of the most varied interest, including real and imaginary creatures from mediaeval Bestiaries; tilting, hunting and hawking scenes, and other field-sports, games, and pastimes of all kinds; banquets, music and dancing; drolleries and grotesque monsters; and, finally, long series of miracles of the Virgin and lives and passions of saints. The last two classes form a fitting accompaniment to the invocations of the Litany, but the rest have no connexion whatever with the text of the volume and their motives are exclusively secular. According to mediaeval ideas there was nothing incongruous in this method of decorating the margins even of MSS. of the most devotional or sacred character. To many an artist no doubt it was a welcome relief from the usual religious subjects, enabling him to give freer rein to his imagination, and its popularity is evident from the number of volumes in which it was more or less extensively employed, such as the Duke of Rutland's fine thirteenth-century [33] Psalter,⁷² the

71 The four subjects usually included in a single plate are referred to as *a-d*, though not so lettered on the plate.

72 New Palaeographical Soc., *Facsimiles*, pt. iii, 1905, pl. 64-66; *B.F.A.C. Exhib. of Illum. MSS.*, no. 43; Herbert, p. 188. This MS. was not acquired by the Rutland family until after it had lost Queen Mary's Psalter.

Taymouth⁷³ and Carew-Poyntz⁷⁴ Horae, and above all the later fourteenth-century Louterell Psalter⁷⁵ and, in a different class, the canon-law Decretals of Pope Gregory IX in Royal MS. 10 E. iv. In Queen Mary's Psalter these marginal drawings are in the same style and tinted with the same colours as the Old Testament subjects earlier in the MS. They are, however, on a rather smaller scale and are executed with still greater delicacy, freedom, and vivacity, while at the same time they are distinguished from those in some other MSS., especially Royal MS. 10 E. iv, by the complete absence of anything of a coarse or unseemly nature. For the extremely curious illustrations of mediaeval natural history with which they begin the artist evidently had recourse to the thirteenth-century Norman-French poem of Guillaume le Clerc, printed under the title *Le Bestiaire*.⁷⁶ But although, in the main, he follows this poem closely and with the same order of subjects, he adds a few others (pl. 167d-172c) which do not appear in the published text, so that he either used a fuller MS. than any now known or supplemented Guillaume le Clerc from some other authority. This was probably the same Latin prose moralized Bestiary which seems to have furnished Guillaume himself with his materials, and which is contained in the first two of four books forming a composite collection on natural history printed as an appendix to the works of Hugh of St. Victor.⁷⁷ This well-known author, however, was only responsible for the second book (the one most used by Guillaume), the first being by Hugh Foliot, while the other two are anonymous.⁷⁸ With regard to the drawings here, it is uncertain whether they are copied by the artist from illustrations in some manuscript authority or merely [34] express his own idea of the creatures as there described in the text. In either case many of them appear under strange disguises, the owl, for instance, being turned into a bat and the viper into a beast with four legs. As no names or descriptive titles are attached he presumably supposed that the subjects would be easily recognized. However that may have been in his own time, some explanation is now needed to make them intelligible, and it is given in the list which follows⁷⁹:-

Pl. 149, ff. 85v-87. The lion (G. 11. 137-238, H. ii. ch. 1): (a) how it scents the hunter and covers up its tracks with its tail; (b) how it sleeps with its eyes open; (c) how its

73 See above, p. 24, note; H. Y. Thompson, *A Lecture on some Engl. Illum. MSS.*, 1902, P. 20, pl. xiv-xxx.

74 M. R. James, *Descr. Cat. of MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, no. 48, p. 100.

75 New Pal. Soc., *Facsimiles*, pt. ii, 1904, pl. 41-43; Soc. of Antiquaries, *Vetusta Monumenta*, vi, pl. xx-xxv.

76 R. Reinsch, *Le Bestiaire. Das Thierbuch des normannischen Dichters Guillaume le Clerc*, Leipzig, 1892.

77 Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, clxxvii, col. 13. The ultimate source of all mediaeval moralized Bestiaries was the early Christian allegorical collection known as *Physiologus*.

78 B. Hauréau, *Les Œuvres de Hugues de St. Victor*, 1886, p. 169.

79 G. refers to Guillaume le Clerc and H. i, H. ii to Hugh Foliot and Hugh of St. Victor respectively. It will be noticed that the order of subjects in the Latin Bestiary is quite different from that in G. and in these drawings.

cubs are born dead and so remain for three days, when their sire breathes life into them; (d) how it is not easily angered unless it is hurt.

Pl. 150, ff. 87v-89. The antelope (aptalos, G. 239-278, antula, H. ii. 2) (a) how, when thirsty, it goes to the Euphrates to drink; (b) how it is so swift that it cannot be caught unless its horns are entangled in the branches of trees.

Ibid. The serra (G. 399-456, H. ii. 22), a winged sea-monster, properly perhaps the sword-fish: (c) how it runs on the waves; (d) how it races a ship and puts it in peril.

Pl. 151, ff. 89v-91. The caladrius or charadrius (G. 457-520, H. i. 48, ii. 31), a white bird: (a) how, when it perches on the bed of a sick man and looks towards him, he will recover, but if it averts its head (b), he will die.

Ibid. The pelican (G. 521-614, H. i. 33, ii. 27): (c) how the young peck their parents, who retaliate and kill them; (d) how on the third day the mother-bird in remorse recalls them to life by blood from her breast.

Pl. 152, ff. 91v-93. (a, b) Men scaring away a bat. The artist here seems to have misunderstood his authority, both G. (615-656) and H. (i. 34) speaking, not of the bat, but of the *nycticorax* or screech-owl.⁸⁰

Ibid. The eagle (G. 657-738, H. i. 56): (c) how, when it is old and its wings are heavy and its eyes dim, it seeks a clear fount of water and soars straight above it, so high that it burns its wings and eyes in the sun, and then drops into the water and bathes three times, and its youth is renewed; (d) how it tests its young by exposing their eyes to the rays of the sun.

Pl. 153, ff. 93v-95. The phoenix (G. 739-820, H. i. 49): (a) how it burns itself to death, and (b) how a new phoenix rises from the ashes. The figure on the right is presumably the priest of Heliopolis. [35]

Ibid. The upupa or hoopoe (G. 821-870, H. i. 52): (c) how, when it is old, its young pluck out its worn feathers and cherish and feed it until (d) new feathers have grown and it can fly again.

Pl. 154, ff. 95v-97. The ant (G. 871-1052, H. ii. 29): (a) ants swarming on an ant-hill; (b) how in Ethiopia there are other ants as large as dogs,⁸¹ and how they attack those who come to take the gold which they guard.

Ibid. The sirens (G. 1053-1112, H. ii. 32), one represented as half woman, half-bird, the other as a mermaid holding up a mirror: (c) how they lull mariners to sleep with their singing and (d) then destroy them.

Pl. 155, ff. 97v-99. The hedgehog (G. 1113-1170, H. ii. 4): (a) how at vintage time it climbs a vine and shakes down the grapes and then rolls over them on the ground, so that they adhere to its spines and it can so carry them to its young;⁸² and (b) how it defends itself when attacked.

