

**The Business of the Book as a Market Response to  
Social Change in the Thirteenth-Century**  
Diversification and Secularisation of Demand and Supply  
of Religious Texts, and the Impact of Market  
Diversification on the Appearance of the Book

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## Abbreviations

BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	British Library
BL, Add. MS	British Library, Additional MS
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Bod.	Bodleian Library
CCC	Corpus Christi College
<i>EBLJ</i>	<i>Electronic British Library Journal</i>
<i>EGM 1</i>	<i>Early Gothic Manuscripts 1, 1190-1250, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles IV</i> ( London: Harvey Miller, 1982)
<i>EGM 2</i>	<i>Early Gothic Manuscripts 2, 1250-1285, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles IV</i> ( London: Harvey Miller, 1988)
<i>EMS</i>	<i>English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700</i>
FLP	Free Library of Philadelphia
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>

## Introduction

1215 has long been considered a pivotal date in English history predominantly for the signing of the Magna Carta, an event which has come to symbolise societal and political change. The early thirteenth century was indeed a period of change, not least as a result of the Constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council of the same year which arguably were of even more importance. In particular, they introduced annual confession and penance for the laity. The ensuing secularisation of religious practice, implemented to a large degree by the newly founded mendicant friars, had a profound effect on the religious book: existing texts had to be adapted as well as new texts provided to support the new context and the new lay audience. This dissertation will argue that the developing secular market for religious books was primarily served by new commercial structures in the book trade, and that both were inextricably linked to the social, economic, and religious context of the thirteenth century, resulting in an unprecedented diversification of the book trade.

This study examines the changing context of thirteenth-century book production in both monastic and secular settings. Much of the study is focused on Oxford, with significant reference to Paris and to the abbeys of St Albans and Reading. Oxford was an important centre for luxury book production in the thirteenth century until it was eclipsed by London in the closing decades. The Fourth Lateran Council's reiteration of the importance of robust education for clerics contributed to the establishment of Oxford University, whose scholars required books suitable for study. These scholars also formed a critical mass of lay literates who may have supplied scribal labour as well as consumer demand. Paris had a more mature, more regulated, and better documented marketplace partly due to its university and secular book trade having emerged several decades before those in Oxford. St Albans Abbey was a well-established, wealthy, and

influential monastery under royal patronage, within which Matthew Paris was able to produce quite unique work, whereas Reading Abbey provides a more typical example of monastic culture. The study of these apparently disparate locations demonstrates the intercourse which nevertheless existed between them as well as providing evidence of different working practices.

Alongside evolving ecclesiastical and educational practice, the thirteenth century witnessed wider social and commercial developments with outcomes pertinent to Oxford and to the book trade. As one of a growing number of market towns which were changing the geo-social landscape, Oxford's money economy thrived; meanwhile the role of the English nobility evolved, most notably in the appointment of William the Marshall as Protector for Henry III in 1216 and the Barons' Rebellion under Simon de Montfort in the 1260s.<sup>1</sup> Confident in their status, and eager to show it, the nobility sought fashionable luxury goods, including books.<sup>2</sup>

Scholarly work exists on specific aspects of the thirteenth-century book trade, for example: Rouse and Rouse's work on Paris; Donovan's study of the Book of Hours in Oxford; Johnston's recent thesis on thirteenth-century penflourishing; and Vaughn's monograph on Matthew Paris.<sup>3</sup> Selective reading of broader studies of manuscript collections and production processes provides material for the investigation of production practices, this includes the significant corpus of work published by Parkes

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<sup>1</sup> R. Britnell, 'Town Life' in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. by R. Horrox and W. Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 134-78; A. Harding, *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 180-220, 267-74 and 283-93.

<sup>2</sup> C. de Hamel 'Books and Society' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, II 1100-1400*, ed. by N. Morgan and R. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 3-21 (pp. 13-14).

<sup>3</sup> R. Rouse, and M. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000); C. Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London: British Library; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); C. Johnston, 'The Development of Penflourishing in Manuscripts Produced in England between 1180 and 1280' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, School of Advanced Study, 2015); R. Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

and by Pollard on the relationship between the book trade and the university in Oxford, supplemented by the Pollard archive at the Bodleian library.<sup>4</sup> These works, together with a number of short papers, form the bibliographical foundation of the dissertation. They are supplemented by social, religious, and economic studies of the period which inform the contextual argument.

The critical use of secondary materials has been undertaken alongside analysis of material evidence from contemporary manuscripts. These primary sources have been selected from groups of manuscripts linked to master illuminators' workshops, enabling comparisons both within and across workshops. This approach facilitates the examination of workshop practice in response to evolving market demand. Other manuscripts are considered where necessary to illustrate particular developments across a wider production context. A number of these manuscripts have been examined in person, with others viewed digitally or in facsimile.

Chapter 1 provides a contextual study using a methodological framework based on Adams and Barker's 'Socio-Economic Conjunction' model.<sup>5</sup> This model suggests that a varying range of commercial, intellectual, political, religious, and social forces apply pressure at different stages of a book's life cycle, and each will be described in turn.

Chapter 2 focuses on the development of secular demand for books within the contextual parameters of the previous chapter. Firstly, it considers two specific market sectors which characterise the period: that of the lay pious and of the student. The Book of Hours forms a central case study alongside other genres of religious book including the Apocalypse and books providing guidance on behaviour such as *La Somme le Roi*

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<sup>4</sup> See Bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> T. Adams and N. Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book' in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society, The Clark Lectures 1986-1987*, ed. by N. Barker (London: British Library, 1993), p. 14. This model is inspired by Darnton's 'Communication Circuit', *Ibid*, pp. 12-13.

and Saints' Lives. Secondly it will explore how professional workshops provided for different segments within these markets, for which I shall use the Bible as a case study. The specific needs and longer history of patronage of the royal court in Paris will be examined through the example of Maître Honoré.

Chapter 3 describes a range of thirteenth-century production contexts beginning with the monastic scriptorium which had dominated until the beginning of the century. It employs examples from Reading Abbey, and the more atypical work of Matthew Paris at St Albans. The growing importance of urban production, and the role of mendicants and secular professionals are studied through works produced in Oxford, primarily in the workshops of William de Brailes and William of Devon. *The Reginald Bible*, which may have been partly completed in Oxford, will be examined for evidence of production processes.<sup>6</sup>

Chapter 4 builds on the previous two chapters to analyse how evolving market and production contexts are reflected in the book's appearance. Examples of the Bible will provide the primary focus for considering the layout, sequence, and size of the book for the non-institutional consumer.<sup>7</sup> Market segment differentiation through personalisation and developments in use of marginal space is considered in these Bibles and in the de Brailes, Egerton and Salvin Hours.

Chapter 5 assesses the fragmentary evidence in manuscripts and secondary literature relating to two key elements of the economics of the thirteenth-century religious book trade. Firstly, observations on the cost profile of book production are drawn from the available material. Secondly, evidence of the residual material value of books as marketable commodities evidenced in legal records and details of loans is

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<sup>6</sup> London, BL, Royal MSS 3 E i –v, 3 E viii.

<sup>7</sup> New York, PML, MS M. 791; Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13; London, BL, Arundel MS 303.

examined. This will support the argument that over the course of the thirteenth century the book, specifically the religious book for the lay reader, had significant status as an object of material value.

The purpose of this dissertation is to frame the demand and supply characteristics of thirteenth-century religious books for the laity within the wider socio-economic landscape. Through analysis of the strategies employed by commercial workshops in response to evolving market requirements, it demonstrates how demand combined with innovative production practices to contribute to the diversification of the thirteenth-century book trade.

## Chapter 1: *Contextual Framework*

‘The thirteenth [century] has been seen as a time of enlightenment leading to reform: reform of the Church, for example, at the Lateran Council in 1215 ... or of the common law in Edward I’s parliaments’.<sup>8</sup> These reforms identified by Clanchy were manifestations of a wider challenge to the cultural paradigm which this chapter examines to establish the context for diversification in the production of, and market for, religious books in the thirteenth century. It will consider the intellectual, social, political, commercial and especially religious environments, mindful of the church’s all pervasive presence, from the built environment of rural abbeys, urban cathedrals, and parish churches; to the routines of daily life framed within an ecclesiastical calendar. The analysis undertaken focuses on Oxford, with some reference to Matthew Paris at St. Albans and to the city of Paris.

Any attempt to describe this period is inevitably fraught with problems: documentary evidence is fragmentary, with no certainty that extant material reflects either the scope or the relative importance of contemporary concerns; furthermore, the vocabulary of socio-economic analysis risks being anachronistic, having been established to describe the post-industrial world. Nevertheless it can be helpful to employ models and to this end a modified version of Adams and Barker’s model provides the framework for this chapter’s discussion of socio-economic context (Figure 1.1).<sup>9</sup> Adams and Barker distinguish between social, intellectual, commercial, and political contexts; however the boundaries are more arbitrary and more porous in the thirteenth century than their model suggests. In order to reflect the wide-ranging power

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<sup>8</sup> M. Clanchy, ‘Power and Knowledge’ in *England in the Thirteenth Century* ed. by W. Ormrod (Grantham: Harlaxton College, 1985), pp. 1-14 (p. 3).

<sup>9</sup> Adams and Barker, pp. 5-43.

and influence of the thirteenth-century church, this discussion has separated religion from the political context to describe it as a discrete topic, recognising its pervasive significance. Adams and Barker place the life cycle of the printed book at the centre of their model, portraying it as subject to contextual pressures. Whilst this approach translates reasonably well to the thirteenth-century manuscript book, these bespoke pieces required less complex distribution and marketing operations, which is reflected in the amended model's amalgamation of production and distribution.<sup>10</sup>

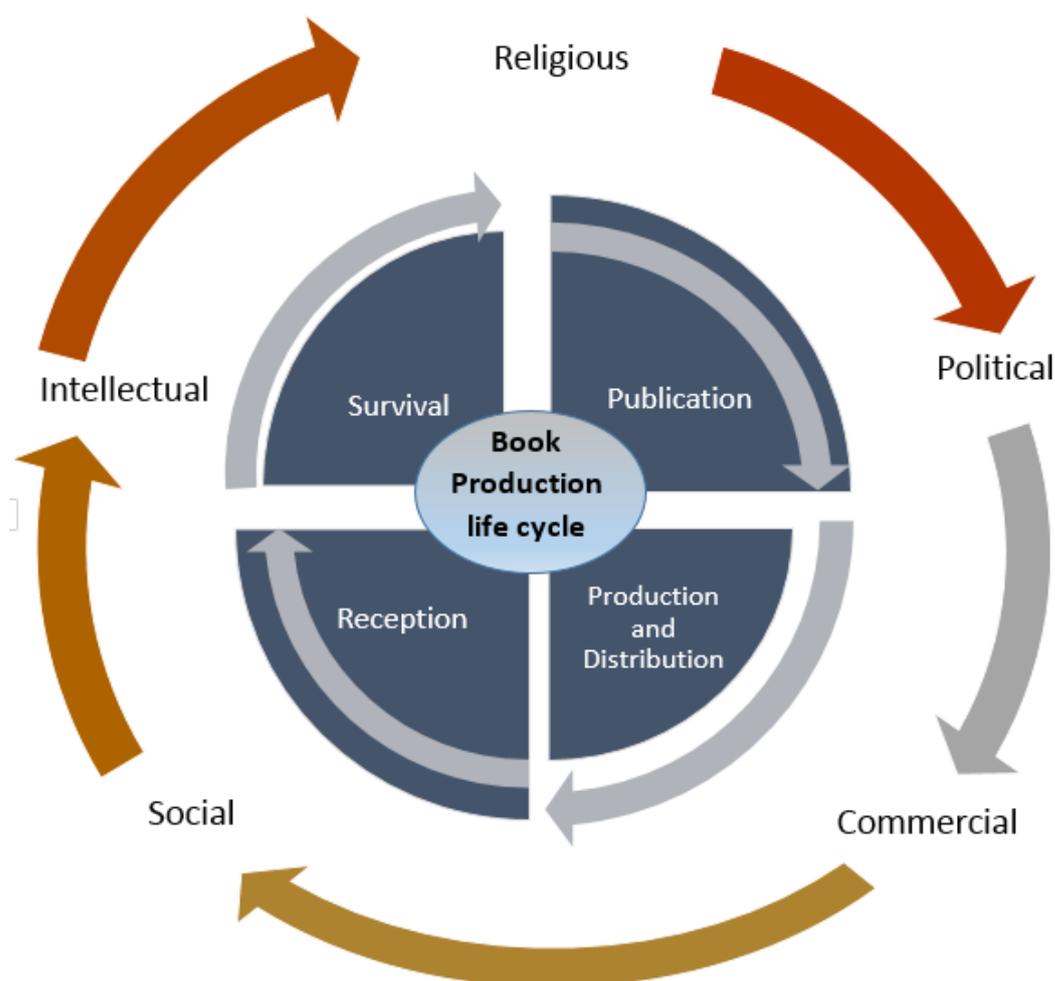


Figure 1.1: Thirteenth Century Book Production: The Socio-Economic Contextual Framework. Based on T. Adams and N. Barker, 'A New Model for the Study of the Book'

<sup>10</sup> The product life cycle and market place of thirteenth-century manuscripts is considered in more detail Chapters 2 and 3 below.

### **Contextual Framework: Religious**

As the thirteenth century dawned the church was omnipresent: visible in the built environment of rural monasteries, abbeys, urban cathedrals, and parish churches; present in the everyday routines framed within an ecclesiastical calendar; and conspicuous in the sacraments which marked life's transitions. Church influence spread far beyond ecclesiastical matters, in particular monastic foundations were fully integrated into social and economic affairs in their role as landlords, whilst monastic and cathedral schools remained society's primary source of education.<sup>11</sup> The church's ubiquity is also evident in decrees from the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) which dealt with issues as diverse as matrimony, law, and taxes.<sup>12</sup> Duffy suggests there was widespread conformity with the established church and its practices, however this may be a reflection of the type of evidence available, which survives precisely because of its relationship to the church. In fact the traditional route to salvation, centred on clerical orders, was being challenged by an 'articulate, town-dwelling laity in search of an inner spiritual life'.<sup>13</sup>

Challenges to the church were neither new nor unique to the thirteenth century. The Cathar heresy, which Pope Innocent III (1160-1216) tackled through both military force and evangelism, had its origins in much older dualist sects.<sup>14</sup> However in the thirteenth century the theological and doctrinal response to heresy provided much of the impetus behind the Fourth Lateran Council, and gave purpose to the friars. The

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<sup>11</sup> For an overview see Duffy, *Religious* and C. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society*, rev. edn (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, repr. 2013). On education and literacy see M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1300*, 3rd edn (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 228-32.

<sup>12</sup> A summary and translated text of the Constitutions are available at <<http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Councils/ecum12-2.htm>> [accessed 10 February 2015].

<sup>13</sup> Duffy, *Religious*, p. 296, Lawrence, *Friars*, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Lawrence, *Friars*, pp. 4-8.

mendicant orders of friars had emerged at the beginning of the thirteenth century in response to specific contemporary concerns: the Dominicans to spearhead the conversion of heretics; the Franciscans to evangelise as itinerant lay preachers following vows of poverty.<sup>15</sup>

A more widespread challenge facing the church was the growth in urban populations seeking an appropriate expression for their own faith and a desire for personal salvation. Le Goff suggests this search for salvation was closely linked to, '*la naissance du Purgatoire [qui] est un phénomène du tournant du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*'.<sup>16</sup> Whether the origin of the doctrine of Purgatory can be so neatly linked to the early thirteenth century is a moot point tackled eloquently by Southern.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless the awareness of Purgatory as a route to ultimate salvation, and concomitant strategies for hastening the purgatorial process which included the establishment of chantry chapels, votive masses, and obits, is evident throughout the period. This transformed the appearance and role of parish churches and necessitated a rapid increase in clergy numbers in order to function, which in turn required an expansion of educational infrastructure to provide them with appropriate theological training.<sup>18</sup>

The Fourth Lateran Council introduced a requirement for all Christians to make confession at least annually and to perform the necessary penance.<sup>19</sup> This new obligation further increased the demand for a well-trained and numerically strong

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<sup>15</sup> C. Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building and Burying: Friars in the Medieval City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 20-21 provides a succinct summary, and Lawrence, *Friars*, Chapters 3-5, a more thorough discussion on the early mendicants.

<sup>16</sup> J. Le Goff, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), cited in R. Southern, 'Between Heaven and Hell' *TLS* (18 June 1982), 651-52 (p. 651).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Duffy, *Religious*, p. 309.

<sup>19</sup> Constitution 21, see above n. 12 and below n. 62.d Bruzelius, *Preaching*, p. 9.

clerical workforce to serve as confessors and to provide spiritual direction, a need which Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) specifically entrusted to the mendicant orders.<sup>20</sup>

Devotional practices which had originated in religious houses were gradually being adopted by a growing number of the laity. This led to a demand for appropriate materials and by the 1240s the Book of Hours was produced in one of its first fully-fledged versions in Oxford. This new compilation provided its lay owner with textual and visual material to facilitate observation of the canonical hours, and private prayer.<sup>21</sup> The *Ancrene Wisse* was also written in the thirteenth century to provide appropriate guidance to lay anchoresses taking up their vocation directly from the secular world without the experience of institutional training.<sup>22</sup> There is evidence suggesting the involvement of mendicant orders in developing both of these texts, demonstrating their close involvement in the spiritual and intellectual life of the laity.<sup>23</sup>

### **Contextual Framework: Intellectual**

Before the thirteenth century literacy and education were, for the most part, closely linked to religious organisations: clerics made up the vast majority of professional readers; monasteries produced the books; monastic and cathedral schools educated the clerics.<sup>24</sup> The increasing role of secular clergy and friars in the confessional and penitential practice of the urban laity demanded the development of urban education, making education available in new, secular environments. The definition and scope of lay literacy in England's tri-lingual society, as well as its social

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28.

<sup>21</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 49999.

<sup>22</sup> B. Millett, *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2009), p. xxiii.

<sup>23</sup> See Millett (pp xii-xiv) on Dominican influence in *Ancrene Wisse*. On prayers for Dominican friars in London, BL Add. MS 49999 see C. Donovan, *de Brailes*, pp. 125-27.

<sup>24</sup> M. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity' in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 275-97.

reach, have been extensively explored yet remain elusive.<sup>25</sup> Examples of pragmatic literacy and the growth of bureaucracy in the thirteenth century are well documented by scholars such as Clanchy, whilst some degree of recreational reading is suggested by the circulation of Matthew Paris's illustrated hagiographies among aristocratic ladies, implying that these ladies were able to read or be read to.<sup>26</sup>

It was in this context that the University in Oxford evolved from informal gatherings of scholars, with many mentions of Oxford schools before the crown's first explicit reference to the University of Oxford in 1231.<sup>27</sup> The intellectual environment attracted the mendicant orders: Dominicans had always been a clerical order of educated preachers and theologians, and by the 1220s the Franciscans were formalising their own structure and purpose, requiring their friars to be instructed in grammar and logic. With this educational requirement and focus on urban centres as their mission field, it is no surprise that the Franciscans followed swiftly on the Dominicans to establish themselves in university towns, arriving in Paris by 1218 and Oxford by 1221.<sup>28</sup> By the mid-thirteenth century the friars' involvement in study was evident: the Dominicans held chairs in theology in 1229 in both Oxford and Paris; by the end of the century Oxford had, in addition to Dominican and Franciscan schools (both opened in 1229), a Carmelite *studium* and houses for at least four other orders of friars.<sup>29</sup>

The presence of the University established a critical mass of literacy, created a demand for textbooks, and provided a labour force to make them. It can be no

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<sup>25</sup> Notably studied by Clanchy, *Memory* and Parkes, *Literacy*.

<sup>26</sup> See for example Clanchy, *Memory*, pp.79-80. On the Saints' Lives see R. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp. 170, 181.

<sup>27</sup> Beckley and Radford, *Oxford Archaeological Resource Assessment 2011: The Medieval Period (1205 – 1540)* (Oxford: Oxford City Council, 2012), p. 60. Available online at [http://www.oxford.gov.uk/Library/Documents/Planning/Archaeology%20%20-%20Medieval%20Oxford%20\(1205%20-%201540\).pdf](http://www.oxford.gov.uk/Library/Documents/Planning/Archaeology%20%20-%20Medieval%20Oxford%20(1205%20-%201540).pdf) [accessed 12 February 2015].

<sup>28</sup> Lawrence, *Friars*, p.46.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 52, 128-29, 131; Beckley and Radford, pp. 54-57

coincidence that Oxford was one of the early centres of professional book production in England. One of the striking features of the thirteenth-century university was that it marked ‘the passing of intellectual leadership from the enclosed world of the monastery’ and may also have encouraged the passing of book production to professional scribes and illuminators.<sup>30</sup> The instruction of clergy remained important, but for many students, desirous of furthering their social and economic prospects, secular opportunities in court and other administrative roles were their aim.<sup>31</sup>

### **Contextual Framework: Social**

In England the proportion of people living in towns doubled between c. 1100 and c. 1300 as rural labourers relocated to towns to make a living; nevertheless over 80% of the population remained in rural areas. Estimates vary, but it is likely that the population of London in 1300 was between 60,000 and 80,000, half that of Paris.<sup>32</sup> Oxford possibly had some 5,000 inhabitants, and was certainly amongst the top dozen towns by population. Its importance as a centre for the wool and cloth trades has led to the suggestion that in 1227 only London and York were more important.<sup>33</sup> Mobility was not only geographic: labourers, craftsmen, artisans, and merchants were some of the new occupations emerging in the towns, providing opportunities for social mobility.<sup>34</sup> This was made possible by the loosening of ties to land as the feudal system evolved, and by the rise of a money economy by which goods and services could be measured and paid for.

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<sup>30</sup> Lawrence, *Friars*, p.14.

<sup>31</sup> Duffy, *Religious*, p. 304.

<sup>32</sup> C. Dyer, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 187-90, 201

<sup>33</sup> Beckley and Radford, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> Clanchy, *Power*, p. 6.

Social mobility was not limited to the working and professional classes: the status and function of knights adjusted to wider changes in common law and the nature of knight service. A scutage tax, introduced in the twelfth century, enabled knights to buy out their military service to the crown, whilst addition to knightly ranks was made possible by several mass knightings which took place either before battles, or to mark royal celebrations such as the wedding of Margaret of York in 1251. These changes consolidated knighthood as ‘a matter of social rank as much as personal service’.<sup>35</sup> Hand in hand with this went the development of a heraldic code, supplying the knight with identifying arms marking their status. Matthew Paris employed these arms to represent members of the aristocracy in his *Chronica Majora*, even reversing them when marking a death.<sup>36</sup> Heraldic arms became widely used within a culture of conspicuous consumption, enabling the knight to mark his status and to customise property, regalia, and books. The ceremonial, visual, and literary culture of the aristocracy could be used to represent their social aspirations and their intellectual training. De Hamel argues that books were by no means commonplace, and quite probably never seen by most lay people, however the aristocratic elite were clearly beginning to gather libraries: by 1306 the Earl of Warwick was able to give 40 of his books to Bordesley Abbey.<sup>37</sup>

Certain occupations below the aristocracy demanded pragmatic literacy - a functional skill which enabled tradesmen, merchants, and estate administrators to execute the documentary requirements of their duties. By the late thirteenth century volumes of reference material were being produced to support some of these roles.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p.182.

<sup>36</sup> Cambridge, CCC, MS 16 and MS 26 Hereafter *Chronica*.

<sup>37</sup> De Hamel, *Books and Society*, pp. 1-21. On the Earl of Warwick see Clanchy, *Memory*, p. 84.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 49-51.

This suggests that book production responded to a complex relationship between social status, educational need, commercial requirement, and opportunity.

### **Contextual Framework: Political**

Despite there being only three monarchs in England during the thirteenth century, it was a time of political turbulence and reform.<sup>39</sup> King John was an unpopular ruler: he lost a vast swathe of Plantagenet lands in France; he set himself against the Pope for which he was excommunicated between 1209 and 1213; he alienated the aristocracy by raising unpopular taxes and charges. Baronial dissatisfaction and John's intransigence led to civil war and the signing of *Magna Carta* in 1215, giving barons the power to enforce the King's adherence. Following John's death in 1216 a baronial council was appointed under William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, to govern for the duration of Henry III's minority. These were extraordinary political and social developments: the possibility that barons might govern over royal blood reflected an evolution in social status at the very highest level of society.

The royal court at this time was peripatetic, with Oxford a favoured location. This political presence brought trade and commerce to the town, although probably not affecting the book trade to the same extent as Paris's permanent court which 'for more than two centuries, [provided] the booktrade's primary and most dependable patrons'.<sup>40</sup> Matthew Paris documented the king's convocation of nobles in Oxford in 1247.<sup>41</sup> However Oxford was also the site of challenge to royal power. In 1258 the Provisions of Oxford were issued, agreeing to taxation only in return for reform, this was followed by seven years of turmoil as Simon de Montfort led the Barons' Revolt. The evolution

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<sup>39</sup> King John (1199-1216); King Henry III (1216-1272); and King Edward I (1272-1307).

<sup>40</sup> Rouse and Rouse, p. 18.

