

# ¶ THE MEDIEVAL BOOK

GLOSSES FROM FRIENDS & COLLEAGUES  
OF CHRISTOPHER DE HAMEL

¶ EDITED BY JAMES H. MARROW,  
RICHARD A. LINENTHAL,  
& WILLIAM NOEL

¶ HES & DE GRAAF PUBLISHERS

## CONTENTS

### FOREWORD

James H. Marrow, Richard A. Linenthal, and William Noel ix

### CONTRIBUTORS

xii

### CHRISTOPHER DE HAMEL

Nicolas Barker xvii

### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHRISTOPHER DE HAMEL

Compiled by Lynley Herbert xxiii

## PART 1 · BOOKS

### A CHRIST CHURCH SCRIBE OF THE LATE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Michael Gullick 3

### THE PORTRAIT OF LAURENCE OF DURHAM AS SCRIBE

A. I. Doyle 11

### MEDIEVAL ENGLISH BOOKBINDING STAMPS: FOUR NEW EXAMPLES

Richard A. Linenthal 17

### AN ILLUSTRATED TWELFTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT OF HYGINUS'S *De Astronomia*

Timothy Bolton 25

### ANGELS, LOST AND FOUND, IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, CAMBRIDGE

Paul Binski 38

### A SCIENTIFIC TEXTBOOK FOR A NOBLE STUDENT: SACROBOSCO'S TREATISES IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

Lucy Freeman Sandler 45

### EARLY MANUSCRIPTS OF JEAN DE MEUN'S TRANSLATION OF VEGETIUS

Richard and Mary Rouse 59

### THE HOLKHAM BIBLE PICTURE BOOK AND THE *Bible Moralisée*

John Lowden 75

THE MEDIÉVAL BOOK	THE SHERBORNE MISSAL AND 'RODDOKE ROBERTUS': THE ANATOMY OF A MAJOR MANUSCRIPT COMMISSION	84
	Michelle Brown	
	UNCOMMON IMAGES IN THE COMMON OF THE SAINTS OF ITALIAN CHOIR BOOKS	98
	Margaret Manion	
	THE CITY GATES OF PERUGIA AND UMBRIAN MANUSCRIPT ILLUMINATION OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY	109
	Jonathan J. G. Alexander	
	MIND YOUR TABLE MANNERS	117
	Bernard Rosenthal	
	MAGDALENA KREMER, SCRIBE AND PAINTER OF THE CHOIR AND CHAPTER BOOKS OF THE DOMINICAN CONVENT OF ST JOHANNES-BAPTISTA IN KIRCHHEIM UNTER TECK	124
	Jeffrey F. Hamburger	
	A DUTCH (?) MINIATURIST ACTIVE AT THE TURN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	150
	James H. Marrow	
	BATHSHEBA IMAGERY IN FRENCH BOOKS OF HOURS MADE FOR WOMEN, c. 1470–1500	169
	Thomas Kren	
	THE PRAYER BOOK OF CLAUDE DE FRANCE	183
Roger S. Wieck		
INDEXES IN LATE MEDIÉVAL POLYPHONIC MUSIC MANUSCRIPTS: A BRIEF TOUR	196	
Margaret Bent		
THE DISCOVERY AND INVENTION OF THE GUTENBERG BIBLE, 1455–1805	208	
Paul Needham		
AN EARLY WITNESS TO THE TEXTS OF HORACE AND TIBULLUS, OR AN AUDACIOUS FORGERY?	242	
Marvin L. Colker		
SOME DECEPTIVE BOOKBINDINGS	250	
Anthony Hobson		

## PART 2 · THE BOOK TRADE

### FOUR BOOK AUCTIONS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Lotte Hellinga 261

### A NEW BEGINNING: THE SOTHEBY BANKRUPTCY OF 1836

David McKitterick 270

### WILLIAM EDWARD HURCOMB, GOLDSMITH, GASCONADER, AUCTIONEER, AND BANKRUPT

John Collins 287

### COLLEAGUES AT SOTHEBY'S

Diana Berry, Margaret Edwards, Nabil Saidi, Camilla Previt , Marcus Linell, Michel Strauss, James Stourton, Laura Nuvoloni, Mette de Hamel, and Felix Pryor 298