Ibid. The ibis (G. 1171-1306, H. i. 57): (c) how it dwells on the shores of lakes or the sea and (d) feeds on carrion.

80 'Nicticorace, un oisel de malvaise estrace', G.

81 So Guillaume le Clerc, l. 961,

'Formiz d' altre manere sont
En Ethiopie la amont;
De chens ont tote la faiture,
E sont ben de for estature.'

These are the ants (perhaps really the scaly ant-eater) spoken of by Herodotus, iii. 102, from which the golden sand dug out by them could only be obtained by stratagem.

82 G. le Clerc says it does the same with apples, and it is perhaps this fruit which is here represented.

Pl. 156, ff. 99v-101. The fox (G. 1307-1374, H. ii. 5): (a) how, when hungry, it pretends to be dead, and (b), when the birds perch on its body, seizes and devours them.

Ibid. The unicorn (G. 1375-1476, H. ii. 6): (c) how it is so strong and valiant that it encounters the elephant; and (d) how hunters can only kill it by sending a virgin into its haunts, when it lays its head in her lap and falls asleep.

Pl. 157, ff. 101v-103. The beaver (G. 1477-1566, H. ii. 9): (a) how it bites off the glands for the sake of which it is hunted, and (b), when the hunter comes up, throws itself on its back to show that it is without them.

Ibid. (c) The crocodile (G. 1643-1728, H. ii. 8). Certainly intended to represent this beast, though its form is not recognizable. In G. the hyaena precedes it.

Ibid. (d) The hyaena (G. 1567-1642, H. ii. 10): how it tears dead bodies from tombs and devours them.

Pl. 158, ff. 103v-105. (a) The hyaena (continued): how it mimics the human voice outside a house and, when the owner opens the door, springs upon him.

Ibid. (b) The hydrus, enhydris, or water-snake (G. in conjunction with the crocodile, H. ii. 7): how it hides in the mud, and when the crocodile is [36] asleep enters its mouth, is swallowed alive, and eats its way out through its enemy's side.⁸³

Ibid. (c, d) The ibex or wild goat (G. 1729-1830, H. ii. 13): how it lives in the mountains and describes the hunter from afar.

Pl. 159, ff. 105v-107. (a, b) The wild ass (G. 1831-1926, H. ii. 11) how the single male in a herd examines a newly born foal, and, if it is a male, emasculates it from fear of rivalry.

Ibid. (c, d) The ape (G. 1927-1964, H. ii. 12). G. has nothing that corresponds exactly to these two scenes (in the first of which the ape appears to be drawing on a boot), but he speaks of apes being kept as pets by great men, and they probably allude to this.

Pl. 160, ff. 107v-109. (a, b) The ape (continued): how the mother ape, when pursued, carries her favourite young one in her arms and the other on her back, and how it results that she is apt to drop the former, while the latter maintains its hold.

Ibid. (c, d) The panther⁸⁴ (G. 2029-2206, H. ii. 23): how after a meal it sleeps for three days, and how, when it wakes and roars, it emits such a sweet odour that all the beasts (except the dragon) congregate to inhale it.

Pl. 161, ff. 109v-111. (a, b) The fulica (G. 1965-2028, H. i. 58) how it lives on the water and builds its nest there or on a rock, and how it feeds on fish ('toz jors manguie bon peisson', G.).

Ibid. (c, d) The whale (G. 2239-2344, H. ii. 36, De aspidochelone, also identified with the sea-tortoise): how it rests on the surface of the sea and mariners anchor to it and

83 H. speaks of it as 'draco multorum capitum', as if identical with the hydra, and it is represented with three heads here.

84 It is tinted in various colours, as in G. (where it is preceded by the fulica),
'Car ele est blanche e ynde e bleue
jalne e verte e russe e bise
coloree en meinte guise.'

light a fire upon it, thinking it to be an island, and how, when roused by the heat, it plunges to the bottom and carries the ship with it.⁸⁵

Pl. 162, ff. 111v, 112. (b, c) The partridge (G. 2345-2418, H. i. 50): a covey rising from a field of corn, and others being caught by a man with a drop-net.⁸⁶ [37]

Pl. 163, f. 112v. The weasel (G. 2419-2561, H. ii. 18): how it conceives through the mouth and gives birth through the ear.

Pl. 164, ff. 113-114v. (a) The weasel (continued): how it carries its young from place to place in its mouth.

Ibid. (b, c) The ostrich (G. 2589-2648, H. i. 37): how it lays its eggs on the ground and how it vainly attempts to fly. The next scene (c) represents a man feeding an ostrich with horseshoes and nails. This is not in G., but comes from the *Physiologus*, as in Cahier, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, ii, p. 197, 'Physiologe dist quil est de tel nature que it mangue fer se it le trueve.'

Ibid. (d) The turtle-dove (G. 2649-2736, H. i. 25): two doves standing beak to beak.

Pl. 165, ff. 115-116v. (a) The turtle-dove (continued): a dove perched on a dead tree mourning its lost mate.⁸⁷

Ibid. (b, c) The stag (G. 2737-2821, H. ii. 14): four stags in water, in allusion to Ps. xli. 1 (Cahier, iii, p. 266); how the stag, when old, draws serpents from their holes with its breath and eats them, and its strength is renewed by their venom.

Ibid. (d) The salamander (G. 2822-2882, H. ii. 16). This beast, which according to the Bestiaries is unharmed by fire and extinguishes it, follows the stag in G. and appears to be represented in the next drawing here (pl. 166a); but there is nothing either in G. or H. that corresponds to this subject, in which it is biting a dragon.

Pl. 166, ff. 117-118v. (a) The salamander (continued): how, when it climbs a tree, it poisons all the fruit.

Ibid. (b, c) The pigeon (G. 2883-3174, H. i. 1, 2): pigeons flying into, and out of, a pigeon-house.

Ibid. (d) The elephant (G. 3 175-3296, H. i. 25, 26): how the female, after eating mandragora (pl. 167b, c), gives birth to her young over water from fear of the dragon.⁸⁸

85 This is the well-known story of which various versions appear in the Voyage of St. Brendan, the First Voyage of Sindbad, and elsewhere (see H. Ward, *Cat. of Romances in the Brit. Mus.*, ii, 1893, p. 519). For a twelfth-century picture of it see *Brit. Mus. Reproductions from Illum. MSS.*, ser. iii, 1910, pl. xiii. As G. expresses it, l. 2275,

'Quant le mustre la cholor sent
Del feu qui desus lui s'esprent,
Donc se plonge par grant rador
Aval en la grant parfondor,
fet od sei la nef plonger
tote la gent periller.'

86 Neither scene comes directly from G., though suggested by his lines,
'Cest la perdriz que nos veom,
Que nos si volenters mangom.'

