# THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD IN ENGLAND: IMAGE AND MUSIC IN THE BOOK OF HOURS AND RELATED TEXTS, c. 1250-c. 1500

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# A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of St. Andrews



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SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY,
UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

DECEMBER, 2009

I, Sarah Schell, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately .36,987... words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September, 2005 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2005; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2005 and 2009.

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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#### ∞ ABSTRACT ∞

This study examines the illustrations that appear at the Office of the Dead in English Books of Hours, and seeks to understand how text and image work together in this thriving culture of commemoration to say something about how the English understood and thought about death in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Office of the Dead would have been one of the most familiar liturgical rituals in the medieval period, and was recited almost without ceasing at family funerals, gild commemorations, yearly minds, and chantry chapel services. The Placebo and Dirige were texts that many people knew through this constant exposure, and would have been more widely known than other 'death' texts such as the Ars Moriendi. The images that are found in these books reflect wider trends in the piety and devotional practice of the time. The first half of the study discusses the images that appear in these borae, and the relationship between the text and image is explored. The funeral or vigil scene, as the most commonly occurring, is discussed with reference to contemporary funeral practices, and ways of reading a Book of Hours. Other iconographic themes that appear in the Office of the Dead, such as the Roman de Renart, the Pety Job, the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, the story of Lazarus, and the life of Job, are also discussed. The second part of the thesis investigates the musical elaborations of the Office of the Dead as found in English prayer books. The Office of the Dead had a close relationship with music, which is demonstrated through an examination of the popularity of musical funerals and obits, as well as in the occurrence of musical notation for the Office in a book often used by the musically illiterate. The development of the Office of the Dead in conjunction with the development of the Books of Hours is also considered, and places the traditions and ideas that were part of the funeral process in medieval England in a larger historical context.

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LIBRARIES

WAG Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

PML Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

OBL Oxford, Bodleian Library

Bib. nat. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

CUL Cambridge, University Library

BL British Library

SOURCES

EETS Early English Text Society

LRS London Record Society

Early Gothic Manuscripts Morgan, N. J. Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1250-1285. 2 vols, A

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#### ✓ INTRODUCTION ✓

When thy face pales and thy strength decays and thy nose become cold and thy breath falters and thy breath fails, and thy life goes away; then shall they stretch thee on the floor and place thee on a bier and sew thee up in a clout, and put thee in a pit along with the wormes.<sup>1</sup>

It is a commonplace that the Middle Ages was a time obsessed with death, themes of *memento mori*, and the macabre - that the people of this period were spending their lives in the service of the dead.<sup>2</sup> And to an extent we must acknowledge this to be true. Infant mortality was high, workplace safety was non-existent, commonplace disease often deadly, and politics dangerous. In England there was war abroad, dynastic unrest at home, and plague in addition to the more quotidian concerns of hearth and home. This was the period of history that gave rise to literary forms such as the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead*, the *Dance macabre* the *Ars Moriendi*, and the *Pety Joh*. In the visual arts, it is during these years that we see the appearance of the cadaver tomb, architecturally complex chantry chapels, and tomb brasses, in addition to illuminations and paintings of the writings mentioned above. The doctrine of Purgatory was official accepted in the fourteenth century, turning a long held belief into a canonical truth. There was a highly developed anxiety about the fate of the dead; an awareness that not all would readily 'pass though the eye of the needle', but would reside in purgatory for perhaps thousands of years. The Church provided indulgences for the wealthy and poor alike, and tombs and memorials beg friend and stranger for prayers that might shorten their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A middle English "Song of Death" from Oxford, Jesus College, MS 29, f. 262, a thirteenth century English miscellany.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This point of view most famously espoused in J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, London, 1927.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." Mark 10:25.

stay in this infernal waiting room. The close proximity to death that was a part of daily experience, and the spiritual worry over the fate of the dead meant that a great deal of time was devoted to thinking about and establishing what death was, what it meant for the dead themselves, and importantly, what it meant for the living who were left behind.

But though themes of death and mortality were widespread in the arts of the medieval period, it would be wrong to suggest that the people were themselves morbid. In much of the literature and art that deal with these ideas, the focus is not on dying, decay or 'deadness', but on self-reflection, salvation, and ultimately understanding and acceptance of the universal and democratic nature of death. This thesis examines the artistic elaborations that appear at the Office of the Dead in English prayerbooks, and seeks to understand how text, image and music work together in this thriving culture of commemoration to express various facets of how the English understood and represented death in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

#### INVESTIGATING THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

The Office of the Dead would have been one of the most familiar of the liturgical rituals to people from all walks of life.<sup>4</sup> By the late medieval period, it was recited almost without ceasing at family funerals, gild commemorations, yearly minds, and chantry chapel services. The *Placebo* and *Dirige*, or 'Dirge' were texts that many people knew through constant exposure. Similarly, the Book of Hours was a common devotional compilation: it was among the most popular and widely produced books of its day.<sup>5</sup> By the end of the fifteenth century, many people were able to afford one, and it was often the only book a household might possess.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the Book of Hours becomes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Eamon Duffy has argued that the prayers and texts of the Office of the Dead were the most commonly used of all prayers in the late medieval period. Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580*, 2nd. ed. (London: 1992, 2005), 220-222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>John Higgit, The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy, and Luxury in Parish, England and the Gaelic West (London: 2000), 165; Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580, 2nd. ed. (London: 2005), 211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Laurel Amtower, Engaging Words: The Culture of Reading in the Later Middle Ages (New York: 2000), 35.

an excellent place from which to start a discussion of the iconography of the Office of the Dead that hopes to encompass the attitudes and views of not only the wealthy, but also the merchant class, who may not have had the resources or time to become familiar with other 'death' texts, such as the *Ars moriendi*.

Additionally, and importantly from the point of view of scholarship, the choice of the Office of the Dead in the Book of Hours reflects a gap in the literature on medieval death, and particularly in art historical studies of these themes. Medieval death has enjoyed a surge in interest from scholars in the last thirty years, and has been the focus of a good deal of recent scholarship. While Huizinga's Waning of the Middle Ages, with its evocation of a morbid society stalked by the spectre of death, is perhaps one of the most well known publications on medieval death, more recent work has taken different approaches and explored other facets of this subject. These studies range in focus from the religious and liturgical framework that surrounded death, and the social implications caused by mass or violent death, to the day-to-day business of death and burial in medieval communities. This scholarly engagement extends to the field of art history, where studies of tomb brasses, marble slabs, cadaver tombs, and chantry chapels have explored the visual ramifications of the societal preoccupation with the death of the body and the life of the soul.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> On the religious and liturgical framework see Richard Rutherford, *The Death of a Christian: the Rite of Funerals*, Studies in the reformed rites of the Catholic Church (New York: 1980); Frederick S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: the Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (London: 1990), and on the Office of the Dead specifically, Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, Denmark: 1993). On mass death see Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester: 1994); Colin Platt, *King Death: the Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England* (London: 1996); Mark Ormrod and Phillip Lindley, eds., *The Black Death in England* (Stamford: 1996), and Barbara Hanawalt, "Violent Death in Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth-Century England," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18 (1976). On the the ordinary death see Steven Bassett, ed. *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead* (London: 1992); Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*, 1066-1550 (London: 1997); Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2000).

<sup>8</sup> See Malcolm Norris, Monumental Brasses: The Memorials (London: 1977); Sally Badham, "Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval English Brasses and Incised Slabs," Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society 15 (1996); Sally Badham and Malcolm Norris, Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London (London: 1999); Kathleen Cohen, Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance (London: 1973); Pamela Margaret King, "Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb in Fifteenth Century England" (PhD, York University, 1987); Pamela King, "The Cadaver Tomb in England: Novel Manifestations of an Old Idea," Church Monuments 5 (1990); Marie-Hélène Rousseau, "Chantry Foundations and Chantry Chaplains at St Paul's Cathedral, London c. 1200-1548" (PhD Thesis, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London, 2003); Howard Colvin, Architecture and the After-life (London: 1991), etc.

However, the images in manuscripts, the Book of Hours and the Office of the Dead have received relatively little attention in these works.