### THE PROVENANCE OF THE BUTE PSALTER

Sam Fogg 316

## PART 3 · COLLECTORS & COLLECTING

### FREDERICK, ARCHBISHOP OF RIGA (1304–1341), AND HIS BOOKS

Patrick Zutshi 327

### 'LIGGING IN THE CHOER, EVERY OF HEM TIED BY HYMSELF WITH A CHEYNE OF IRON': CHAINED BOOKS IN CHURCHES IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

Nigel Morgan 336

### HENRY YATES THOMPSON, GENTLEMAN: 'AN UNUSUAL COLLECTOR WITH COMMERCIAL MOTIVES JUST A SHADE LARGER THAN WAS COMMON'

William P. Stoneman 344

### CATALOGUES OF THE LIBRARY OF SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS: A CHRONOLOGICAL CHECKLIST

Roland Folter 355

### THE BIBLIOPHILE AND THE SCHOLAR: COUNT PAUL DURRIEU'S LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING TO BARON EDMOND DE ROTHSCHILD

Fran ois Avril 366

### COCKERELL AND RICHES

Stella Panayotova 377

THE MEDIEVAL BOOK	MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS OWNED BY J. MEADE FALKNER A. S. G. Edwards	387
	PRINCELY PURSUITS: HUNTING MANUSCRIPTS Lawrence J. Schoenberg with Lynn Ransom	395
	THE SAGA OF CHRISTIANITY'S OLDEST LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPT Martin Schøyen	405
	<i>Floreat Vellomania</i> ; OR, A SLICE OF HISTORY: REFLECTIONS ON COLLECTING MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENTS Robert Weaver	412
	A HANDLIST OF WESTERN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE TAKAMIYA COLLECTION Toshiyuki Takamiya	421
	SOME TRANSATLANTIC TRAILS OF W. DE BRAILES William Noel	441
	THE DESCRIPTIONS MASTER Henri Schiller	446
	INDEX OF NAMES	447
	INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS	459
	PHOTO CREDITS	467

## THE HOLKHAM BIBLE PICTURE BOOK AND THE *BIBLE MORALISÉE*

JOHN LOWDEN

It is generally agreed that the Holkham Bible Picture Book (London, British Library, Add. MS 47682, referred to here as 'Holkham') was made in a London workshop, c.1320–1330/1340, perhaps around 1327.<sup>1</sup> It comprises forty-two thick parchment folios of middling format, 285 × 210 mm, gathered for the most part in quires of four leaves. Most of the pages are taken up with images, to which lengthy Anglo-Norman captions, generally beginning '*Comment...*', were added as part of the production process. These texts are in rhyming couplets through folio 14r and subsequently in prose. The visual narrative begins with the Creation, and continues as far as the Drunkenness of Noah (fol. 9r), followed by a Jesse Tree and a tree of the Matthean genealogy (fols. 10r, 10v), a Gospel cycle—remarkable for the inclusion of many apocryphal elements—ending with the Ascension (fol. 38r), and eight pages of 'last things' (fols. 39r–42v). There are two blank pages (fol. 9v and 38v). Prefacing the Creation is what might be termed a foreword, comprising three pages with images of the book's creation (fol. 1r), the wheel of fortune (fol. 1v), and the Creator (fol. 2r). It is this foreword that is the focus of the present enquiry. Michelle Brown has suggested that the first folio might originally have been planned to preface the Gospel images,<sup>2</sup> but the present study will bring forward arguments which suggest that the current arrangement of folio 1 makes good sense.

Folio 1r (fig. 1) is very worn by handling, consistent with it having long been in its current location. Despite the signs of wear and tear, the broad lines of the design and the wording of the accompanying captions can still be made out, both under normal lighting or with the help of ultra-violet. It is divided approximately in half by a colorfully painted ogee arch. Above, drawn against the plain parchment, is a haloed angel with spread wings and arms. The angel appears to be holding the top