87 As explained in G. l. 2658,

'E si par aventure pert
La femele son compaignon,
James puis en nule saison
N'ert ore qu'ele ne s'en doille,
James sor verdor ne sor foille,
Qu'el puisse, ne s'asserra.'

Pl. 167, ff. 119-120v. (a) The elephant (continued): how it is used in war for carrying a tower full of armed men.

Ibid. (b, c) The plant mandragora or mandrake (G. 3297-3332, H. ii. 26): how its roots grow in human form, male and female, and shriek when torn from the ground;⁸⁹ and (c) how it is of potent service in medicine. [38] Neither G. nor H. says anything of the dog which appears here in the first drawing. The story⁹⁰ was that any one who heard the plant's cry died or went mad. It was therefore a custom to tie a hungry dog to the plant by a cord and place a piece of meat beyond its reach. To get at the meat the dog tugged at the cord and dragged up the plant, while its master remained safely out of hearing.⁹¹

Ibid. (d) The wolf (H. ii. 20): how, when it sees a man before it is seen by him, the man loses his voice (partly in pl. 168 a).

Pl. 168, ff. 121-122v. The wolf (continued): (a) see above; (b, c) how, when it goes to take a sheep from a fold, it moves against the wind.

Ibid. (d) The tiger (H. iii. i): how, when its cub is carried off, it pursues the ravisher.

Pl. 169, ff. 123-124v. (a) The tiger (continued): how, if the ravisher throws down a mirror, it is deceived by its own reflection, and thinks it has recovered its cub.

Ibid. (b, c) The crane (H. i. 39, Cahier, ii, p. 142): how at night cranes take watch in turn and hold a pebble in one claw to keep them awake; and how in flying from place to place they keep regular order.

Ibid. (d) The peacock (H. i. 55, Cahier, ii, p. 161): two peacocks, head to head.

Pl. 170, ff. 125-126v. (a) A peacock and a peahen.

Ibid. (b, c) The aspis (H. ii. 30, Cahier, ii, p. 148): how, when loath to yield to the charms of music, it lays one ear close to the ground and stops the other with its tail; and how it guards the tree which distils balm and is lulled to sleep with music by those who come to take the balm.

Ibid. (d) The viper (H. ii. 21, Cahier, ii, p. 134), strangely represented as a quadruped: how the male inserts his snout into the mouth of the female, who bites it off and so conceives her young.

Pl. 171, ff. 127-128v. (a) The viper (continued): how its young eat their way out of their mother's womb through her side.

Ibid. (b, c) A creature called 'serpens' in H. (iii. 53) and 'une beste que on apele woutre' in Cahier (ii, p. 143): how, when it sees a man naked, it is afraid of him, but if he is clothed, it attacks him.

Ibid. (d) The owl (H. i. 44): how it is mobbed by other birds and driven away (partly in pl. 172 a).

Pl. 172, ff. 129-130v. (b, c) The crow (H. i. 25, Cahier, ii, p. 156) how it does not feed its young till they begin to be black like itself, but they subsist on dew; and how, when it finds a corpse, it first pecks out the eye. [39]

88 'Parturit super aquam, et hoc propter draconem facit, qui insidiatur pullis eius', H.

89 'Si dit l'en, quant ele est cuillie, E si alcuns oeit le cri
Qu'ele se pleint e brait e crie; Mort en serreit e malbailli.'

So G. l. 3309; cf. Romeo and Juliet, iv. iii. 47, 'And shrieks like mandrakes torn out of the earth, that living mortals, hearing them, run mad.'

90 It is mentioned in the metrical French Bestiary of Philippe de Thaun (T. Wright, *Popular Treatises on Science*, 1841, p. 101). See M. F. Mann, *Der Physiologus des Philippp von Thaun and seine Quellen*, 1884.

91 With the exception of a chapter on the 'diamant', the printed text of Guillaume le Clerc comes to an end after this.

The subjects which follow down to pl. 219b are more miscellaneous and disconnected. The majority, however, are delightfully graphic illustrations of contemporary life, and are consequently of the highest interest for English social history as well as art. The large number of grotesque figures interspersed among them also have a special interest of their own. Their fantastic imagination and exquisitely delicate drawing entitle them to rank with the best examples of this characteristic style of fourteenth-century ornamentation, and they are no less remarkable for the spirit and humour displayed in the fierce encounters in which they are frequently engaged (e.g. pl. 176-180). In the more realistic drawings mediaeval life is depicted in its pleasanter aspect, though a more brutal side is shown in bull-baiting (pl. 182a) and shooting at a cock tied to a post (pl. 193d). Among martial subjects we have knights charging and unhorsing one another and battling furiously in a *mêlée* (pl. 174, 207, 208), a knight pursuing and overcoming a Saracen who has abducted a lady (pl. 186a, b), and even two adventurous damsels tilting with lances (pl. 216a). In all these scenes, the last of which is no doubt, like the diverting episode of the fox, with mitre and pastoral staff, preaching to the birds (pl. 192a), merely a caricature, the action of horses and riders alike is extraordinarily animated and natural. The same qualities are also conspicuous in the more numerous drawings which are concerned with hunting and falconry, where the hounds and hawks, and the stags, hares, rabbits, herons, and ducks, which are the objects of the chase, are all drawn with equal skill and fidelity to nature. In these manly sports, as in similar series in the Taymouth Horae 92 and other MSS., women play a prominent part, being represented not only as riding out in quest of game, casting a hawk (pl. 188, 204), and blowing a horn (pl. 189c), but also as piercing the head of a stag with an arrow (pl. 189d) and as ferreting and netting rabbits and knocking them over with sticks (pl. 191a, b). Other sports and amusements treated in less detail include sword-and-buckler play (pl. 183a, b), wrestling in various forms (pl. 193c, 194a, 197b), archery both with bow and cross-bow (pl. 193d, 194a), and swimming (pl. 200a, b), together with top-whipping (pl. 195b), bob-cherry or bob-apple (pl. 196c), [40] club-kayles or ninepins (pl. 196d), knuckle-bones (pl. 197a), and draughts (pl. 216c); and elsewhere showmen are leading about a tame bear (pl. 173) and a lion (pl. 206c), and boys hold birds and butterflies captive at the end of a string (pl. 195a). A subject several times repeated with slight variations represents four persons (in one case a monk, friar, and nuns, and in another caricatured by apes) standing in a row, generally with hands connected, and accompanied, either on the same or the opposite page, by musicians. They may possibly be dancers, but are more probably a quartet of singers. Of musical instruments, many of which are played by grotesques (pl. 212-215), the mandora and fiddle are the most frequent, but the trumpet, harp, hand-organ, psaltery, pipe and tabor, bagpipe, tambourine, and others also appear. Some of the performers are dancing to their own music; others are providing music at banquets (pl.

92 H. Y. Thompson, *A Lecture on some Engl. Illum. MSS.*, pl. xvii-xxviii.

218d, 219a), and in one instance a fiddler is heading a procession of dishes (pl. 207c). The following is a complete list of subjects:

Pl. 172 (d), f. 130v. A bear and horse fighting or playing together.