<sup>41</sup> R. Vaughan, trans. and ed., *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth-Century Life* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1993), p. 24.

of *Magna Carta* symbolises the ongoing political jostling of the thirteenth century. Within weeks of the signing of the original document in 1215, King John obtained its annulment. It was subsequently amended and reissued several times, usually to coincide with the King needing to raise taxes (1253) or with baronial attempts at power consolidation (1265). It was not finally confirmed until the thirteenth century came to a close.<sup>42</sup>

The need for revenue motivated many political decisions, with repercussions for society, commerce, and the church, for example in 1275 a wool export tax was levied in order for Edward I to pay off his Italian creditors.<sup>43</sup> The Statutes of Mortmain (1279 and 1290) introduced the requirement for a royal licence to be issued before a lay landowner could give land or property to religious organisations, thereby protecting treasury income and curtailing ecclesiastical land expansion.<sup>44</sup> Governance at local level was closely linked to commerce, Keene argues that guilds played a formative role in town government, perhaps intimated by the use of the old Guildhall in Oxford, as in other towns, as the administrative centre.<sup>45</sup>

### **Contextual Framework: Commercial**

Commercial and economic considerations featured in all aspects of thirteenth-century life, from the political and social to the religious. Briggs suggests that changes in taxation motivated the barons' drive towards political reform; Dyer attributes the movement from countryside to town to the need to earn a living; Harding claims that

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<sup>42</sup> A useful timeline of the *Magna Carta* is included as Appendix IV in D. Jones, *Magna Carta: The Making and Legacy of the Great Charter* (London: Head of Zeus, 2014), see especially pp. 176-81.

<sup>43</sup> Epstein, *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000-1500* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 97.

<sup>44</sup> Briggs, *A Social History of England* (London: Book Club Associates, 1984), p. 90.

<sup>45</sup> D. Keene, 'English Urban Guilds c. 900-1300: The Purposes and Politics of Association', in *Guilds and Association in Europe, 900-1900*, ed. by I. Gadd and P. Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2006), pp. 3-26 (p. 8); Beckley and Radford, p. 33.

economic considerations were beginning to influence aristocratic relationships even more than long-standing military links, whilst ‘monastic houses were at the forefront of economic activity’, certainly as far as the lucrative wool trade was concerned.<sup>46</sup> The wool trade underpinned the economy in many towns including Oxford: one of its earliest guilds was that of the weavers, dating back to the early twelfth century. The high status of such guilds gave these commercial groups social and political influence, a reflection of the importance of economic power.<sup>47</sup>

Money rather than service became the key transactional currency, used to settle knights’ fees and taxes, rent, and wages. By the early thirteenth century over half of adult men were paid wholly or partially in money. Bruzelius contends that cash was essential in providing for urban mendicants who relied upon charity rather than property and labour – at least in the first half of the century. The money economy was not entirely cash based: the rise in manufacturing and trade required financial mechanisms for capital and debt management, which were primarily operated by Jewish communities before their expulsion in 1290. There is evidence of the Jewish community in Oxford providing loans against the security of books, indicating their role in financing university students, and the commodity value of manuscript books.<sup>48</sup>

The increasing importance of the money economy went hand in glove with market town life: urban workers relied on markets for their necessities, rural freemen provided specialist small scale produce such as eggs, honey, or fruit; town property was often held by money rent and could be readily transferred. These transactions necessitated a ready means of payment to ensure an efficient market place, which in

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<sup>46</sup> Briggs, p. 83; Dyer, *Making a Living*, p. 201; Harding, *England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 195, 230.

<sup>47</sup> Keene, pp. 10, 14.

<sup>48</sup> On money wages see Briggs, p. 94; Bruzelius, p. 112. For loans in Oxford see M. Parkes, ‘The Provision of Books’ in J. Catto and R. Evans, *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol. 2, Late Medieval Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 407-83 (p. 410).

turn facilitated population movement and social mobility.<sup>49</sup> By c. 1250 a framework of urban trading centres operated across England, Oxford certainly had a market from the mid-twelfth century, and possibly earlier.<sup>50</sup> A wide variety of locally-sourced goods was found in most English market towns. Dyer concludes that English markets relied less on long-distance trade and specialisation than their European counterparts, although there were exceptions with some localised goods such as Thaxted knives.<sup>51</sup> In Paris the book trade was probably one of its specialities, for by the end of the twelfth century it attracted 'agents, or the wealthy patrons themselves, [who] came to Paris ... to have books made'.<sup>52</sup> That Oxford had a book trade in the thirteenth century is evident not only from the output attributed to the town, but also from legal and administrative records which name several illuminators, book-binders, and parchment-makers; however it would not appear to have served such a wide clientele as the Paris trade, and by the end of the thirteenth century its significance had diminished, eclipsed by London.<sup>53</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown the thirteenth century to be a period of change, challenge, and mobility affecting all areas of the socio-economic contextual framework. The development of the commercial marketplace and the money economy provided the conditions for the professionalisation of crafts and trades previously woven into monastic and feudal organisation. In the book business monasteries and abbeys lost their virtual monopolies on manuscript production. The responsibility for spiritual

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<sup>49</sup> Dyer, *Making a Living*, pp. 164-78; Harding, *England*, p. 196.

<sup>50</sup> Britnell, pp. 134, 145; Beckley and Radford, p. 43.

<sup>51</sup> Dyer, *Making a Living*, p. 205.

<sup>52</sup> Rouse and Rouse, p. 27.

<sup>53</sup> Parkes, *Provision*, p. 413.

welfare and intellectual training followed the movement of the population into urban centres, where the role of mendicants was particularly important. The confluence of royal, judicial, ecclesiastical, intellectual and economic activity, together with navigable waterways, marked both Oxford and Paris as geographically and culturally important towns.<sup>54</sup> Oxford was smaller in scale, and later in implementation, of both formalised university schooling and a commercial book trade, but a group of craftsmen, centred on Catte Street, took advantage of the market opportunities to establish one of England's first secular book production centres.<sup>55</sup> The following chapter will explore the market conditions which made this possible.

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<sup>54</sup> Rouse and Rouse, p. 18.

<sup>55</sup> Beckley and Radford, p.46.

## Chapter 2: Emerging Market Sectors

In order to understand the publishing or, more appropriately for this period, the commissioning stage of the book's life cycle and the factors which determined its long-term survival, it is necessary to examine the market context of the reader. The thirteenth century is remarkable for the rise of new readers in secular and domestic contexts driven by increasing literacy in general, and by a need for devotional material to meet the spiritual and devotional requirements of the laity as codified by Lateran Council of 1215 and ministered by the newly founded mendicant orders.<sup>56</sup> The thirteenth century witnessed a significant theological shift which extended the expectation of Heaven, via Purgatory, beyond the religious orders and saints to the laity in general.<sup>57</sup> This contributed to the emergence of a secular market for devotional material adapted for the laity, as epitomised by the Book of Hours. This chapter begins with an examination of this market and the emergence of the Book of Hours with particular focus on those produced in Oxford.<sup>58</sup> It will briefly consider the shorter-lived English fashion for Apocalypses in the mid-century.<sup>59</sup> The most wealthy and powerful patrons could, of course, commission specifically customised compilations: King Philip III of France entrusted Friar Laurent with providing a guide to behaviour, *La Somme Le Roi*, this will be examined as evidence of a book of mendicant design intended for the most elite ranks of society, and will enhance the breadth of the analysis of the market for books to

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<sup>56</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>57</sup> R. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe: c. 1215-1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 36.

<sup>58</sup> Primary examples studied are linked to Oxford by N. Morgan, 'English Books of Hours c.1240-c.1480' in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. by S. Hindman and J. Marrow (London, Turnhout, Harvey Miller, 2013), pp. 65-95 (p. 66), and include: London, BL, Add. MS 49999; Yale University Library, Marston MS 22; Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Cod. lat. XIV.

<sup>59</sup> London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209 (*Lambeth Apocalypse*); Cambridge, Trinity College Library MS R.16.2 (*Trinity Apocalypse*).

support lay piety.<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile mendicant orders established a network of preaching and teaching which produced a concomitant demand for written material. Key to this was the Bible, which forms the case study for the latter part of this chapter to consider how its size, arrangement of textual material, and decorative character were adapted to meet the needs of a widening spectrum of readers, thereby illustrating nascent market segmentation.<sup>61</sup> University texts arguably had less impact on commercial book production than these religious texts, and have been less well studied. Nonetheless their influence on commercial production, especially in forms of marginal decoration, can be identified and will be considered.

### **Lay Piety and the Market for Devotional Books**

The Lateran Council of 1215 was influential as a catalyst for the expression of lay piety from which the thirteenth-century's key contribution to lay literature and devotion, the Book of Hours, developed. The Council's requirement for all Christians to participate at least annually in communion, confession, and penance extended these existing elements of clerical practice throughout society; formalised lay religious practice; and created a market for appropriate tools to address this new lay paradigm.<sup>62</sup> The trading environment of urban market towns, characterised by money transactions as rehearsed in Chapter 1, provided an economic structure conducive to commercial

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<sup>60</sup> This study focuses on two of the earliest extant surviving copies: London, BL, Add. MS 54180 and BL, Add. MS 28162 (Rouse and Rouse, pp. 145-71).

<sup>61</sup> Baltimore, Walters Art Museum and Gallery, MS W. 15; Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13 and Oxford, Bod., Lat. bib. e. 7.

<sup>62</sup> Constitution 21 begins: '*Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi poenitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha eucharistiae sacramentum...*' See H. Schroeder, ed. and trans., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (St Louis and London: B. Herder Book Co., 1937), p. 570. C. Baker (Donovan), 'The Early Development of the Illustrated Book of Hours in England, c. 1240-1350' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, 1981), p. 14 describes the emergence of Books of Hours as a response to lay piety and education, see also pp. 15-21 on origins of the textual content.

provision of appropriate material. In the first century of the Book of Hours' existence the discretionary spending power of the vast majority of the urban population was, however, negligible once necessities such as rent, food, and fuel had been paid for.<sup>63</sup> De Hamel is perhaps being disingenuous in referring to Books of Hours as 'Books for Everybody', for their potential to be available to, and affordable by, a wide market did not come to fruition until later in their life cycle.<sup>64</sup> A study of privately-owned books in England between 1300-1450 shows that even then the overwhelming majority of book owners either required them as a tool of their trade - as was the case for clerics, scholars, teachers, and administrators – or were members of the aristocracy. Less than five per cent of books found their way into the homes of merchants and tradespeople, and this figure would have been even lower in the thirteenth century.<sup>65</sup> The astute and innovative illuminator providing books adapted to the wealthy secular market and the socially-aspirational gentry could nevertheless generate a good income. This seems to be the case with Oxford's William de Brailes who was certainly influenced by, if not trained by, artists working in Oxford in the first decades of the century who produced works such as *The Huntingfield Psalter* (c. 1212-1220) and *The Lothian Bible* (c. 1220).<sup>66</sup> De Brailes appears to have been a citizen of good standing, and of sufficient wealth to own land in Oxford.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Dyer, *Standards of Living, of Living in the Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, rev. 1998), p. 209.

<sup>64</sup> De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Phaidon Press, 1986, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn 1994, repr. 2012), pp. 168-99.

<sup>65</sup> S. Cavanaugh, 'A Study of Books Privately Owned in England 1300-1450' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), cited in R. Thompson and N. Morgan, 'Language and Literacy' in Morgan and Thompson, *Cambridge History*, pp. 22-38 (p.37).

<sup>66</sup> New York, PML, MS M. 43; New York, PML, MS M. 791 See Morgan, *EGM 1*, p. 30.

<sup>67</sup> For details of de Brailes in contemporary documents see Donovan, *de Brailes*, Appendix 5. See also Chapter 3, pp.80-88 below.

Extant luxury manuscripts produced in Oxford over the course of the thirteenth-century demonstrate a shift from the dominance of Psalters in the first two decades (sometimes with supplementary Hours included) to a wider range of texts dominated by Bibles and Books of Hours.<sup>68</sup> Psalters had a long-established pedigree as one of the oldest texts copied in England reflecting the liturgical importance of the psalms, all 150 of which were recited each week as part of the devotional cycle of religious houses.

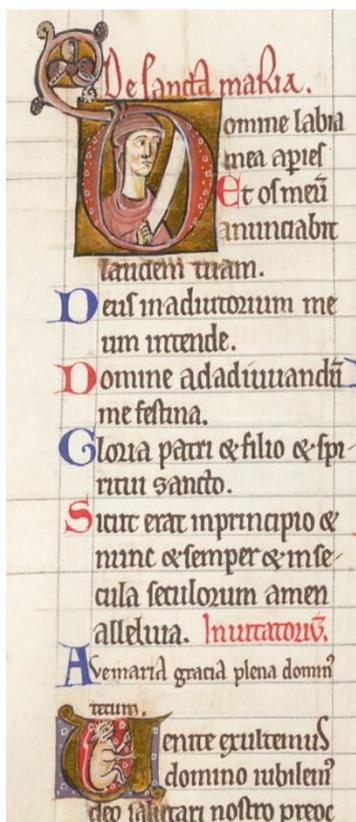


Figure 2.1: London, BL, Arundel MS 157, fol. 159<sup>v</sup>

These Psalters were often lavishly decorated for their owners as an indication of their status.<sup>69</sup> The Office of the Hours of the Virgin, which would form the core text of Books of Hours, had been established in monastic routines as early as the eleventh century, and by the thirteenth century was often included in or added to Psalters, with many early examples originating in Oxford.<sup>70</sup> One such Psalter, linked to the Augustinian Priory in Oxford, had both the Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead added to it c. 1220-1240, testament to the growing interest in these texts (Figure 2.1).<sup>71</sup> Each section of the Hours is marked by a decorated initial, many are inhabited by animals or people, whilst others feature scroll and foliate

<sup>68</sup> See Donovan, *de Brailes*, Appendix 4, and Johnston, *Penflourishing*, p.188.

<sup>69</sup> An early example, London, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A i (*The Vespasian Psalter*), was made in Kent in the eighth century.

<sup>70</sup> R. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), pp. 9-10. The Hours of the Virgin are found in an eleventh century addition to London, BL, MS Royal 2 B v (fols 1<sup>v</sup>-6). Oxford-made Books of Hours include BL, MS Add. 49999 (*de Brailes' Hours*), MS Arundel 157, MS Add 48985 (*Salvin Hours*) and possibly Egerton 1151 (*Egerton Hours*). See Donovan, *de Brailes*, Appendix 3, which lists eight thirteenth-century English Books of Hours, three of which are probably of Oxford origin. Morgan, *English Books*, p. 66, suggests that Yale University Library, MS Marston 22 (*Marston Hours*) might also be of Oxford origin.

<sup>71</sup> London, BL, Arundel 157. See Morgan, *EGM 1*, p. 72.

work. The Psalter section included: twenty folios of miniatures depicting the nativity and passion of Christ; a decorated calendar; numerous historiated initials and penwork line fillers, all of which would come to feature in the iconographical program of many later Books of Hours.

Psalters were symbolically linked to royal patrons who considered themselves inheritors of David's anointed Kingship, and although Psalters continued to feature in the market, they do not seem to have caught the imagination of the new classes of book-owners as much as the new Book of Hours would. Perhaps, as they began to buy religious books, these new consumers preferred the Book of Hours for its lack of association with the established aristocracy. Its functional layout may also have appealed to lesser nobility who, wielding growing influence as administrators, stewards, lawyers, and accountants, were increasingly using pragmatic literature such as legal texts or estate management guides which may have whetted their appetites for a more functional type of book.<sup>72</sup> They were also becoming wealthier, many built impressive halls, which they furnished with high-quality textiles as they endeavoured to consolidate their status.<sup>73</sup> Wealthy tradesmen, such as Simon de Leverington, a Norfolk merchant, accumulated silver plate, jewels, and luxury textiles, therefore a book was not an impossible aspiration.<sup>74</sup> Dyer identifies the consumerist behaviour of these classes with new markets for luxury commodities:

[I]n the period of economic expansion in the thirteenth century members of the gentry, and the people who aspired to be counted as

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<sup>72</sup> For example, Walter of Henley's thirteenth-century treatise *De Husebondrie* is included in a number of contemporary collections e.g. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 1. 1, fols. 251-53. See also W. Henley, E. Lamond, W Cunningham, and R. Grosseteste. *Walter of Henley's Husbandry, Together with an Anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie, and Robert Grosseteste's Rules*. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1890), pp. xxi-xli, especially p. xxiii.

<sup>73</sup> Dyer, *Standards*, pp. 278-87.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 205-06.

gentry ... adopted a material style of life imitative of the top ranks of their class. Competitive forces among the wealthy sections of society encouraged families to buy luxuries.<sup>75</sup>

The market was ripe for a product which could provide direction for devotional practice in line with the Lateran requirements in a clear, functional format.<sup>76</sup> The Book of Hours found this niche, providing a text which enabled ‘devout lay people [to] emulate the religious life by integrating as much as possible of the Little Office into their daily lives’ as part of their response to the Lateran Council’s requirements.<sup>77</sup> An historiated initial in the Office of the Dead added

to London, BL, Arundel MS 157 shows the owner holding a book, evoking the personal use of The Hours (Figure 2.2). The opportunity to customise books in this way in a display of conspicuous consumption may have been particularly attractive in view of the book’s portability and regular appearance with the owner in public worship. This question will be returned to in Chapter 4.



Figure 2.2: London, BL, Arundel MS 157, fol. 134

The Book of Hours did not contain new material, it was a rearrangement of existing liturgical and scriptural content into a new format which suited the devotional requirements of the laity in general, and women in particular, although it was never

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, p. 285.

<sup>76</sup> The Psalter, with the psalms in numerical order, required much turning back and forth to follow the daily devotions. Whilst this would soon be familiar to members of religious orders who followed a regular pattern which took them through the 150 psalms each week, the laity may have been less diligent in saying each psalm as regularly, and therefore found the numerical arrangement less easy to use.

<sup>77</sup> C. Scott-Stokes, *Women’s Books of Hours in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), p. 4.

intended solely for lay use and examples of books for religious institutions exist.<sup>78</sup> The core text of the Little Office of the Virgin is significant in understanding why this new compilation was so positively received and survived in an evolving marketplace.

Devotion to Mary as the Mother of God, had taken on increased significance in Western Christianity over the previous century. Apocryphal narratives of her own Immaculate Conception and Assumption into Heaven became entwined with more conventional theology. Narratives cycles depicting these events often featured in Books of Hours, including the *de Brailes Hours*.<sup>79</sup> Mary perhaps resonated particularly well with women. There is evidence women were often, but by no means always, the intended recipients of Books of Hours. The Oxford-made *de Brailes Hours* (Figure 2.3) and *Marston Hours* (Figure 2.4), are among those which include initials depicting lay women at prayer who are probably the original owners.<sup>80</sup>



Figure 2.3: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, fol. 87<sup>v</sup>



Figure 2.4: Yale University Library, Marston MS 22, fol. 94

In both cases the patron initial is located within the Penitential Psalms, reflecting the personal importance of confession and penance. Furthermore it places the reader quite

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, p. 156.

<sup>79</sup> D. MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity* (London: Penguin, 2010), pp. 389-95. London, BL, Add. MS 49999, fols. 1<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>v</sup> and 59-61.

<sup>80</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 49999, fols. 64<sup>v</sup>, 75, 87<sup>v</sup>, 88; New Haven, Yale University Library, Marston MS 22, fol. 94. Other examples include: Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst. Cod. lat. XIV, fols 153, 173<sup>v</sup>; and a later Book of Hours possibly made in Southern England: London, BL, Harley MS 928, fol. 107.

literally within the penitential activities which would reduce her time in Purgatory, whilst focusing her devotional experience on Mary, who also served as a behavioural model.<sup>81</sup> *Ancrene Wisse*, an early thirteenth century work, provides a remarkable insight into devotional practices for anchoresses, including copious guidance on praying to the Virgin Mary.<sup>82</sup> At least six thirteenth-century copies survive, the earliest of which dates from before c. 1230, suggesting that it circulated fairly widely and that female literacy was sufficiently high for a good number of women to access it.<sup>83</sup> The Book of Hours provided a convenient vehicle for the daily journey through the devotional day recommended by *Ancrene Wisse*, with its appropriate texts and visual prompts.

In its early development, exemplified by the *de Brailes Hours*, the distinction between Books of Hours and Psalter-Hours is not always clear due to the fluidity of textual elements, and we do not know how the original user perceived the relationship between the two. Indeed, although Claire Donovan proposes that the *de Brailes Hours* represent the earliest known standalone Book of Hours, she acknowledges that it may have been intended to supplement a Psalter, whilst Peter Kidd has suggested it was originally produced as part of a Psalter-Hours.<sup>84</sup> What we can surmise is that the arrangement of material in the Books of Hours met a demand quite distinct from the established Psalter. Nevertheless the visual characteristics of both types of book were very similar: the *de Brailes Hours* and his Psalters all fall within the most luxurious of his oeuvre. De Brailes provided detailed miniatures and historiated initials, and embellished many folios with the widest range of marginal decoration available,

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<sup>81</sup> Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, p.91.

<sup>82</sup> Millett, *Ancrene Wisse*, pp. 14-18.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*, pp. xxxvii-xliii, provides a summary of known extant manuscripts, both in the original English and in the French or Latin translations. The earliest surviving copy is London, BL, Cotton MS Cleopatra C vi. In addition to the six copies dated to the thirteenth century, a further four are described as late thirteenth- early fourteenth- century.

<sup>84</sup> See Baker, p. 17 and Kidd cited in Johnston, *Penflourishing*, p. 169 n. 199.

including ornamented blocks; penflourishing; and grotesques which frequently take the form of playful-looking dragons (Figures 2.5 and 2.6).<sup>85</sup>



Figure 2.5: BL, Add. MS 49999 fol. 4.

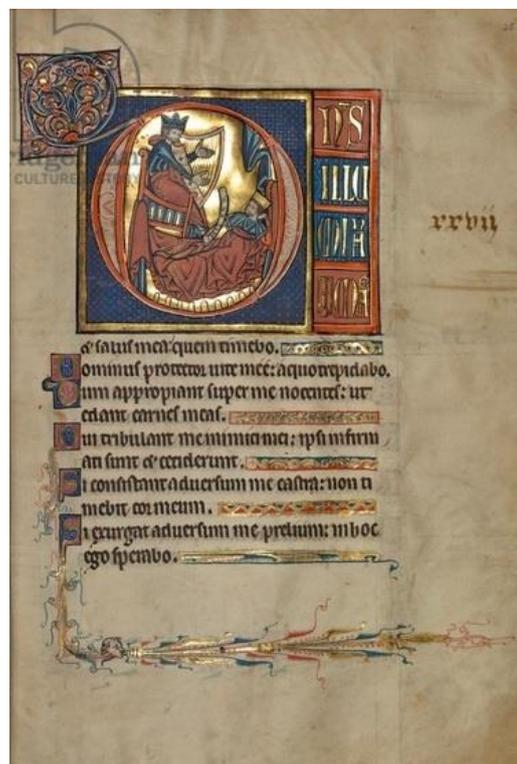


Figure 2.6: Oxford, New College, MS 322, fol. 28.

Although these manuscripts are visually striking, the importance of their textual material cannot be overstated. It was several decades before Books of Hours settled on a consistent textual content which comprised a Calendar; the Hours of the Virgin; the Office of the Dead; Psalms; Litany and Suffrages.<sup>86</sup> Variations reflecting local or denominational liturgical use and personal choice persisted throughout its life cycle, but in these early years of its development the Book of Hours' content could vary

<sup>85</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 214-36. Johnston groups the de Brailes manuscripts on stylistic grounds, suggesting that the Psalters and Hours are decorated in his most luxurious Italian-influenced style. See also Chapter 4 below.

<sup>86</sup> For a robust analysis of content see Wieck, *Painted Prayers*. A summary of the development of content can be found in E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 28.

significantly. A manuscript used by Beatrice (1242-1275), daughter of Henry III, includes the Hours of John the Baptist and of Saint Katherine in addition to the more frequently occurring offices.<sup>87</sup> Despite the high social status of Beatrice, the book has only penwork decoration, although it is possible that illuminated miniatures have been removed.<sup>88</sup> This book must have been valued for its particularly rich diversity of text.

Mendicant friars must have played a significant role in the establishment of a textual canon for these books. They would have encouraged their use as part of their teaching and confessional vocation, and no doubt helped select the texts when a book was commissioned. Documentary evidence of the close relationship between friar-confessor, owner, and book exists from the earliest copy. Written onto a leaf at the back of the *de Brailles Hours* are several prayers in Anglo-Norman French, the first of which requests prayer for three named friars as well as for all Friars Preacher and Minor.<sup>89</sup> The Book of Hours in providing a structure for implementing the *Ancrene Wisse*'s practices; in focusing on the Virgin Mary; in being readily usable in lay and clerical contexts; in being suitable for men and women; answered a hitherto only partially addressed market need. The encouragement of the friars could have been the final piece necessary to establish these books as necessities for the pious laity who could afford a book.

### **Aristocratic Exclusivity: Eschatological Extravagance**

The early illuminated Book of Hours provided its owner with a condensed, portable equivalent of a church, containing both liturgical material and iconographic

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<sup>87</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 33385. Beatrice is named in the prayers for the deceased, and identified as the King's daughter fol. 124<sup>v</sup>, See Scott-Stokes pp. 131-35.

<sup>88</sup> The volume is incomplete, and has evidence of several excised and mutilated folios. See catalogue entry, available online at < [http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS\\_VU2:IAMS032-002024195](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS032-002024195) > [accessed 11 September 2015].

<sup>89</sup> '[P]reir pur frere richart de nevere e p[ur] frere richart de westey e p[ur] frere b[ar]tel[e]meu de grimistu[m]. et p[ur] tut frere prechr' e menur'. London, BL, Add MS 49999, fol. 102<sup>v</sup>.

richness within its pages. Iconography in church buildings usually included a representation of the Last Judgement or ‘Doom’; by 1250 this was routinely painted over the church’s chancel arch creating an eschatological focus at a dominant visual point for lay worshippers.<sup>90</sup> Evidence of contemporary interest in eschatology is found in a marginal addition to Matthew Paris’s *Chronica* which reads:

Cum fuerint anni transacti mille ducenti  
Et quinquaginta post partum Viriginis almae  
Tunc antichristus nascetur demone plenus.<sup>91</sup>

In the *Chronica* Matthew thus anticipates the arrival of the Antichrist in 1250, an expectation explored in the earlier work of Joachim di Fiore (d. 1202) who computed the end of the current age as being due in 1260.<sup>92</sup> Contemporary events, not least the advances of the Mongol hordes to the very edge of Europe, and the identification of the Emperor Frederick II with the Antichrist, contributed to a sense of impending crisis which seems to have been particularly prevalent in mid-thirteenth-century England.<sup>93</sup>

In response to this a small, very elite, and short-lived market specifically for illustrated Apocalypse books, possibly encouraged by Matthew Paris, emerged in the middle of the century. These books included the text of the St John’s *Book of Revelation*, often with Berengaudus’s commentary, and illustrations focusing on John’s

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<sup>90</sup> R. Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 2014), p. 41; Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press in collaboration with Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 1987), pp. 102-06; Swanson, pp. 203-06. Several examples are described in R. Emmerson and S. Lewis, ‘Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts Containing Apocalypse Illustrations ca. 800–1500’, *Traditio*, 40 (1984), 337-79.