Fig. 1. London, British Library, Add. MS 47682, fol. 1r

edge of a scroll, on which are written two columns of verse, each composed of six short lines. Beneath the scroll we see the angel's feet, standing on a leafy crocket at the top of the arch. Beneath the two texts, on the curving sides of the arch, an ape at the left gazes into a mirror (a reference to vanity), and a babewyn at the right appears to stare at the ape. The meaning of the combination of these two figures is unclear. Beneath the arch, in a space decorated by leafy forms set in a red textile-like diaper pattern, are two larger figures. At the left is a tonsured, grey-haired religious in a white tunic, white scapular, black hood, cloak, and shoes—seemingly a Dominican friar.<sup>3</sup> The friar holds what appears to be a chaplet or paternoster cord and a scroll on which are two lines of verse. He turns to the right and communicates with a seated layman, whose body faces right towards a lectern, while his head is tilted and turned so that he looks upwards over his shoulder at the friar. A speech scroll extends diagonally from the region of the layman's mouth. The layman turns his attention away from the lectern on which he has been working; on the lectern we can see a book, in which two sketchy heads on the facing pages are just visible. These have been read by Brown as 'a fashionably coiffed woman (left) and a bearded courtly male (right)—aristocrats or perhaps even a queen and king'.<sup>4</sup> M. R. James describes them simply as 'two heads (one nimbed)'.<sup>5</sup> We might expect this detail to reflect in some way the content or patronage of the book in which the image is found (i.e., Holkham itself), but it is not clear whether this is the case. James's cautious identification is more persuasive.

The four short texts on folio 1r are rubricated *A* to *D*, but this seems to be an afterthought, or perhaps evidence of confusion, because the texts have to be read in the order *A*, *C*, *B*, *D*, to make sense. What they say is as follows.<sup>6</sup>

A [ANGELIC TEXT]

In ceo livere est purtret  
Meynde miracle que Deux a fet  
E dedenz est escryt  
Coment Jhesu de Marie naquyt  
E tretute sa passiouun  
E sa resurexioun

In this book are portrayed  
Many miracles that God has done  
And within is written  
How Jesus was born of Mary  
And all his passion  
And his resurrection

C [ANGELIC TEXT CONTINUED]

E coment il sufryt la mort  
E meyndes hountes a grant tort  
E yl tuz yurs le malade garyt  
Por ceo l'en out de luy despyt  
Grant amor yl nous a fet  
Joye avera qui en luy cret.

And how he suffered death  
And many humiliations most unjustly  
He always cured the sick  
And for this men hated him  
He has shown us great love  
Whoever believes in him will have joy.

B [TEXT HELD BY RELIGIOUS]

Ore feres been e nettement  
Kar mustre serra a riche gent.

Now do [it] well and thoroughly<sup>7</sup>  
For it will be shown to important people.<sup>8</sup>

D [TEXT HELD BY LAY CRAFTSMAN]

Si frai voyre e Deux me doynt vivere  
Nonkes ne veyses un autretel livere.<sup>9</sup>

So I shall certainly do,<sup>10</sup> if God grants me to live,  
You will never see another such book.

The seated layman undoubtedly represents the maker or makers of the book. The friar instructing him (by means of the imperative verb *feres*) has been understood in different ways. For William Hassall, the Dominican was the patron who commissioned and supervised the work, leaving a layman (or several) to compose its text and images.<sup>11</sup> For F.P. Pickering, the image could ‘scarcely be accepted at face value’,<sup>12</sup> which he took to be (following Hassall) ‘an artist-author engaged in dialogue with the commissioner of his work’.<sup>13</sup> For him, the Dominican was associated ‘more closely with the work of the author’,<sup>14</sup> but he worked with a ‘textator proper’. Recently Brown has proposed a third possibility: ‘The prefatory miniature of the artist and the friar does not necessarily reflect the actual circumstances of the book’s production, but rather symbolizes the artist’s inspiration and self-justification for composing his own Bible picture book.’<sup>15</sup> According to this reading, Holkham is an example of an artist’s modelbook, and the friar might even be St Dominic himself.<sup>16</sup> This final point seems unlikely, as the friar lacks a halo. That Holkham might be an artist’s modelbook is here left open. But the meaning of the image can be clarified by identifying the compositional model that was used.

Folio 1v (fig. 2) is in much better condition, but like folio 1r the architectural framing elements have not been completed and remain as pen-drawn lines. The composition uses more of the width of the page than was the case on folio 1r, and as a consequence the left (outer) margin of the illumination has been trimmed. The whole page is given over to a single composition: the Wheel of Fortune.<sup>17</sup> Fortune, represented as a queen with a white veil, stands in the centre and turns the compass-drawn wheel in a clockwise direction by grasping two of its four spokes. At the top of the wheel sits a young king holding a sceptre in his right hand, and, in his left hand, a scroll boldly inscribed *Regno* (I rule).<sup>18</sup> To the right a king with grey hair and beard plunges down head-first, his sceptre and crown falling away from him. He holds a scroll on which is written, upside-down like the figure, *Regnavi* (I have ruled).