Pl. 173, f. 131. A man leading a bear and whipping it for springing at a woman.

Pl. 174. A mounted knight charging another (who has lost his weapons) and piercing him with a lance.

Pl. 175-181, ff. 132-144. Combats of half-human and other grotesques, mostly mounted, and of dragons, rams, cocks, fish, &c.

Pl. 182, ff. 144v-146. (a) Dogs baiting a bull; (b) dogs attacking a boar; (c) a griffin springing at a lion, which is apparently expressing contempt; (d) an archer, half-length, on a long-eared lion, shooting at a man in armour, half-length, on a horned horse.

Pl. 183, ff. 146v-148. (a, b) Two men with swords and small round bucklers fighting; (c) two mounted grotesques with bow and lance fighting; (d) a grotesque, half-knight, half-dragon, encountering two snails.

Pl. 184, f. 148v. A lion and dragon fighting.

Pl. 185, f. 149. A grotesque formed of a human head, with a single horn and long ears, and the hind quarters of a winged beast with claws.

Pl. 186, ff. 149v, 150. (a) A mounted knight, with fan-crested helm and ailettes, pursuing a turbaned Saracen who is carrying off a lady; and (b) the same two fighting.

Pl. 187, f. 150v. A mounted hunter with two hounds pursuing a stag.

Pl. 188, f. 151. A mounted man and two women (who ride astride) hawking, with a man on foot holding a lure, and a hawk striking a duck.

Pl. 189, ff. 151v-153. (a) A mounted hunter, followed by a man on foot carrying a bow, and by two dogs; (b) two dogs hunting a stag; [41] (c) two women on horseback (riding astride), one blowing a horn; (d) a woman who has just drawn a bow, and a dog seizing a stag, which has an arrow in the back of its head.

Pl. 190, ff. 153v-155. (a) Four men urging on a small dog, and a boy behind holding two greyhounds in a leash; (b) a man with two greyhounds, one of which is seizing a hare; (c) two men, one blowing a horn, and two dogs; (d) a stag on its back, with two dogs seizing it, and a man blowing a horn.

Pl. 191, ff. 155v-157. (a) A woman putting a ferret into a rabbit's hole, and another netting a rabbit as it comes out; (b) two women clubbing rabbits; (c) two youths on horseback, each carrying a hawk; (d) a mounted youth, and a hawk striking a heron, which turns in the air and opposes its sharp beak to the blow.

Pl. 192, ff. 157v-159. (a) A fox, with mitre and pastoral staff, preaching to a crane, goose, duck, and robin; (b) a woman striking with a distaff at a fox running away with a duck in its jaws; (c) a group of three men and two women; (d) two knights tilting, each standing up in a boat with two scullers.

Pl. 193, ff. 159v-161. (a) A man striking with a lance at an ape which is climbing a tree; (b) two men, one with a club, and a fox (?) running off with a hen; (c) two men, stripped to their drawers, wrestling, each holding the ends of a scarf wrapped round the other's neck, with two groups of spectators, one of whom holds up a pole with a cock at the top as a prize for the winner; (d) two men shooting arrows at a cock and another bird.

Pl. 194, ff. 161v-163. (a) Two men wrestling, each mounted on another man's back; (b) two men, one standing and the other sitting, each with one leg extended, sole to sole, another man standing by; (c) two men with cross-bows shooting at a bird in a tree; (d) a man with sword and small round shield fighting a dragon.

Pl. 195, ff. 163v-165. (a) Two boys with butterflies, and another with a bird, at the end of a string; (b) two youths whipping a top; (c) a knight fighting a lion, which is springing on his horse from behind; (d) a horseman shooting an arrow at a grotesque behind him.

Pl. 196, ff. 165v-167. (a) Two men with flails threshing corn in sheaves; (b) a girl, and a man in the guise of a satyr, dancing; (c) four men playing at bob-cherry; (d) two youths playing at club-kayles with pins and a stick.

Pl. 197, ff. 167v, 168. (a) Two men, one nude and the other in his shirt, apparently playing at knuckle-bones; (b) two nude men wrestling.

Pl. 198, 199, ff. 168v, 169. Grotesques and a dragon fighting.

Pl. 200, ff. 169v-171. (a, b) A swimming-master, standing up in a boat, instructing two pupils, one of whom is treading water; (c) a man coursing, and (d) returning home with a boy carrying a dead hare.

Pl. 201, ff. 171v-173. (a) A hunter blowing a horn and another, with an axe on his shoulder, leading two dogs, a third dog running in advance; [42] (b) a hunter breaking up a stag, with two dogs looking on; (c) a king and two others hunting, preceded by a youth leading two dogs; (d) a wild man, covered with hair, baited by three dogs.

Pl. 202, ff. 173v-175. (a) Two youths and two girls in a row with their hands connected by ribbons; (b) two youths dancing, one playing a mandora and the other a fiddle; (c) two men blowing horns, with a small dog between them; (d) two men digging a fox out of an earth, with the fox bolting and a dog pursuing.

Pl. 203, ff. 175v-177. (a, b) Combats between apes mounted on other apes, and (in b) also two apes playing a tambourine and a trumpet; (c) a monk, friar, and two nuns in a row, with their hands connected by ribbons; (d) a nun playing a psaltery and a friar playing a mandora.

Pl. 204, ff. 177v-179. (a) Two women carrying hawks, with a small dog in front of them; (b) the same women, with two dogs, and a hawk striking a heron; (c) two men and two women holding ribbons; (d) two youths playing long trumpets and a third with cymbals.

Pl. 205, ff. 179v-181. (a) Four apes hand in hand, wearing smocks and hoods; (b) two apes, similarly clad, playing a fiddle and a harp; (c, d) dragons fighting.

Pl. 206, ff. 181v-183. (a) Two men and two women with their hands connected by ribbons; (b) two women playing tambourines; (c) a man leading a tame lion; (d) a man whipping a puppy to attract a lion by its howls.

Pl. 207, ff. 183v-185. (a) Two knights fighting or jousting; (b) a knight armed with a lance unhorsing another armed with a sword; (c) two servants carrying dishes, preceded by another playing a fiddle; (d) a king and two others at table, with a kneeling attendant holding up a cup.

Pl. 208, ff. 185v-187. (a) Two knights fighting or jousting; (b) a *mêlée* of knights, with a trumpeter on the left; (c) a man, with sword and shield, fighting against a dragon and (d) slain by it.

Pl. 209, ff. 187v-189. (a) A cock and a winged serpent fighting; (b) a wild cat springing at a dragon-grotesque; (c) a king, seated, taking a cup from a kneeling attendant; (d) four youths with their hands connected by ribbons, and another playing a mandora.

Pl. 210, ff. 189v, 190. (a) A king, with hawk on wrist, riding with two companions; (b) a hawk striking a heron over water, with a falconer on the left.

Pl. 211, f. 190v. A lion and unicorn charging one another.

Pl. 212, f. 191. Two mermaids, one with a harp, the other with a trumpet and mirror.