<sup>91</sup> Cambridge, CCC MS 26, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>. H. Luard, *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora*, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872-1883), I (1872), 81. Lewis discusses Matthew Paris’s interest in prophecy and apocalypse in *Art*, pp. 102-06.

<sup>92</sup> Fiore was a Cistercian monk whose writings included *The Exposition of the Apocalypse*. A brief summary of his approach can be found in G. Leff, ‘Christian Thought’, in *The Medieval World: Literature and Western Civilisation*, ed. by D. Daiches and A. Thorlby (London: Aldus, 1973), pp. 191-284 (pp. 273-78).

<sup>93</sup> See Matthew Paris’s vivid account in Cambridge, CCC, MS 16 and Lewis’s related discussion in *Art*, pp. 282-90. For a wider analysis of the Apocalypse see N. Morgan, *The Lambeth Apocalypse: Manuscript 209 in the Lambeth Palace Library* (London: Harvey Miller, 1990) especially pp. 24-32.

visions and the Four Last Things: Heaven, Hell, Death, and Judgement.<sup>94</sup> *The Lambeth Apocalypse* is one of the finest examples and exemplifies the characteristics of this type of religious book.<sup>95</sup> It includes a portrait identified as Eleanor de Quincy, Countess of Winchester, suggesting her as the likely patron, whilst the de Quincy arms provide a *terminus ante quem* of her marriage to Roger de Leybourne in 1267.<sup>96</sup> It is very much of the time and social milieu typical of the genre, and manifests its luxury through using almost every decorative technique of the day. It includes illuminated miniatures in an extensive palette of reds, blues, and greens to illustrate the text; historiated and illuminated initials with intricately decorated bar borders; penflourishing in red and blue; and marginal illustrations.<sup>97</sup> The opening folio blends these stylistic devices into an eclectic mix of visually striking and luxurious decoration (Figure 2.7). The opulent decoration may simply be a show of wealth, however it may represent an illuminator's attempt to interpret the splendour of the Apocalypse's description of the Heavenly city:

The wall thereof was of jasper stone: but the city itself pure gold, like to clear glass. ... The first foundation was jasper: the second, sapphire: the third, a chalcedony: the fourth, an emerald: The fifth, sardonyx: the sixth, sardius: the seventh, chrysolite: the eighth, beryl: the ninth, a topaz: the tenth, a chrysoprusus: the eleventh, a jacinth: the twelfth, an amethyst.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> For the Four Last Things see H. Carey 'Astrology and the Last Things in Later Medieval England and France' in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by N. Morgan (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2004), pp. 19-38. See Chapter 3 below for Matthew Paris's interest in prophetic and apocalyptic material.

<sup>95</sup> London: Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209.

<sup>96</sup> N. Morgan, 'The Lambeth Apocalypse' in *Lambeth Palace Library: Treasures from the Collection of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, ed. by R. Palmer and M. Brown (London: Scala, 2010), pp. 48-51.

<sup>97</sup> See also Chapter 4.

<sup>98</sup> Revelation 21:18-20 (Douay-Rheims version).



Figure 2.7: London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209, fol. 1r.  
Courtesy of Lambeth Palace Library.

This book was evidently designed to be a visual treat with didactic potential, not a liturgical tool for everyday use. A contemporary Apocalypse, which may have belonged to Eleanor of Provence, portrays the female owner in several miniatures where, accompanied by friars, she is either engaged in battle against evil, or amongst

those saved at the Day of Judgement (Figure 2.8).<sup>99</sup> These miniatures, like the positioning of patron initials in many Books of Hours (Figures 2.3, 2.4), place the owner in the midst of the spiritual activity, serving as a reminder of her spiritual obligations and her promised reward in Heaven.



Figure 2.8: Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.16.2, fol. 14

The degree and nature of personalisation indicates that these luxury books were quite specific commissions, and their evidently very wealthy patrons were probably linked to the Court. Morgan identifies the influence of French court-style painting in the *Lambeth Apocalypse*, a style which was popular at Westminster Abbey.<sup>100</sup> Proximity to the Court and the royal Abbey would have made it entirely plausible for Westminster to develop as the centre for these deluxe volumes, a possibility strengthened by the similarities Alexander and Binski note between the composition of several Apocalypse

<sup>99</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS R.16.2 *The Trinity Apocalypse*. A facsimile is available online at <<http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=1199>> [accessed 14 July 2015].

<sup>100</sup> Morgan, *Lambeth* (1990), pp. 82, 88.

miniatures and the Westminster Retable.<sup>101</sup> The very specialist, and expensive, profile of these books has contributed to the survival of a disproportionately large number of volumes, providing evidence of fashions and trends for books to address aristocratic concerns of the age.

### **A King's Commission: *La Somme le Roi***

Friars played a significant role in the development of religious books for a wide social spectrum of laity from the Book of Hours already discussed, with its everyday relevance to all Christians, to individually commissioned works such as *La Somme le Roi*, compiled by the Dominican Friar Laurent in 1279 specifically for Philipp III of France. The authorship and commission are recorded in colophons in many of the extant manuscripts, for example '*Cest livre compila et parfist i freres de lordre des preescheurs. a la requeste du roi de france Phelippe. En lan de lincarnation nostre seigneur ihesu crist m cc et lxxix*'.<sup>102</sup> The compilation brought together treatises on fundamental Christian doctrine including the Ten Commandments; Twelve Articles of Faith; and Treatises on Virtue and Vice.<sup>103</sup> The exposition of moral teachings was approached through a scholastic argument familiar to thirteenth-century academics and theologians, demonstrating how sin could be countered through acts of Virtue, through the petitions of the *Pater Noster*, and through the gifts of the Holy Spirit.<sup>104</sup> The text was soon copied for those closely connected with the royal court: including one made in the 1290s for Philip's son, Philip the Fair (1268-1314) and another for the Royal

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<sup>101</sup> J. Alexander and P. Binski, *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1987), p. 351.

<sup>102</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 54180, fol. 201<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> P. Binski and S. Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London: Harvey Miller, 2005), pp. 256-58.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, p. 256.

Cistercian Abbey of Maubuisson.<sup>105</sup> Philip the Fair's manuscript is a glorious volume retaining eleven full page miniatures illuminated by Maître Honoré.<sup>106</sup> The Pentecost miniature depicts the twelve apostles receiving the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It is richly executed, with gold and blue dominating; the composition is carefully considered and pleasingly balanced, whilst the attention to detail is astonishing – down to the apostles' toenails (Figure 2.9).



Figure 2.09: London, BL, Add MS 54180, fol. 86v

<sup>105</sup> Philip the Fair's copy is now London, BL, Add MS 54180. Maubuisson's copy is London, BL, Yates Thompson MS 11. Rouse and Rouse, pp. 145-71 describe and discuss the illustrated copies.

<sup>106</sup> London, BL, Add MS 58140. A further two miniatures attributed to this volume by Eric Millar are in Cambridge (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 192 and MS 368).

The script, described by Millar as a ‘beautiful minuscule, of the type commonly associated with the volumes executed in Paris for the French royal family’, further attests to its pedigree.<sup>107</sup> There are almost 200 decorated initials, attached to bar borders which extend the length of the column, with delicate foliate terminals, as exemplified by the page facing the Pentecost miniature (Figure 2.10).

This new compilation became more widespread than the Apocalypse, being translated into several vernaculars as well as Latin.<sup>108</sup> Its popularity was also long-lived, persisting into the days of print: Caxton produced an English edition, entitled the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*.<sup>109</sup> *La Somme le Roi*’s commercial profile probably resembled that of other religious manuals such as the many Saints’ Lives which were popular with English female aristocracy.<sup>110</sup> The compilation epitomised a fundamental change which was taking place in sections of the book market over the course of the century: this book was written for a lay audience, then gained a wider audience including clerics, rather than being a clerical text adapted for the lay reader.<sup>111</sup>

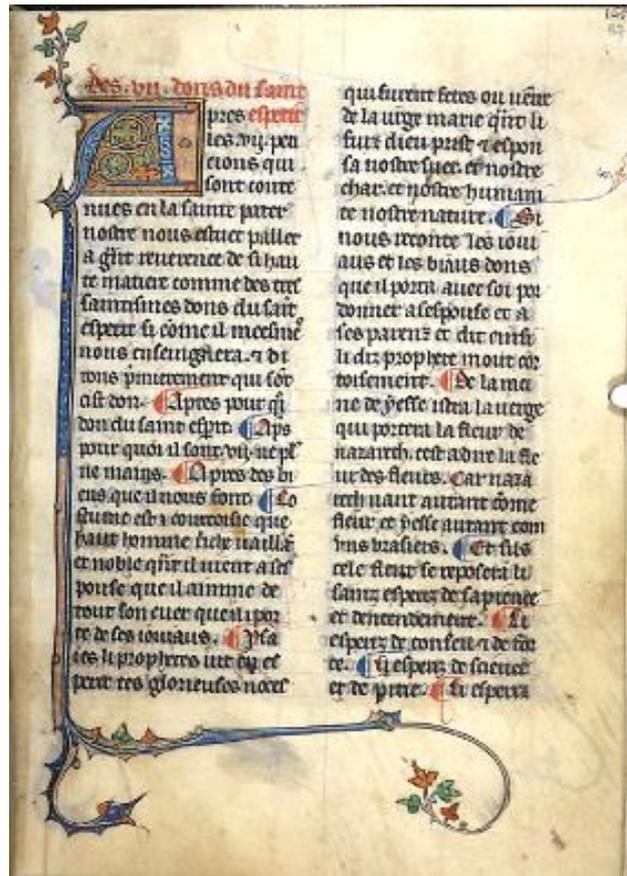


Figure 2.10: London, BL, Add MS 54180, fol. 87

<sup>107</sup> E. Millar, *An Illuminated Manuscript of La Somme Le Roy attributed to the Parisian Miniaturist Honoré* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1953), p. 23.

<sup>108</sup> Millar, p. 13.

<sup>109</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 79.

<sup>110</sup> Saints’ Lives translated into the vernacular by Matthew Paris are documented as circulating amongst members of the aristocracy, see Chapter 3, pp. 70-71 below.

<sup>111</sup> Rouse and Rouse, p. 145 and p. 364 n. 7.

This was surely the result of the book meeting demand: both demand for the specifically commissioned vernacular behavioural guidance it contained, which could be used by mendicant orders in their roles as teachers and confessors; but also, and perhaps even more significantly for its early life cycle, it seems to have met a demand for the wealthy to emulate the conspicuous consumption of the King. The late thirteenth-century copies range from the presentation copy (now lost), through copies for subsequent kings, to those made for female aristocracy.<sup>112</sup> Whether for personal use or as gifts to religious institutions each of these copies would have been individually commissioned and customised: for example the *Maubuisson* copy reflects the Abbey by



Figure 2.11: London, BL Yates Thompson MS 11, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>

depicting Cistercian nuns in illustrations for the accompanying text *Sainte Abbaie* (Figure 2.11).<sup>113</sup> The variation in details of a luxury, and relatively exclusive, thirteenth-century book such as *La Somme le Roi* leads to the question of how far thirteenth-century books in general were customised or adapted to meet different segments of the market. The variety of formats books began to take on in the thirteenth century is best demonstrated by a close study of the Bible, and how it was adapted to different market segments.

<sup>112</sup> For example, Paris Mazarine 870. See Rouse and Rouse, pp. 152-53.

<sup>113</sup> Rouse and Rouse, p. 156. Originally part of BL, Add. MS 28162, four treatises, including *Sainte Abbaie*, are now bound separately as BL, Yates Thompson MS 11.

### **Traditional Texts for New Markets: The Bible**

Scriptural texts had been used in different ways according to audience for several centuries, this was reflected in variety of forms. McGurk identified three broad categories of early Gospelbook based on the relationship between form and function: the Irish pocket Gospel, for preaching and portability; Anglo-Saxon copies of uncial codices for ecclesiastical use; and so-called ‘splendid volumes’ such as the Lindisfarne Gospels: rich in content and elaborate in execution.<sup>114</sup> In many cases these books would have been read aloud as part of the monastic devotional routine. Parkes asserts that until the twelfth century ‘books were written, copied, preserved and read mainly in monasteries’, and we deduce that the audience for these books was predominantly religious institutions, even when the books were commissioned by secular patrons.<sup>115</sup>

The many changes in society rehearsed in Chapter 1 contributed to a rise in demand for Bibles outside of religious institutions. A flourishing market developed, producing significant quantities such that today there are more extant thirteenth-century Bibles than almost any other contemporary artefact.<sup>116</sup> De Hamel observes that only buildings and coins remain in greater number, providing a tidy metaphor for two of the characteristics of thirteenth-century commerce which underpinned professional Bible-production: the development of urban centres where such business could be readily transacted, and the growing use of coin as the transactional currency of choice.<sup>117</sup> At the same time the Bible underwent a wholesale transformation in its organisation and presentation, a development which must have been closely related to market need for it

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<sup>114</sup> P. McGurk, *Latin Gospel Books from A.D. 400 to A.D. 800* (Paris: Erasmé, 1961), p. 11.

<sup>115</sup> Parkes, *Literacy*, p. 275.

<sup>116</sup> De Hamel, *The Book, A History of the Bible* (London: Phaidon Press, 2001), p. 114.

<sup>117</sup> See Chapter 1.

was clearly a commercial success and has scarcely changed in the subsequent eight centuries. De Hamel observes:

The hundred years between about 1170 and 1270 produced a form and a format for the Bible which transformed it more dramatically than any century since the invention of the codex, and the Bible creation of that time is still with us.<sup>118</sup>

The first change was the evolution in Paris of the eponymous Bible: a pandect with the books of the Bible organised into a standard sequence, with increasing standardisation of prologues. It is important to exercise caution with the term ‘Paris Bible’, which is often inaccurately interchanged with ‘Pocket Bible’ or loosely applied to any compact thirteenth-century pandect rather than to this organisation.<sup>119</sup> A number of tools began to be used to help navigate this vast quantity of material, with visual devices such as running titles at the top of the page and chapter numbers throughout.<sup>120</sup> These substantial volumes containing the complete Bible text, as well as Prologues and other supplementary material, required developments in the production of the book. Tissue-thin uterine vellum and tiny script, which may have evolved from the small Gothic employed for glosses in the twelfth century, made it possible to produce a volume of manageable size.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> De Hamel, *The Book*, p. 117.

<sup>119</sup> There are many discussions on the nature and development of the Paris Bible, including De Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 117-30; P. Kidd, ‘A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailes’, *EBLJ* (2007), p. 2, n. 7, available at <<http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2007/articles/article8.html>> [accessed 7 December 2014]; L. Light, ‘Non-Biblical Texts in Thirteenth-Century Bibles’ in *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* ed. by R. Rouse, M. Rouse, and C. Baswell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 169-83.

<sup>120</sup> See Chapter 4, ‘The Look of the Book’ for further discussion of the appearance of the Bible. It is noteworthy that the Book of Psalms, did not follow the rest of the Bible in adopting chapter divisions.

<sup>121</sup> Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W. 15, fol. 210. This Oxford-made glossed Gospelbook of c. 1200 shows the use of diminutive script for glossing in Oxford. The manuscript can be viewed online at <<http://thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W15/description.html>>.

The material and structural changes found in the Paris Bible did not require any significant technological breakthrough: they could have been introduced earlier in the history of Bible production had there been sufficient demand. It can reasonably be deduced that the arrival of the new format emanating from Paris coincided with the needs of the students in the growing university schools. Morgan notes a ‘rise in personal rather than corporate ownership of these books which seem almost all to have been for private study’.<sup>122</sup> The glossed Bible books which had formed the basis of study before the thirteenth century would have been beyond the pocket - and shelf space - of most students, and many masters. Light suggests that this new format therefore met a particular need in the universities where it must have been convenient for students and masters to have the books of scripture organised into logical groups.<sup>123</sup> Annotations and lists appended to a number of Bibles not written in this order show that readers provided their own reference material to enable them to follow the new sequence which was evidently becoming established.<sup>124</sup> However it would be erroneous to suggest the Paris format was universally adopted without variation: indeed none of the de Brailes Bibles produced in Oxford fully follow the Paris convention, notably in respect of the Prologues.<sup>125</sup>

Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13 is a de Brailes Bible with similarities to the Paris Bible. It is a compact book at 224 x 158mm, written in two columns of tight Gothic script. Running headers identify the contents, with some books having marginal chapter numbers but this is not consistent. The Book of Psalms - which lacks running titles - has each psalm numbered in the margin or interlinearly (Fig 2.12). The

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<sup>122</sup> Morgan, *EGM 1*, p. 22.

<sup>123</sup> Light, *Non-Biblical Texts*, p. 180; De Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 111-12 and 121-22.

<sup>124</sup> De Hamel, *The Book*, p.122, pl. 85 shows an example of an annotation in the English-made London, BL, Harley MS 1748.

<sup>125</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 189-90.

idiosyncratic treatment of Psalms was not uncommon in contemporary Bibles and will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

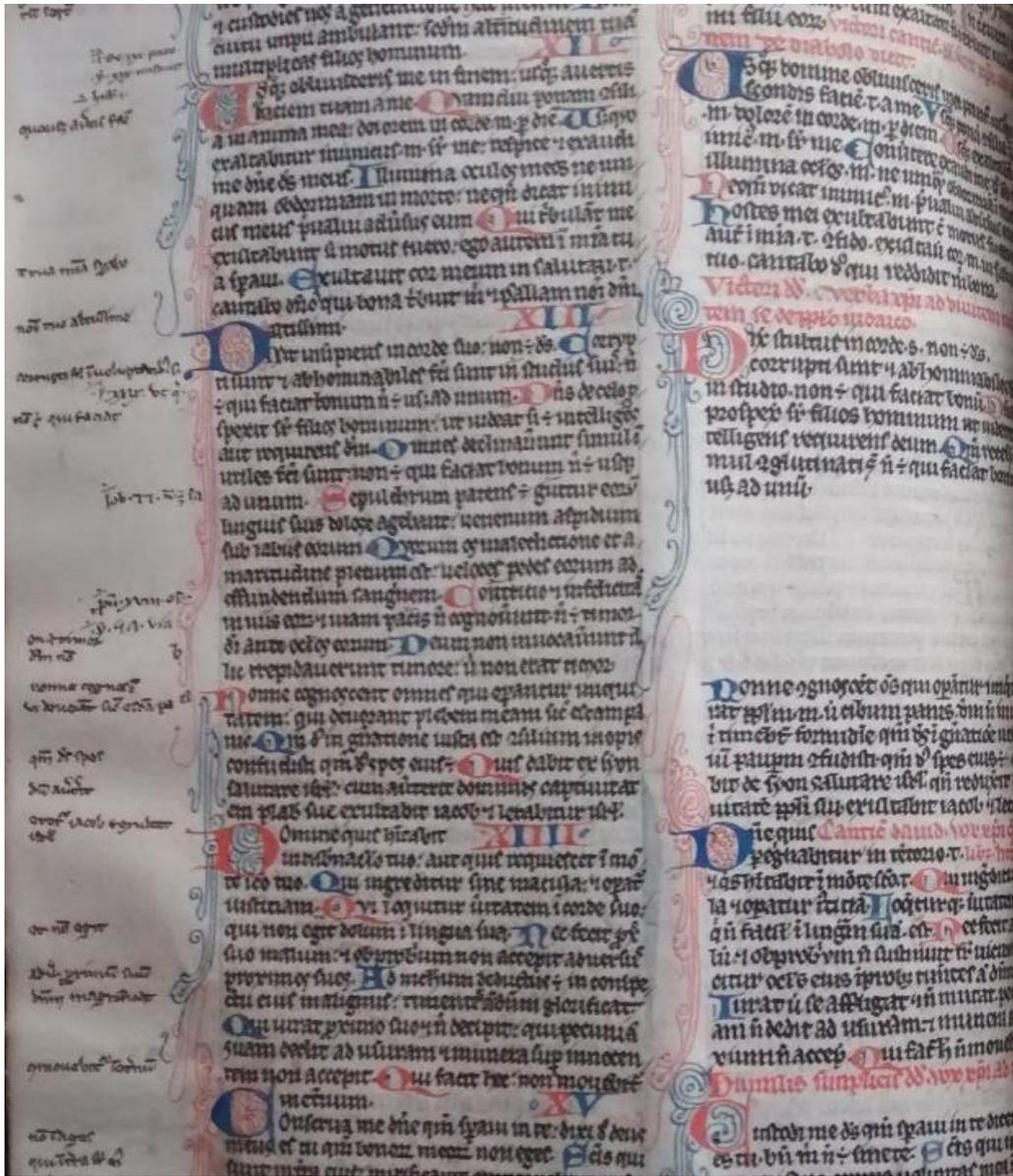


Figure 2.12: Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13, fol. 156<sup>v</sup>

This Bible’s decoration consists primarily of blue and red initials, many of which are puzzle initials. Each new Book is indicated by elaborate filigree penwork, and

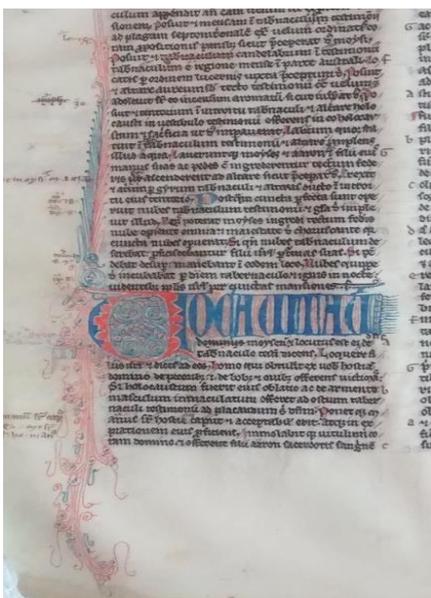


Figure 2.13: Oxford, Bod.,  
MS Laud lat. 13, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>



Figure 2.14: Oxford, Bod.,  
MS Laud lat. 13, fol. 304<sup>v</sup>

sometimes by display script incipits in which blue lettering sits on a red carpet trimmed with blue carpet knots (Figure 2.13).<sup>126</sup> Elaborate letters are also used to highlight particularly important liturgical content.

For example the *Pater Noster* is indicated by a puzzle initial *P*, which both encloses and is enclosed by red and blue penwork extending into the border for the full length of the text block (Figure 2.14). The

manuscript's decorative homogeneity is disrupted by

the illuminated display script for Jerome's prologue, which uses a wider range of colours

(Figure 2.15), and by exquisite illuminated vesicas

which narrate the Creation (Figure 2.16) as part of a decorative hierarchy typical of the time. It has been

suggested that these more highly-skilled and

expensive painted elements were completed by de

Brailes, or a close associate, with the remainder of the decoration executed by a skilled flourisher who

would have been cheaper in both time and material

cost. This would have made the purchase of a Bible more accessible to patrons on a tighter budget.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>126</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing*, suggests that the blue and red penwork incipits suggestive of a Turkish carpet originate in Bolognese manuscripts, pp. 122, 249-50.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, p. 244.



Figure 2.15: Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13, fol. 1

However even with this choice of style and price available, these Bibles would certainly have been beyond the pocket of most people. This manuscript was likely to have been intended as a study Bible, possible for a friar: it has many corrections and notes, including mnemonics, added in a contemporary or near-contemporary hand, some of which refer to Roger Bacon.<sup>128</sup> The presence of Gallican

and Hebraic Psalters may have allowed for comparative study of the two versions, or for use of the two as alternative liturgical forms by itinerant friars practising in areas of different tradition. Bennett's suggestion that Duplex Psalters were often an opportunity for decorative display is at odds with the decorative choices made elsewhere in this Bible and would seem to be an unnecessary extravagance if they were included solely for visual impact.<sup>129</sup> However it does show further divergence from the standard Gallican of the Paris Bible, suggesting a significant degree of variation existed in Oxford Bible production.<sup>130</sup>



Figure 2.16: Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13, fol. 3 (detail)

<sup>128</sup> For example fols ix<sup>v</sup>, x. See also H. Coxe, and R. Hunt, *Laudian Manuscripts*. (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1973), p. 537.

<sup>129</sup> See discussion in Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 196-97.

<sup>130</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing*, discusses textual variances in the de Brailles corpus (pp. 189-91) and the occurrences of Duplex Psalters pp. 196-200.

Variation in the work produced by de Brailes and his associates extends beyond the text to the type of decoration employed. Johnston identifies three categories which dominate de Brailes production, of which two styles are found only in Bibles.<sup>131</sup> The approach in Oxford, Bod., Laud lat. 13 described above, is typical of Johnston's 'Puzzle Initial' group.<sup>132</sup> The more elaborate *Fleuronnée* group is characterised by its multitude of historiated initials; by border decoration; and by a wider colour palette, each of which would have increased both the labour and material costs of the manuscript.<sup>133</sup> This group includes the smallest of the de Brailes Bibles, Oxford, Bod., MS Lat. bib. e. 7. At only 167 x 116mm it exemplifies the tendency of Bibles after 1230 to become ever smaller to satisfy the portability requirements of the increasing number of friars.<sup>134</sup> The inclusion of masses for St Dominic suggest this manuscript was made for a Dominican friar who would have been prohibited from owning the book personally, but would have had lifetime use of it from his Order.<sup>135</sup> He no doubt took pleasure from the decoration,



Figure 2.17: Oxford, Bod.,  
MS Lat. bibl. e. 7, fol. 176<sup>v</sup>



Figure 2.18: Oxford, Bod., MS Lat.  
bibl. e. 7, fol. 168<sup>v</sup>

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 207-09, 244-51.