Thomas Boase's short book *Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgement and Remembrance* (1972), presents a narrative overview of the social and political circumstances of death in the Middle Ages. Images, where present, are employed as visual confirmation of the facts, and Boase normally employs tomb and monumental sculpture: there is no discussion or analysis of the images that are included. Most of the works he chooses to focus on were made for, or are related to the 'great' men of the period: bishops, archbishops, queens, and kings are all well represented. The reliance on examples from great personages of the time leaves little reference to more modest mortuary arrangements. There are very few references to manuscripts, and where they do make an appearance, they too represent the patronage of aristocrats, such as the *Très Riches Heures* and the Hours of Mary of Burgundy.

One of the most influential works on medieval death is Philip Aries' *The Hour of Our Death* (1981).<sup>10</sup> It is here that he articulates his thesis that by the fourteenth century death had become 'clerical', removed from the sphere of the community and into the domain of the professional religious. This notion of the communal vs. the private death informs much of his approach to the subject. The book ranges widely over many centuries, beginning in the early medieval period and finishing in the Victorian, and over a huge variety of sources. Aries uses both written evidence, literary, testamentary, and liturgical, as well as the visual evidence presented in the iconography of tombs, monuments and paintings to make his case. While such variety and volume of evidence would suggest a broad range of representation, Aries' chooses overwhelmingly to give voice to the wealthy and the powerful who are left to speak for the rest of the population. A book like this, with such a wide purview, is inevitably prone to generalities. Such an expansive book does not provide a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Thomas S. Ross Boase, Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgement and Remembrance (London: 1972).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: 1981).

cohesive historical account so much as a fascinating collection of interrelated facts and stories woven together to produce a series of impressions and vignettes.

Oddly, for a book drawing on such a wide array of evidence, there is almost no discussion of the Office of the Dead and little of the Book of Hours. Though a rich source of both visual and textual testimony to the medieval and early modern experience of death, the Books are not integrated. Aries asserts in one of the few reference to the Book of Hours, that the favourite domain of the *transi* figure was as an illustration for the Office of the Dead. Following this, he states that cemetery scenes in Books of Hours appear with 'great frequency and variety'. Neither of these statements, while possibly true for late medieval French books, can be applied truthfully to the English manuscripts. Aries is similarly brief in his mention of the Office of the Dead in *Images of Man and Death* (1985), where it makes only one fleeting appearance in a chapter devoted to the journey of the body from the death at home to burial in the church. 12

Books of Hours have not been totally ignored in the scholarly work on medieval death. The importance of *horae* is noted in Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992) which includes a lengthy section on medieval perceptions of death and the anxieties surrounding it, and a similarly lengthy section on the importance of the primer in lay devotions. Duffy highlights the ubiquity of the Office of the Dead in medieval parishes, and its familiarity to parishioners. The integrated nature of such a text with social, cultural, devotional practices and its impact on medieval understandings of death is central to his discussion of both the Primer and death. However, the visual aspects of the culture of commemoration about which Duffy writes are not examined in their own right. In *Marking the Hours* (2006) Duffy focuses more specifically on people's relationship with their devotional books.<sup>13</sup> Here too the Office of the Dead and its centrality to the Book of Hours is discussed. However, like *The Stripping of the Altars*, this is not a book on the history of images: while

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 114-115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Philippe Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge, Mass.: 1985), 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Eamon Duffy, Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570 (London: 2006).

Duffy acknowledges the importance of the illustrative sequences found in these volumes, he also states that these will not be the main concern of the book.<sup>14</sup>

Paul Binski also includes a discussion of the Office of the Dead in his book Medieval Death (1996). 15 Binski refers to this book as an 'essay' which he hopes will provide a broad introduction to the topic that will be useful for students and general readers. After an introduction to the roots of death culture, he has divided his subject into four topics (Ways of Dying, Representation, the Macabre, and the Afterlife), and given each a chapter. Binski states that his book began as one on religion, and this emphasis can be felt in the existing book. Medieval and modern theories and philosophies regarding death are in evidence throughout, as is an interest in an anthropological approach to the subject underlining the ritual significance of actions performed at moments of transition from one state to another. 16 The Office of the Dead is principally discussed in the opening chapter on the "Ways of Dying and Rituals of Death", and is discussed in the context of ritual as a means of the separation and reintegration for the dead. As one might expect in a volume subtitled Ritual and Representation, there is a much greater emphasis on the importance of images than we have seen in the studies discussed so far. Binski notes that Books of Hours are 'among the richest sources of illustrations of death', and eight images from the Office of the Dead are included.<sup>17</sup> In spite of the healthy concentration of English visual examples included in the book, none of the Office of the Dead images are from from English Books of Hours.

A recent work on medieval death takes an archeological approach. Requiem (2005), is based around the evidence gathered from some 70 monastic cemetery excavations carried out around England, Scotland and Wales. The authors approach the subject with an emphasis on the sequential nature of the events that together comprised death and burial; this includes ritual action

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Paul Binski, Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation (London: 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See also Arnold van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee (London: 1960).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Binski, Medieval Death, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Roberta Gilchrist and Barney Sloane, Requiem: the Medieval Monastic Cemetery in Britain (London: 2005).

at the death bed, through to a discussion of commemorative actions taking place after burial. The discussion is structured by a tripartite division into actions classified as pre-liminal, liminal, and post-liminal, after the established notions of Arnold van Gennep. While Gilchrist and Sloane take as their main body of evidence the archeological findings of their digs, they use this data not only to report on what they found, but to relate these findings to larger social context. Visual and textual sources have been called into service throughout to substantiate, develop, and further ideas presented by the finding that resulted from the investigation into the material remains of death.

Gilchrist and Sloane, have recognised that the Office of the Dead was an important source for images of the funeral, and they have included references to Books of Hours in their text. The examples (all taken from French Books of Hours), are used to illustrate the various stages involved from death to burial. This is an archeological study, primarily based around the evidence garnered from the physical remains of monastic cemetery excavations, and accordingly, is not the place for an art historical discussion of images of death and burial. The miniatures are used to support the archeological findings, but there is little discussion of the use or significance of the Books of Hours themselves, the texts they contain, or the variety of images and greater meaning contained therein. Significantly, there is also little discussion of how far these images can legitimately be considered 'archeological' in terms of their relationship to the reality reveal by the excavations.

Studies on focusing on Books of Hours rather than on death occasionally also provide the reader with a significant information on the Office of the Dead. Roger Wieck has contributed to the scholarship on the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours in several of his publications. In both *Painted Prayers* and *Time Sanctified*, there are chapters devoted to the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours.<sup>19</sup> These are exhibition catalogues, and Wieck takes a didactic approach to his subject,

11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: the Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: 1997); Roger S. Wieck, Lawrence R. Poos et al., *Time Sanctified: the Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: 1988). See also Roger S. Wieck, "The Book of Hours," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo: 2005). This last largely repeats information provided in the earlier publications.

providing basic introductory and contextual information for the reader. Following this purpose, the Office of the Dead chapters in these books briefly cover the use of the *horae* in matters of death (to follow the service, or as a meditation on mortality), but primarily explain the process of death and burial. As in *Requiem*, the images are used to illustrate the funeral process. The notion of the images as having 'archeological accuracy', is also found in Wieck's work.<sup>20</sup>

Wieck, unlike Gilchrist and Sloane, also discusses iconographies that do not depict the funeral, such as Death personified and the *Three Living and the Three Dead*. He discusses these in terms of cultural anxieties around mortality in the medieval period. Wieck's publications focus on French and Flemish Books of Hours, only very occasionally referring to works of English origin. In the chapter on the Office of the Dead in *Painted Prayers*, for example, of the sixteen accompanying catalogue images eleven are French, four are Dutch, and only one is English. Similarly, of the twenty-four images accompanying the Office of the Dead chapter in *Time Sanctified*, there are seventeen French and five Dutch, but only one English example. Wieck emphasises the wealth of variety that can be found in Office of the Dead images in these volumes: this, combined with the constraints of the collections the catalogues are based upon, necessarily stresses the French material.