Pl. 213-215 b, ff. 191v-196. Grotesques, mostly with musical instruments, including (214b) a donkey blowing a trumpet and a cat beating a tabor.

Pl. 215, ff. 196v, 197. (c) Four men in a row singing; (d) two men, one with a bagpipe dancing, the other with a tabor.

Pl. 216, ff. 197v-199. (a) Two women with lances and shields, but without helmets or armour, jousting; (b) two women blowing long trumpets; [43] (c) a man and a woman playing chess or draughts; (d) two youths holding covered gold cups.

Pl. 217, ff. 199v-201. (a) Three men and a woman at table; (b) three servants carrying dishes; (c) two men and two women seated on a bench, one of the latter holding a lap-dog; (d) four youths standing in a row, with joined hands, and two others blowing long trumpets.

Pl. 218, ff. 201v-203. (a) Two men and two women seated on a bench, gesticulating; (b) three youths holding covered gold cups; (c) three men at table, with a kneeling attendant holding up a gold cup; (d) two men dancing, one playing a mandora, the other a fiddle.

Pl. 219, ff. 203v, 204. (a) An elderly man and three younger men at table, on the right a harper seated on a stool; (b) four men standing in a row, with hands joined.

The fifty-six drawings from f. 204v to f. 232 (pl. 219c-238c) deal with subjects of a different class, illustrating some of the highly curious, and not always edifying, mediaeval tales in which the Virgin miraculously intervenes to reward her votaries or save them from the consequences of their misdeeds. The thirty-six miracles represented, some in a single scene and others in two or more, are mostly well known in narrative form, and, as they do not follow the order of any of the numerous collections analysed by the late H. L. D. Ward in his study of this popular branch of mediaeval romantic literature,⁹³ the artist perhaps relied merely on his own memory of what he had read or heard in selecting them for illustration. However that may be, they make a charming pictorial series, in which his power of graphic delineation is seen at its best, the Virgin herself being throughout an especially attractive and dainty figure. As was the case with the natural history subjects, there is no text accompanying them, and the stories were possibly too familiar at the time to need any. In the following descriptions the references added are to narratives of the same miracles in various MSS. in the British Museum as catalogued by Ward.

Pl. 219c, d, ff. 204v, 205. How Theophilus, oeconomus of the church of Adana in Cilicia, sealed a compact with the devil; and how he repented and sought aid from the Virgin, who forced the devil to surrender the deed (Ward, ii, p. 595).

Pl. 220 a, f. 205v. How a sacristan, crossing a river on his way from his mistress, was pushed into the water by the devil and drowned; and how he was rescued by the Virgin and restored to life (ib., pp. 604, 612). [44]

Ibid. b, f. 206. How Ebbo the thief was supported by the Virgin for two days alive on the gallows (ib., p. 606).

Ibid. c, f. 206v. How an incontinent priest was summoned on his death-bed by the devil, but was saved alive by the Virgin for repentance (ib., p. 617).

Ibid. d, f. 207. How a monk was assailed by the devil in form of [a bull, a dog, and] a lion, and how the Virgin came to his rescue (ib., p. 612).

93 *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, ii, 1893, pp. 586-740.

Pl. 221a, b, ff. 207v, 208. How a Jewish child at Bourges entered a Christian church and received the Eucharist;⁹⁴ and how his father cast him into an oven and the Virgin saved him alive (ib., p. 601).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 208v, 209. How an abbess accused by her nuns of in chastity implored help of the Virgin; and how the Virgin relieved her of her infant and sent it by an angel to a hermit to be nurtured (ib., p. 626).

Pl. 222a, b, ff. 209v, 210. How a clerk of Chartres was buried outside the cemetery on account of his vicious life; how the Virgin appeared to the bishop and complained of this treatment of one who was devoted to her; and how, when his tomb was opened, a lily was found growing from his mouth (ib., p. 605).

Pl. 223, f. 210v. How a clerk was wont to sing daily an antiphon to the Virgin containing five Gaudes; and how she visited him on his death-bed and promised him a share of the joy he had wished her (ib., p. 605).

Pl. 224, f. 211. How an artist painted a fresco of the Virgin trampling on an ugly devil; how the devil, enraged, broke the ladder on which he was standing; and how the Virgin in the picture stretched out her hand and supported him (ib., p. 628).

Pl. 225, f. 211v. How a man cut off his diseased foot, and how the Virgin restored it (ib., p. 619).

Pl. 226 a, f. 212. How the Virgin came to a poor man on his death-bed who for her sake had given away alms bestowed upon him, and called him to Paradise (ib., p. 605).

Ibid. b, c, ff. 212v, 213. How a priest was suspended for knowing no Mass except that of the Virgin; and how she told him to appeal again to the archbishop [Becket], who restored him.

Pl. 227, f. 213v. The drowned sacristan: another version of the miracle represented in pl. 220a.

Pl. 228, f. 214. How a woman on a pilgrimage to Mont St. Michel was overtaken by the tide, but was protected by the Virgin so that the waves did not touch her; and how she was there safely delivered of a child (ib., p. 602).

Pl. 229, f. 214v. How a monk of St. Peter's at Cologne died unconfessed and devils seized his soul; and how St. Peter appealed to the Virgin, at whose intercession the monk's soul was restored to his body (ib., p. 606). [45]

Pl. 230a, f. 215. How King Louis [VII] was led to believe in miracles by seeing victims of the 'mal des ardents' healed by the Virgin in the cathedral of Soissons (ib., p. 644).

Ibid. b, f. 215v. How the monk Anselm spilt the sacramental wine over the corporale, and how the Virgin removed the stain (ib., p. 608).

Ibid. C, f. 216. The Virgin addressing a group of worshippers, perhaps referring to the story how at Toledo, when the Christians were at Mass, an image of the Virgin cried out that the Jews were outraging [a waxen image of] her Son (ib., p. 610).

Ibid. d, f. 216v. How a ruined knight got wealth from the devil by bargaining with him to bring him his wife; how on the way the wife entered a church to pray and fell asleep; and (pl. 231a, f. 217) how the Virgin took her place and the devil was discomfited (ib., p. 661).

Pl. 231b, c, ff. 217v, 218. How a Roman matron was denounced for incest and murder before the emperor by the devil disguised as a clerk; how she made full confession to the pope, and the devil could no longer recognize her, but saw the Virgin at her side and fled (ib., p. 627).

94 This scene is interesting for its representation of a houseling cloth. Another instance of its use is in pl. 263a.

Ibid. d, f. 218v. How a nun, who was devoted to the Virgin, eloped with a clerk, and after living long in sin returned to her abbey and found the Virgin had impersonated her during her absence; and (pl. 232a, f. 219) how she confessed all to the abbess (ib., p. 659).

Pl. 232 b, f. 219v. How a priest who had debauched a nun was saved by the Virgin through the masses of a brother-priest to whom he confessed on his death-bed (ib., p. 638).