<sup>132</sup> This group also includes Perth MS 462; Oxford, Christ Church, MS 105; and York Cathedral, MS XVI. N. 6.

<sup>133</sup> This group includes Oxford, Bod., Lat. bib. e. 7; London, BL Harley MS 2813; London, Gray's Inn MS 24; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 350/567 and Philadelphia, FLP, MS Lewis E 29.

<sup>134</sup> De Hamel, *The Book*, pp. 130-36; P. Kidd, *Franciscan Bible*, p. 6.

<sup>135</sup> Parkes, *Provision*, pp. 432-34.

some of which was clearly linked to the text, for example King David in the Psalms (Figure 2.17); other scenes served a didactic or devotional purpose such as Satan and God discussing Job (Figure 2.18); whilst there are also instances of the artist taking a more playful approach to decoration, notably in dragon-infested borders (Figure 2.19).



Figure 2.19: Oxford, Bod., MS Lat. bibl. e. 7, fol. 380

The range of presentations of the Bible available from the hand of de Brailles and his close associates indicates that there was a degree of choice available to the patron-client. The inclusion of additional material, such as Missals, provided the opportunity for customisation of the content; whilst the decorative complexity varied for each commission.<sup>136</sup> According to Pollard, the de Brailles works ‘are not the sort of manuscripts made for the service of rich abbeys or the use of poor scholars’, they met a market between these two.<sup>137</sup> The content, size, and presentation of these Bibles suggest that most, if not all, of them were likely to be for friars who, despite their vows of poverty, clearly embraced decoration, perhaps not just for its practical purposes but also

<sup>136</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>137</sup> G. Pollard, ‘William de Brailles’ (sic) in *Bodleian Library Record*, 4 (1955), 202-09 (p. 206)

to mark the significance of books to their ministry. Humbert of Romans described books as the ‘arms with which we defend ourselves and fight against our enemies’.<sup>138</sup> They were better equipped to carry out their calling as preachers with a well-designed Bible; just as their role as confessors to the laity was supported by the content of the Book of Hours discussed above.

It would be misleading to imply that all thirteenth-century Bibles were of the compact type to support study or preaching. Larger volumes continued to be produced for the more traditional market. In the middle of the century a set of Bibles linked to Oxford was made in several volumes, each 455 x 290mm, perhaps for a convent in



Figure 2.20: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D i, fol. 167<sup>v</sup>

London.<sup>139</sup> The Oxford workshop of William of Devon, active in the third quarter of the century, produced mid-size Bibles including his eponymous Bible which, at 315 x 205mm is close to A4 in size and is decorated with colourful historiated initials and bar borders (Figure 2.20). The workshop’s even larger-scale *Lumley Bible* (395 x 270 mm) features puzzle initials with intricate pen flourishing (Figure 2.21). This is reminiscent of the variety of styles

<sup>138</sup> Humbert of Romans, cited in K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars 1215-1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1964), p. 18. See also M. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 300-01.

<sup>139</sup> BL, Royal MSS 3 E i-v and viii. See Chapter 3, pp. 88-90 below.

available from the de Brailes workshop and suggests that both workshops were able to supply a range of Bibles to suit the requirements of different customers in this increasingly sophisticated and diverse market.<sup>140</sup>



Figure 2.22: London, BL,  
Royal MS 1 E ii, fol. 147<sup>v</sup>

## The University

The University's role in the development of the professional book trade in Paris is well-documented and has been subject to much academic discussion, most notably by Richard and Mary Rouse.<sup>141</sup> By contrast, scholarship to date has not fully resolved the question of how far Oxford's early professional book production benefitted from commercial opportunities offered by the University. However, the evidence discussed

<sup>140</sup> BL Royal 1 D i (*The William of Devon Bible*) and BL Royal 1 E ii (*The Lumley Bible*).

<sup>141</sup> See note 3.

above shows how social factors particularly urbanisation, literacy, and secular learning were integral to both the University and to commercial trade. It would be anachronistic to suggest that the presence of undergraduates would necessarily create a commercial market for text books, and even less so for the religious texts which form the scope of this study. Undergraduates in the Arts were not required to have any books, although subsequent study in the higher schools of medicine, theology, and law did prescribe certain texts.<sup>142</sup> De Hamel even questions whether students would have used the pandects which emerged in Paris, as they lacked both the glosses which were key to study, and sufficient margin for thorough annotation.<sup>143</sup> Those students who desired or required their own texts could copy them, as was the case for the brothers Emo and Addo who wrote and glossed their own copies of legal texts in late twelfth-century Oxford.<sup>144</sup> There is lack of consensus on whether Oxford developed a formal *pecia* system from which students copied, similar to that operating in Paris. The book copying processes authorised by the University of Paris are well-documented, however similar procedures are not reliably found for Oxford in this period, and this paucity of evidence suggests that there was not a comparable formal *pecia* system.<sup>145</sup>

We might assume that students would generally make their own copies rather than having a copy made at greater cost. However medieval university scholarship was a new venture and only scholars with sufficient means to pay fees and maintenance for in excess of five years could afford the education. Having a book made would not have been beyond the means of the wealthier students, particularly with the apparent

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<sup>142</sup> Parkes, *Provision*, p. 407.

<sup>143</sup> De Hamel, *The Book*, p. 136.

<sup>144</sup> Parkes, *Provision*, p. 424.

<sup>145</sup> Destrez, *La Pecia dans les Manuscrits Universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Jacques Vautrain, 1935) ; Rouse and Rouse, pp. 77, 85-87. For the use of *pecia* in Oxford see G. Pollard 'The *Pecia* System in the Medieval Universities' in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. by M. Parkes, A. Watson and N. Ker (London: Scolar Press, 1978), pp. 146-61; and M. Parkes convincing scepticism in *Provision*, pp. 462-70.

availability of a range of finishes at different prices. An anecdote recounted by Odofredo of Bologna (d.1265) tells of a student offered one hundred pounds a year to study at either Bologna or Paris University. The student chose Paris and proceeded to squander his allowance on manuscripts which were ‘*babuinare de literis aureis*’, literally ‘monkeyed-up with golden letters’.<sup>146</sup> This student was no ‘poor scholar’.



Figure 2.22: Vatican, BAV MS 58, fol. 115

Whilst this tale relates to Paris, where the trade was significantly more developed than in Oxford, there may have been some university texts decorated in Oxford in comparably lavish terms. In 1995 Camille described a heavily annotated and glossed *Aristotle* in the Vatican Library and attributed three of its decorated initials to the early work of de Brailles.<sup>147</sup> These initials featured in three texts on logic which formed part of the *trivium* of the medieval undergraduate arts curriculum. The style of these decorations is closely related to the *fleuronnée* group of Bibles described by Johnston.<sup>148</sup> The historian in all three of the initials acknowledges the university context by depicting teaching scenes (Figure

<sup>146</sup> De Hamel, *A History*, p.108. I have used De Hamel’s inspired translation of *babuinare*. See also Chapter 5.

<sup>147</sup> Vatican, BAV, MS Borghesiana 58. See M. Camille, ‘An Oxford University Textbook Illuminated by William de Brailles’, *The Burlington Magazine*, 137 (1995), 291-99.

<sup>148</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 237-44.

2.23). There was evidently a demand for high quality, richly-decorated university texts, although extant works suggest that this constituted a relatively minor market for Oxford illuminators. University books were possibly more significant in influencing stylistic trends. Johnston argues that de Brailes adopted the tradition of elaborate penwork decoration found in Bologna University's legal books and introduced this into his range of luxury religious manuscripts. Of the *Stockholm Psalter*, Johnston writes:

[T]he elevation of *jeux de plume*, most often previously associated with academic texts and originating from the work of Bolognese scribes, to the level of the highest form of textual embellishment. Here, this originally humble form of textual decoration is used to illuminate the Holy Scripture.<sup>149</sup>

In the more mature manuscript market of late thirteenth-century Paris, Maître Honoré, the artist of the luxurious *La Somme Le Roi* discussed above, produced an elaborate copy of Gratian's *Decretals*, as well as contributing to other copies through his *atelier*.<sup>150</sup> The *Decretals* was a scholarly work fundamental to the study and implementation of canon law, however Honoré's treatment of *mise-en-page* and decoration transformed this copy of the work into a visual feast reminiscent of Bibles than text books. Honoré's *Decretals* is elegantly-fashioned with historiated and illuminated miniatures, decorated initials, and full borders trimmed with flora and fauna to separate the main text from the gloss (Figure 2.23). The folios lack the margins necessary for scholarly annotation, as such it represents a high-end copy for reference and display rather than for practical purposes, and was purchased from Honoré in 1288 for the sum of forty Parisian *livres*.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid, p.229. For a full discussion of the 'Italianate' group of manuscripts, see pp. 214-36.

<sup>150</sup> C. Nordenfalk, 'Maître Honoré and Maître Pucelle', *Apollo* 79 (1964), 356-64 (p. 357).

<sup>151</sup> E. Kosmer, 'Master Honoré: A Reconsideration of the Documents', *Gesta* 14 (1975), 63-68 (p. 63).



Figure 2.23: Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 588, fol. 1

This example demonstrates that the spectrum of market segments for study texts, ranging from a students' handwritten *pecia* copy to the work decorated by the King's artist, was increasingly diverse. University texts were evidently available to fit the pocket of the purchaser. The spread of decorative techniques which originated in these books across both geographical space and market sectors, as demonstrated by de Brailles work, attests to their significance and to the importance of university centres for disseminating stylistic concepts. Nevertheless the role of the university in Oxford on commercial demand remains difficult to determine and warrants further study.

## Conclusion

Books of Hours gained popular appeal and ultimately a significant market share at the height of their long life cycle before decline was hastened by the Reformation. In terms of the Socio-Economic Framework (Figure 1.1), the Book of Hours had a relevance which led to sufficient popularity to ensure almost constant renewal of the product cycle from its early days, assuring its longevity. The conjunction of socio-religious factors (lay piety, growing literacy, social mobility of gentry, and urban growth) with economic factors (cash transactions, mobile labour) provided a fertile ground into which scribes and illuminators could extend this product range. Other books addressed more specific concerns which were limited spatially or temporally, such as the Apocalypses which rose and declined in popularity and circulation within a short timeframe serving a niche market of very wealthy aristocratic patrons.

The importance of the Bible to the commercial marketplace in Oxford dates from at least the time of the Alexander workshop (active c. 1215-25), and continued throughout the century. Branner identifies a dozen Bibles from the Alexander group, Johnston identifies ten of the sixteen extant de Brailes' manuscripts as Bibles, and five of the nine William of Devon books, which indicates that over half of the books made were Bibles.<sup>152</sup> The Bible underwent dramatic change over the course of the century, driven by the needs of scholars and preachers. What is particularly striking is the shift in the range of non-biblical books made as production became professionalised and responded to nascent market diversification and secularisation. The Alexander group complemented its Bible production with glossed books, a Missal, a Lectionary for

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<sup>152</sup> R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A study of Styles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 201-03; Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 177-78, 188. I have used Johnston's summary of attributions of the de Brailes corpus in suggesting sixteen. The William of Devon workshop has been tentatively linked to Oxford, see Morgan, *EGM 2*, pp. 22, 152-62.

monastic use, and a Psalter, all of which indicate work for the traditional clerical-monastic market.<sup>153</sup> By the time de Brailes and his workshop were operating in the mid-century, the complementary works included three luxury Psalters, one Book of Hours, one Lives of Saints and one University text.<sup>154</sup> The slightly later William of Devon group added two Psalters, a Book of Hours, and a commentary on Matthew to its Bible production. This admittedly small sample indicates that the widest spectrum of the thirteenth-century secular market had a core demand for pandect Bibles formatted for functionality and flexibility. Alongside this an elite market looked for luxury texts, which were often influenced by contemporary fashions and concerns. The most enduring text to originate in this period, the Book of Hours, addressed a new devotional context driven from Rome. The following chapter will study how monastic and professional book makers responded to this evolving secular market.

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<sup>153</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing*, p. 179

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid*, p. 188. I have included the London, BL, Add MS 49999 as a Book of Hours, however Kidd has suggested it may have originally been intended as a Psalter-Hours, see above n. 21. In either case my conclusion stands.

### Chapter 3: Book Production

This chapter considers how the production stage of bookmaking was organised in the thirteenth century. It begins with an examination of monastic book production through a brief study of Reading Abbey and the more well-known but less typical work of Matthew Paris (c. 1200-1259) at St Albans. It will then explore the how the new mendicant orders influenced and participated in the book trade, and finally it will consider commercially-produced work particularly from the de Brailes workshop in Oxford, with reference to the more mature professional book trade of Paris. Morgan asserts that our understanding of book production in thirteenth-century England remains scant, with documentary sources sparse.<sup>155</sup> Nonetheless there is a range of evidence available for Oxford this includes civic and legal records as well as manuscript books; Reading Abbey provides an exceptional library catalogue for the start of the century; the text within much of St Albans' work of the period incorporates contemporary narrative concerning the Abbey and the wider socio-political context; and from Paris a number of administrative documents supplement the evidence in books.

#### Monastic Book Production

Monasteries had been key centres of devotional, economic, political, intellectual, and social activity throughout the Middle Ages. Their quasi monopoly on education and literacy alongside the need for liturgical books ensured that book production was centred in monastic scriptoria until the late Middle Ages.<sup>156</sup> Monasteries were instrumental in the entire book production life cycle described in the socio-economic contextual framework: they selected texts, which they sometimes authored; they copied material for use both in-house and for dissemination through their Order's network of

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<sup>155</sup> N. Morgan, *EGM 2*, p. 14.

<sup>156</sup> See Chapter 1.

institutions; they encouraged ongoing study thereby ensuring the survival of the text.<sup>157</sup> English monastic scriptoria arguably had reached their zenith in the twelfth century, by which time there is already evidence of scribal and artistic functions also being carried out by professional workers, with the best evidence for commercial workshops coming from Paris.

The central role of monasteries in book production was rooted in the routine established by the rule of St Benedict, which structured the day around community activities of worship at the divine offices; manual labour; and *lectio divina*. Evidence suggests that most texts before our period came from monastic scriptoria.<sup>158</sup> By 1200 Reading Abbey had a collection of almost three hundred books in its own library as well as that of the daughter house, Leominster Priory, which are documented in *The Fingall Cartulary* (Figure 3.1).<sup>159</sup> The books were listed at the front of the compilation, after the relics, which suggests their significance to the monastery. Two blank folios between the

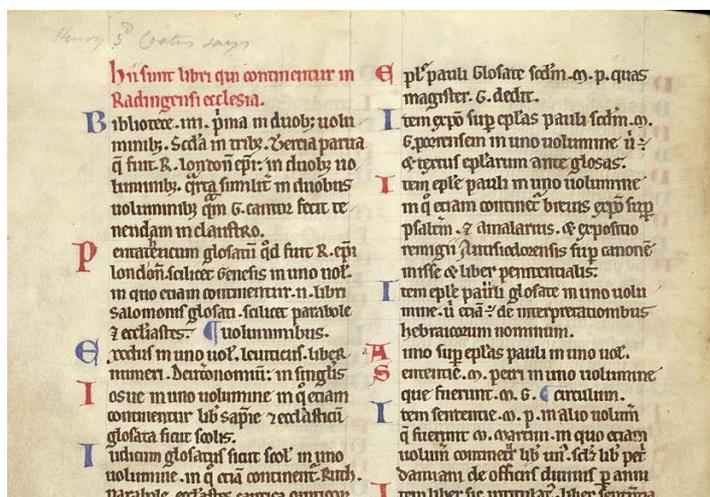


Figure 3.1: London, BL, Egerton MS 3031, fol. 8<sup>v</sup>

<sup>157</sup> See above, Figure 1.1.

<sup>158</sup> C. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), pp. 111-14.

<sup>159</sup> BL, Egerton MS 3031. A. Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 25-36 provides a transcription of the list. See also de Hamel, *History*, pp. 77-85.

list for Reading Abbey and the list for Leominster implies an expectation that further books would be added to the collection. The library contained multi-volume Bibles; glossed books of the Bible; patristic texts, including several volumes of Augustine's works; historical works; and liturgical books. There were also a number of books which appear to have been study texts. Four of the volumes are specifically described as 'utilis' or 'magne utilitatis', these contain biblical history excerpts; quotations from the church fathers; an excerpt from Lombard's *Sentences* and a book of saints' lives.<sup>160</sup> It is noteworthy that they are all summaries or collections, which is indicative of the type of material which would be popular in the thirteenth century.

Reading was not a wealthy abbey, although it did enjoy royal favour: several times King Henry III and later Edward I intervened to request subsidies or extended credit terms for the abbey.<sup>161</sup> Nevertheless, over the course of the thirteenth century further items were added to the library. Some books were gifts, such as those donated by Ralf of Whitchurch, others were copied in-house.<sup>162</sup> Folio 9<sup>v</sup> of the Fingall list mentions a *Liber Oddonis abbatis in uno uolumine*, this volume was later annotated by brother William of Wicumbe c. 1245.<sup>163</sup> Brother William's note provides a list of works he copied or corrected over a four year period, which included liturgical books, patristic texts and, more unusually, treatises on music. In some cases monks were therefore still copying books well into the thirteenth century, however this was possibly not routine, for the tone of William's note implies disgruntlement with his task which Coates equates with the copying being a form of penance.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> De Hamel, *History*, p. 80

<sup>161</sup> Coates, pp. 13-14.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20.

<sup>163</sup> This volume is now Oxford, Bod., MS Bodl. 125, the annotations are on fols 98<sup>v</sup>-99. See Coates, pp. 61-2 for dating.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 61-3.

The experience of William of Wicumbe probably comes close to Lewis's description of a St Alban's 'historian work[ing] in relative seclusion in separate, smaller quarters', however the situation at St Albans was in reality far from isolated, and very different to that at Reading.<sup>165</sup> Located on the main road north from London, St Alban's Abbey frequently provided hospitality to nobles, papal visitors, and - on several occasions - the King.<sup>166</sup> Matthew Paris took unique advantage of the Abbey's influential connections for contemporary material to inform his work, whilst his interaction with the secular world was probably unparalleled in any other monastic scriptorium of the period. It is likely that he attended the translation of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury in 1220; the wedding of Henry III and Eleanor at Westminster in 1236; and he is known to have met Henry III several times.<sup>167</sup> Matthew met Robert Grosseteste in 1247, and borrowed from him an exemplar of his translation of the *Testamenta Duodecim patriarcharum*, and *Suidas De Probatione Virginitatis Beate Marie* to copy.<sup>168</sup> His contacts extended beyond the realm: having previously undertaken negotiations with the monastery of St Benet Holm at the request of King Haakon of Norway, he was sent to the Norwegian monastery by papal mandate in 1248, to oversee its reform.<sup>169</sup> Such contacts expanded Matthew's access to texts as well as to contemporary material which informed the texts, maps, charts, grids, and diagrams he wrote as well as the histories and chronicles for which he is well-known.

Medieval histories of England wove the threads of scriptural, spiritual, political, and temporal concerns together into a fabric of narrative which began with the Creation, as recorded in Genesis, and continued to contemporary events. Their significance at St

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<sup>165</sup> Lewis, *Art*, p. 8.

<sup>166</sup> Vaughn, *Illustrated Chronicles*, p. x.

<sup>167</sup> Lewis, *Art*, p. 8. Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 12-18, provides an extensive list of the Abbey's visitors and known contacts.

<sup>168</sup> London, BL, MS Royal 4 D vii, fols 233-49.

<sup>169</sup> Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 4-7 summarises the Norway visit and Matthew's accounts of it.

Albans reflected the Abbey's links with the royal court and may have built upon a tradition of recording saints' lives.<sup>170</sup> Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) produced his *Flores Historiarum* in the 1220s-1230s, collating sources including Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury and Aelred of Rievaulx.<sup>171</sup> The latter part of Roger's *Flores*, covering the period from 1202 onwards, seems to be his own composition, suggesting a monastic authorship tradition at St Albans which would continue under Matthew Paris and William Rishanger (c. 1250-after 1312).<sup>172</sup>

Matthew Paris is a rare example of a thirteenth-century monastic scribe whose name is well-known, in no small part due to the self-portrait in his *Historia Anglorum* which shows him kneeling in the *bas-de-page* beneath the Madonna and Child accompanied by the rubric '*Frat[er] Mathias Parisiensis*' (Figure 3.2).<sup>173</sup> This image, in Matthew's signature colour-washed ink, places him in a position of supplication to the Madonna and Child. The



Figure 3.2: London, BL, Royal MS 14 C vii, fol. 6

<sup>170</sup> Lewis, *Art*, p. 7.

<sup>171</sup> No autograph version of Roger's *Flores* remains, the earliest copy is c. 1300 (Oxford, Bod., MS Douce 207); see catalogue entry in M. Falconer et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 7 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press (1895-1953), iv (1897). For Roger's *Flores Historiarum* see R. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey, 1066-1235* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1982), pp. 74-5.

<sup>172</sup> Thompson, *Manuscripts*, p. 2, and Sharpe, R., *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London: British Library in association with the British Academy, 1996), p. 541.

<sup>173</sup> London, BL, MS Royal 14 C vii, fols 6 and 218<sup>v</sup>.

composition recalls the type of supplicant self-portrait attributed to St Dunstan in the tenth century (Figure 3.3). Despite Matthew's kneeling position, which might suggest the intercession of a humble monk, when compared to St Dunstan's portrait Matthew displays a greater self-awareness in his central positioning and his upturned face; whether this is to elicit prayer, to ensure recognition for his work, or to solicit the admiration of society can only be conjectured.



Figure 3.3: Oxford, Bod., MS. Auct. F. 4. 32, fol. 1

It is likely that Matthew's scribal and historiographical training took place under Roger of Wendover.<sup>174</sup> Matthew followed Roger's strategy of copying, editing, and adding to existing histories in his own work; the most comprehensive of which is the *Chronica Maiora* in three volumes.<sup>175</sup> The textual material for the earliest years is taken from Roger's *Flores Historiarum*, which Matthew both amended and supplemented. It is evident from the nature of some insertions that they were added after the initial copying was completed, or at least late in the copying process. For example, in the earliest volume of the *Chronica* there are three folios which are smaller in size than the rest of the quire, and were evidently inserted after this part of the work was written. A

<sup>174</sup> Corner, D., 'Wendover, Roger of (d. 1236)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/29040>> [accessed 11 April 2015].

<sup>175</sup> Cambridge, CCC, MS 26 covers Creation-1188; Cambridge, CCC MS 16ii covers 1189-1253; and BL Royal MS 14 C vii (fols 157-231) covers 1254-72 (the years from Matthew's death in 1259 are added in a later hand).

marginal note ‘*Hora hic de Sibillis*’ on folio 7<sup>v</sup> directs the reader to the added text on folio 8 which is cross-referenced (Figure 3.4).<sup>176</sup> This provides an early indication of Matthew’s predilection for editing, revising, and supplementing both his own work and that of others.

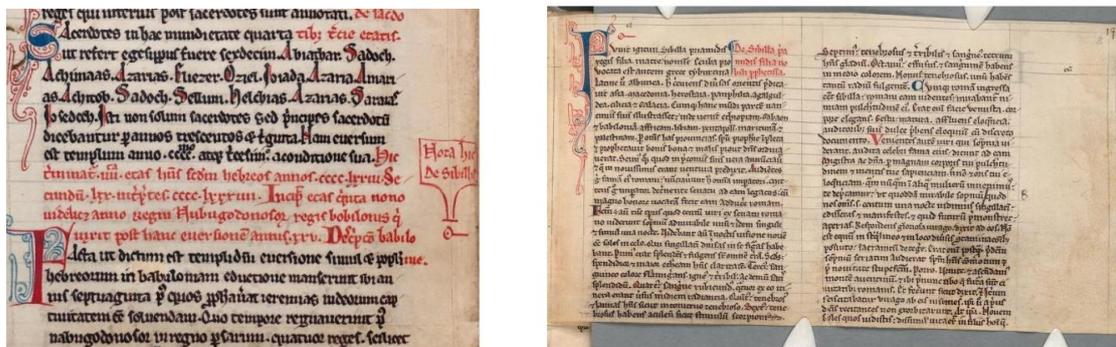


Figure 3.4: Cambridge, CCC, MS 26, fols 7<sup>v</sup> - 8

The opportunity for professional scribes and illuminators to make later amendments in this way would have been rare once the book had been completed and delivered to its patron. For Matthew Paris it seems to have been a commonplace activity. The marginal drawings of the *Chronica*, through which Matthew explored and developed visual narrative as an adjunct to the text, demonstrate this as can be seen by comparing two battle scenes. In the earlier volume, the battle between Saladin and Guido Rex is contained in the margin beneath the text, with rubrication squeezed around the protagonists (Figure 3.5). A more unified approach is evident in *The Flight of the French* (Figure 3.6), in which the image is accommodated into the text by adjusting line length and position, thereby creating an integrated visual experience. This must have been conceived in the planning of the *mise-en-page* and demonstrates the potential for coherence when a single craftsman acts as author, scribe, and artist.

<sup>176</sup> Cambridge, CCC, MS 26 folios 7<sup>v</sup>-10.



Figure 3.5: Cambridge, CCC, MS 26, fol. 140



Figure 3.6: Cambridge, CCC, MS 16, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>

Matthew drew inspiration for his illustrations from a number of artistic and architectural sources including the wide range of aesthetic works at St Albans by Walter of Colchester, whom Matthew praised highly: '*cui in artificiis quamplurimis comparem non meminimus praevidisse, vel aliquem credimus affuturum*'.<sup>177</sup> He was also influenced by work in other manuscripts, examples of which suggest he was not restricted to works in the Abbey library, neither was he working alone.