Fig. 2. London, British Library, Add. MS 47682, fol. 1v

Across the bottom of the page a barefoot, grey-haired, bearded man is stretched out and looks up at Fortune. He has reached the nadir of his fortunes, and holds a scroll inscribed *Sum sine regno* (I am without a kingdom). Finally we see a youthful beardless man ascending with the turning wheel, who stretches up to grasp a crown with his left hand, while holding a scroll with his right. The scroll bears the inscription *Regnabo* (I shall rule). The reigning king is set beneath a cusped arch, and the architectural frame is surmounted to left and right by large pinnacles with

croquets. The extent to which this image may be related to the fall of Edward II in 1327 has been much discussed.<sup>19</sup>

Folio 2r (fig. 3) has no captions, but it is the most finished of the three prefatory pages. It shows a seated figure of God as Creator. God holds a large pair of compasses in his right hand and strikes a circle that (literally) encompasses him. Within this shaded blue ring (representing heaven) are two small yellow circles, located at approximately ten o'clock and two o'clock. They doubtless represent the sun and moon. The principal circle is extended above and below by arcs struck on the same radius but from different centres. In the space above are angels. One angel enthroned centrally is offered a crown. Five angels, three with their hands joined in a gesture of prayer, appear to kneel before him at the right. Six angels at the left gesticulate in animated discussion. We are about to witness the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels, and a fiery hell mouth awaits them in the lower arc. In the centre, God the Creator is set against a painted circle, probably intended to represent the earth (compare, for example, the depiction of earth on folio 3r). Around this circle the ground is decorated with a diaper textile-like design, such as we saw on folio 1r, but in this case the pattern in the upper part substitutes fleurs de lys for the more generic leaves below. The fleur de lys may have heraldic significance.

After these three prefatory images the main part of the Picture Book begins on folio 2v with an image of the creation of birds, beasts, and trees, accompanied by six and a half lines of caption.

The image on folio 1r has received much more attention over the years than those of the Wheel of Fortune or the Creator with the compasses, because of what it reveals or appears to reveal about the role of images and vernacular texts in communicating with the laity.<sup>20</sup>

Fig. 3. London, British Library, Add. MS 47682, fol. 2r



Fig. 4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 270b, fol. 1v



But it is the argument of this essay that all three frontispiece images are best understood if taken together. In particular, I shall suggest that the 'foreword' of Holkham was composed in the light of knowledge of the frontispiece and colophon images of a *Bible moralisée*, and specifically of the manuscript now divided between the Bodleian Library (MS Bodley 270b), the Bibliothèque nationale de France (MS lat. 11560), and the British Library (MSS Harley 1526–1527) (hence 'Oxford-Paris-London' or 'OPL').

At first glance, Holkham would seem to have little or nothing to do with this or any *Bible moralisée*.<sup>21</sup> Oxford-Paris-London is a vast three-volume work, in which every page is laid out with eight medallions accompanied by short texts. Every biblical image and text is accompanied by a moralising image and text that seeks to explain the significance of the preceding image and text. Whereas Holkham was made for unspecified 'riche gent', Oxford-Paris-London, it would seem, was made for the king (Louis IX) or, more probably, the queen of France, Marguerite of Provence. The Oxford-Paris-London *Bible moralisée* is known to have been in England by c.1280, when it was copied in a manuscript now British Library, Add. MS 18719. Very likely, however, it had already reached London as a gift to Henry III and/or his wife, Eleanor of Provence, by the 1250s, when it seems to have played a crucial role in prompting the production of the illustrated Anglo-Norman Apocalypses that suddenly became fashionable at this time.<sup>22</sup> As evidence that the makers of Holkham looked at OPL, we can first compare the frontispiece images of the Creator with the compasses in both (figs. 3, 4).