Ibid. c, f. 220. How a woman was wont to offer a candle to the Virgin, and how the Virgin saved her from drowning by holding out a candle to her.⁹⁵

Ibid. d, f. 220v. Perhaps referring to the story how a monk said daily five psalms the initials of which formed the name MARIA, and how at his death five roses (not here represented) were found growing out of his face (ib., p. 632).

Pl. 233a, f. 221. How a monk was cured by the Virgin of cancer on the lip (ib., p. 637).

Ibid. b, c, ff. 221v, 222. How a knight became a Cistercian, but could be taught no Latin except the words Ave Maria, which he was always repeating; and how, when he died and was entombed, a lily so inscribed grew from his mouth (ib., p. 654).

Ibid. d, f. 222v. How St. Mercurius⁹⁶ was roused from his tomb and [46] armed by the Virgin; and (pl. 234a, f. 223) how he overthrew Julian the Apostate in battle (ib., p. 602).

Pl. 234b, c, ff. 223v, 224. How a clerk of Pisa, devoted to the Virgin, was induced to marry; how on the wedding-day the Virgin appeared to him in a church and upbraided him for deserting her; and how he left his bride and became a monk (ib., p. 609).

Ibid. d, f. 224v. How a bishop was saved in a boat from the wreck of a ship laden with pilgrims to Jerusalem; how he saw the souls of the drowned ascend to heaven in the form of doves; and how the Virgin saved one of the pilgrims alive (who in pl. 235a, f. 225, is apparently telling the bishop his experiences).

Pl. 235b, c, ff. 225v, 226. How Eulalia, a nun of Shaftesbury, was visited by the Virgin at night and commanded to say her Ave Maria more slowly (ib., p. 614).

Ibid. d, f. 226v. How St. Bon, bishop of Clermont, was devoted to the Virgin; and (pl. 236a, f. 227) how he celebrated Mass one night before her and her train, and was presented by her with a vestment (ib., p. 622).

Pl. 236b, c, ff. 227v, 228. How a clerk devoted to the Virgin called up the devil by necromancy, and by his aid won the girl whom he loved; how the Virgin appeared to him on his wedding-day and warned him he would suffer for deserting her; and how he confessed to the bishop, was released from his marriage, and gave himself up to her service (ib., p. 621).

Ibid. d, f. 228v. How St. Dunstan at Canterbury was led by the Virgin into her chapel; and (pl. 237a, f. 229) how her choir of virgins sang before him (ib., p. 631).

Pl. 237b, c, ff. 229v, 230. How a widow whose only son was in bondage, finding prayers before an image of the Virgin of no avail, snatched the Child-Christ from her

95 This story occurs in a collection of tales in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 27909 B, f. 4, where, however, it is the woman's husband who is saved from drowning (Ward and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, iii, p. 464).

96 In the Carew-Poyntz Horae (M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS. in Fitzwilliam Museum*, p. 116) the saint is called St. George, and the same is perhaps intended here, as his shield bears a St. George's cross. The story is, however, told of St. Mercurius in the life of St. Basil (who plays a part in it) by Pseudo-Amphilochius. See *Acta Sanctorum*, June 14, p. 423; and *Legenda Aurea*, 1846, p. 145.

arms to hold as a pledge; and how that night the Virgin freed the captive and restored him to his mother (ib., p. 662).

Ibid. d, f. 230v. How a monk with an ulcered mouth was laid out as dead, and (pl. 238a, f. 231) how the Virgin healed him with milk from her breast (ib., p. 613).

Pl. 238b, c, ff. 231v, 232. How a monk of Cambrai, when living in the world, had a vision of judgement in which he saw the Virgin pleading for his soul; and how, when another monk of the same abbey objected to the Hours of the Virgin being sung daily there in remembrance of this, the Virgin appeared to him and warned him not to check the zeal of his brethren (b., p. 640).

With a few exceptions at the end, the lives and passions of saints which provide the final series of marginal subjects (pl. 239-316) follow the order of the calendar, beginning with St. Stephen (Dec. 26). The artist confined his attention to those saints who were martyred, passing over the confessors, and he started at [47] this point either because St. Stephen was the first Christian martyr or because he reckoned the beginning of the year from Christmas. In the main portion of the series, which ends with St. Thomas the Apostle (Dec. 21), only two scenes, facing one another on opposite pages, are usually allotted to each saint; and some of the lives more fully dealt with later on also appear in it in this abbreviated form. The treatment of the subjects throughout is characterized by the same exquisite grace, delicacy, and feeling which mark the Miracles of the Virgin and the other subjects preceding them. A large number of those in calendar order are very much alike in design, the first of the two scenes representing the saint brought before an emperor, king, or judge, and the other, not always strictly in agreement with tradition, his or her martyrdom by beheading with a sword. Even these repetitions, however, deserve study, if only for comparison of the varied dramatic attitudes of the executioners, some of whom, it will be seen, wear a singular form of head-gear, composed of a bird's wings, one on each side of the head. Among the most noteworthy designs in other respects are the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury (pl. 242a, b), the blinding of St. Paul on the way to Damascus (pl. 244b), the murder of King Edward the martyr, while hunting, at the instigation of his step-mother (pl. 248, 249), the overthrow of St. Oswald in battle (pl. 262c, d), Salome tumbling before Herod and the beheading of St. John the Baptist (pl. 265c, d), and, more especially, the eight beautifully drawn scenes of the passion of St. Catharine (pl. 274-278). The last-named saint is the only one in the calendar series whose legend is given at such length, and of all the artist's female characters none has a more exquisite charm. Two of her sex, however, St. Mary Magdalen and St. Margaret, are included among the five saints reserved for special treatment at the end, the others being St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Paul, and St. Nicholas of Myra, and the scenes in which they appear are hardly, if at all, less attractively represented. Of the remaining lives that of the great English saint is by far the fullest and from an historical point of view the most interesting. It begins with the romantic story of his parentage and comprises as many as twenty-two scenes, the subjects of which will be found explained in their proper place in the detailed list below:— [48]

Pl. 239, 240, ff. 233v, 234.⁹⁷ St. Stephen preaching, and being stoned (Dec. 26).

Pl. 241a, b, ff. 234v, 235. St. John, with a palm-branch in his hand, preaching, and standing naked in a cauldron of boiling oil (Dec. 27).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 235v, 236. Herod giving orders to three soldiers, and the Massacre of the Innocents (Dec. 28).

Pl. 242a, b, ff. 236v, 237. St. Thomas of Canterbury at table receiving news of the coming of the four knights, and being martyred at the altar, the cross-bearer Grim holding up his cross (Dec. 29).⁹⁸

Ibid. c, d, ff. 237v, 238. St. Fabian before the emperor, and on the ground, martyred by arrows (Jan. 20).

Pl. 243a, b, ff. 238v, 239. St. Agnes before a judge, and martyred by beheading (Jan. 21).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 239v, 240. St. Vincent before a judge, and laid on a fire with hands bound (Jan. 22).