<sup>177</sup> T. Walsingham, M. Paris, and H. Riley. *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani: A Thoma Walsingham, Regnante Ricardo Secundo, Ejusdem Ecclesiae Praeceptore, Compilata*. 3 vols (London: Longmans, 1867), I, p. 280. Lewis, *Art*, p. 423.

A nativity scene in the *Chronica* is drawn in Matthew's signature pen outline and colour washed in green and earth tones (Figure 3.7).<sup>178</sup> In another St Albans manuscript of the 1250s a similar composition occurs which is executed with less finesse than the *Chronica* version, suggesting a second artist working to a similar design (Figure 3.8). Both resemble the composition of a nativity scene found in an earlier thirteenth-century Psalter (Figure 3.9).<sup>179</sup> Each of these illustrations features the Virgin reclining on a bed in the foreground, her baby in a manger watched by the ox and the ass. The Psalter, which uses a very different colour palette, and a more painterly style than the colour-washed work of St Albans, was probably made in Oxford. Nevertheless Matthew had quite possibly seen it or certainly knew of it, for the Psalter has an added folio of a prayer to



Figure 3.7: Cambridge, CCC, MS 26, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>



Figure 3.8: London, BL, Royal MS 2 B vi, fol. 8



Figure 3.9: London, BL, Arundel MS 157, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>

<sup>178</sup> Cambridge, CCC 26, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>. Lewis *Art* pp. 104-06, makes interesting observations on this image, proposing a late date which she links to the period of Matthew's increasing eschatological interest, and suggesting it was completed by a second artist.

<sup>179</sup> London, BL, MS Arundel 157, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>. On origin and attribution see Online Catalogue Entry available at <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?CollID=20&MSID=8762&NStart=157> [accessed 10 March 2015].

St Veronica with an accompanying miniature which is generally attributed to his hand (Figure 3.10).<sup>180</sup> Lewis suggests that it may have been given by Matthew to a friend or acquaintance for inclusion in this Psalter.<sup>181</sup> This richly-executed *Veronica* is stylistically close to one of three coloured drawings in the *Chronica* (Figure 3.11). Taken together these images suggest a practice of using models or compositional types at St Albans, which is further implied by the similarities between the sketch of the Madonna and Child on this folio and the miniature in which Matthew kneels before them (Figure 3.2).

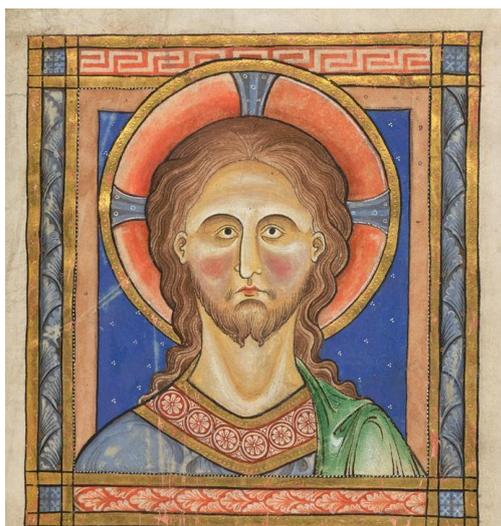


Figure 3.10: London, BL, Arundel MS 157, fol. 2



Figure 3.11: Cambridge, CCC, MS 26, fol. vii

Matthew Paris evidently had others working in proximity to him, perhaps making use of shared models or exemplars, yet he appears to have taken a single-handed approach to much of his work, executing all stages of production from authorship to illustration,

<sup>180</sup> London, BL, MS Arundel 157,

<sup>181</sup> Lewis, *Art*, pp. 127-29, 420.

rather than overseeing others in specialist tasks.<sup>182</sup> A long history of scholarly debate over the attribution of St Albans work has not definitively ruled out a workshop-style process resembling the secular rather than the traditional monastic practice. James suggests that many illustrations were completed by assistants, however Vaughn and Morgan suggest more convincingly that a wide corpus of work is by Matthew's own hand.<sup>183</sup>

Matthew explored different formats for his historical work, echoing the secular book trade's development of new formats for the Bible. He edited and adapted the *Chronica* to produce his own *Flores Historiarum*; the *Historia Anglorum*; and the

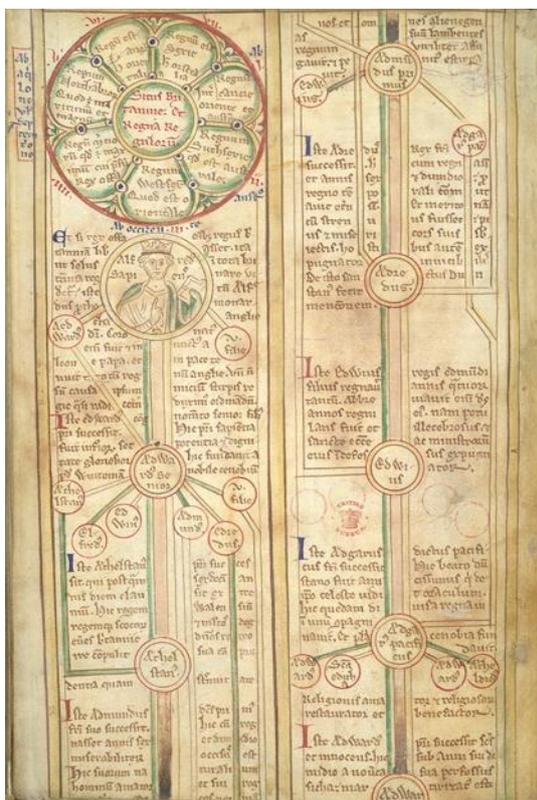


Figure 3.12: London, BL, Cotton MS Claudius D vi, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>

*Abbreviatio Chronicorum*.<sup>184</sup> The *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* is greatly condensed from the *Chronica*, both in terms of the period covered and the amount of material included for each year. It includes a summary of the history of England presented schematically in a form similar to established genealogies (Figure 3.12), whilst the greater part of the book is narrative without any illustration. The volume is prefaced by a series of royal portraits, of similar composition to those in the *Chronica*, but

<sup>182</sup> Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, p. 226-27. Lewis, *Art*, pp. 16-20 for a summary of the attribution debate.

<sup>183</sup> M. James, 'The Drawings of Matthew Paris', *Walpole Society Journal* 14 (1925-1926); Vaughn *Matthew Paris*, pp. 211-14; and Morgan, *EGM 1*, p. 138.

<sup>184</sup> London, BL, Royal MS 14 C vii, fols 8<sup>v</sup>-156<sup>v</sup> (*Historia Anglorum*); London, BL, Cotton MS Claudius D vi (*Abbreviatio Chronicorum*); Manchester, Chetham Library, MS 3712 (*Flores Historiarum*). See Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 35-41 on authorship.

unfinished and less carefully coloured, suggesting a different hand was following Matthew's design.<sup>185</sup> It is not clear what purpose this abridged history served other than to enable Matthew to explore ways of condensing the *Chronica* to manageable size.<sup>186</sup> Perhaps the *Chronica* was the Abbey's master copy but simply became too unwieldy for quick reference. Vaughn argues that c. 1250 Matthew removed a collection of supplementary documents from the *Chronica* to create the separate *Liber Additamentorum*, establishing a collection of material cross-referenced in other works.<sup>187</sup> In order for cross-referencing to operate effectively the associated volumes must have been intended to remain together as part of an extensive institutional library.

Matthew Paris was perhaps unusual in being a monk who maintained many aristocratic contacts, his experience of the court must have made him aware of the importance of family symbolism. He embraced the potential of heraldry in his manuscripts, making and labelling a compilation of heraldic arms which probably served as a reference document.<sup>188</sup> Secular artists usually employed such devices to denote patronage or ownership of a manuscript, however in Matthew's work they provide iconographical indicators of the people or institutions featured in that section of the chronicle. For example, a crowned shield of Harold designates the beginning of his short reign, whilst his demise is marked by inverting both shield and crown and placing them alongside the new King William's arms (Figure 3.13). In this way Matthew integrated contemporary forms of social symbolism into an established historical genre, thereby developing new iconographical functions for heraldic arms.

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<sup>185</sup> Lewis, *Art*, pp. 145-58. Lewis attributes the differences to their unfinished state and the possibility that they were a working draft. However differences in facial details suggest the likelihood of a different hand. See also n. 182 above.

<sup>186</sup> Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, p. 114.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-77. See also H. Luard, *Chronica Majora: Additamenta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1882, Digital version 2012), p. viii.

<sup>188</sup> London, BL, MS Cotton Nero D i, fols 171– 171<sup>v</sup>.



Figure 3.13: Cambridge, CCC, MS 16, fol. 87<sup>v</sup>

Matthew's aristocratic contacts may have provided him with material for his chronicle, but he could reciprocate by providing for their growing literary demands. He translated *La Vie de Seint Aubin*, and *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* from Latin into Anglo-Norman French, making the text accessible to vernacular-literate readers.<sup>189</sup> The illustrative programme he employed was designed to assist the reader's journey through the dramatic narrative, with miniatures often split into several scenes to suggest fast paced action (Figure 3.14). The use of the vernacular text and the style of the illustrations resemble those beginning to be used in secular romances, such as *La Chanson d'Aspremont*, and imply that Matthew was aware of contemporary tastes, which featured in some of his work.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>189</sup> Dublin, Trinity College, MS E i 40 (*La Vie de Seint Auban*), Morgan, *EGM 1*, pp. 130-33; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee. 3. 59. (*La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*), Morgan, *EGM 2*, pp. 94-98. See M. James, *La Histoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1920) where James suggests that the Cambridge manuscript was supervised but not executed by Matthew Paris (p. 17).

<sup>190</sup> See for example London, BL, Lansdowne MS 782. See Chapter 4 for discussion of similar *mise-en-page* in Apocalypse books.



Figure 3.14: Cambridge University Library, MS Ee. 3. 59, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>

Matthew certainly grasped the literary preferences of his patrons, and was instrumental in circulating appropriate works to a female readership in the highest echelons of society. In a note on a flyleaf of the manuscript *La Vie de Seint Auban*, Matthew wrote a note to ‘G’:

Mittatis si placet ad dominam comitissam harundell’ Isabellam vt mittat vobis librum de sancto thoma martire et sancto [ed]wardo quem transuli et protraxi que[m]que po]terit domina comitissa cornub[ie retinere] usque ad pentecosten.<sup>191</sup>

Whether this book was circulating as an exemplar for copying or as a completed text for the countesses to read is not clear, however it demonstrates both a demand for saints’ lives among aristocratic female readers, and the role of Matthew Paris in providing material for this audience. Matthew was unconstrained by the commercial necessities which confronted professional scribes, he was therefore able to pursue some

<sup>191</sup> James, *Histoire*, pp. 20-21.

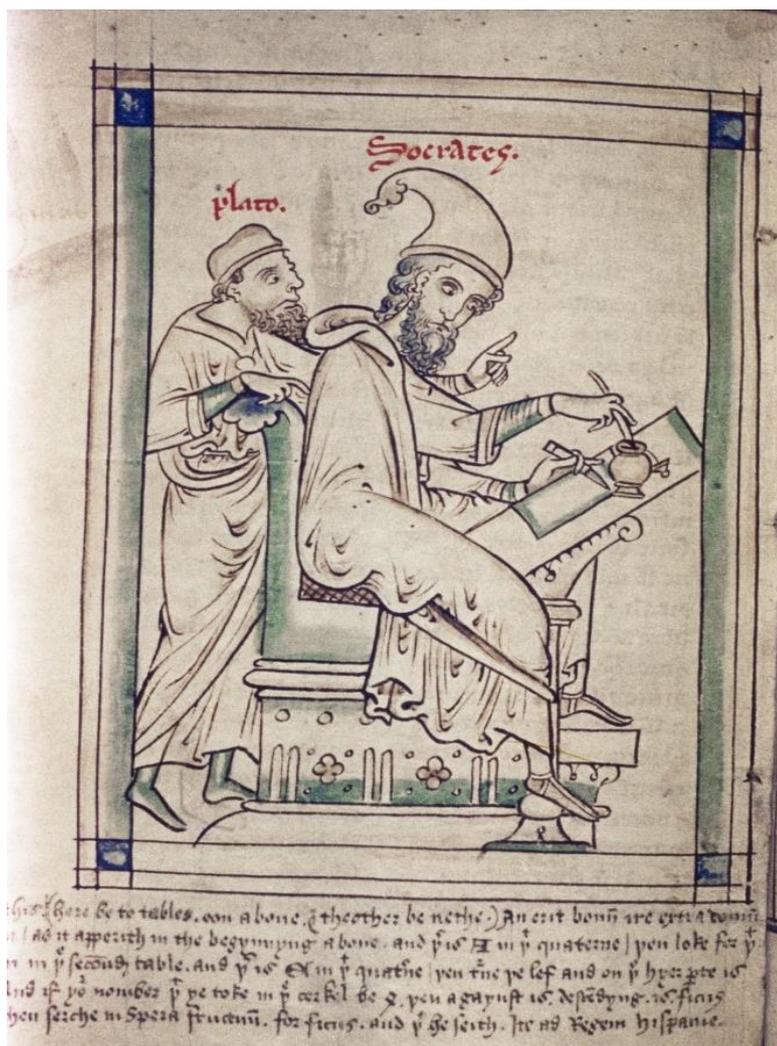


Figure 3.15: Oxford, Bod., MS Ashmole 304, fol. 31<sup>v</sup>

of his own interests, which explains the existence of less typical work in his hand. One of these was a pseudo-scientific fortune-telling volume, comprising material from the ancients, including Socrates and Pythagoras, as well as the more recent *Experimentarius* of Bernardus Silvestris.<sup>192</sup>

This compact volume is the oldest known illustrated copy of its type, therefore Matthew may have devised the illustrative program himself.<sup>193</sup> The prognosticating devices are represented by a series of charts, functioning wheels, and grids which

<sup>192</sup> Oxford, Bod., MS Ashmole 304. For background to the *Experimentarius* see L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science II* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1923), pp. 110-118.

<sup>193</sup> A. Iafrate 'Of Stars and Men: Matthew Paris and the Illustrations of MS Ashmole 304', *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institute*, 76 (2013), pp. 139-77.

facilitate following the forecasts through to the prophetic numbers generated. Charts such as those depicting the realms of nature are conceived in the manner of zodiacal and astrological wheels. This approach, which adapts existing formats to new contexts is also evident in the author portraits. The manuscript's opening miniature presents Socrates at his desk in the act of writing, behind him stands Plato, whose teachings are being written down (Figure 3.15). This derives from the tradition of evangelist portraits of Matthew scribing the words of the angel. This rather unusual and fascinating volume demonstrates how important the non-commercial scriptoria were for preserving and copying more obscure or unusual texts.

In 1380 Matthew was described by Thomas Walsingham, precentor of St Albans, as '*vir quidem eloquens et famosus, innumeris virtutibus plenus, historiographus ac chronographus magnificus*'.<sup>194</sup> This glowing assessment should not go unchallenged: his chronicles have been described, perhaps harshly, by Connolly as 'a rambling and unorganized accretion of mere reportage', Lewis questions his contemporary influence and describes his rather old-fashioned full-page tinted drawings, as 'almost archaic'.<sup>195</sup> In a society which was witnessing increasing specialisation in secular working practice, and declining monastic book production, Matthew was idiosyncratic in persisting as both scribe and illustrator. He spread his wings even further: authoring texts; editing his work and that of others; translating texts from Latin into vernacular, and circulating work from the cloister to the court. Matthew's enduring reputation, and the evidence for attribution of much of his work, was assured by the obituary penned by his anonymous successor in the *Chronica*:

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<sup>194</sup> H. Riley, ed., *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani a Thomas Walsingham*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, 1867), I p. 394. See also Vaughn, *Matthew Paris*, p. 19.

<sup>195</sup> Lewis, Art, p. 15; D. Connolly, *The Maps of Matthew Paris: Medieval Journeys through Space, Time and Liturgy* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2009), p. 14.

Quod hucusque perscripsit venerabilis vir frater Matheus Parisiensis ... quod autem amodo appositum est et prosecutum, cuidam alteri fratri sit asscribendum, qui tanti praedecessoris opera praesumens aggredi, indigne prosecuturus, cum non sit dignus eiusdem corrigiam solvere calciamenti, paginae non meruit nomine tenus annotari.<sup>196</sup>

### From Monastery to Workshop

The stereotypical representation of the medieval scribe as a cloistered monk working in the secluded monastic scriptorium was probably out of date even before the thirteenth century. The *Gesta Sacristum* for the Benedictine Monastery at Bury St Edmunds records the following in respect of its Great Bible produced in the twelfth century:

Iste Herveus frater Taleboti prioris omnes expensas inuenit fratri suo priori in scribenda magna bibliotheca et manu magistri Hugonis incomparabiliter fecit depingi. Qui cum non inueniret in partibus nostris pelles uitulinas sibi accommodas, in Scotiae partibus parchamenas comparauit.<sup>197</sup>

James reasonably deduces that the ‘incomparable’ Master Hugo was a professional employed to decorate the Bible, and that vellum was sourced commercially to provide the quality and size the task demanded.<sup>198</sup> De Hamel suggests that the complexity and size of the project demanded an innovative approach unlikely to be found in-house necessitating the skills of a professional artist.<sup>199</sup> A growing use of professional scribes and illuminators within the monastic setting is evidenced more

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<sup>196</sup> H. Luard, ed., *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora*, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1872-1883), v (1880), p. 748.

<sup>197</sup> Cited in M. James, Catalogue Description for Cambridge, CCC, MS 2, *Parker Library on the Web* available at <[http://0-Parkerweb.stanford.edu/catalogue.ulrsl.lon.ac.uk/parker/actions/manuscript\\_description\\_long\\_display.do?ms\\_no=2I](http://0-Parkerweb.stanford.edu/catalogue.ulrsl.lon.ac.uk/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=2I)> [accessed 6 April 2015]. See also Binski and Panayotova, *Cambridge*, pp. 81-3.

<sup>198</sup> James translates *Scotiae* as ‘Ireland’ (its Roman usage), whilst de Hamel translates it as ‘Scotland’, its late medieval usage, ‘The Bury Bible’, *Panizzi Lectures* (London: British Library, 27 October 2014). My comments in respect of Master Hugo’s role owe much to de Hamel’s lecture.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

widely throughout the twelfth century. For example, Abingdon Abbey hired six professional scribes to copy patristic texts under Abbot Faricius (1100-1117); and the abbey records show that its precentor was required to pay wages to any *scriptor* from outside the abbey, whilst the Abbot should provide the scribe with food.<sup>200</sup>

St Albans Abbey had invested significantly in manuscript production resources in the years approaching 1200 under Abbot Simon (1167-1183), who had the scriptorium repaired and provision made for lay scribes to be employed.<sup>201</sup> The splendid initials in the glossed Gospels produced *c.* 1200 at St Albans were probably executed by one of these lay professionals.<sup>202</sup> Their stylistic similarity to miniatures in the Westminster Psalter has led to suggestions that one itinerant artist was responsible for both, however it seems more likely that they provide evidence of shared influence among artists working within the Benedictine network.<sup>203</sup> Such evidence of common styles together with the existence of documented procedures for employing professionals clearly demonstrates that monks and lay professionals sometimes worked on the same volumes. This provided scope for techniques and styles to be shared between the secular and the monastic realms, as well as across diverse geographical locations through itinerant workers.

It seems likely that professionals would have been commissioned to produce the most important illuminations, bringing their specialist and up-to-date skills to the

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<sup>200</sup> M. Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England', *EMS*, 7 (1998), 1-24.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>202</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.5.3.

<sup>203</sup> S. McKendrick, J. Lowden, and K. Doyle, eds, *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London: British Library 2011), p. 118, in which Deirdre Jackson suggests that one artist was responsible for both the initials in Trinity College MS. B.5.3 and the five devotional images in the Westminster Psalter (Royal 2 A xxii fols 12<sup>v</sup>-15), whereas Binski and Panayotova *Cambridge* pp. 96-7 note more general similarities in the work.

task.<sup>204</sup> This arrangement can still be found at the end of the thirteenth century, for example in a copy of Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, probably made at St Albans.<sup>205</sup> The Prologue on the first folio is accompanied by an illuminated initial which depicts a monk holding a book, gesturing to stars which lie beyond the initial (Figure 3.16).



Figure 3.16: Oxford, Bod., MS Douce 207, fol. 1

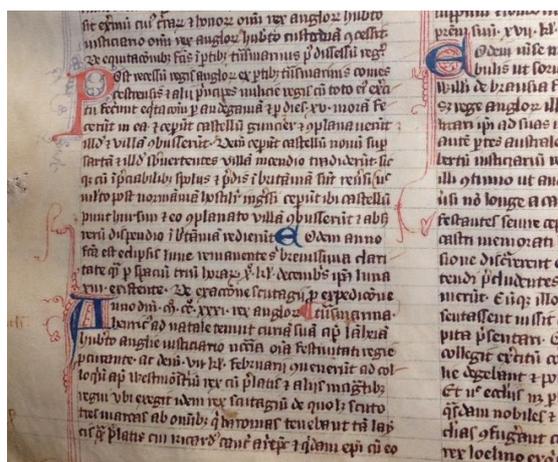


Figure 3.17: Oxford, Bod., MS Douce 207, fol. 200<sup>v</sup>

A border emerges from the initial, reaching across and down the column, its holly leaf and foliate decoration in a palette of blues, orange-red, and pink-red. The monk's facial features are delicately drawn, his robes are given substance through use of different hues. This careful execution contrasts with the flourished initials which follow, those on folio 200<sup>v</sup> are some of the better quality (Figure 3.17) yet even they do not match the skill and exuberance of the Oxford workshops' penwork.<sup>206</sup> This manuscript was evidently a functional object rather than a visual feast for a wealthy patron, the Abbey nonetheless ensured the opening initial was completed by a skilled artist.

<sup>204</sup> J. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 95.

<sup>205</sup> Oxford, Bod., MS Douce 207.

<sup>206</sup> See below and Chapter 4.

There is scant evidence of lay craftsmen establishing workshops outside of monastic scriptoria in England before the thirteenth century, although Pollard and Morgan have demonstrated a continued presence of professional illuminators from at least the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>207</sup> However in Paris a number of scribes worked in some form of lay workshop as early as the 1130s, as evidenced in the *Liber Ordinarius* of St Victor of 1139:

Omnes scripture que in ecclesia sive intus, sive foris fiunt ad eius officium pertinent, ut ipse scriptoribus pergamana et ea que ad scribendum necessaria sunt provideat et eos qui pro pretio scribunt ipse conducat.<sup>208</sup>

It has been suggested that urban abbeys such as St Victor were instrumental in fostering the commercial book trade by employing professional scribes and illuminators as needed.<sup>209</sup> Certainly a collaborative relationship between monastic institutions and secular craftsmen appears to pre-date the universities in both Paris and Oxford, and continued into the thirteenth century. It is noteworthy that the earliest collection of works identified by Morgan as of Oxford provenance can all be associated with Augustinian houses.<sup>210</sup> The emergence of Paris and Oxford as centres of commercial book production undoubtedly owes much to the presence of these religious houses.

### **Oxford Book Production**

The university in Oxford evolved from relatively informal gatherings of students around teachers, becoming more formalised in the early thirteenth century, and first

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<sup>207</sup> Morgan, *EGM 1*, p. 14, Pollard, *Notes*.

<sup>208</sup> F. Bonnard, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale et de l'Ordre des Chanoines Réguliers de St-Victor de Paris* 2 vols (Paris: A. Savaète, 1905-1907), I (1905), p. 68, n. 2. See also Rouse and Rouse, p. 26.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid*,

<sup>210</sup> Morgan, *EGM 1*, suggests a production link between the *Munich Psalter* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CLM 85); a London Psalter (BL MS Royal 1 D x) and the *Imola Psalter* (Imola, Biblioteca Comunale MS 100), and that 'most other books by the workshop have Augustinian textual features which suggests this order was in some way involved in directing the workshop or providing textual models' (p. 71).

referred to as a corporate body in 1231. The presence of a large number of literate scholars would have provided both a ready market and a potential workforce for book production. Oxford's bookmaking practices are less well-documented than those of contemporary Paris, and whilst some are likely to have been common to the two, we must show caution in extrapolating documented Parisian methods to Oxford. For example, the Parisian *pecia* system, which saw sections of a 'master copy' hired out to students for copying, is well-documented and provides an attractive theory for widespread student book production. However it is difficult to concur with Pollard's suggestion that a similar system operated at Oxford, for which the evidence is at best inconclusive.<sup>211</sup>

The concurrence of the establishment of Oxford University with the arrival of mendicant orders created a new channel for sharing both stylistic approaches and textual material between the clerical and the lay. Circumventing their rule prohibiting ownership of goods, mendicant communities often gave friars life-time use of texts, which they could take with them as they pursued their own education and executed their mission in various locations, before the books ultimately returned to the home convent.<sup>212</sup> New recruits to the order might bring texts to the Oxford schools with them, or they could obtain texts in the town. The overall result was that Oxford, like Paris, acted as a nexus for the dissemination of textual material. In Paris the *pecia* system extended to provide exemplars of mendicant material such as the '*Sermones Fratris Guillelmi Lugdunensis de Dominicis*' as well as works by the Franciscans Guillaume de Mailly and Pierre de St Benoit.<sup>213</sup> It seems likely that many friars and students,

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<sup>211</sup> See Pollard, *Pecia* pp. 146-61, and Parkes, *Provision*, pp. 462-67.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 431-43 provides a detailed account and several examples of the practices of the friars and their libraries.

<sup>213</sup> D. Avray, *The Preaching of The Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 273-86 (especially p. 275.)

particularly those of little income, employed their literacy skills to copy texts, pursuing similar strategies to obtain the books they required.