There are a few articles which also deal with the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours, notably, Weick's "The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral", and Gloria Fiero's "Death Ritual in Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination". As can be gathered from the titles of both these articles, the subject under discussion here is specifically images of funeral ritual, rather than more broadly images that appear with the Office of the Dead. Fiero puts forward the argument that the increase in images of funeral ritual in the fifteenth century was a response to the plague years of the preceding century, and reflect a desire to reinstate the structures and norms of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Wieck, Painted Prayers, 444.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Roger S. Wieck, "The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E Debruck and Barbara I. Guisck (New York: 1999); Gloria Fiero, "Death Ritual in Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination," *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984).

burial practice that were disrupted by the great pestilence. Roger Wieck's article treads familiar ground: more thoroughly than in his previous publications discussed above, he runs through the process of death and burial as illustrated by images in Books of Hours. He concludes that the theme was popular because it represented the death that medieval people desired. Both articles are supported by a collection of images, and again, these are continental in origin: of the 28 figures provided by Wieck, for example, none are English, German or Italian.

These are some of the key studies in the literature on death in the medieval period, and several recurring trends with regard to the use of Books of Hours, and specifically Office of the Dead images in Books of Hours are in evidence. These images are often employed as visual proof of what occurred during funeral ritual in the medieval period. There is little acknowledgment of the subjective nature of these images, or a discussion of to what extent they can be used in this documentary fashion. In addition, the examples are primarily drawn from fifteenth-century French or Flemish manuscripts, while Italian, English and German books, as well as earlier examples, are underrepresented. None of these studies discuss music in death rituals, and thus do not consider the impact this element of artistic expression would have had on the experience and environment of the funeral.

Books of Hours have not been totally ignored in publications on medieval death, but they have yet to form the focus of a dedicated study. It is surprising, given the popularity of medieval death as a subject of scholarly investigation in recent decades, that images accompanying the Office of the Dead have not been thoroughly examined. Indeed, in many catalogues of illuminated manuscripts, these illustrations are not mentioned - perhaps thought too insignificant, or too conventional to be worthy of note. It is part of the purpose of this study then to bring these images to the attention of the scholarly community.

It is not my intention in this thesis to argue against the work or conclusions of other manuscript scholars who have looked at individual images at the Office of the Dead. Rather, this

thesis is an extension of the work begun in other studies, and hopes to expand and develop previous work on the Office of the Dead by focusing on an underrepresented group of images. This study shares with Gilchrist and Sloane an attempt to relate the findings from one data set to the surrounding context, and with Binski the emphasis on the importance and usefulness of images in understanding a culture that was highly adept at 'reading' visual material. Using the images at the Office of the Dead and related written and visual evidence such as wills and tomb brasses, the assumption that these images are simply literal representations of the funeral is investigated by attempting to understand how such an image functioned in the context of the book, in society at large, and in relationship with those Office of the Dead images that do not depict medieval funeral services. In addition to the work on images, this study extends the traditional definition of artistic elaborations found in commemorative practices to include music. This aspect is explored in terms of its impact on experience and space, and its place as a visual element of the book.

Instead of examining the images and music in the wider context of Catholic Europe, I have narrowed my area of investigation to those images found in books produced in England. This approach has been taken with the hope that the narrow geographical focus will highlight expressions relating to death culture that are specific to this area and expose variations in regional productions that reflect localised tastes and understandings. Although this is a regional study, it is my hope that it may generate insights that will prove more widely applicable to similar studies elsewhere in Europe, as well as providing a greater understanding of the cultural representations of death in England during these centuries.

#### PRAYERBOOKS: BOOKS OF HOURS AND PSALTERS

This thesis focuses on the Book of Hours, but other types of book used by the lay population that contained the Office of the Dead have been included in the discussion when

appropriate, most notably, the Psalter.<sup>22</sup> This is because in England, unlike on the Continent, the Psalter had a continued popularity as a devotional book and overlaps with the Book of Hours both in time span and in useage.

The period covered in this study spans the time over which the Book of Hours evolved, was standardised, and grew to immense popularity. As this genre of devotional literature was developing, there was considerable variation in texts, and overlap with existing devotional books, such as the Psalter. The Book of Hours is our principle source of images of the Office of the Dead, as the popularity of the book ensured almost continuous and widespread production. But in addition to the Book of Hours, early illustrations of the Office of the Dead are found in the Psalters and Psalter-Hours produced in the years before the Book of Hours established itself as a separate genre. Very few true Books of Hours survive from the thirteenth century of English provenance. Claire Donovan notes that there are only eight extant manuscripts that could be considered stand alone Hours, and of these, only four contain the Office of the Dead. The eight books are the Marston Hours (Yale University Library, Marston MS 22), Vienna Hours (Vienna, Museum für angewandte Kunst, Cod. lat. XIV (S5)), Egerton Hours (BL, Egerton MS 1151), Salvin Hours (BL, Add. MS 48985), Beatrice Hours (BL, Add. MS 33385), Harley Hours (BL, Harley MS 928), Walters Hours (Balitmore, Walter's Art Gallery, MS W. 102) and the De Vere Hours (Christ's College Cam. MS 8). Only the Beatrice (f. 171-169), Harley (f. 128-257), Egerton (f. 118-158) and De Vere Hours (f. 230-257) contain an Office of the Dead for the Use of Sarum. The Walters Hours contains an

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There are, of course, other types of books as well that contain the Office of the Dead; for example hymnals, breviaries, and antiphoners. When relevant, discussion of these volumes will be found in Chapter Five, in the discussion on the musical elaboration of the Office. There are also a few mentions of books that appear quite specific in purpose, containing only the Office of the Dead, and perhaps some additional related prayers. These 'Dirige Books' do not appear to be very common, but whether this reflects actual production or merely the accident of survival, is difficult to say. In the 313 wills written by clergymen between 1370 and 1532 examined by Norman Tanner, only four such books are mentioned, three in the years between 1440 and 1489 and one from 1490 - 1517. Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532*, Studies and texts (Toronto: 1984), 194. Another such book is mentioned in the 1514 will of Sir Thomas Abbot, a priest in London, who leaves a 'prynted portas' and a 'pye' to his church of St George in addition to a 'lytell with Placebo and diryge'. Ida Darlington, ed. *London Consistory Court Wills, 1492-1547*, London Record Society 3 (London: 1967), 2. These seem to have been short, functional texts designed to assist the clergy in carrying out their commemorative duties.

Office of the Dead for the Use of the Austin Friars, which is also accompanied by historiated initials. Of these, only the Office in the Egerton and Walters Hours are illustrated.<sup>23</sup>

The Psalter, on the other hand, was a familiar and standard text by the time Books of Hours were becoming popular, and particularly in England the Psalter was widely used by lay and clerical readers as a devotional text in a similar mode to that in which the Book of Hours would be used.<sup>24</sup> The Psalms were one of the principle texts of Christian worship from earliest times and they were familiar. The Psalter was used in monastic, secular, and private devotional contexts, with books used for each of these purposes surviving from at least the ninth century. Psalms were sung communally by the lay congregation, recited as part of the monastic *horarium*, formed one of the basic texts of the Offices, and were read privately as a basis for reflection and meditation. <sup>25</sup> The popularity of the psalms made them a conspicuous feature of devotional literature for the laity in the medieval period.<sup>26</sup> The term 'psalter' in the Middle Ages often referred to a book containing more that just the psalm texts.<sup>27</sup> In the early medieval period many private devotional books were simply Psalters to which additional devotional material has been appended.<sup>28</sup> By the later Middle Ages the most common additions to the usual Psalter texts were the Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead.<sup>29</sup>

The Psalter-Hours, a combination of the two popular texts, emerged as a meeting point between the two types. In addition to the volumes commissioned for use in churches, copies of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-century Oxford* (London: 1991), 134. Detailed information on all these early English Hours can be found in Appendix Three of Donovan's book, pages 183-200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: 1991), 68; Margaret Josephine Rickert, *Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., Pelican History of Art. (Harmondsworth: 1965), 91; Jeanne Krochalis and E. Ann Matter, "Manuscripts of the Liturgy," in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo, Michigan: 2005), 415.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 67; Herbert Thurston, "Psalterium," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 12(1911), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12543b.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Herbert Thurston, "Prayer-Books," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 12(1911), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12350a.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Harper, The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy, 68-69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Thurston, "Prayer-Books."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> John Higgit, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy, and Luxury in Paris, England and the Gaelic West* (London: 2000), 169; Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: a guide to their organization and terminology* (Toronto: 1982), 236.