Pl. 244a, b, ff. 240v, 241. St. Paul receiving from the High Priest (crowned) letters to take to Damascus, and struck from his horse, blinded by lightning (Jan. 25).⁹⁹

Pl. 245, 246, ff. 241v, 242. St. Agatha before a king, and having her breasts torn away by pincers (Feb. 5).

Pl. 247a, b, ff. 242v, 243. St. Valentine before a judge, and being beheaded (Feb. 14).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 243v, 244. St. Juliana before a judge, and hanged by her hair from a tree (Feb. 16).

Pl. 248, 249, ff. 244v, 245. St. Edward, king and martyr, riding to hunt, and stabbed while drinking by the cup-bearer, his step-mother Ælfthryth and another woman standing by (Feb. 18).

Pl. 250a, b, ff. 245v, 246. St. Tiburtius before a judge, and beheaded (Apr. 22).

Ibid. c, f. 246v. St. Mark before an altar, with three men throwing a noose round his neck.

Pl. 251a, f. 247. St. Mark stretched on the ground, with two men mocking, one holding a noose (Apr. 25).

Ibid. b, c, ff. 247v, 248. St. Vitalis before a judge, and being buried alive (Apr. 28).

Pl. 252, 253, ff. 248v, 249. St. James the Less praying, and being thrown down from the roof of the Temple (May 1).

Pl. 254a, b, ff. 249v, 250. St. Pancras before the emperor, and beheaded (May 12).

Ibid. c, f. 250v. St. Barnabas preaching or arguing.

Pl. 255a, f. 251. St. Barnabas laid on a flaming pyre (June 11). [49]

Ibid. b, c, ff. 251v, 252. St. Alban, crowned, in the grasp of two men in mail before a king, and beheaded (June 22).

Pl. 256, 257, ff. 252v, 253. St. Peter before the emperor, and crucified head downwards (June 29).

Pl. 258a, b, ff. 253v, 254. St. Paul before the emperor, and beheaded, his eyes being covered by Plautilla's veil (June 30).

Ibid. c, f. 254v. St. Kenelm hunting (cf. St. Edward, pl. 248).

97 Ff. 232v, 233 are blank in the MS. So far as St. Chrysogonus (pl. 278) the name of the saint is written under the drawing.

98 These two subjects are repeated in pl. 291, 292.

99 Repeated in pl. 297, 298.

Pl. 259a, f. 255. St. Kenelm thrown head foremost into a pit (July 17). Ibid. b, c, ff. 255v, 256. St. Margaret before the prefect, emerging from the back of a dragon with a cross in her hand, and beheaded (July 20).¹⁰⁰

Pl. 260, 261, ff. 256v, 257. St. Christina cast into the sea and rescued by angels, and held by two men, one of whom stabs her (July 24).

Pl. 262a, b, ff. 257v, 258. St. James the Greater preaching, and beheaded (July 25).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 258v, 259. St. Oswald, crowned, riding to battle against Penda, and slain in a *mêlée* (Aug. 5).

Pl. 263a, b, ff. 259v, 260. St. Donatus restoring the broken chalice¹⁰¹ (with two priests holding a houseling cloth and four communicants kneeling), and beheaded (Aug. 7).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 260v, 261. St. Laurence before the emperor, and roasted on a gridiron (Aug. 10).

Pl. 264a, b, ff. 261v, 262. St. Tiburtius before a king, and beheaded (Aug. 11, cf. Pl. 250a, b).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 262v, 263. St. Hippolytus scourged in presence of a king, and beheaded (Aug. 13).

Pl. 265a, 6, ff. 263v, 264. St. Bartholomew before a king, and flayed alive (Aug. 24).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 264v, 265. Herod and his queen at table and Salome tumbling; and St. John the Baptist beheaded, with Salome, holding a dish, standing by (Aug. 29).

Pl. 266a, b, ff. 265, 266. St. Felix before a mitred judge, and beheaded (Aug. 30).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 266v, 267. St. Maurice and two others, in mail, before a king, and beheaded (Sept. 22).

Pl. 267a, b, ff. 267v, 268. A judge giving orders to two swordsmen, and SS. Cyprian and Justina being beheaded (Sept. 26).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 268v, 269. SS. Cosmas and Damian before a judge, and beheaded (Sept. 27).

Pl. 268a, b, ff. 269v, 270. St. Faith before a mitred judge, and beheaded (Oct. 6).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 270v, 271. St. Denis arguing, being beheaded, and carrying his severed head in his hands (Oct. 9). [50]

Pl. 269a, b, ff. 271v, 272. St. Nicasius and two others before a judge, and beheaded (Oct. 11).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 272v, 273. The 11,000 virgins in a ship at sea, and landing, two on shore being martyred by swordsmen (Oct. 21).

Pl. 270a, b, ff. 273v, 274. SS. Simon and Jude with three magicians, and beaten to death with clubs or fullers' bats; on the right a devil issuing from a broken idol¹⁰² (Oct. 28).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 274v, 275. St. Quintin before a judge, and beheaded, a dove issuing from his mouth (Oct. 31).

Pl. 271a, b, ff. 275v, 276. St. Theodore before a judge, and crucified, two men tearing his flesh with forks (Nov. 9).

Ibid. c, d, ff. 276v, 277. St. Edmund before a king, and bound to a tree and pierced with arrows (Nov. 20).

Pl. 272a, b, ff. 277v, 278. St. Cecilia before a king, and beheaded (Nov. 22).

Ibid. c, f. 278v. St. Clement, with papal mitre, before a king.

Pl. 273a, f. 279. St. Clement cast into the sea (Nov. 23).

100 For the same subjects see pl. 308, 311, 314 b.

101 See *Legenda Aurea*, ed. 1846, p. 485.

102 See *Legenda Aurea*, ed. 1846, p. 710.

Ibid. b, c, ff. 279v, 280. St. Chrysogonus before a king, and beheaded (Nov. 24).

Pl. 274, f. 280v. St. Catharine before the emperor Maxentius, with the burning of the wise men.¹⁰³

Pl. 275, f. 281. St. Catharine before the emperor, being scourged.

Pl. 276a, b, ff. 281v, 282. St. Catharine sent to prison, and visited by the empress, who finds angels ministering to her.

Pl. 277a, c, ff. 282v, 283v. St. Catharine before the emperor, and standing amid fragments of the broken wheel, angels with swords above and prostrate men below.

Pl. 278a, b, ff. 283v, 284. St. Catharine beheaded, and laid in a tomb by angels on Mount Sinai (Nov. 25).

Pl. 279a, b, ff. 284v, 285. SS. Saturninus and Sisinnius before a judge, and beheaded (Nov. 29).

Ibid. c, f. 285v. St. Andrew before a king, arguing.

Pl. 280, f. 286. St. Andrew crucified on a diagonal cross (Nov. 30).

Pl. 281a, b, ff. 286v, 287. St. [Lucy] before a king, and beheaded (Dec. 13).

Ibid. c, f. 287v. St. [Thomas the Apostle] before a king, arguing.

Pl. 282a, f. 288. St. [Thomas the Apostle] beheaded, two men in mail standing by (Dec. 21).