Initially friars were permitted to make books for others, and there are examples of illumination and decoration completed by friars. A drawing which illustrates the description of Christ among the candlesticks Matthew Paris's *Liber Additamentorum* is annotated 'hoc opus fecit frater Williumus de ordine minorum'.<sup>214</sup> We do not know whether this folio is by William's own hand or is a copy, however the attribution clearly identifies Brother William as the originator of the image. Over time concerns arose that bookmaking was detracting from the friars' core purpose as teachers and preachers, as well as conflicting with the vow of poverty. In the 1260s a number of decrees limited the scope for Dominican friars to sell books, and in 1316 the Friars Minor were similarly prohibited.<sup>215</sup> How far these regulations were followed is difficult to judge for, as late as 1351 the accounts of Elizabeth de Burgh show payment to a Franciscan friar for illuminating a book.<sup>216</sup> The evidence for the hand of friars in making books for third parties is sparse. However their contribution to developing textual content can be seen in surviving manuscripts. In 1267 Roger Bacon (c. 1214-1292) remarked on the role of the two mendicant orders in correcting Biblical text (albeit inconsistently).<sup>217</sup> It is this influence on content, related to their teaching, which was perhaps their greatest legacy, seen in some of the work produced in Oxford.<sup>218</sup> A fine illuminated volume of Aristotle's logic includes three initials attributed to William de Brailes (active c. 1230-

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<sup>214</sup> London, BL, Cotton Nero D i, fol. 156, online description available at <<http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/illmanus/cottmanucoll/d/011cotnerd00001u00156000.html>> [accessed 3 May 2015]. The verse illustrated is Revelation 1:13 'Et in medio septem candelaborum aureorum, similem Filio hominis vestitum podere, et praecinctum ad mamillas zona aurea'.

<sup>215</sup> K. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars 1215-1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1964), pp. 26-27, 53.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, p.53.

<sup>217</sup> R. Bacon, *Opus Minus* ed. Brewer, cited in Rouse and Rouse, p. 32.

<sup>218</sup> Chapter 2 above, pp. 33, 38-40.

1260) showing classroom settings, one of which portrays the teacher dressed in a friar's habit.<sup>219</sup> This manuscript is a well-used study text, with many glosses and notes added by several hands. The initials imply the close relationship between friars, the University, and book production, although, as Camille observes, more research is needed on the influence of Franciscans on thirteenth-century English book painting in general.<sup>220</sup>

Oxford's book production was centred on the Catte Street and the University Church of St Mary. Pollard provides details of nine stationers and *samplares*; twenty-three scribes; eleven parchment makers; twelve bookbinders and eighteen illuminators in this small area over the late medieval period.<sup>221</sup> The names include William de Brailes, and, although his occupation is not stated, the fact that he is found within the book producing community has led Pollard to link him to the initial in the *de Brailes Hours* (Figure 3.17).<sup>222</sup>



Figure 3.17: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, fol. 43

The various stages of commercial book production appear to have been discrete operations undertaken by different family groups, enabling a high level of specialisation and skill to develop. This is in contrast to monastic scriptoria in which individual monks might undertake a number of different tasks. The gathering of trades in one locality was also apparent in Paris around the *Rue Neuve Notre-Dame*, which suggests that commercial book production generally developed as a community affair in which

<sup>219</sup> Chapter 2, Figure 2.22

<sup>220</sup> Camille, 'University Textbook', p. 299.

<sup>221</sup> G. Pollard, *Notes for a Directory of Cat Street* (unpublished, 1937), Bodleian Library Archive, shelfmark G.A. Oxon 4° 573.

<sup>222</sup> Pollard, *de Brailles*.

neighbours worked together at different stages of production as a pseudo-scriptorium.<sup>223</sup> There appears to be a relatively high proportion of illuminators to scribes in the Catte Street records, suggesting that the early commercial book trade in Oxford supplied predominantly luxury volumes, which would reconcile with the frequent presence of the royal court. Pollard notes that ‘the Oxford book trade in the early thirteenth century was organized to produce not textbooks for the University but lavishly decorated books such as Psalters or Bibles, the sort of books, in fact, which W. de Brailes illuminated’.<sup>224</sup> This is a highly attractive theory, borne out by many extant manuscripts, nevertheless the discovery of the Vatican Aristotle suggests there may be an additional corpus of decorated textbooks which remain to be studied, or have failed to survive.<sup>225</sup>

The extant de Brailes work includes a high proportion of Bibles, which generally follow one of two decorative programmes probably indicative of relative price.<sup>226</sup> Some of these were evidently customised for friars. The Bodleian *de Brailes Bible* includes masses for St Dominic which, together with its compact size, suggests it was made for a Dominican.<sup>227</sup> Of similar size and structure is a Bible in the Harley Collection which includes the mass of St Francis, along with annotations similar to those devised by Robert Grosseteste, the first rector of the Oxford Franciscans and later Chancellor of the University.<sup>228</sup> It is reasonable therefore to suggest that by the 1230s the de Brailes workshop was producing Bibles for both Franciscans and Dominicans.

To facilitate the friars’ in their important role as implementers of many of the Fourth Lateran Council’s constitutions, especially as confessors to the laity, a

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<sup>223</sup> Rouse and Rouse, pp. 35-45. There is still a *Rue de la Parcheminerie* in the Sorbonne quartier.

<sup>224</sup> H.G. Pollard, ‘William de Brailles’ (sic) in *Bodleian Library Record*, v (1955), 202-209 (p. 209).

<sup>225</sup> Camille, University Textbook.

<sup>226</sup> Chapter 2, pp. XX, Johnston, *Penflourishing*, p. 303.

<sup>227</sup> Oxford, Bod., MS Lat. bib. e. 7

<sup>228</sup> London, BL, Harley MS 2813. See Morgan, *EGM 1*, pp. 114-16 and Donovan, *de Brailes*, pp. 19-21. For discussion of the Harley Bible’s links with the de Brailes workshop and the Franciscans, see Kidd, *Franciscan Bible*.

mechanism for lay devotional practice and penitential ritual developed through collating material derived from the Psalter and the Breviary. This would become the form we know as the Book of Hours.<sup>229</sup> The earliest extant fully-fledged Book of Hours, which dates from c. 1240, includes three initials depicting a tonsured man, one of which is accompanied by a caption widely accepted as the illuminator's colophon: '*w. de brail q[ui] me depeint*' (Figure 3.17).<sup>230</sup>

The book's close links to the mendicant orders is further evident from contemporary prayers which were added in vernacular French exhorting the user to pray specifically for three named friars as well as for all friars preacher and friars minor.<sup>231</sup> We cannot know whether this particular manuscript was indeed the first Book of Hours, as suggested by Donovan, however it was certainly an early example of a manuscript containing much of the material which would come to be used in Books of Hours.<sup>232</sup> There are earlier Psalter-Hours containing similar material, for example London, BL, Arundel MS 157 (c. 1200-1210), which Morgan identifies as being an unusually early occurrence of the Hours of the Virgin and 'the earliest richly illuminated manuscript with fairly definite evidence of an Oxford provenance'.<sup>233</sup> These two manuscripts suggest that an innovative approach to textual compilation existed in Oxford even before the arrival of the friars, perhaps encouraged by market opportunities afforded by the town's academic and religious communities, and the regular gathering of the royal court in Oxford. The town's importance in the evolution of the new genre of Books of Hours is apparent from the fact that, in addition to the *de Brailes Hours*, a further four

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<sup>229</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>230</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 49999, fol. 43<sup>r</sup>, see also fols 47<sup>r</sup> and 88<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid*, fol. 102<sup>v</sup>. See p. 33 and n. 89 above.

<sup>232</sup> Donovan, *de Brailes*, p. 9.

<sup>233</sup> Morgan, *EGM 1*, pp. 72-73.

of eight extant thirteenth-century English Books of Hours may be of Oxford production.<sup>234</sup>

Examination of de Brailes manuscripts suggests that some were completed in sections, decorated and assembled at the end of the process. An incomplete de Brailes Bible now in Philadelphia is decorated with a number of elaborate pen-flourished and historiated initials, and includes an interesting error in assembly.<sup>235</sup> The book of Proverbs begins on folio 92<sup>v</sup>, where it is indicated by an elaborate historiated initial which descends into the *bas-de-page* to rest on the figure of a man bent double (Figure 3.19).



Figure 3.19: Philadelphia, FLP, MS Lewis E 29, fol. 92<sup>v</sup>



Figure 3.20: Philadelphia, FLP, MS Lewis E 29, fol. 95

<sup>234</sup> These are *The Marston Hours*, *The Vienna Hours*, *The Egerton Hours*, and *the Salvin Hours*. Donovan, *de Brailes*, Appendix 3 and Morgan, *English Books*, pp. 66-74. Morgan suggests Oxford influence in all four except the *Egerton Hours* to which he gives an 'Augustinian Victorine' provenance. See also n. 70 above.

<sup>235</sup> Philadelphia, FLP, MS Lewis E 29.

The first ten chapters of Proverbs then follow, however on folio 95 the manuscript returns to the beginning of Proverbs and duplicates this section, marked by another historiated initial P (Figure 3.20). This second initial is decorated in such similar fashion to the first that the same workshop, if not the same artist, was surely responsible.<sup>236</sup> This suggests not only that these quires were assembled after decoration, as Johnston suggests, in order for the duplication to have gone unnoticed by the illuminator, but also that there was more than one copy of this section of Biblical text, decorated in similar style, available to the book's compiler to enable the duplicate section to be included.

The Franciscan and Dominican Bibles discussed above are differentiated by the choice of masses included in the Missal sections. The Missals in both cases are inserted between Psalms and Proverbs, and are quite different in style from the rest of the book in both script and decoration (Figures 3.21, 3.22).



Figure 3.21: Oxford, Bod.,  
MS Lat. bib. e. 7, fol. 187



Figure 3.22: Oxford, Bod.,  
MS Lat. bib. e. 7, fol. 199<sup>v</sup>

<sup>236</sup> C. Johnston 'A Model Community? An Investigation into the Use of Models in the Work of William de Brailes' in *The Use of Models in Medieval Book Painting* ed. by M. E. Müller (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), pp. 89-110 (pp. 100-04).

There are a number of possible explanations for this, each of which acknowledges that the owner would have found the Missal's distinctive look useful in navigating the volume. They may have already been in the patron's ownership and included in the Bible as part of the binding specification; they may have been produced in the same workshop but to a deliberately different style, or they may have come from another workshop specialising in Missals. This last possibility seems highly likely in a town with such a concentration of illuminators and scribes.<sup>237</sup> Furthermore, Pollard remarks on the 'discordance of the calendars and litanies' in two of the de Brailes Psalters as an indication that they were not initially produced for any particular church.<sup>238</sup> This evidence might suggest a 'buffet' style operation, with commonly used sections made speculatively, enabling a purchaser to select elements appropriate to their own requirements, an approach which may have facilitated the emergence of the Book of Hours as new compilation. However, whilst this may have been the case for the more frequently and less-elaborately produced Bibles, it is unlikely that any of de Brailes Psalters and the Book of Hours were produced other than to the specific commission of a very wealthy patron.<sup>239</sup>

The historiated initials and illuminations in work ascribed to de Brailes merits examination for evidence of the illuminator's working practice. The Vatican Aristotle includes three initials by de Brailes, which Camille suggests may be his earliest known work, yet which already bear the solid geometric borders terminated with dragons and birds which appear so frequently throughout his oeuvre.<sup>240</sup> The different hands evident in the decoration of this book hint at a practice which seemed to dominate commercial production: that of artists' workshops in which work is shared amongst a number of

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<sup>237</sup> Kidd, *Ibid*, pp. 12-15.

<sup>238</sup> Pollard, *de Brailles*, p. 205.

<sup>239</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>240</sup> Camille, *University Textbook*, p. 296.

illuminators. Johnston's recent study of the use of models in two de Brailes' Bibles identifies iconographic consistency combined with frequent interchange of artist between the two manuscripts as evidence of work carried out in such close proximity that the artists could easily switch between the two manuscripts at frequent intervals.<sup>241</sup> In the case of another set of de Brailes pictures, William Noel suggests the underdrawings are in the same hand, even if the painting is shared between artists.<sup>242</sup> These cases demonstrate that the manuscripts originated simultaneously in one workshop rather than one being a copy. This begs the question of whether or not de Brailes used model books. Until such time as indisputable models are found we can only hypothesise as to their existence, however it seems likely that commercial workshops would have had some form of guidance for a house style.

A Bible linked to the de Brailes workshop now in the Bodleian Library contains details which suggest it may have been copied from an exemplar made up from separate sections.<sup>243</sup> The flourished *T* of the Prologue to Joshua and the first seven lines of text, have been written over an erased *E* and the opening text of the book of Joshua (Figure 3.23). The erased paragraph then reappears on the following folio, after the Prologue (Figure 3.24). It seems that both the scribe and the rubricator originally continued from Deuteronomy straight onto Joshua, without including the Prologue, then identified and rectified the error before the page was completed. A plausible explanation is that on completion of Deuteronomy the exemplar for Joshua was turned to rather than its Prologue; this would be particularly easy to do if the exemplar consisted of separate

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<sup>241</sup> Oxford, Bod., Lat. bib. e. 7 and FLP, MS Lewis E 29, discussed in Johnston, *A Model Community*.

<sup>242</sup> Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS. W. 106 and Paris, Wildenstein Collection, Musée Marmottan. W. Noel, *The Oxford Bible Pictures* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag; Baltimore: The Walters Art Museum, 2004), pp. 52-57.

<sup>243</sup> Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13.



Figure 3.23: Oxford, Bod., MS Laud Lat. 13, fol. 56<sup>v</sup>



Figure 3.24: Oxford, Bod., MS Laud Lat. 13, fol. 57

sections similar to the *pecia* system, although there are other explanations: a section may have simply been skipped, or the Prologue may not have originally been intended for inclusion.

This Bible is noteworthy for its spectacularly flourished initials, an aesthetic which the de Brailes workshop employed as part of its part of its decorative repertoire as a lower cost alternative to historiated initials.<sup>244</sup> The decorated *B* at the beginning of Psalms (Figure 3.25) has particularly elaborate penwork employed to furnish the letter with the hierarchical significance more commonly achieved through a historiated letter featuring King David. This visual strategy demonstrates the extent to which the workshop offered a variety of ways to meet the market's demands.

<sup>244</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing* examines the development of penflourishing in thirteenth-century Oxford workshops, and identifies its place in the range of styles used.

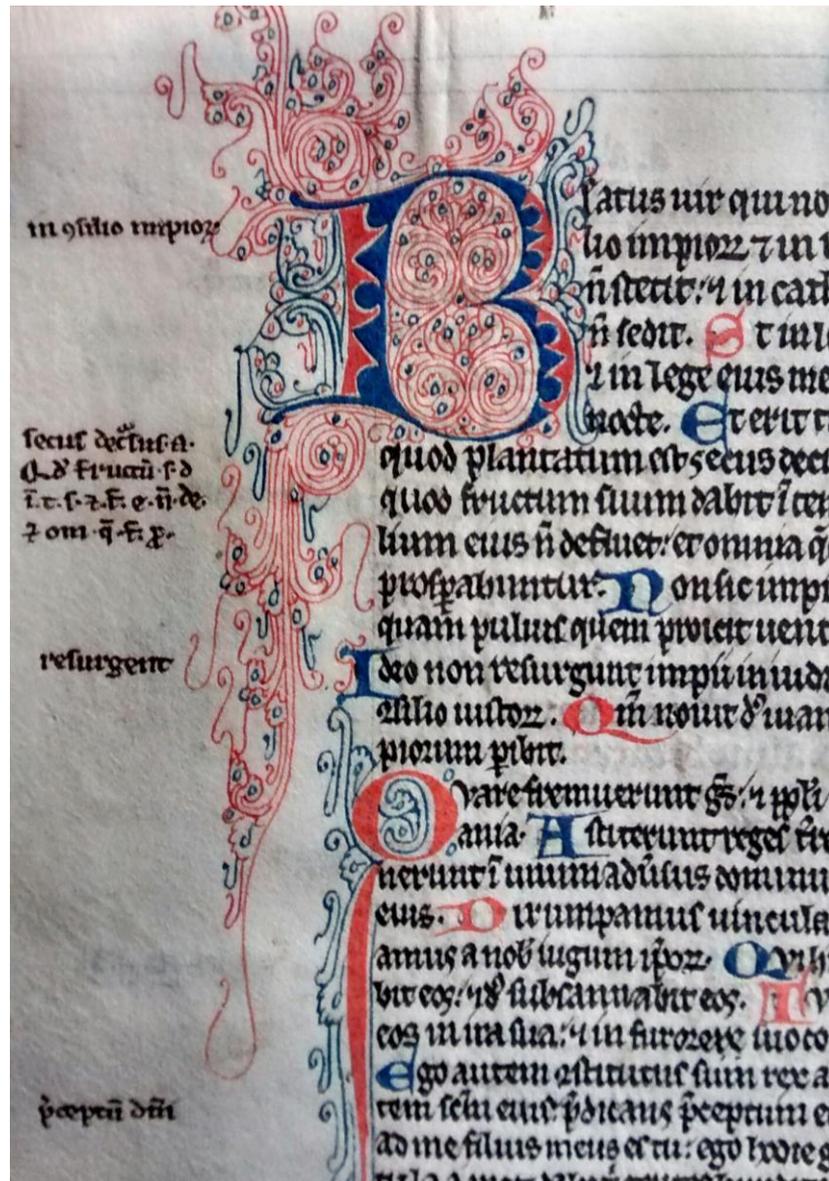


Figure 3.25: Oxford, Bod., MS Laud Lat. 13, fol. 155<sup>v</sup>

*The Reginald Bible*, a seven-volume Bible with possible links to Oxford, shows not only that multi-volume glossed Bibles were still being commissioned, but also provides documentary evidence of commercial practice in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>245</sup>

Its connection to Oxford is based on a note in London, BL, Royal MS 3 E v which

<sup>245</sup> London, BL, Royal MS 3 E i-v and viii. (BL Royal 3 E vii is part of the series but from a different workshop). I would like to thank Cynthia Johnston for alerting me to the complexity of Reginald's possible Oxford credentials.

states *'hic deficit qu[a]ternus ad traditus Reg[inald]um oxon. ad continuand[um] volum[en] istud'*.<sup>246</sup> De Hamel equates this Reginald with an illuminator documented at 94 High Street Oxford, although this connection is speculative.<sup>247</sup>

The folio-sized volumes feature navigational aids typical of the mid-thirteenth century including red and blue paraph marks, initials, running headers and chapter marks.<sup>248</sup> It is possible to see scribal marks in some of the margins providing instructions for the rubricator who was completing this work, such as the very faint *p[ro]logus* in the upper margin of Figure 3.26.

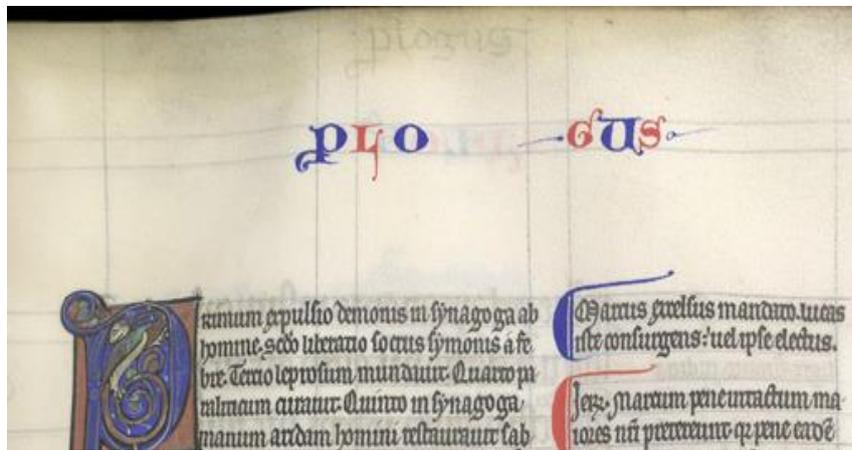


Figure 3.26: London, BL, MS Royal 3 E viii, fol. 98

The rubricator was remunerated by piecework, for at the end of the volume there is a marginal note, which reads *'In isto volumine s[un]t p[ar]ve litt[er]e et p[ar]ag[ra]fi / 38c 90.(3890) it[em] grosse litt[er]e 3c 43 [343]'*.<sup>249</sup> Similar notes are found in all but one of the volumes. Whether these notes were completed by the rubricator as confirmation of work executed and account rendered, or whether it was by the

<sup>246</sup> London, BL, MS Royal 3 E v, fol. 102<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>247</sup> De Hamel, *History*, p. 140-41. Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 335-37 questions whether the volumes were ever in Oxford, identifying London features in the decoration, and ambiguity in the Reginald note.

<sup>248</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>249</sup> London, BL, MS Royal 3 E v, fol. 220<sup>v</sup>.

illuminator or ‘project manager’ as a final check, is difficult to say. The hand has been likened to that of the Reginald annotation, which may indicate that it was an overseer.<sup>250</sup>

The decorated initials furnish us with further production clues: in the margin of fol. 112 of Royal 3 E i a faint sketch of the letter *h* can be seen, alongside which it is possible to make out a double-horned head and hand reaching up to take the commandments from God. These provide directions to the illuminator as to the iconographical requirement. Similar sketches are found in other volumes, which makes it probable that the iconographical programme was planned in advance, either by the illuminator noting the patron’s requirements, or by an overseer providing guidance to an illuminator.<sup>251</sup> Painted initials and illuminations are not included as part of the piecework count, suggesting that they were executed and paid for separately, or that the illuminator effectively ‘subcontracted’ the rubrication and had no need to record his own work. The evidence of these volumes with their instructions, clearly ruled layouts, and additional notes lead to the conclusion that commercial work on this scale was carefully planned and involved a range of workers, each bringing specific skills to the final work. This would have required a skilled coordinator who, probably in consultation with the patron, agreed a decorative specification which was written onto the parchment at the start of the project.

## Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that a multifaceted set of equivocal relationships existed between monastic and commercial book production, creating a complex spectrum of interaction, in which lay clerics such as William de Brailes worked in urban

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<sup>250</sup> See London, BL, Royal MS 3 E v, catalogue entry. Available at <<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=5897&CollID=16&NStart=30505>> [accessed 27 March 2015].

<sup>251</sup> McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, p. 124.

workshops; lay professionals were employed by religious houses; and mendicant friars established clerical-style devotional and confessional practice amongst the urban laity. The cloistered scriptorium and the town centre workshop were very different workspaces: the former governed by the rhythms of the monastic order and supported by the provisions of the monastic lands; whilst the latter had to meet the demands of urban life underpinned by a money economy. The commercial workshop therefore had greater need to court and establish a market for its work in order to remain viable.<sup>252</sup> It is perhaps not surprising that Bibles, the perennial favourite, constituted the majority of books from the de Brailes workshop, whilst the Book of Hours met a new demand, eventually becoming the most sought-after book for the lay reader.<sup>253</sup> The urban craftsman carried out specialist work as part of a multi-skilled community which was well-positioned to respond to the evolving demands of new markets. They provided new texts or new ways of presenting and decorating familiar material to fit the demands of an increasingly literate laity. Monastic scriptoria in general produced work on a small scale for their own order and for aristocratic benefactors, although not in the quantities of earlier centuries. The exception to all of these general developments was Matthew Paris, whose range of work demonstrates his eclectic interests and his unusual position at the intersection of the monastery and the aristocratic laity. Despite many apparent differences, the interaction between the religious and the secular in bookmaking is nonetheless striking, not least due to the work of the friars in bridging this divide.

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<sup>252</sup> Johnston, *Model Community*, p. 92.

<sup>253</sup> On de Brailes see Johnston, *Model Community*, p. 90; on Books of Hours see Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, p. 9.

A full page miniature from a Parisian Bible of *c.* 1300 illustrates this eloquently (Figure 3.26). The patrons, in this case Blanche of Castile and King Louis IX of France, are painted in top half of the frame, the book's makers are portrayed beneath them. On the left is a cleric, identified by his tonsure and dress, who may be their religious advisor; he is pointing at and directing the lay scribe on the right who is seen at his desk. This provides an explicit, if simplistic, representation of relationships which could exist as part of the book production process.



Figure 3.27, New York, PML, MS M. 240, fol. 8

## Chapter 4: The Look of the Book

This chapter examines how the market and production contexts described in the previous two chapters influenced developments in the appearance of religious books for lay readers. It will focus on three visual elements which were particularly significant: *mise-en-page*; use of margins; and personalisation. This analysis will be underpinned by close study of decorated text pages in a selection of Bibles and Books of Hours produced in Oxford; with some reference to additional books including Apocalypses and Psalters, set within the wider visual context.<sup>254</sup>



Figure 4.1: Wall painting, Church of St Thomas à Beckett, Capel, Kent.

Thirteenth century churches and cathedrals were visually-rich environments whose interiors ‘glowed with colour on walls, roofs, screens, images and altar pieces, while the windows sparkled with the brilliance of painted glass’.<sup>255</sup> In England few of these works remain having suffered under the iconoclasm of the Reformation and

<sup>254</sup> Key examples include: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D i (*William of Devon Bible*); Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13 (Bible); Oxford, Bod., MS Auct. D. 1. 17. (Bible); London, BL, Add. MS 49999 (*de Brailles Hours*); London, BL, Egerton MS 1151 (*William of Devon Hours*); London, BL, Add. MS 48985 (*The Salvin Hours*); Stockholm, National Museum, MS. B. 2010 (*Stockholm Psalter*); London: Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209 (*Lambeth Apocalypse*).