Psalter-Hours' were produced for private use by lay patrons. While Donovan finds only eight extant thirteenth-century Books of Hours, Nigel Morgan's account of the remaining thirteenth-century Hours includes Psalter-Hours. The inclusion of the combined book brings the total up to thirty. This in contrast to the 137 surviving Psalters from the same century. Morgan's database finds 118 Psalters, and 104 Hours (including Psalter-Hours) in the fourteenth century. It appears that the production of Hours only surpasses that of Psalters in the fifteenth century with 150 Psalters, and 610 Hours (and Psalter-Hours). From the early thirteenth century the Office of the Dead began to be regularly included in Psalters produced for devotional reading outside the liturgical structure. Even after the devotions, prayers and Hours that formed the *horae* had become a separate volume, the Psalter and Psalter-Hours continued to be used by English readers for the purposes of private devotion, and Psalter-Hours continued to be produced right into the fifteenth century.

Thus, both the Psalter and the Book of Hours - or Primer, as it was often referred to in England - were used for private devotional reading in homes and in chapels concurrently, as the Book of Hours did not achieve the same primacy as a personal prayerbook in England as it did on the continent.<sup>33</sup> Norman Tanner's investigation of the surviving wills from Norwich between 1370 and 1532, for example, reveals that during these years fifteen primers were recorded in the possession of lay folk and seven were owned by the clergy. In both cases the greatest number of primers were recorded between 1440 and 1489, at twelve and six respectively. It is indicative of the popularity of the volume that of the forty-eight books in the twenty-nine wills between 1440 and 1489 that mention books at all, a quarter of them are Primers. Between 1370 and 1532, eighteen

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<sup>30</sup> Duffy, Marking the Hours, 180, n. 22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West* (London: 2005), 164; N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285*, 2 vols., A Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles (London: 1988), Vol. 2, 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> L. F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts* 1285-1385, 2 vols. (London: 1986), vol. I, 37, vol. II, 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Lucy Freeman Sandler discusses the various uses of the Psalter in England, and the function of the illuminations it contained. Lucy Freedman Sandler, "The Images of Words in English Gothic Psalters," in *Studies in the Illustration of the Psalter*, ed. Brendan Cassidy and Rosemary Muir Wright (Stamford: 2000), 84-86.

Psalters were recorded in lay wills, and thirteen in clerical ones. Again, wills from 1440-1489 have the greater number of Psalters in lay possession, eight, while a slightly earlier bracket, 1370-1439, has the greater number of clerically owned Psalters. While wills are not a conclusive source of information about lay or clerical possessions, these numbers clearly suggest that the Psalter remained a devotional tool, and was regarded as a valued possession for the lay as well as clerical reader.<sup>34</sup> As such, with the Office of the Dead regularly included at the end of the volume after the Psalms, Psalters form an important second source of Office of the Dead illustrations in English manuscripts particularly in the early period.<sup>35</sup>

#### READING CULTURE IN ENGLAND

The societal concern over death and corresponding interest in the macabre that led to the rise of poems like the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, the popularity of widespread iconographies such as the Dance of Death, as well as the sometimes flamboyant expression of these contemptus mundi sentiments in the late medieval transi tombs, also produced smaller artistic expressions of the theme in miniatures of the period. The interest in death found in both lay and clerical, popular and intellectual circles is reflected, perhaps in a more commonplace fashion, in the phenomenon of the Book of Hours. This immensely popular collection of devotional texts came in the later Middle ages to be found in all households that could afford to have one.

The Book of Hours formed a bridge between the priest and the cleric as they performed their sacred duties, and the devout lay person who desired to follow more closely the holy life of the professional religious. The text of the Book of Hours mirrors the Breviary in word and in form

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Tanner, *Late Medieval Norwich*, 194. On the difficulty of using wills only to assess medieval book ownership see Susan Hagen Cavanaugh, "A study of books privately owned in England, 1300–1450" (PhD Thesis, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), and Kate Harris, "Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Rôle of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade," *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475* (1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> This being said, it should be noted that it is less common to find an illustrated Office of the Dead in a Psalter than Book of Hours. Binski and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations*, 168.

providing a way for the lay person to participate in some semblance of a regimented religious life. However, the Book of Hours appealed not only to the lay person on the outside of the cloister, but also to those within, and many examples of *horae* survive that were commissioned for readers within the cloisters, particularly nuns.

The Book of Hours was based around the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but in English examples almost always also included the Litany, the Office of the Dead and the Commendation of Souls. Other texts which might be found in addition to these include the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Hours of the Cross, and a variety of texts, prayers and tracts that appealed to the owner. These were sometimes carefully scripted in reflecting the terms of a commission, and sometimes added haphazardly by individuals reflecting the interests and concerns of a family or succession of owners. The book was thus reasonably malleable in terms of the shape it took. Things were added and subtracted based on the tastes and desires of the owner. For readers today, it is often this personal quality which the Book of Hours allows that makes them both interesting and engaging. It is also a quality that makes them a good gauge of the religious preferences of the age.

The question of literacy, the laity, and the use of devotional literature like the Book of Hours is a difficult one. It is impossible to definitively know how literate or illiterate lay people were in the 14th- and 15th- centuries. Some of the problems are foundational to the subject: Clanchy, writing about the change from oral exchange to written documents before 1300, identifies some of the difficulties and confusions surrounding issues of modern vs. medieval language, as terms such as 'literate' and 'illiterate' were defined and used in the medieval period in a manner quite different from today. He highlights the change in our understanding of what literacy is, and how it can be measured, and raised the issue of what consitutes literacy in the multi-lingual society of medieval Britain. Rosamund McKitterick and Laurel Amtower have subsequently discussed these concerns

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> M. T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record (London: 1979), 182-184; Amtower, Engaging Words, 35.

specifically as related to the early and late medieval periods respectively.<sup>37</sup> Clanchy, and others such as Katherine Zieman, have also noted the complexities and confusion that can arise in the discourse on literacy when terms and notions pertaining to modern literacy are applied to discussions of medieval practices.<sup>38</sup> Concerns of this nature regarding the theory, history and interaction of orality and literacy have led to a variety of approaches by many scholars. Walter Ong, for example, postulated a scheme that places literacy above orality as an advancement toward individuality and critical thinking. Joyce Coleman on the other hand, suggests that oral and literate culture in the medieval period co-existed as equal partners, and to which ideas of literacy as 'progressive' cannot be usefully applied.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to the difficulties of definition, some of the problems in the history of literacy arise from the challenges of interpreting the surviving evidence: Susan Cavanaugh has used wills to estimate numbers of books owned in England in the medieval period, Nicholas Rogers has written on the healthy imported-book trade of the 15th century, and M. B. Parkes and Paul Saenger have used developments in scripts to postulate a change in readership. <sup>40</sup> Each of these approaches targets a specific kind of evidence, and applies the findings to the wider subject of medieval literacy as a whole. While such studies add to the corpus of knowledge regarding medieval literacy, the specificity of the evidence, and the ephemeral nature of the subject means many facets must remain

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Rosamund McKitterick, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: 1990), 2-3; Amtower, *Engaging Words*, 35-37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Katherine Zieman, Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England (Philadelphia: 2008), 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Walter J. Ong, Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word (New York, 1982); Walter J. Ong, "Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization," New Literary History 16 (1984); Joyce Coleman, "Interactive Parchment: The Theory and Practice of Medieval English Aurality," The Yearbook of English Studies 25 (1995); Joyce Coleman, Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France (Cambridge: 1996), Introduction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Cavanaugh, "A study of books privately owned in England, 1300--1450"; Nicholas Rogers, "Books of Hours Produced in the Low Countries for the English Market" (MLitt Cambridge University, 1982) M. B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," in *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: 1991), 285; Paul Saenger, "Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society," *Viator* 13 (1982), 367-414.

conjecture. However, though difficulties persist, it is largely agreed upon today that the laity were not as illiterate as was once thought.<sup>41</sup>