The next twenty-two drawings (pl. 282-294) illustrate the life and martyrdom of St. Thomas [Becket] of Canterbury. The story that his mother was a Saracen emir's daughter, who followed Gilbert Becket from Palestine, where he had been her father's captive, is purely romance. Its origin is uncertain, but it is found in Harley MS. 978 (f. 114v) among [51] matter the date of which is 1264,¹⁰⁴ and also occurs in the composite life of St. Thomas known as the *First Quadrilogus*,¹⁰⁵ which was put together in the thirteenth century, and in some late copies of the contemporary life by Edward Grim. The historical scenes which follow it are perhaps from one or the other of these sources.

Pl. 282b, f. 288v. His mother, the Saracen emir's daughter, reaches London, and is recognized by Gilbert Becket's servant Richard. The group on the right appear to be mocking her.

Pl. 283, ff. 289-290. (a) She is baptized, immersed in a large font, by two bishops; (b) she is married to Gilbert Becket; (c) she lies on a bed, with the infant Thomas in a cradle by her side.

Pl. 284, ff. 290v-291v. (a) The king hands Thomas letters nominating him archbishop; (b) Thomas, with mitre, pall, and cross, is consecrated (June 3, 1162); (c) he is in altercation with the king.

Pl. 285, ff. 292, 292v. (a) Thomas goes into exile (Nov. 2, 1164); (b) the king orders all his kindred to be banished.

Pl. 286, ff. 293, 293v. (a) They are in a ship crossing the Channel; (b) they journey on foot, the women carrying infants.

103 Ibid., p. 790.

104 The Latin text is followed (f. 116) by the title, 'Ci comence cornent Gilebert beket le pere Seint Thomas espusa sa femme la mere Seint Thomas le martir,' and by the first few words of a French version.

105 Printed at Paris, 1495. See J. C. Robertson, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, Rolls Series, ii, 1876, p. 453, and *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

Pl. 287, f. 294. Thomas welcomes them and gives them his blessing.

Pl. 288, ff. 294v, 295. (a) He resigns to Pope Alexander III at Sens his archiepiscopal ring and cross; (b) he is at table with the pope, and a youth is drinking from a cup.¹⁰⁶

Pl. 289, ff. 295v, 296. (a) He is welcomed by the abbot of Pontigny; (b) he has a vision of Christ as he prays before the altar.¹⁰⁷

Pl. 290, ff. 296v, 297. (a) He is reconciled with the king (July 22, 1170); (b) he is in a boat returning to England.

Pl. 291, f. 297v. He is at table, and a messenger announces the coming of the four knights.

Pl. 292, f. 298. He is martyred, kneeling before the altar, his crossbearer trying to defend him with the archiepiscopal cross (Dec. 29, 1170).

Pl. 293, f. 298v. He is laid in a tomb by two bishops, one blessing him, the other swinging a censor.

Pl. 294, f. 299. He kneels, supported by two angels, before the Saviour enthroned.

The next six subjects deal with the life of St. Mary Magdalene (July 22), viz.:—[52]

Pl. 295, ff. 299v-300v. (a) In company with another woman she is talking with three young men; (b) she anoints the feet of Jesus as He sits at table; (c) she kneels before Him in the garden, holding in her outstretched hand a pot of ointment.

Pl. 296, ff. 301-302. (a) She announces His Resurrection to the Apostles; (b) she is carried up to heaven in a sheet by angels and refreshed with angelic music (*Leg. Aur.*, p. 413); (c) she is laid in a tomb in a church, the hand of God blessing her from a cloud above.

The next ten subjects are from the life and passion of St. Paul, viz.:

Pl. 297, f. 302v. The High Priest (crowned) gives him letters to take to Damascus (cf. pl. 244a).

Pl. 298, f. 303. He is struck from his horse, blinded, the head of Christ, with lightning, above (cf. pl. 244b).

Pl. 299, f. 303v. An angel appears to Ananias, and Ananias leads Paul by the hand.

Pl. 300, f. 304. Ananias is addressing Paul, and is sitting with him at table.

Pl. 301, f. 304v. Paul, naked in a large font, is baptized, the hand of God in a cloud above.

Pl. 302, f. 305. Paul, now nimbed, is preaching.

Pl. 303, f. 305v. Nero seated, Paul praying, and Patroclus falling headlong, with a devil on either side of him (*Leg. Aur.*, p. 381).

Pl. 304, f. 306. Nero seated, Paul, in the grasp of an officer, borrows a veil from Plautilla (*ib.*, p. 383).

Pl. 305, f. 306v. Paul, with his eyes covered with Plautilla's veil, is beheaded (cf. pl. 258b).

Pl. 306, f. 307. He appears to Nero seated with the empress at table (*ib.*, p. 384).

106 Probably an allusion to the miracle by which the archbishop, when at table with the pope, changed water into wine. See the *Chronicon* of Roger of Hoveden, ed. Stubbs, ii, p. 11, and Robertson, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 290.

107 Grim, *Vita S. Thomae*, Robertson, ii, p. 418.

The next fourteen subjects are from the life and passion of St. Margaret (cf. pl. 259b, c), viz.:—

Pl. 307, f. 307v. She sits spinning, with sheep feeding beside her, and the prefect Olybrius approaches on horseback (*Leg. Aur.*, p. 400).

Pl. 308, f. 308. She stands in custody before the prefect (who is crowned and has a sceptre).

Pl. 309, f. 308v. She is tied up by her hair, scourged and lacerated with flesh-hooks.

Pl. 310, f. 309. She is committed by the prefect to prison.

Pl. 311, f. 309v. She is issuing from the body of a dragon, holding a cross in her hands.

Pl. 312, f. 310. She scourges two devils, holding up a cross in her left hand.

Pl. 313, ff. 310v-312. (a) She is again before the prefect; (b) in a tripod cauldron over a fire; (c) again before the prefect; and (d) led off to execution, three women following. [53]

Pl. 314, ff. 312v-314. (a) She kneels in prayer, gazing at the Saviour in a cloud above, while two executioners mock at her; (b) she is beheaded, and two men are struck prostrate by lightning; (c) she is laid in a tomb, the hand of God blessing her from a cloud above; (d) she kneels, supported by two angels, before the Saviour enthroned.

The next eight subjects are from the life of St. Nicholas of Myra (Dec. 6), viz.:

Pl. 315, ff. 314v-316. (a) He lies in a cradle beside his mother's bed; (b) he refuses his mother's breast (*Leg. Aur.*, p. 22); (c) a poverty-stricken neighbour lies on a sick-bed, and his three daughters stand by weeping (*ib.*, p. 23); (d) St. Nicholas puts a purse of gold in at the window to relieve them from want and shame.

Pl. 316, ff. 316v-318. (a) A bishop explains to four clergy how they may recognize the divinely-chosen successor to the see of Myra; (b) St. Nicholas is consecrated bishop; (c) he is addressing three children standing naked in a tub; (d) he is stilling a storm and saving a crowded vessel from destruction.