Unfortunately, this image (fig. 4) and its relatives have long been misunderstood by art historians, and termed images of 'God as Architect (of the universe)'.<sup>23</sup> It has been assumed that they illustrate God measuring the universe. There is a visual formula to represent God as architect measuring the universe, but this involves a crucial difference: God as architect uses a pair of dividers to measure, not a pair of compasses to draw.<sup>24</sup> The distinguishing feature is the arc between the legs of the compasses (absent in dividers) which ensures that the circle will be true. The first time God was represented with this type of compasses was in the prefatory image to the first *Bible moralisée*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2554. I have argued elsewhere for the self-reflexive nature of this image, and its extraordinary richness.<sup>25</sup> In short, the artist who created Vienna 2554, in which every page was composed of eight compass-drawn circles, himself drew the frontispiece image of God as creator fashioning the universe by circumscribing it with *his* compasses. The compasses in God's hand were those of the artist, and the artist created the image of God as creator. The artist of Holkham, too, can hardly have been unaware of the significance of what he was doing by drawing an image with his compasses of the Creator with *his* compasses, even though compass-drawn images elsewhere in the book are relatively few. The source of the image of God as Creator with the compasses in Holkham must therefore have been a *Bible moralisée*. But was this *Bible moralisée* source consulted directly by the artist of Holkham, or merely reflected at some remove from the original? Consideration of the other two prefatory images in Holkham can provide an answer to this question.

Here we have to spread the net a little wider to understand the evidence. Oxford-Paris-

THE  
MEDIEVAL  
BOOK

London has a single full-page frontispiece, which—like that of Vienna 2554—reflects the making of the book. Originally it also had a visual colophon page at the end of its third volume. Unfortunately, at some date this was removed together with the cognate half of the bifolio, which would have been located between what are now folios 147 and 148 of British Library, MS Harley 1527. But we know what these two folios must have looked like because a twin manuscript to OPL still survives in the treasury of Toledo Cathedral in Spain, and although it is missing its entire final quire, this was carefully preserved and is now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS M.240).<sup>26</sup> The latter part of volumes 3 of Oxford-Paris-London and Toledo, like all of volumes 1 and 2 of both books, were produced in an unparalleled fashion: the underdrawings of all the images were traced into both books from a workshop model.<sup>27</sup> So pages that are now missing in one manuscript can be reconstructed by reference to the other. It is on this basis we can deduce that OPL originally had a visual colophon page, and that it was closely related to the corresponding page of Morgan M.240 (i.e., Toledo).

The colophon page of Morgan M.240 (fig. 5) is divided into four fields linked together by an architectonic frame. In the upper register are a seated queen and king. The queen wears a white veil and appears by her gesture to instruct the king. The youthful beardless king holds a scepter and a small gold disk. Most probably the pair represent Louis IX and his mother, Blanche of Castile, but the lack of inscriptions leaves their identities open. In the lower register are two further seated figures, a tonsured religious at the left and a layman at the right. The religious instructs the artist with a commanding gesture. His instruction is recorded on the book on the lectern. I have reconstructed the partially flaked text to read: *Laist ci a foy teindre*, 'Let it be left here to faith to paint.'<sup>28</sup> The layman works on a *Bible moralisée*, immediately recognisable by its characteristic layout. Viewed in its totality, the



Fig. 5. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.240, fol. 8r

colophon page suggests that this *Bible moralisée* was made at the command of the queen, and that its craftsmen—we see only one representative figure—were working under religious supervision.

The visual colophon of Morgan M.240 is now a very well-known image, frequently reproduced (like the Creator with the compasses), but it is important to note that the situation in the Middle Ages was completely different.<sup>29</sup> The composition and iconography of the image are characteristic but highly unusual. The lack of parallels, I have argued elsewhere, is because the *Bibles moralisées* were quintessentially royal books, rarely seen by anyone except those for whom they were made and their descendants. Until now, the only exception that had come to

my attention was the frontispiece in the treatise on kingship by Walter of Milemete (Oxford, Christ Church, MS 92), directed to Edward III and made in London in 1326–1327.<sup>30</sup> This miniature seems to display knowledge of the upper half of the (lost) visual colophon page of Oxford-Paris-London (as reflected in Morgan M.240). In Holkham, on the other hand, it is the lower half of the OPL composition that appears to have been reflected. Its meaning is that Holkham (like the *Bible moralisée*) was made under religious supervision.