The Book of Hours, owned by both the enormously wealthy and the relatively poor, those with the most education and those with little, pose an interesting problem for scholars assessing how the book was used. With such a various ownership, it must have been open to similarly various useage. One of the ways the problems of definition have been dealt with is by dividing reading abilities into various types of literacy. Kathryn Smith, in discussing fourteenth century Books of Hours, talks about a specifically 'devotional' literacy, while R.N. Swanson discusses 'passive' literacy. 42 Both Smith's and Swanson's literacies are based on a holistic concept of the devotional landscape of medieval England, and neither are based exclusively around text. 'Devotional' literacy as discussed by Smith is characterised by an 'expanded consciousness' of religious texts and literature, and a simulanteous enriched engagement with pictorial imagery. 43 Swanson's 'passive' literacy is similarly characterised by an awareness of the value of texts, and involves a receptivity to, and memory for, the content of such texts even when direct access to them was not possible.<sup>44</sup> On a practical level, Parkes identifies three varieties of literacy, that of the professional reader, the cultivated reader, and the pragmatic reader, while Saenger, also discussing the Book of Hours, identifies readers as having either 'phonetic' or 'comphrehension' literacy. 45 The division of literacy into types appropriate to different tasks or kinds of people allows for flexibility and diversity in who is considered literate, and what they do with their literacy - an openness that is vital when considering the widely owned Books of Hours.

<sup>41</sup> Higgit, The Murthly Hours, 173; Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," 283, 296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (London: 2003), 264-265; R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515* (Cambridge: 1995), 78-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Smith, Art, Identity, and Devotion, 3-4. See also Margaret Aston, Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion (London: 1984), 101-133.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Swanson, Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-c. 1515, 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," 275; Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo et al. (Amherst: 1999), 239-269.

Consideration of literacy in the context of the cultural environment of the reader, 'devotional' literacy, must be a part of understanding how prayerbooks were understood. On a practical note, Saegner's notion of 'phonetic' and 'comprehension' styles of literacy can be usefully applied to Books of Hours, as these permit enormous variety in how the books were approached by the reader. Some of the owners of these books could read in the 'comprehension' manner: educated readers such as clerics or wealthy men might have been literate enough to read in this sense of silently comprehending the written words. However, many readers would have a more basic level of Latin understanding. For these book owners, 'phonetic' literacy may more accurately describe their approach to the book. Saenger describes this type of literacy as one in which the reader recognises letters and associated phonetic sounds. The reader verbally 'sounds out' the text, decoding letters and syllables individually rather than as words, and then hears and interprets the sounds produced. 46 Horae are books full of texts that a regular church goer would already be familiar with through a lifetime of exposure and rote memorization, so the sounds the phonetic reader produced would be easily related to the ritual language of the liturgy.<sup>47</sup> Zieman adds to Saenger's comprehension/ phonetic reading dichotomy by suggesting that the abstract ability to read anything (ie. to read comprehensively) was not a skill that even ambitious layfolk would have aspired to. Rather, she suggests that layfolk would have been more interested in 'repertory-based' reading, a style of literacy wherein texts such as the Book of Hours were transmitted or learned by social practice, from 'person to person' as much as from 'page to person'. 48 Amtower has suggested that the Book of Hours, by combining aural and visual exposure to the Latin of the Mass and Office, over time may actually have improved the reading ability of the book owner, and thus be a contributing factor in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> This aural aspect of reading will be addressed again with regard to music in Chapters Four and Five below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record, 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Zieman, Singing the New Song, 131.

the increased literacy of the later medieval period.<sup>49</sup> If this is so, then it is possible that a 'phonetic' or 'repertory-based' reader may have eventually evolved into something more closely approaching a 'comprehension' reader through practice and exposure. While a precise translation of the text could not be produced by the 'phonetic' or the 'repertory-based' reader, in the case of the Book of Hours, understanding may not have been hampered because of the reader's 'devotional' literacy - his or her familiarity with the texts.

It is one of the most intriguing aspects of the Books of Hours, that the same format should have appealed to such a wide range of ability. With whatever set of literacy skills they approached the book, it is clear that readers were eager to own and engage with this text. With this in mind, the images that accompany the texts, as historiated initials, inset illuminations, full page miniatures, and freeform marginal drawings, take on a greater importance, for text-based literacy was not required when 'reading' these. The images thus form an integral part of the text of the Office of the Dead: they were read and interpreted by all level of reader/viewer of the books, and in a culture where visual cues were often used by the church to teach and remind, the images contained in books become an important aspect of the overall text and one used to both inform and assist the reader.<sup>50</sup>

#### CONTINENTAL AND PRINTED BOOKS OF HOURS

My thesis is not primarily concerned with images from the Office of the Dead produced on the continent, and particularly the rich body of manuscripts that survives from France and Flanders. However, as neither artists nor patrons exist in a vacuum, some remarks should be addressed to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Amtower, Engaging Words, 37. See also Michael Clanchy, "Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What do They Signify?," in The Church and the Book: Papers read at the 2000 Summer Meeting and the 2001 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society ed. Robert N. Swanson, Studies in church history (Woodbridge: 2004), 111, and Sandra Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," in Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (London: 1996), 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Clanchy, "Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What do They Signify?," 114-115

these manuscripts to provide a very brief overview of a topic that is important to the wider context in which the principal subject, English prayer books, were produced.

There are many more surviving examples of French and Flemish Books of Hours than English. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the continental examples have been much more thoroughly treated in the literature. Studies have been produced on the Books of Hours and circles of famous Masters such as Millard Meis' volumes on the Boucicaut Master, and the Limbourg Brothers, or Eberhard König's work on the Bedford Master.<sup>51</sup> Library and museum catalogues often have a preponderance of French and Flemish examples, as these volumes frequently represent the best of the collections, such as is found in Wieck's volumes on Books of Hours in various American collections.<sup>52</sup> In addition, articles on the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours generally tend to concentrate on the diversity found in the continental material, and only occasionally use English books as examples.<sup>53</sup>

French and Flemish books contain a great variety of images. In the Office of the Dead miniatures in continental manuscripts one can follow the deceased from deathbed to grave, and sometimes even to a heavenly reward. The most common illustration is still the image of the vigil over the coffin. However one also finds scenes from before and after the funeral: scenes of Extreme Unction performed at the bedside, the preparation of the body, sewing the body into a shroud, the procession to the church, the procession to the graveside, the laying out and blessing of the corpse,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Millard Meiss, French painting in the time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicaut master, National Gallery of Art Kress Foundation studies in the history of European art (London: 1968); Eberhard König, The Bedford Hours: the Making of a Medieval Masterpiece (London: 2007).

<sup>52</sup> Roger S. Wieck and Houghton Library, Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350-1525, in the Houghton Library (Cambridge, Mass.: 1983); Wieck, Poos et al., Time Sanctified; and Wieck, Painted Prayers. See also Thomas Kren and J. Paul Getty Museum, Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum. Illuminated manuscripts (London: 1997); J. J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow et al., The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library (London: 2005); Lilian M. C. Randall and Walters Art Gallery, Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery: France, 875-1420, vol. I (Baltimore: 1989). There is also the recent volume from the Fitzwilliam Museum that concentrates on Flemish examples, Nigel Morgan, Stella Panayotova et al., Illuminated Manuscripts in Cambridge: a catalogue of Western Book Illumination in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Cambridge Colleges, Part I, 2 vols. (London: 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> For example Fiero, "Death Ritual," 271-294; Wieck, "The Death Desired: Books of Hours and the Medieval Funeral," 430-442 and Gabriele Bartz and Eberhard König, "Die Illustration des Totenoffiziums in Stundenbüchern," in *Im Angesicht des Todes. Ein interdisciplinäres Kompendium*, ed. H. Berkeret et al (St Ottilien: 1987), 487-528.