<sup>255</sup> Long, E., ‘Mediaeval Wall Paintings in Oxfordshire Churches’ *Oxoniensia*, 37 (1972), 86-108 (p. 86); Duffy, *Religious Belief*, p. 305.

through the normal deterioration of time. The Church of St Thomas à Beckett in Capel retains a little of its Medieval wall painting: a decorative border separates two tiers of figurative work narrating the Death of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ (Figure 4.1), narratives which would feature in many thirteenth-century manuscript image cycles.<sup>256</sup> The worshipper was surrounded by images from which to learn the tenets of faith; the biblical narrative; and through which to focus their public devotions. This established a visual context which, together with the existing traditions of manuscript decoration, provided a foundation for the thirteenth-century illuminator. Morgan suggests that the ornamental blocks in de Brailles work are similar to contemporary stained glass borders, whilst those in *The Salvin Hours* recall wall paintings in Oxfordshire.<sup>257</sup> The adaptation of iconographic traditions from large-scale and public architectural paintings to the diminutive and personal format of the thirteenth-century book necessitated a reconsideration of the way in which words and image worked together through the book's *mise-en-page*.

### *Mise-en-page: Bibles*

Some earlier Bibles showed evidence of experimentation with visual features which would become typical elements of the thirteenth-century study Bible's *mise-en-page*. For example *The Rochester Bible* (c. 1125-1150)



Figure 4.2: London, BL, Royal 1 C vii, fols 27<sup>v</sup>-28

<sup>256</sup> See <<http://www.visitchurches.org.uk/wallpaintings/Ourwallpaintings/Church-of-St-ThomasBecket-Capel-Kent/>>.

<sup>257</sup> N. Morgan, 'The Decorative Ornament of the Text and Page in Thirteenth-Century England: Initials, Border Extensions and Line Fillers', *EMS* 10 (London: British Library, 2002), 1-33; on *Salvin Hours* see Morgan, *EGM* 2, p. 151.

is an early example of two column layout, historiated initials, and running titles (Figure 4.2).<sup>258</sup> Parkes suggests that the universities influenced *mise-en-page* in response to the rediscovery of Aristotle's analytical methodology, a methodology best served by books with clear layout, supplemented by a complex structural apparatus including chapters, running titles, rubrication, and *litterae notabiliores*.<sup>259</sup> These features appear in *The Lothian Bible*, a large-scale volume made in Oxford c. 1220, described by Morgan as 'the most elaborately decorated English Bible of the thirteenth century' (Figures 4.3, 4.4).<sup>260</sup>



Figure 4.3: New York, PML, MS M.791, fol. 66



Figure 4.4: New York, PML, MS M.791, fol. 195

<sup>258</sup> London, BL, Royal 1 C vii (*The Rochester Bible*). See McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle, pp. 310-11, and online facsimile at <[http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal\\_MS\\_1\\_c\\_vii](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_1_c_vii)>.

<sup>259</sup> M. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book' in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J. Alexander and M. Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 115-41 (pp. 119-21).

<sup>260</sup> New York, PML, MS M. 791. See Morgan, *EGM 1*, pp. 79-81.

Each folio is ruled into two text columns of fifty-six lines, with three marginal columns ruled for glosses and annotations; the upper margin is ruled for the running title. The text block is compressed; coloured penwork in red and blue is used for details such as running titles, ornamentation, and verse initials in an approach which would become typical of these navigational devices in portable Bibles. Softly rounded Romanesque initials begin to give way to geometric blocks which hem in the decorated letter before extending into the margin; the greens, purples, and pale blues no longer dominate the palette which is showing a greater tonal range favouring deeper blues and reds (Figure 4.3).<sup>261</sup> These features anticipate the *mise-en-page* which, necessarily scaled down to fit the more compact volumes which dominated the market, would characterise most thirteenth-century Bibles, although it would be erroneous to assume that all thirteenth-century Bibles were of this type: *The Reginald Bible* discussed in Chapter 3 is one example of a large format thirteenth-century, multi-volume, glossed Bible.<sup>262</sup>

The Bibles decorated by the de Brailes workshop range from the truly pocket size 167 x 116mm Bodleian manuscript (Figure 4.5) to the extensively annotated 310 x 205mm ‘desktop’ volume at Merton College (Figure 4.6).<sup>263</sup> Their decorative strategies demonstrate considerable variation, no doubt in response to patron demand, yet the *mise-en-page* remains remarkably consistent.<sup>264</sup> A comparison of their opening folios

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<sup>261</sup> See Morgan, *EGM 1*, p. 31 on colour.

<sup>262</sup> C. Ruzzier, ‘The Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century: A Comparative Study’ in *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*, ed. by E. Poleg and L. Light (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 105-25 provides a quantitative study of thirteenth-century pocket Bibles from England, Italy and France. Ruzzier includes Bibles with a *taille* (height plus width) of up to 450mm, thereby including some rather larger Bibles which were perhaps more ‘bag’ size than pocket size. For *The Reginald Bible* see Chapter 3, pp. 88-90.

<sup>263</sup> Oxford, Bod., Lat. bib. e. 7; Oxford, Merton College MS 7 (*The Merton Bible*). For de Brailes Bibles see Morgan, *EGM 1*, p. 115; Donovan, *de Brailes*, Appendix 4, which provides a handlist of books produced in Oxford; and Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 176-78 which presents a more recent and more comprehensive summary of the de Brailes corpus.

<sup>264</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 44-49 for discussion of de Brailes’s market segmentation, and Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 237-51 on the *fleuronnée* and puzzle initial styles which dominate his Bibles.



Figure 4.5: Oxford, Bod., MS Lat. bib. e.7, fol. 1

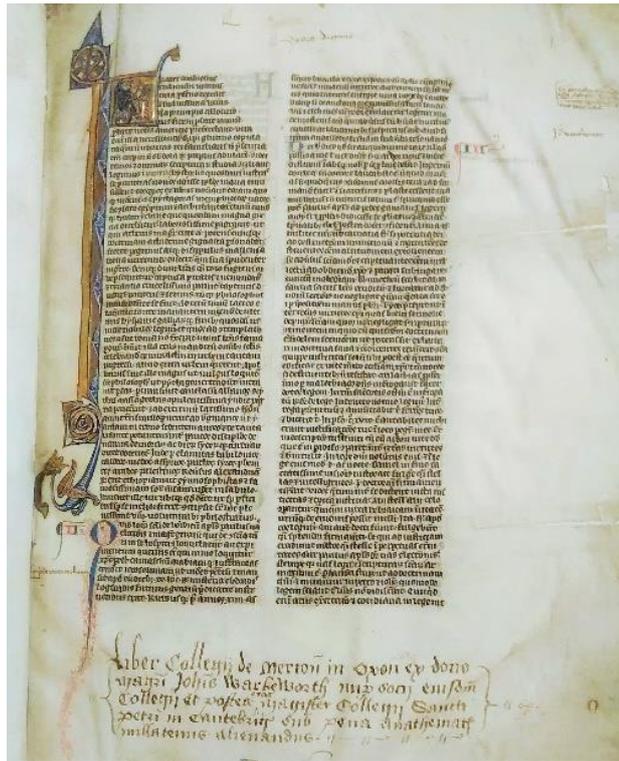


Figure 4.6: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, fol. 1

reveals that both have two columns of text in a gothic hand, introduced by an initial enclosed within a square frame. A second frame sits to its upper left, which in *The Merton Bible* has a triangular terminal. From the upper right of each initial a small extension reaches across the column. The initial extends into a bar border which descends, terminating in another decorated block which houses the tail of a dragon.

*The Merton Bible* is unique in that its wide range of ornamental styles and techniques is not found together in any other known de Brailes Bible, however it provides a good example of typical *mise-en-page* (Figure 4.7).<sup>265</sup> Each folio is carefully ruled, in similar fashion to *The Lothian Bible* (Figures 4.3, 4.4). There are two text columns of fifty-eight lines and three columns for glossing. The geometric regularity of

<sup>265</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 209-13.

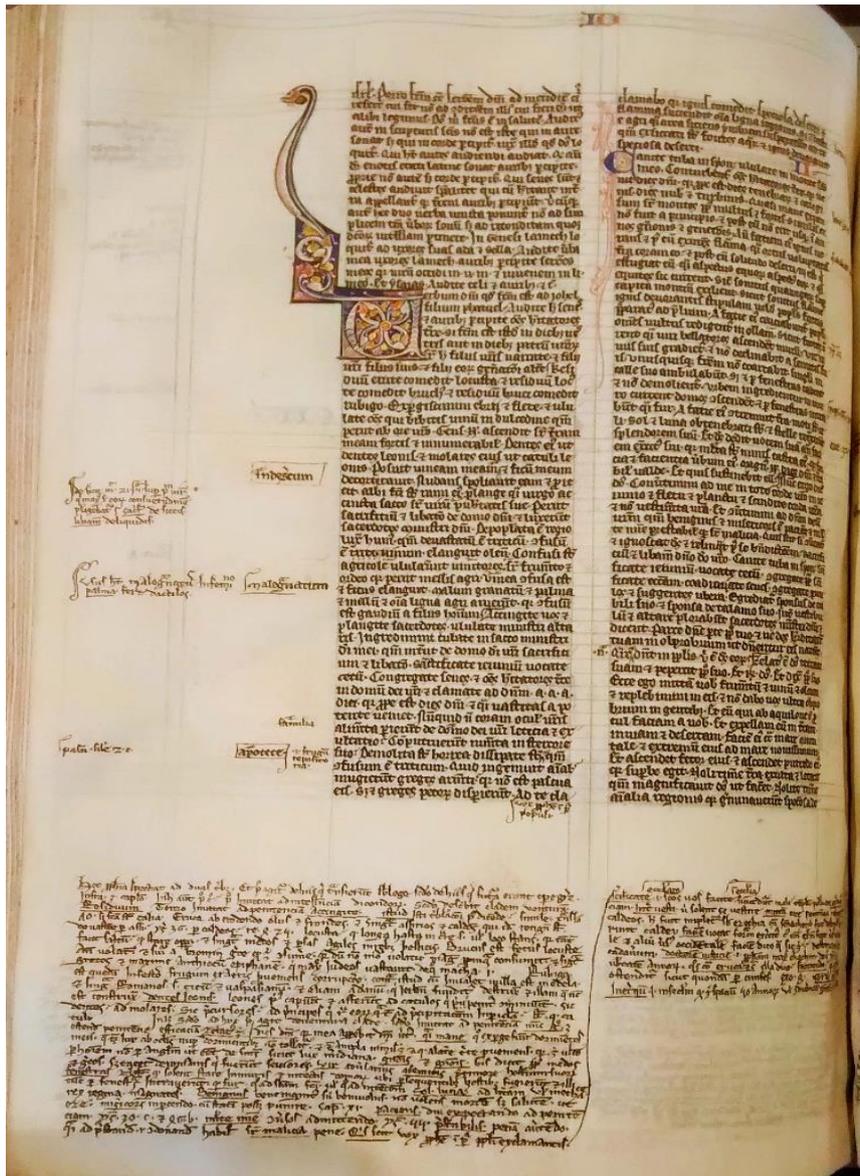


Figure 4.7: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, fol. 245v

the folio's text block is emphasised by enclosing the top line of script within the ruled text block, or 'below top line', a feature which Ker documented as gradually replacing 'above top line' layout from c. 1230 in commercial production in England.<sup>266</sup> This established a formal separation of text block and marginal space, paving the way for the development of marginal decoration as a distinct form. In the upper margin the running

<sup>266</sup> N. Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica*, V (1960), 13-16.

title, written in the same alternating blue and red as the chapter numbers, is split across the verso and recto folios. It is written in full above the column on the first folio of a new Book to indicate its beginning. An initial usually containing ornamental foliate decoration, but occasionally historiated, of between four and ten lines height also introduces each Book (Figures 4.8, 4.9).<sup>267</sup> Chapters are signposted both by roman numerals and by a red or blue penwork initial, two or three lines high, decorated into the margin with contrasting penwork (Figure 4.10).



Figure 4.8: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, fol. 150



Figure 4.9: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, fol. 271



Figure 4.10: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, fol. 182<sup>v</sup>

The exception to this is the Book of Psalms which has neither running titles, nor chapter numeration, as is the case in many contemporary Bibles.<sup>268</sup> This probably reflects the contemporary status of the Psalter as an established standalone book with its own identity quite distinct from the rest of the Bible. A comparison of the two columns of *The Merton Bible's* folio 150, makes this evident (Figure 4.11).

<sup>267</sup> See Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 237-51. In other de Brailles Bibles the initials are usually either historiated or puzzle initials.

<sup>268</sup> For example, Oxford, Bod., Lat. bib. e. 7; Oxford, Bod., MS Laud lat. 13; Philadelphia, FLP, E 29. *The Lothian Bible* (New York, PML, MS M. 791) does have titles, in this case they distinguish between the Gallican and Hebraic versions of the psalms. The William of Devon workshop's luxury Bible (London, BL, Royal MS 1 D i) labels the Psalter folios, their more modest Oxford, Bod., MS Auct. D. 1. 17 does not; their *Lumley Bible* (London, BL, Royal MS 1 E ii) lacks its Psalter.



Figure 4.11: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, fol. 150

The first column, which concludes the Book of Job, follows the structure discussed above. The Psalms begin in the second column with a typical decorated initial followed by two-line initials in blue with red penwork to mark each psalm, yet it lacks roman numbering and continues with red and blue *litterae notabiliore*s to marking verses.



Figure 4.12: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, fol. 135v

Extensions from decorated initials in *The Merton Bible* often inhabit inter-columnar or marginal space. The Judith initial (Figure 4.12) descends into the *bas-de-page* terminating in a solid foliate decoration which constructs a base on which two birds stand, dominating the page. The initials to the Gospels display their importance by extending

into the entire length of the column, terminating with decoration in both the upper and lower margins. In the case of Matthew, the initial is historiated (Figure 4.9), the other Gospels feature the Evangelist's attribute at the end of the extension, for example the ox of St Luke (Figure 4.13), as well as gold decorative highlights. This combines to provide clear navigation to these texts and indication of their importance.

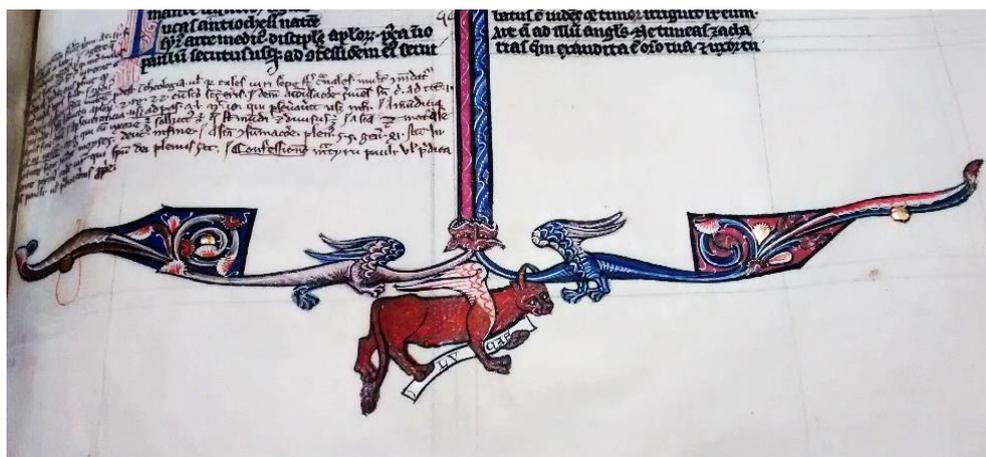


Figure 4.13: Oxford, Merton College, MS 7, fol. 286

Margins had been increasingly used for text from the twelfth century as glosses relocated from interlinear to marginal space; other ways of using this space were explored in the thirteenth century until, by the early fourteenth century, they eventually housed an ‘irreverent explosion of marginal mayhem’.<sup>269</sup> This is particularly evident in the French-influenced Bibles of the William of Devon group, which were probably decorated in Oxford.<sup>270</sup> Morgan notes the use of painted bar borders as a frame for the text space, as well as a platform on which a wide variety of characters, both naturalistic and grotesque, play out their narrative (Figure 4.14).<sup>271</sup>

<sup>269</sup> M. Camille, *Image on The Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion, 1992), pp. 21-22.

<sup>270</sup> The William of Devon workshop's Bibles include; London, BL, Royal MS 1 D i; London, BL, Royal MS 1 E ii; Oxford, Bod., MS Auct. D. 1. 17. See Morgan, *EGM 2* pp. 152-62 and A. Bennett, ‘Additions to the William of Devon Group’, *The Art Bulletin* 54 (1972), 31-40 (p.31). R. Branner makes a strong case for the William of Devon group's Parisian origins in ‘The Johannes Grusch Atelier and the Continental Origins of the William of Devon Painter’, *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 24-30.

<sup>271</sup> Morgan, *EGM 2*, pp. 152-62.



Figure 4.14: Oxford, Bod., MS Auct. D. 1, fol. 159

This type of marginal decoration must have been a costly addition to any book, and suggests a very wealthy patron. The eponymous *William of Devon Bible* incorporates several bar borders and elaborate penflourishing in what must have been a luxurious commission displaying wealth and fashionable taste, yet the underlying structure of the *mise-en-page* was maintained (Figure 4.15).



Figure 4.15: London, BL, Royal MS 1 D i, fol. 394<sup>v</sup>

### **Mise-en-Page: Other Books**

*Mise-en-Page* was closely related to the type of book being written, and provided a visual distinctiveness to certain types of book which reflected growing diversity. The fact that the pocket Bible was taking on many features of academic texts suggests it was primarily viewed as a working and study tool rather than a devotional object.<sup>272</sup> On the other hand, the superior script and elaborate decoration of the early Books of Hours suggest they were devotional devices: the ‘painted prayers’ on which the devout could meditate.<sup>273</sup>

The workshop context which involved much collaboration was conducive to sharing design elements. The design of new types of books could draw on material already in use and adapt it to new purposes, as de Brailes had done when adapting features from academic texts to decorate many of his Bibles. Donovan suggests that the ‘design formula for the small and portable Books of Hours derived from the Bible design’.<sup>274</sup> Indeed the early Books of Hours, like pocket Bibles, were often small-scale manuscripts which could be easily carried around: *The Egerton Hours* are paperback sized; *The de Brailes Hours* are only 150 x 125mm, although the heavy trimming suggests it was originally larger.<sup>275</sup> Some volumes, such as the *Salvin Hours*, were larger and perhaps remained in a chapel or private room.<sup>276</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> See Parkes, *Ordinatio*, pp. 120-22.

<sup>273</sup> Wieck, p. 22.

<sup>274</sup> C. Donovan, ‘The Mise-en-Page of Early Books of Hours in England’ in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence* ed. by L. Brownrigg (California: Anderson-Lovelace, 1990), pp. 147-62 (p. 157).

<sup>275</sup> On *The Egerton Hours* (London, BL, Egerton MS 1151) see Morgan, *EGM 2*, pp. 155-57; on the *de Brailes Hours* see Morgan, *EGM 1*, pp. 119-21. Donovan, *de Brailes*, pp. 31-5, acknowledges the debate over the binding’s origin, concluding that the current binding is in fact the original. However this is arguable: the inserted leaves and heavy trimming imply a re-binding, which Peter Kidd suggests is a later Italian binding (see Johnston, *Penflourishing*, p. 168, n. 199).

<sup>276</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 48985, see Morgan, *EGM 2*, pp. 150-51.

In these Books of Hours a large gothic script is used, enclosed in a text block following the new ‘below top line’ format, surrounded by good-sized margins which create a generously proportioned work. Whereas the minute and frequently abbreviated script in pocket Bibles may derive from glosses,



Figure 4.16: Cambridge, CCC, MS 75, fol. 3

the script in these early Books of Hours is a large and fine gothic reminiscent of that employed for scriptural passages in glossed Bibles or luxury Psalters such as the glossed Psalter made *c.* 1220 at St Albans (Figure 4.16). Clanchy argues convincingly that scribes employed different scripts for different types of document, from which we might deduce that Books of Hours were perceived as quite different from the Bible.<sup>277</sup>

The Book of Hours (Figure 4.17) probably derives much of its appearance from the Psalter (Figure 4.18) rather than the pandect Bible. Navigation is achieved through decorated letters rather than running titles or chapter numbers, either of which could have been adapted for this genre had there been the market desire. Fine filigree letters or coloured initials usually mark verses; historiated initials indicate psalms or key liturgical sections; and miniatures designate the different Offices. The historiated initials depict narratives which the book’s owner can follow as they travel through their liturgical day. These narratives usually feature scriptural events or saints’ lives and miracles, such as that of St Laurence adding a chalice to tip the scales in favour of the donor (Figure 4.17).

<sup>277</sup> Clanchy, *Memory*, p. 129-30.



Figure 4.17: BL, Add. MS 49999, fol. 101

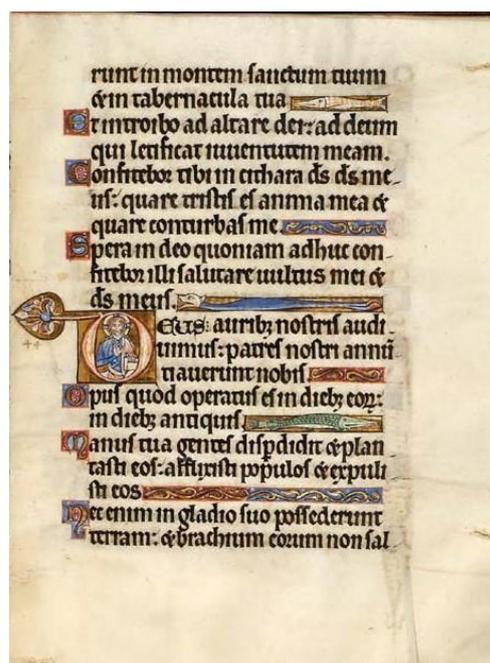


Figure 4.18: New York, PML, MS 43, fol. 73

Donovan suggests the St Laurence sequence, as well as reflecting the patron's interests, is included as an appropriate model for good deeds and generosity, thus providing both a contemplative focus and a spiritual role model.<sup>278</sup> The importance of hagiography is indicative of contemporary interests which also saw Voragine compile the *Legenda Aurea* c. 1260.<sup>279</sup> In *The de Brailes Hours* a vernacular rubric accompanies the initials ensuring that the lay owner of the book can access the material in their own language, however such rubrics are not found in all Books of Hours.

The beginning of each of the daily Offices is usually identified by a large miniature. Unlike miniatures found in many Bibles, which are usually grouped into a prefatory cycle, the miniatures in these Books of Hours are frequently integral to the textual experience, further demonstrating the structured devotional nature of these

<sup>278</sup> Donovan *de Brailes*, pp. 120-25.

<sup>279</sup> The *Legenda Aurea* (*The Golden Legend*) was a compilation of Saints' lives and miracles. See J. Friedman, 'Jacopo da Voragine' in *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. <<http://0-www.oxfordartonline.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/art/T043128>>. [accessed 25 August 2015].





Figure 4.21: London, BL, Add. MS 48985, fol. 1<sup>v</sup> (above)

Figure 4.22: London, BL, Add. MS 48985, fol. 2 (right)



In the context of thirteenth century lay piety this juxtaposition of despair, penance, and joy should not surprise us.<sup>280</sup> Penwork line-fillers in red, blue, and gold, provide visual balance by justifying the lines, as already established in the *mise-en-page* of Psalters.<sup>281</sup>

Whilst initials and miniatures had both a functional and a decorative purpose, rooted in post-Lateran practices, the abundant marginalia of Books of Hours provided visual delight which must have instilled a sense of wonder, or *admiratio*, in the viewer.<sup>282</sup> In the work of de Brailes it is the margins of the luxury Psalters which bear

<sup>280</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 14-15.

<sup>281</sup> Examples of Psalters with these features include London, BL, Royal 2 A XXII and New York, PML, MS 43.

<sup>282</sup> On *admiratio*, see Johnston, *Penflourishing*, pp. 95-98 and P. Binski, 'Paris, London: Rome circa 1300', *From Minor to Major: The Minor Medieval Arts in Art History*, ed. by C. Hourihane (Penn: Pennstate Press 2012), pp. 3-21.

the closest decorative resemblance to his Book of Hours. De Brailes included almost any combination of geometric shapes, copious dragons, elaborate penflourishing, historiated bar borders, and even narrative figures, many of which can be seen in both the *New College Psalter* (Figure 4.23) and the *de Brailes Hours* (Figure 4.24).<sup>283</sup>

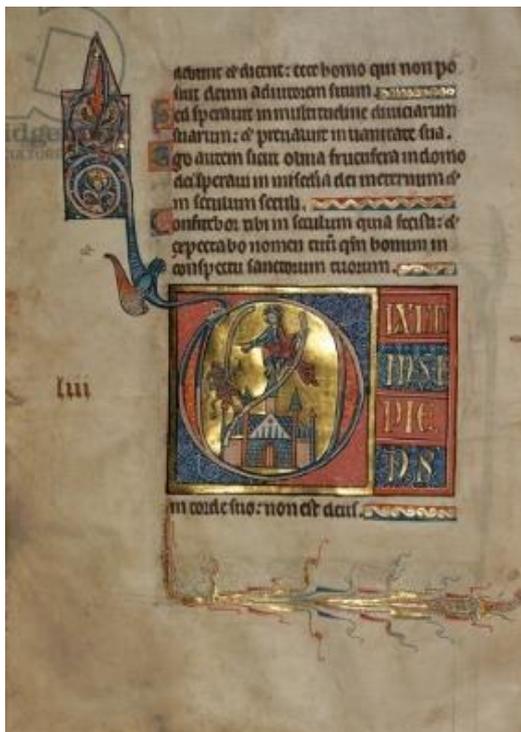


Figure 4.23: Oxford, New College Library, MS 322 fol. 54<sup>v</sup>



Figure 4.24: London, BL, Add. MS 49999, fol. 1

The William of Devon workshop embellished the small scale *Egerton Hours* with a similar range of decoration, including tiny grotesques and animals similar to those which populate his Bibles.<sup>284</sup> Strikingly, a diagonal penwork extension is placed across every *bas-de-page* of this book. The painted and pen-drawn decorations

<sup>283</sup> Oxford, New College Library, MS 322; Morgan, *EGM I*, pp. 121-23. Johnston's discussion of de Brailes 'Italianate' group identifies a distinct decorative group for Psalters and Hours, in *Penflourishing*, pp. 214-36.