If two of the three prefatory images of the Holkham Bible Picture Book are explicable by reference to the Oxford Paris-London *Bible moralisée*, what of the third, the Wheel of Fortune? Certainly there was no such image in any *Bible moralisée*. But the upper register of the visual colophon page of M.240 (reflecting OPL) bears some striking analogies to the Holkham Wheel of Fortune. The enthroned scepter-bearing king in Holkham (captioned *Regno*) bears a strong similarity to the king (Louis IX) in Morgan M.240. Even the palette of both is similar. And the white-veiled queen of M.240 (Blanche of Castile) is strongly reminiscent of the white-veiled queen (Fortune) who turns the wheel in Holkham. The Holkham image of the Creator with the compasses, on the facing page, was adapted to include the prelude to the fall of Lucifer—who is offered the crown—and his companions. This would seem to be a deliberate echo of the narrative pattern of Fortune's wheel, only in this case it was by implication God himself who would turn the wheel and cast Lucifer and his angels from their pre-eminent position into the abyss of hell. The juxtaposition of the two pages in Holkham enriches the meaning of both, meaning that would be diminished, however, if folio 1 were moved to the start of the New Testament.<sup>31</sup>

The Holkham Bible Picture Book, by general agreement, was made within a few years of the overthrow and murder of Edward II. A medieval viewer after 1327 could hardly have failed to see in the image of Fortune as a queen a representation of Queen Isabelle, the widow of Edward II. As Fortune turned the wheel, so Queen Isabelle had engineered the downfall of Edward II (*Regnavi*), and brought his successor, Edward III, their son, to the throne (*Regnabo*, *Regno*). Those who have studied Holkham have tended to see this historical connection as causative with regard to the image of the Wheel of Fortune. To this discussion we can now add the evidence of the Oxford-Paris-London *Bible moralisée*. The use of a quintessentially royal book as a pictorial source increases the likelihood, I suggest, that the makers of Holkham were referring knowingly to the fall of Edward II. The facing image of the Creator was then adapted, perhaps, to represent how the fate of Lucifer awaited any who sought to wrest the crown from Edward III and his mother, Isabelle. The relationship of Isabelle to Edward III was in some sense a reflection on that of Blanche and Louis IX.

So, what does identification of the pictorial source of the foreword of the Holkham Bible Picture Book add to our understanding of that book, of the Oxford-Paris-London *Bible moralisée*, and the making of illuminated manuscripts more generally? When Jonathan Alexander came to discuss the role of craftsman and 'iconographer' in the preparation of illuminated manuscripts with complex programmes, he reproduced the colophon image of Morgan M.240 and the frontispiece of Holkham side by side.<sup>32</sup> He described the Morgan M.240 image, noted

the similarity of Holkham, but did not draw attention to the lack of further comparanda. We can now see that the reason why Holkham resembles Morgan M.240 is because it seems to have taken that manuscript's twin, OPL, as its direct model. This suggests that the Holkham image should not be accepted at face value as a documentary record of the making of that book or of medieval books more generally. (The ape and the babewyn in Holkham might also be seen as a different kind of warning against too literal a reading of the image.) The Holkham image shows, or makes the claim, that this picture book was made under religious supervision. Perhaps a Dominican friar was involved. But perhaps the image was merely intended to claim for the picture book a degree of religious authority that was in fact largely spurious. Holkham was indeed, as its craftsman claimed on folio 1r, a book like no other. But that, too, was a partly spurious claim. The image in which the craftsman boasted of making a book 'like no other' was itself dependent on an image in a *Bible moralisée*.

NOTES

1. M. R. James, 'An English Bible-Picturebook of the Fourteenth Century', *Walpole Society*, 11 (1922-1923), pp. 1-27, at p. 1 ('quite early in the fourteenth century'). W. O. Hassall, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book* (London, 1954), pp. 27-30 ('about 1325-1330'); F. P. Pickering, *The Anglo-Norman Text of the Holkham Bible Picture Book* (Oxford, 1971); Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385*, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 5.2 (London, 1985), pp. 105-7, no. 97 (c. 1320-c.1330, 'between 1325 and 1330'); Michelle P. Brown, *The Holkham Bible Picture Book: A Facsimile* (London, 2007), pp. 1, 7, 17 (c.1327-1340). For further bibliography see Brown 2007.
2. Brown 2007 (above, note 1), p. 25.
3. Not an Austin friar (contra Brown 2007 [above, note 1], p. 30).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
5. James 1922-1923 (above, note 1), p. 3.
6. Transcription and translation follow T. A. J. Burnett, 'The Undeciphered Inscriptions in the Holkham Bible Picture Book', *British Museum Quarterly*, 26 (1962-1963), p. 27.
7. Or 'well and clearly'.
8. Not, I think, 'a rich gent': Brown 2007 (above, note 1), p. 31.
9. Nonkes: Pickering 1971 (above, note 1), foreword, line 16, reads 'unkes'.
10. Or 'I will do so truly'. Preferred to 'If I make it true' in Brown 2007 (above, note 1), p. 31.
11. Hassall 1954 (above, note 1), pp. 23, 54.
12. Pickering 1971 (above, note 1), p. xviii.
13. *Ibid.*, p. xviii.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. xviii-xix.
15. Brown 2007 (above, note 1), p. 4.
16. Brown 2007 (above, note 1), pp. 10-11.
17. See, in general, Jean Wirth, 'L'iconographie médiévale de la roue de Fortune', in *La Fortune: Thèmes, représentations discours*, Recherches et rencontres 19, ed. Yasmina Foehr-Janssens and Emmanuelle Métry (Geneva, 2003), pp. 105-27.

18. Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1927), pp. 164–66, on ‘regno, regnavi, sum sine regno, regnabo’. Found already in the late eleventh century: Wirth 2003 (above, note 17), p. 106.
19. E.g., Hassall 1954, pp. 55–56; Sandler 1985, p. 106; Brown 2007, pp. 6, 31 (all cited above, note 1).
20. To the previously mentioned studies should be added: C. M. Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700–1550* (London and Turnhout, 2003), pp. 231–42; idem, ‘Art and Popular Culture: New Themes in the Holkham Bible Picture Book’, in D. Buckton and T. A. Heslop, eds., *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture Presented to Peter Lasko* (Stroud, 1994), pp. 46–69. (Both studies should also be added to the bibliography in Brown 2007 [above, n. 1].)
21. Compare the general observation of Léon Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkham Hall, Norfolk* (Paris, 1908), pp. 34–41, pls. 23–27, ‘Inspiré sans doute des Bibles moralisées si nombreuses et si recherchées à la fin du XIIIe siècle’ (p. 34). But Dorez did not attempt to show *what* was inspired by the *Bibles moralisées*.
22. John Lowden, ‘The Apocalypse in the Early-Thirteenth-Century *Bibles moralisées*: A Re-Assessment’, in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom*, ed. Nigel Morgan, Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 12, (Donington, 2004), pp. 195–219, pls. 18–31. For a survey, see Nigel Morgan, ‘The Illustrated Apocalypse in Thirteenth-Century England and Its Historical Context’, in *Apocalipsis Gulbenkian*, commentary volume (Barcelona 2002), pp. 17–53, esp. pp. 19–24.
23. E.g., Sandler 1985 (above, note 1), p. 105.
24. See also the discussion in Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles moralisées*, 2 vols. (University Park, Pennsylvania, 2000), I, pp. 47, 50.
25. Lowden 2000 (above, note 24), I, pp. 47, 50; Katherine H. Tachau, ‘God’s Compass and *Vana Curiositas*: Scientific Study in the Old French *Bible Moralisée*’, *Art Bulletin*, 80 (1998), pp. 7–33.
26. Lowden 2000 (above, note 24), I, pp. 127–32.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 167–80; see also the diagrams on pp. 288–98. Note that whereas the tracing began on folio 97 of Toledo III (quire 13), equivalent to folio 66 of Harley 1527 (quire 10), there was no equivalent in Harley 1527 to quire 20 of Toledo III, and this quire of Toledo lacks any signs that tracings were used: John Lowden, ‘The Artists of the Bible of Saint Louis’, in *The Bible of Saint Louis*, Commentary, II, ed. Ramón González Ruiz (Barcelona 2004), pp. 325–46, esp. pp. 331–32.
28. Lowden 2000 (above, note 24), I, p. 129. See also John Lowden, ‘The *Bible of Saint Louis* as a *Bible moralisée*’, in González Ruiz 2004 (above, note 17), pp. 121–55, esp. pp. 147–51 (on the visual colophon page of Morgan M.240).
29. See in general, John Lowden, ‘Under the Influence of the *Bibles moralisées*’, in John Lowden and Alixe Bovey eds., *Under the Influence: the Concept of Influence and the Study of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Turnhout, 2007), 169–85, pls. 1–4.
30. Sandler 1985 (above, note 1), no. 84. The *Bible moralisée* link was proposed by Michael Michael, ‘The Iconography of Kingship in the Walter of Milemete Treatise’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), pp. 35–47, esp. pp. 37–38.
31. As proposed by Brown; see above, note 2. James 1922–1923 (above, note 1), p. 7, concluded that ‘certainly the subject is quite irrelevant to the context’.
32. Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London, 1992), p. 54 and figs. 76–77 on p. 56.