and finally burial.<sup>54</sup> Depictions of the burial of the body are the second most common scene in these books, after the funeral service.<sup>55</sup> In the late fifteenth century, biblical illustrations in continental books become increasingly popular. Job, as the principle biblical voice in the Office of the Dead, is often depicted undergoing his trials, usually on the dungheap. Lazarus also makes an appearance, as a reference to the resurrection of the dead promised at the end of days. This was a popular theme in Flemish and Italian books particularly.<sup>56</sup> Occasionally, the other Lazarus, the beggar who is rebuffed by wealthy Dives, is depicted - usually enjoying the rewards of heaven while Dives roasts in a fiery Hell.<sup>57</sup> Office of the Dead illustrations in the late fifteenth century might also show a figure of Death personified, sometimes chasing some living figures, or the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead*.<sup>58</sup>

There is an assumption in the literature that all illustrated Offices of the Dead display this wealth of subjects and iconographic themes. However, this reveals the emphasis that has been placed on continental examples. English manuscripts, while they do indeed include some variety of themes, are largely illustrated with the same subject - the funeral. While, the focus in this thesis is on books produced in England,<sup>59</sup> throughout the text French and Flemish examples have been brought into the discussion where appropriate to highlight differences in iconography and the popularity of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Some of these stages can be seen in the vignettes that surround the image of the Requiem Mass on f. 120 of the Bedford Hours (London: BL, *Add. MS 18850*, Bedford Hours, Paris, c. 1410-1415). König, *The Bedford Hours: the Making of a Medieval Masterpiece*, 102. See Wieck, Poos et al., *Time Sanctified*, 124-129, for further examples of these stages of death and the funeral in French and Flemish books.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> A particularly vivid scene of the churchyard and burial is found in a manuscripts by the Spitz Master now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, on f. 194 (MS 57; 94.ML.26, Hours, Paris, c. 1420). See below, Chapter Two, n. 44. Thomas Kren and J. Paul Getty Museum, French Illuminated Manuscripts in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles: 2007), 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> See below, Chapter Three.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Wieck, Poos et al., *Time Sanctified*, 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> See below, Chapter Three, for a discussion of the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Continental sources naturally influenced the iconography and style of English work, particularly in the latter half of the fifteenth century with the growing market for imported Sarum Use books that were produced in the Low Countries. However, in as much as it is possible, prayer books of Sarum Use that were produced on the continent for sale in England have also been avoided. See Rogers, "Hours Produced in the Low Countries" regarding this thriving trade in the late fifteenth century.

given subject, as well as to highlight areas of borrowing and influence between English and continental artists.

While the end of the period covered in the thesis does overlap with the invention of printing and appearance on the market of printed *horae*, these are not addressed. This is for several reasons. The primary objective in this thesis is to discuss the artistic embellishments of the Office of the Dead that were current in England in these centuries. However, with the advent of printing it becomes increasingly difficult to discuss a specifically English approach to the Office of the Dead embellishments. The boom in the market for printed prayer books was not met by English printers alone, <sup>60</sup> and many of the most successful and prolific printers of Sarum Books of Hours were French or Flemish printers. <sup>61</sup> The texts in printed *horae* became more standardised, as this enabled a wider market for book sales, and it is reasonable that the images that accompanied these texts also became standardised. <sup>62</sup> Thus increasingly the illustrations in these *horae* reflect a European attitude toward the Office of the Dead, rather than a specifically English one. Additionally, while some early printed Books of Hours were decorated with painted miniatures, this soon gave way to woodcuts: proper treatment of this discrete medium of artistic embellishment deserves more justice than can be given here. For these reasons, printed sources have been omitted from the discussion of late medieval English prayer books.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Most famously William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers, 1475-1557, being a study in the history of the book trade from Caxton to the incorporation of the Stationers Company, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: 1969), 181-193. See Richard Deacon, A Biography of William Caxton: the First English Editor, Printer, Merchant and Translator (London: 1976), 170-172, on other English printers.. Elizabeth Armstrong, "English Purchases of Printed Books from the Continent 1465-1526," The English Historical Review 94 (1979): 278 Duffy suggests there may have been as many as 57,000 printed Book of Hours in circulation in England before the Reformation. Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> For example François Regnault, Philip Pigouchet and Simon Vostre, who all printed books for the English market. Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 132-136. The continental printing houses were often more technically proficient than the early English printers. Bennett, *English Books and Readers*, 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Duffy, Marking the Hours, Chapter 8, and especially, 122-126.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is presented in two parts. The initial chapters deal with visual elaborations of the Office of the Dead, that is, the images that accompany the text in these manuscripts, while the latter chapters are concerned with music elaborations of the Office.

The first chapter introduces a history of the Office of the Dead and attempts to place the traditions and ideas that were part of the funeral process in medieval England in a larger historical context. It demonstrates that these practices are continuous with very old ones, but also that funeral practices were subject to developments that reflected the desires of the devout, just as the organised Church was also developing more unified liturgies. The blossoming of ritual around commemoration of the dead in the tenth and eleventh centuries reflects changing ideas around death and the afterlife. This chapter also outlines the structure of the Office of the Dead as it was used in the period between 1250 and 1500 in England.

The second and third chapters deal with the manuscripts and images themselves. It is here that the relationship between the text and the images is explored. In chapter two the focus is on the most commonly appearing scene, the funeral or vigil. The scene is discussed with reference to contemporary funeral practices, how the image is 'read', in order to see how the iconography of the funeral may have developed such a fixed form, and how this iconography functioned in the context of a Book of Hours. The third chapter deals with the variety of other iconographic themes that appear at the Office of the Dead in English *borae*. Some of the themes addressed are derived from literary sources such as the *Roman de Renart*, the *Pety Job*, and the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead*, while others draw from relevant biblical texts, like the story of Lazarus, and from the text of the Office of the Dead itself which focuses on the life of Job.

The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters are concerned with musical elaborations of the Office of the Dead. The thesis began as an investigation of artistic elaborations of the Office of the Dead, and in the course of study, it became increasingly clear that music above other arts was mentioned by medieval men and women as a worthy addition their funerals and commemorations. Chapters Four and Five briefly discusses the role of liturgical music in the period and demonstrates the important role it had in the Office of the Dead. Chapter Six focuses on the relationship between music and image in English prayer books. There are a number of prayer books that include not only images with the text, but also the musical notation for the sung Office. This chapter seeks to understand why notation would have been included in a prayer book, and how such notation was understood by the musically untrained. The main function of these chapters is to demonstrate that aural embellishment of the Office of the Dead was a highly esteemed aesthetic addition to vigil, funeral and subsequent commemorative arrangements: its inclusion here reflects the value placed on it and also the neglect it has suffered in previous historical and art historical studies of death ritual and imagery.

Finally, it seems important to make the point that, while this thesis has been completed in an art history department, it is not significantly concerned with artistic style in manuscript painting. My goal is to examine the way in which the manuscript images functioned, both of themselves and to the extent that they were 'embedded' in both book and music, and particularly, to investigate how the image reflects contemporary practices and ideas surrounding death and burial in later medieval England. Many of the manuscripts I discuss have been subjected to stylistic analysis by more learned and experienced eyes than mine, and there is no reason to attempt to do their work again. The catalogues of the libraries of Cambridge, Oxford, and British Library, as well as the Pierpont Morgan, Huntington and Walters collections among others, are fine sources to look to for information regarding dates and provenance of the manuscripts. Works such as the catalogue surveys of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles by Nigel Morgan, Lucy Freedman Sandler, and Kathleen Scott provide extensive information on style, schools, and provenance. In addition

there is Neil Ker's comprehensive *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* which is of considerable use particularly in locating smaller collections and lesser known manuscripts.<sup>63</sup>

It is the nature of manuscript studies to involve a plethora of detail regarding the genesis of the objects themselves. This thesis treats a large number of books from various places, of varying quality and over a long period of time, and I have attempted throughout to maintain some of the momentum of the argument, and not to get bogged down in this often important, but occasionally overwhelming, minutia. Wherever possible, therefore, details of individual manuscripts that fall outside the discussion at hand have been removed to the catalogue. While this catalogue is by no means exhaustive, the reader will find here a brief description of the image at the Office of the Dead, and a list of sources that treat each volume in more depth to assist the reader in pursuing interests of his or her own. The reader will also find here, wherever applicable, URLs provided to images that can be accessed online.