<sup>284</sup> See for example Figures 4.14 and 4.15 above.

sometimes interact with each other. At the top of the margin beginning Compline a bird-human grotesque lifts its head as if to swallow the trailing end of the penflourish, whilst in the *bas-de-page* the diagonal penflourish neatly intersects with the painted bar border at the edge of the text space (Figure 4.25). However sometimes the integration was less successful, particularly where a bar border extends across the *bas-de-page*, leading to visually confusing overlays (Figure 4.26).



Figure 4.25: London, BL, Egerton MS 1151, fol. 57<sup>v</sup>



Figure 4.26: London, BL, Egerton MS 1151, fol. 47

*Mise-en-page* was tending towards standardisation of characteristics in the commercial production place. This would facilitate projects moving between different craftsmen who would have been familiar with the layout of the work they were undertaking, and could then provide appropriate customisation within the page

structure. The Apocalypses, which were probably produced in a monastic setting, showed a wider variety of *mise-en-page*, and complex illustrative schemes.<sup>285</sup> Lewis identifies these books with the ‘radical transformation of medieval reading into an increasingly more visual experience’.<sup>286</sup> The illustrations employed iconographic programmes which are so similar as to suggest the use of archetypes, which must have been designed by skilled theologians capable of a visual interpretation of the text’s theological complexity. Yet they are executed with variation in colour, style, and *mise-*



Figure 4.27: Oxford, Bod., MS Auct. D. 4, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>

<sup>285</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 33-38; De Hamel, *The Book*, p. 154; Alexander and Binski, pp. 348-52.

<sup>286</sup> S. Lewis, ‘Beyond the Frame: Marginal Figures and Historiated Initials in the Getty Apocalypse’ in *The J. Paul Getty Journal* 20 (1992), 53-76 (p. 53).

*en-page*.<sup>287</sup> The Bodleian's Auct. Apocalypse generally features two frames on each folio, with no body text but some labelling of the miniatures.<sup>288</sup> The depiction of St John's vision of Heaven is particularly striking. Based on a two-frame page layout it integrates several images with textual commentary in a complex arrangement of sub frames (Figure 4.27).

Typical of *mise-en-page* in another group of Apocalypses is the *Douce Apocalypse* which features a framed illustration at the head of the page, above two columns of text (Figure 4.28).<sup>289</sup> The *Lambeth Apocalypse* also follows this layout however penwork embellishments, similar to those found in Bibles and Books of Hours, add detail along with several *bas-de-page* animals (Figure 2.7 above).<sup>290</sup>



Figure 4.28: Oxford, Bod., MS Douce 180, fol. 3

<sup>287</sup> G. Henderson, 'Studies in English Manuscript Illumination, II: The English Apocalypse', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 104-137 and Morgan, *Lambeth* (1990), pp. 39-47.

<sup>288</sup> Oxford, Bod., MS Auct. D. 4. 17. The two-frame *mise-en-page* is found in other copies, including New York, PML, MS M. 524.

<sup>289</sup> Oxford, Bod., MS Douce 180 (*The Douce Apocalypse*). Other examples of this *mise-en-page* include Paris, BNF, MS Fr. 403 and Paris BNF, MS Lat. 10474. See Alexander and Binski, p. 351.

<sup>290</sup> See Morgan, *Lambeth Apocalypse* (2010).

The appearance of these Apocalypses draws heavily on the style of saints' lives such as those produced by Matthew Paris.<sup>291</sup> The narrative drive of the saints' lives and the dramatic unfolding of the apocalyptic vision suited this energetic treatment. The saints' lives which Matthew Paris circulated amongst his aristocratic contacts formed part of their visual experience, and would have influenced their expectations when commissioning Apocalypse books.

### Personalisation

For those with the economic means personal motifs were included in the book's commission throughout the century. *The Huntingfield Psalter* (c. 1215) depicts a couple in supplication to Christ in Majesty in the initial to Psalm 51, one of the Penitential Psalms recited regularly (Figure 4.29).

*The Cuerden Psalter* (c. 1270), associated with the William of Devon workshop, includes a miniature in which a couple kneel before the Virgin suckling the Child.<sup>292</sup> Donovan suggests that the female in four of the initials in the *de Brailes Hours* represents the patron.<sup>293</sup> There is an interesting detail in *The Salvin Hours* of a female head emerging from the border as if



Figure 4.29: New York, PML, MS 43, fol. 81

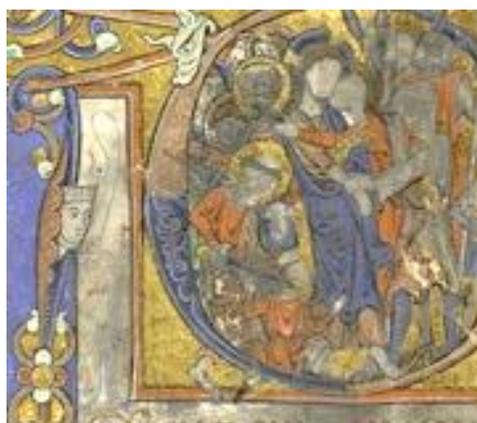


Figure 4.30: London, BL, Add. MS 48985, fol. 2

<sup>291</sup> See Figure 3.13. and N. Morgan, 'Matthew Paris, St Albans, London and the Leaves of the *Life of St Thomas Becket*', *Burlington Magazine*, 130 (1988), 85-96. See also above pp. 70-71.

<sup>292</sup> New York, PML, MS M. 756, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>. See Morgan, *EGM 2*, pp. 157-60.

<sup>293</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 30 and Figure 2.3.

from behind a curtain to gaze upon the scene of betrayal taking place in the adjacent initial (Figure 4.30). Is this a patron image, depicting her on the page in the very act of contemplation she is undertaking with her book? It can be difficult to identify such portraits definitively as patrons without further evidence.

As the thirteenth century progressed and coats of arms became more prevalent, and as the evolving ranks of the gentry adopted these visual status symbols, we begin to find heraldry in manuscripts as a mark of patronage.<sup>294</sup> The *Stockholm Psalter*, associated with the de Brailes workshop, includes several coats of arms in the margins and provides possibly the earliest example of heraldry in a Psalter (Figure 4.31).<sup>295</sup> Heraldic emblems began to feature in a range of commercially produced books including a volume of Aristotle, possibly made in Oxford c. 1280.<sup>296</sup> Not surprisingly they are found in work associated with court circles: Matthew Paris frequently used heraldic shields in the margins of his *Chronica* to indicate deaths and accessions, and kept his own reference sheet.<sup>297</sup> In *The Lambeth*



Figure 4.31: Stockholm, Stockholm National Museum, MS B. 2010, fol. 33



Figure 4.32: London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209, fol. 48

<sup>294</sup> A. Payne, 'Medieval Heraldry' in Alexander and Binski, *Chivalry*, pp. 55-9.

<sup>295</sup> Morgan, *EGM I*, p. 114,

<sup>296</sup> London, BL, Harley MS 3487, fol. 316. M. Camille, 'Illustrations in Harley MS 3487 and the Perception of Aristotle's *Libri Naturales* in Thirteenth-Century England', in *England in the Thirteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by W. Ormrod (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1985), pp. 31-44.

<sup>297</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 70 and London, BL, Cotton MS Nero D i, fol. 171<sup>v</sup>.

*Apocalypse* the patron, generally taken to be the woman at the feet of the Madonna and Child in a similar composition to Matthew Paris' self-portrait, is identified as Eleanor de Quincy based on the family heraldry worn (Figure 4.32).<sup>298</sup>

## Conclusion

The appearance of the book changed in the thirteenth century to meet the needs of new types of owners and new production possibilities. The most striking developments were the reduction in the overall size of books as reading became a personal rather than communal activity; and the diversification of marginal decoration, both of which were established by the second-half of the century. *Mise-en-page* was particularly important in commercial production for delineating the respective workspaces of the scribes, illuminators, and rubricators who may have worked in different locations. Matthew Paris's evolving approach to *mise-en-page*, adding to and amending both textual content and illustrative components of work throughout his career was probably unusual, and was only possible due to much of his work being produced for use in-house. For other monastic production, which may include some of the Apocalypses, carefully planned *mise-en-page* was essential. Many of the decorative features which emerged from the thirteenth-century's innovations became established and would later become typical of fourteenth century manuscripts, such as exuberant marginal decoration and frequent inclusion of family heraldry, whilst the *mise-en-page* of the study Bible provided the framework for the Bible we use today.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> Morgan, *Lambeth* (1990), pp. 74, 79. For Matthew Paris's self-portrait see Figure 3.2.

<sup>299</sup> Payne, *Heraldry*.

## Chapter 5: Economic Aspects

The economic status of the book in the thirteenth century must have been sufficient to support the growing commercial production workshops, however there are few known records providing reliable details of economic transactions relating to books in England in this period: of 1,500 medieval book prices collected by H. E. Bell, ‘scarcely a dozen relate to dates previous to 1300’, of those many predate our period and probably lack quantitative integrity.<sup>300</sup> Valuations of books of the period primarily relate to ecclesiastical or university libraries, therefore the lay religious book scarcely features, however these valuations can provide a wider context for books in general. The consideration of costs and prices are complicated by a number of economic factors. Inflation and deflation were inconsistent across time and commodities: wheat doubled in price between the beginning and end of the century, whereas building materials increased by around half; luxury goods, including manuscripts, were subject not only to general price inflation but also to price variation as the complexity of specification changed over time.<sup>301</sup> Furthermore, terminology and units of measurement are inconsistent with ducats, marks, livres, pounds, and shillings commonly used. Cognisant of these limitations, this chapter will consider some of the fragmentary evidence available within manuscripts and in secondary literature relating to the financial aspects of thirteenth-century book production, as well as exploring the value of books for resale or as security. The more detailed records available for the Paris book trade will supplement the evidence for England.

Book production incurred both labour and material costs: the writing surface, whether parchment or vellum, was the most substantial of the material costs. It is

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<sup>300</sup> H. Bell, ‘The Price of Books in Medieval England’, *The Library* 17 (1936–37), 312–32 (p. 312).

<sup>301</sup> Dyer, *Standards*, pp. 101-02.

notoriously difficult to find reliable data on materials in England in this period. Later examples such as Abbot Litlyngton of Westminster's Missal made in the 1380s, for which partial accounts exist, might be misleading if we attempt to extrapolate the data to the earlier period.<sup>302</sup> In this case £4 6s 8d was paid for thirteen quires of twelve folios of parchment, or 6s 8d per quire in 1383-84; additional folios purchased three years later had increased to 7s per quire. The reason for the price change over three years is unknown: it may have been due to general inflation, or perhaps it was from a new supplier or involved different transport or preparation costs? The price is significantly more than the 2s 8d paid in France c. 1240 for high-quality parchment used in a Bible described by Rouse and Rouse, even taking into account the extra two folios of Litlyngton's quire structure.<sup>303</sup> Cost of parchment might include different levels of preparation: de Hamel cites an example from Paris in 1298 in which 972 dozen skins were purchased for 222 *livres* 14 *sous* in total, of which 194 *livres* and 18 *sous* was for the skins, the remainder, which accounted for 12.5 % of the price, being costs of scraping, selecting and valuing the skins.<sup>304</sup> It would be particularly informative to identify whether the very thin parchment used for study Bibles was accompanied by a commensurate change in cost: the additional work to render the folios suitably fine may have been compensated for by the reduction in size of the folios required.

Labour costs accounted for a significant proportion of a book's price. *The Reginald Bible* contains a number of marginal notes which enumerate the large and small capitals and paraps in each of the volumes.<sup>305</sup> Johnston has calculated that the six volumes together included 19751 *parve littere* and *paragrafi* and 3072 *grosse littere*.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> London: Westminster Abbey, MS 37. See Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p. 36.

<sup>303</sup> See Rouse and Rouse, pp. 144-45 and discussion below.

<sup>304</sup> C. De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum, 1992), p. 13.

<sup>305</sup> London, BL, MS Royal 3 E i-v, viii, see Chapter 3, pp. 88-90.

<sup>306</sup> Johnston, *Penflourishing*, p. 338.

These suggest, as de Hamel has noted, that payment for the decoration was calculated on a piecework basis.<sup>307</sup> Frustratingly there is no indication of how much was paid for each type of initial in *The Reginald Bible* neither do we know how much was charged to the patron. A contemporary multi-volume Bible made in France contains a note of the production cost of its two volumes of Gospels, and three or four of the other volumes, which total ‘*XLIII lib. et V solidi*’.<sup>308</sup> This is broken down as shown in the table below:

	<b>Item</b>	<b>Quantity</b>	<b>Cost</b>	
For the two Gospel Books (Troyes MS 157 and MS 220)	Parchment	37 quaternions	100 <i>s</i>	2 <i>s</i> 8 <i>d</i> per quire
	Scribe	Labour	9 ½ <i>l</i>	5 <i>s</i> 2 <i>d</i> per quire
	Exemplar		5 <i>s</i>	
	Binding		5 <i>s</i>	2 <i>s</i> 6 <i>d</i> per volume
For 3 or 4 other books (of which only Montpelier, Faculté de médecine 17 is known to be extant)	Parchment	81 quaternions	11 <i>l</i> 4 <i>s</i>	2 <i>s</i> 9 <i>d</i> per quire
	Scribe	Labour	14 <i>l</i>	3 <i>s</i> 5 <i>d</i> per quire
	Exemplar		13 <i>s</i>	
	Binding		20 <i>s</i>	5-7 <i>s</i> per volume
	Illumination	For all of these books	36 <i>s</i>	

Whilst these figures cannot be directly related to the production of *The Reginald Bible*, and even less to the small pandects and devotional books which dominate this study, nevertheless they do highlight a number of key commercial points. One important cost which is neither labour nor material is the hiring of an exemplar. This would have facilitated the effective *mise-en-page* of a glossed Bible, which requires complex planning to integrate scripture and gloss. The more standardised layout of portable

<sup>307</sup> De Hamel, *History*, p. 140.

<sup>308</sup> Troyes BM 157 (Clairvaux C33). A selection of images are available at <<http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=6653>>. Rouse and Rouse, pp. 144-45, point out that the individual amounts in fact total 43 *l* (*livres*) and 13 *s* (*solidi*).

Bibles, which were also produced in greater number and therefore would have become familiar to the craftsmen, may not have required the specific hire of an exemplar. The highest proportion of the cost listed is for scribal labour. These heavily glossed Bibles necessitated complex ruling, and three different scripts to distinguish between text, marginal gloss, and interlinear gloss; therefore the competency of the scribe was paramount, and the amount of work he had to do was significant. The second group of volumes was charged at a much lower rate per quire, there is no obvious reason for this as the work is similar in layout and complexity: it might suggest that the later scribe received part of his remuneration as board and lodging. There are a number of fourteenth-century examples of both time rate and piecework payment, many of the scribes paid by time rate agreements were also provided with board and lodging, and even clothing. It is likely that both arrangements were also used in the thirteenth century.<sup>309</sup> The cost of illumination is significantly lower than that of the scribe, despite the volumes having many decorated initials. This might suggest a market premium for literacy, but also that the scribal rate includes the sums paid to the rubricator who would have executed the decorative coloured letters, penwork detail, and paraphs. The enumerations in *The Reginald Bible* may indicate this type of arrangement whereby the scribe or illuminator had subcontracted the rubrication, paying by the initial. A set of Chronicles commissioned in 1305 specifies forty letters of gold and further illumination for which a much higher sum of 4 *livres* 10 *solidi* is paid to the illuminator, indicative of the higher material costs and labour involved.<sup>310</sup>

These accounts demonstrate that a patron could influence the cost of his commission through the choices he made and the specification given, for much of the

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<sup>309</sup> Bell, *Price*, pp. 316-17.

<sup>310</sup> Rouse and Rouse, p. 172.

production cost was clearly dependent on the amount and intricacy of the work required. Other examples, such as those for late fourteenth-century Antiphoners made in London, indicate that labour costs accounted for some 74% of the price.<sup>311</sup>

Robert Grosseteste, teacher at Oxford and later Bishop of Lincoln, built up a personal library and provides a good example of the ways in which books might be acquired.<sup>312</sup> Grosseteste possibly copied out some works himself, including perhaps the mathematical and astronomical works in Oxford, Bod., Savile MS 21. He borrowed books, as evidenced by a caution note in a volume of reports of lectures which he left as security for a copy of Basil's *Hexameron*.<sup>313</sup> In c. 1236 Grosseteste wrote to Master John Foxton, requesting to purchase the scriptural books Foxton was intending to sell, offering to pay whatever price Foxton named.<sup>314</sup> Grosseteste was not attempting to negotiate: the seller could clearly set the price, whether the fact that the proceeds were to be put to 'pious purposes' influenced Grosseteste's view of the transaction is debatable. The books in Grosseteste's personal collection were eventually bequeathed by him to the library of the Friars Minor in Oxford: illustrative of the way in which many of Oxford's libraries were established.<sup>315</sup> Such bequests were fundamental to the establishment of libraries, and in 1276 Robert Kilwardby stipulated that fellows of Merton College should bequeath their books to the college.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> J. Overy 'The Cost of Doing Scribal Business: Prices of Manuscript Books in England, 1300–1483', *Book History 11* (2008), 1-32.

<sup>312</sup> R. W. Southern, 'Grosseteste, Robert (c. 1170–1253)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online. Available at <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/11665>> [accessed 2 Sept 2015]

<sup>313</sup> Cambridge, Pembroke College Library, MS 7, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>314</sup> R. Grosseteste and F. Mantello, *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln* (University of Toronto Press, 2010), p. 147.

<sup>315</sup> These examples are all discussed in R. Hunt, 'The Library of Robert Grosseteste' in *Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop*, ed. by D. Callus (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 121-45 (pp. 127-30).

<sup>316</sup> Parkes, *Provisions*, p. 456.

Library catalogues for the period relate to either ecclesiastical or nascent university collections. Libraries were known to overvalue their books to encourage borrowers to return them, for example University College Oxford specifically provided for inflated valuation in its 1292 statutes.<sup>317</sup> Similarly, books deposited as security for loans, may have had risk factors incorporated into their valuations. In Oxford, loans were available initially from the Jewish community and later from the University chests, in either case books were accepted as pledges. These books would often be undervalued to ensure that the creditor had sufficient assets to cover the amount of the debt and their own costs should the debtor fail to redeem the pledge.<sup>318</sup> It is clear that book valuations were subject to a number of external factors beyond the materiality of the book. From the mid-century we find references to University stationers and booksellers in Oxford, however unlike those in Paris whose main role was co-ordinating book production, the key role of Oxford's *stationarii* appears to have been the valuation and management of pledges.<sup>319</sup>

With their inherent value and an active second-hand market, books were sometime stolen. In 1282 a lady claimed a Missal worth 20s; an unspecified manual worth 6s 8d; and two song rolls totalling 8d were stolen from her.<sup>320</sup> These valuations, made in a legal context, may be rather arbitrary and are probably inflated in comparison to purchase prices. A legal dispute of the 1260s between two laymen, Ralph de Cromwell and Philip de Panton, centres on the books which Ralph had given to Philip as security on a loan of 10 marks, and which Philip had failed to return. In court Ralph

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<sup>317</sup> R. Hogg, 'Some Thirteenth-Century English Book Prices' in *Thirteenth Century England V* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), pp. 179-94 (p. 181).

<sup>318</sup> Parkes, *Provision*, p. 410.

<sup>319</sup> Parkes, *Provision*, pp. 418, 448, 465; Bell, p. 325.

<sup>320</sup> Hogg, p. 190.

claimed these volumes were worth 100 marks – ten times the value of the loan, yet when he detailed them the total was nearer to 70 marks. In fact both of these valuations were demonstrably higher than the attached debt, exemplifying the difficulty of grasping the commercial realities of the book trade, yet showing the potential for using books to raise cash.<sup>321</sup>

Professionalisation of book production and specialisation of the different crafts must have generated economies of scale. Branner goes so far as to suggest that the thirteenth-century pocket Bible was ‘one of the most viable ideas ever developed in the history of publishing’.<sup>322</sup> Yet these professionally-made books would have been expensive items. One of the factors which influenced Oxford’s growth in bookmaking was quite possibly its status as a market town for luxury goods including gold, wine, and spice, which would have attracted a wealthy clientele.<sup>323</sup> However costs and prices for thirteenth-century English books made for private individuals remain elusive, and further research in this area will be needed if as yet unknown material is to be found which may elucidate this field.

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<sup>321</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 179-89.

<sup>322</sup> R. Branner, ‘The *Soissons Bible* Paintshop in Thirteenth-Century Paris’, *Speculum*, 44 (1969), 13-34 (p. 13).

<sup>323</sup> J. Catto, and R. Evans, eds, *The History of the University of Oxford, Vol 1 The Early Oxford Schools* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 158.

## Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the evolution of the lay religious book in the thirteenth century within a broad contextual framework. The changes which took place in the political, commercial, social, intellectual, and religious aspects of society combined to establish fertile conditions in which lay demand for religious texts took root, leading to an attendant evolution of professional book production to fulfil this demand. These complex interrelationships were set against a backdrop of urban growth: cities and towns such as Paris, and later Oxford, became thriving marketplaces with royal, judicial, ecclesiastical, intellectual, and trading activities integral to their economic landscapes. The systems of trade, previously dominated by land-based monastic and feudal systems which emphasised service, yielded to a money-based commercial economy centred in these growing market towns.

The urban environment was dominated by ecclesiastical buildings: churches, cathedrals, and religious houses providing a permanent reminder of the ubiquitous nature of the church. Friars took the church's spiritual teaching and practice into these urban spaces and into the homes of the townsfolk, encouraging private devotional activity alongside public worship. Driven by the theological framework established by the Fourth Lateran Council, the friars taught that every Christian, not just those called to a religious vocation, were now expected to strive for salvation. The route to this salvation after death, via Purgatory, could be shortened by pious acts of the living, therefore confessional and penitential activity became increasingly significant. Friars were inextricably bound up with the implementation of this teaching, their ministry enhanced by use of appropriate books. They were instrumental in the development of suitable practices and associated textual material, for example by documenting

devotional practices in *Ancrene Wisse*, and providing supplementary prayers in Books of Hours. They were undoubtedly closely involved in the evolution of existing liturgical and textual material into the Books of Hours.

The cloistered monk labouring on his work in a scriptorium could never fulfil the growing demand for lay religious texts, not least because their Houses were often in rural locations, away from the growing centres of demand. The monastic scriptorium's focus was work for their own order and for their aristocratic benefactors. Matthew Paris was a rare example of a monk who partially bridged the divide between religious and secular through his wide range of contacts and by writing, translating, illustrating, and circulating works. However his influence seems to have been limited to a very small section of society's elite which already had a history of ecclesiastical patronage.

Itinerant professional craftsmen, such as Master Hugo, had been working with their monastic counterparts since at least the twelfth century. It seems likely that lay and clerical continued to collaborate. Evidence for the role of religious foundations in the early commercial workshops of Oxford is elusive, however it is noteworthy that several of Oxford's early thirteenth-century books can be linked to the Augustinians. Furthermore the self-portrait of William de Brailes in his Book of Hours shows him tonsured, suggesting he was a lay cleric. The relationship between lay professional and clerical scribe was therefore complex.

Once professional illuminators and scribes began to settle in urban centres, including Oxford, they formed a critical mass of craftsmen with complementary skills, and were able to provide for different requirements. Their commercial urban workshops operated in a very different economic environment to the almost self-sufficient monastery. Money was necessary for much of the necessities of urban life: rent, food, tools of the trade, therefore these professional workshops needed to court trade in order

to remain viable. The volume and characteristics of the extant work by William de Brailes suggests he understood the context well and was commercially astute. By focusing on the pocket Bible, which was much in demand, he probably had a steady flow of work. The diminution in size which was characteristic of these Bibles was one of the most striking features of the evolving book: lay readers and mendicant friars ushered in a new era of private reading and contemplation for which the smaller book was better suited. Larger volumes continued to have a place alongside these, although they were fewer in number, as the market diversified.

The decorative appearance of the book also evolved, adapting existing techniques and styles to new contexts. Successful workshops offered a range of decorative styles to provide patron choice. The variety seen in the de Brailes Bibles was only possible through a collaborative workshop operation involving a community of illuminators, scribes, rubricators and flourishers whose range of skills could be combined in diverse and innovative ways. The potential of margins, already established as space for glosses, began to be exploited for other purposes. Influenced by the appearance of university texts, rubricators began to include running titles alongside decorative ornament to facilitate navigation. More boldly, de Brailes took the form of the *jeux de plume* from academic law books and translated it to the *bas-de-page* of his luxury works, whilst the William of Devon workshop introduced grotesques, animals, and figures into their margins.

Whilst on the one hand there was a degree of standardisation for certain books, notably the Bible, the scope for customisation of content and appearance according to the patron's wishes, and purse, is evident. The expanding range of texts for the laity was accompanied by a choice of evolving styles which became increasingly elaborate over the course of the century. These books illustrate the unprecedented diversification in the

market for lay religious books which characterised the thirteenth century, much of which was driven by socio-economic and particularly the religious factors discussed. Oxford exemplified the conjunction of these factors: its status as a royal town; its growing religious and intellectual community; and its good trade links creating an extraordinary commercial opportunity. The books produced were textual and visual tools addressing the devotional and spiritual needs of a new range of readers, probably the lesser aristocracy and the wealthier merchant classes who were increasingly consumers of luxury goods. Equally these books were objects of economic import, their look indicative of the patron's financial means, and their production providing an income to the professional book-making community. Nonetheless, despite their indisputable place as products of their context, many of the features which emerged from the thirteenth-century's adaptations and innovations became well established and provided a foundation for later developments, notably the *mise-en-page* of the pocket Bible, which remain with us today.

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