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<sup>63</sup> See M.R. James' catalogues of the College libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. Pierpont Morgan Library, Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts: Major acquisitions of the Pierpont Morgan Library 1924-1974 (New York: 1974); John Plummer, The Glazier Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts (New York: 1968); C. W. Dutsche, Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Hutntington Library, II vols. (San Marino: 1989); Wieck, Poos et al., Time Sanctified; L. F. Sandler, Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385, 2 vols. (London: 1986); N. J. Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285, 2 vols., A Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles (London: 1982, 1988); Kathleen L. Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490, 2 vols., A survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles (London: 1996); Neil Ripley Ker and Alan J. Piper, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, V vols. (Oxford: 1969-2002).

### ∞ CHAPTER ONE ∞

# THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD IN CHRISTIAN LITURGY

The popularity of the Office of the Dead is attested to by its inclusion in such a popular medium as the Book of Hours. The Office obviously spoke to the needs of the devout individual at this time and indeed, as noted in the introduction, this liturgical ritual was one of the most familiar of the period. The interest in reading and rereading the Office of the Dead can be explored through a closer look at the development and text of the Office itself. What was the function of this office, and how did it address the needs of people both emotionally and spiritually within the bounds of medieval society?

The importance and popularity of this Office is strongly related to the medieval understanding of death, and particularly the influence of one's actions in life on one's life after death. The view of the Church, as the writing of many church fathers illustrates, was that death was a direct consequence of the Fall of Adam and the resulting expulsion from Eden.<sup>1</sup> Death was one of the penalties that was paid by humanity for the sin committed by Adam and Eve who were cast out into a physically, morally, and spiritually corrupting world.<sup>2</sup> A delicately drawn miniature from a fifteenth-century manuscript in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, f. 3v, illuminated by the Master of the Medallions, encapsulates this medieval view. The artist has depicted the moment after the fall: Adam and Eve are in the Garden of Eden standing by the Tree of Knowledge. Adam appears to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For example Saint Augustine, *St. Augustin's City of God and Christian Doctrine*, ed. Philip Schaff, vol. 2, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Series I (New York: 1890), City of God, Bk 23, 13:3, 'For the first men would not have suffered death had they not sinned.' And later: 'Wherefore we must say that the first men were indeed so created, that if they had not sinned, they would not have experienced any kind of death; but that, having become sinners, they were so punished with death, that whatsoever sprang from their stock should also be punished with the same death.' See also *Genesis*, 2: 15-17 and Athanasius, *On the Incarnation*, trans. Sister Penelope Lawson (Crestwood, New York: 2003), 1.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Daniell, Death and Burial, 69.

choking on his piece of the apple, and leans forward, holding his hands to his throat in distress. In the centre, the serpent, with the head of a woman, peers down to look at Eve. Eve, covering herself with one hand, and still holding the offending fruit in the other, gazes thoughtfully down at an emaciated corpse, an image of death that now reclines, grinning, at the foot of the tree.<sup>3</sup> The image articulates this notion of death as a direct result of sin, and a removal from the perfection of God's creation as it was intended to be; such prevalent ideas were drawn from biblical texts, such as Paul's letter to the Romans which states starkly: "The wages of sin is death".<sup>4</sup>

There were two types of death, the spiritual and the physical. To the medieval mind spiritual death, that is, the separation of the soul from God, was infinitely worse than a mere physical death. Physical death was in some ways viewed as a release from the earthbound life, and from the prison of the sinful body, to be united with God in Heaven. Bernard of Clairvaux addressed this idea when he wrote: "The birth of sinners is bad, and their life is worse but indeed their death is worst. However, precious is the death of saints. Clearly their death is precious for it is the end of their labour, the consummation of victory, the door of life, and the entrance to perfect security". Of course, the average person was not a saint, and his or her "entrance to perfect security" was not assured. For these, the fear of Judgement was a present reality and it was to this uncertainty over the final destination of the soul after death, and to the anxiety that surrounded it, that the Office of the Dead was addressed.

The Christian funeral rite developed over many centuries, eventually, during the eighth and ninth centuries, settling into a form that would be recognisable as that used in England throughout the medieval period. It had its beginnings in the pagan funeral rites of the Roman Empire and in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Chantilly: Musée Condé, *MS 28*, "Histoire extraite de la Bible et Apocalypse", Paris or Bourges, c. 1415. The manuscript was illuminated by the Maître des Médaillons, so named for the circular borders in which his miniatures are placed. Françoise Autrand, Patricia Stirnemann et al., eds., *Les très riches heures du duc de Berry et l'enluminure en France au début du XVe siècle: Exposition au musée Condé du 31 mars au 2 août 2004* (Chantilly: 2004), 56, 79.

<sup>4</sup> Romans 6.23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Louis Edward Jordan, "The Iconography of Death in Western Medieval Art to 1350" (PhD Thesis, University of Notre Dame, Ind., 1980), 67.

continuation of the Judaic traditions with which the first Christians would have been familiar. Christianity emerged in the midst of a large and multicultural empire. The social norms of pagans, Jews, and Christians were often the same, and this was a cause for concern in the early Church - as the letters of Paul to various new Christian communities testify. Early Christian believers, having neither established church nor liturgy to regulate the religious movement, nor the mores of a Christian society to guide them, attempted to understand their faith in the context of the social norms of both the Romans and the Jews - social norms that were their own. In funeral rites, as in other areas of life, the established and familiar traditions were used and adapted by the Christian community.

There was on one side, the Jewish tradition with which Christians of Jewish background would be familiar, and on the other, the Roman traditions that the gentile Christians would have known. The Jewish tradition emphasised and upheld the religious underpinnings of the culture. Stress was placed on ritual cleanliness, respect for the dead and importantly, the physical placement of the body. The tomb became a symbol of the permanence of the departed both in the physical landscape of their history, but also in the memory of the community. The Roman traditions also supported corporate unity, but here emphasis was on the state, not the individual. Concern was with the smooth continuation of the civic entity, and with proclaiming the immortality of the empire, while acknowledging simultaneously the fact of human death. The Roman behaviours expressed the importance of the departed through their status among the living. While in Jewish traditions the dead comprised an important part of the identity of present and future generations, in Roman

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> On the form and tradition of Jewish burial practice see Geoffrey Rowell, *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: an introductory survey of the historical development of Christian burial rites*, Alcuin Club collections (London: 1977), Chapter 1; Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 19-31; Jon Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth in the Religions of Antiquity* (London: 1999), 69-110.

<sup>7</sup> On the form and tradition of Roman burial practice see J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, Aspects of Greek and Roman life (London: 1971), Chapters II, III and IV; Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth*, 125-167. On the negotiation between Roman, Jewish and Christian burial rites in the early Christian period see Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*, Lectures on the history of religions, N.S. (New York: 1995), Introduction and Chapter One; Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth*, 187-217. On the landscape and visual art of Roman and Early Christian burial see Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*. Chapter One.

customs the dead were identified with the glories of the past, and the onus was on the living to produce the glories of the future. It was from these disparate traditions that early Christians drew various components, and to these traditions that they were responding when developing their own Christian burial practices and beliefs.<sup>8</sup> As the Christian movement gained momentum, the rites too began to evolve a particularly Christian cast.

#### EMERGENCE OF A CHRISTIAN RITE

We see in the New Testament that in the aftermath of Jesus' resurrection from the dead there was little interest in discerning what an appropriate Christian burial involved, since it was expected that Jesus would return before the end of the current generation. As expectation faded, and the Second Coming receded into an unknown future, the question of what to do with the Christian dead became more pressing, particularly in view of the promised resurrection of all believers at the end of time. It was at this time that the Christian community began to separate itself from the traditions of Jewish and Roman ways. The unique view the Christians held on death, life and the role of the dead in life made a change necessary in order that these central aspects of Christian faith be represented.

The most radical departure from the older death rites was in the Christian understanding of the nature of death itself, and by association with how death and the dead should be treated. Both the Jews and the Romans viewed the dead as a pollutant - whether spiritually or physically, the corpse was a threat to society. In both of these cultures, the place of the dead was outside the city or settlement, and the Christians too, began by continuing this trend. However, as Christianity became more mainstream, the Christian ethos regarding the dead became more apparent. One of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Indeed, both the Jewish and Roman attitudes toward tombs and monuments articulated here are found in the medieval period as well, which adapted and combined such notions to fit a Christian ethos. See Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (London: 1964), and Binski, *Medieval Death*, 92 - 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For both cultures the corpses presented issues of spiritual uncleanliness and bodily disease.

the ways the increasing Christian presence in Rome was manifest was in the infiltration of the Christian dead to *within* the city walls; an indication of the ways in which Christianity began to change the face of the dominant culture.

The dead, as emblems of a higher spiritual state realised, were welcome within the precinct of the living. In addition, the Christian dead came to play a more active role in the lives of the living. For, having achieved the heavenly life, they were now in a position much closer to the divine than the earth-bound could hope to achieve. They became intercessors to God through the prayers of the living. The traditional marked separation between the living and the dead was broken down and replaced by a continuum where the living and the dead were still able to interact. As a result, at the end of the fourth century, Christian burial moved beyond the catacomb and began to occur in mortuary chapels, and in association with churches. <sup>10</sup> More and more Christians sought burial within the confines of the church and surrounding area – a way for them to be close in death to the blessed dead, the martyrs, in addition to the most holy (and hopeful) death: Christ as present at the altar.

#### EARLY LITURGY AND THE ROMAN ORDO DEFUNCTORUM

Death liturgy was considered in light of its role in the Christian community from the first, and despite the assertions that it should not matter what happens to the body after death, Augustine acknowledged the natural desire of family to commemorate their loved ones, and indicated that "it does not follow that the bodies of the departed are to be despised and flung aside", citing both Old Testament and New for examples of funeral remembrances from the death of Sarah to Jesus

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> This departure from the long held tradition of keeping the living and the dead separate was not popular among many pagan citizens. Julian the Apostate articulated the view of the pagan Greco-Roman population when he wrote, "you keep adding many corpses newly dead to the corpses of long ago. You have filled the whole world with tombs and sepulchres", Julian the Apostate, *Against the Galilaeans: remains of the 3 books, excerpted from Cyril of Alexandria, Contra Julianum*, trans. Wilmer Cave Wright (1923), 419. The move of the Christian dead into the city was strongly associated with the developing cult of the martyrs. Many of these exemplary individuals who died for their beliefs became foci of church communities. In fact, early churches were called *martyries*. Davies, *Death, Burial and Rebirth*, 193.

himself.<sup>11</sup> The emphasis on the care of the dead led to the formation of a regular process for dealing with periods of sickness and death in the community.

The medieval Office of the Dead grew out of early rites closely related to one of the oldest parts of the liturgy, the old Roman *Ordo Defunctorum*. The *ordo*, preserved in an eleventh century manuscript, is thought to be the earliest Christian funeral rite that survives to today and may have come from the liturgy of the late antique Roman Church. The principle elements of the rite were the viaticum, the Psalms and the procession to the place of burial. The lamentations and formal mourning periods of earlier traditions seemed to the first Christians an inappropriate way to greet what was supposed to be a blessed event. Throughout the *ordo* there is a sense of optimism for the future of the deceased as they are released from the world of sin, and enter a realm of spiritual perfection.

The first order of business was the administration of the all-important viaticum, the final provision for those journeying out of this world and into the next. It was supposed to assist the soul when it came to judgement as a helper and protector, and as a stamp of membership in the fellowship of the Church. The story of Christ's own resurrection was read aloud during the final moments, a reassurance to the dying individual that through Christ, who defeated death by dying, their lives, as his, would continue in the next world. The ritual does not include a transferring of the 'citizenship' of the dying individual away from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead. Instead, throughout the deathbed ritual, the dying person is fully a member of the living community, albeit, one about to take their leave. By the medieval period, these pre-liminal rites of separation had been established, and having undergone this transfer of citizenship, it became difficult for someone who recovered from deathly illness to re-enter the community of the living.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Genesis, 23; Matthew, 27:57; Augustine, "On Care to be had for the Dead," in A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. Phillip Schaff (Edinburgh: 1998), 541.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> There are some who assert that the Ordo is Frankish in origin. Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 37; The following discussion focuses on this manuscript, *Ordo XLIX*. It should be noted that there are other manuscripts that support the organisation and attitudes found in *ordo XLIX*. For a detailed study of many of these related manuscripts see Damien Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort dans l'Église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne* (Münster: 1978), passim.

Immediately after death had taken place the singing of Psalms began. The tone was hopeful. The response *Subvenite sancti dei* was followed by the verse *Suscipiat te Christus*. These were followed by a psalm, one of either *Delexi quoniam* (ps. 114) or *In exitu Israel* (ps. 113), and an antiphon, *Chorus angelorum*. <sup>13</sup> Psalm 113 is a joyful expression of a clear relationship between God and his people, a relationship where the dead can confidently look to God to help them make this transition from one life to the next. Psalm 114, which is mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions (c. 400) in connection with burial rites as well, is a direct and topical account of this help; the psalmist writes, "For he hath delivered my soul from death: my eyes from tears, my feet from falling." <sup>14</sup>

Once these Psalms had been completed, the body was washed and placed on a bier. There were no specific Psalms prescribed to accompany this action, however, the antiphon that was sung just before the procession left the house, *De terra formasti*, reflects the actions of washing and dressing. The body was physically dressed and prepared for burial as the antiphon speaks of God dressing the bones in flesh and spirit, another image of the bodily resurrection: "my redeemer, you formed me from the earth and dressed me in flesh; Lord resuscitate me on the last day". <sup>15</sup> The antiphon was followed by various Psalms which were sung as the body was prepared for the procession. <sup>16</sup>

Both the procession to the church and the vigil were also accompanied by sung texts. These again expressed positive sentiments, the participants being sure of the welcome reception that the soul would receive in heaven. While the body was being set in the church, the antiphon *Tu iussisti* nasci me, domine was sung, followed by psalm 41, Quemadmodem, antiphon In paradise dei ducant te angeli,

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 14; Paxton, Christianizing Death, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> "Apostolic Constitutions," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts, et al. (Buffalo: 1886), as published on the Catholic Encyclopedia, <a href="http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0715.htm">http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0715.htm</a>: Book 6:30. Gloriosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius. The psalm is now numbered 115: 15; Quia eruit animam meam de morte oculos meos a lacrimis pedes meos ab offensa. *Psalms*, 114:8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> In some manuscripts, this text is also sung at the grave site. Paxton, *Christianizing Death*, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Gaudete iusti, Dominus regit, and Dominus regnavit are indicated most frequently. Dominus regnavit the most common of the three, is the incipit for three different Psalms in the Vulgate -92, 96, 98. Several manuscript witnesses make it clear as Psalm 92. Sicard, La liturgie de la mort dans l'Église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne, 122.

and psalm 4, *Cum invocarem*.<sup>17</sup> Both Psalms proclaim trust in the Lord, hope for the future and assurance of rest: "The light of thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us: thou hast given gladness in my heart.... In peace in the self same I will sleep, and I will rest: For thou, O Lord, singularly hast settled me in hope." Once the body had been placed in the church a continuous series of chanted Psalms, responses and readings from the book of Job began, which did not cease until the burial took place. Do bad long been a significant part of funeral ritual: both *Tu inssisti nasci me* and *De terra formasti* have texts derived from the Book of Job. The story of Job with its tale of separation from, trial by, and eventual reconciliation with God relates to the condition of death, judgement and salvation which the deceased was undergoing. Job stands in the tradition of texts such as the Testament of Abraham, where the created is able to confront the creator about the situation before them. In addition, the trials that Job endured without loosing faith established a standard for the bereaved to emulate. Standard for the bereaved to emulate.

The last stage was the interment of the body. At the site of the tomb, the Roman *ordo* instructs the priest to pray, while the antiphon *Aperite mihi portas iustitiae* and psalm *Confitemini domino* were sung. The language is consistent with that found in the other Psalms and antiphons of the *ordo*. There is considerable emphasis on the mercy, goodness and help to be found by those who are in God, and the salvation that will be the reward of the faithful and just. The psalmist writes, "I shall not die, but live: and shall declare the works of the Lord....This is the gate of the Lord, the just shall enter into it"<sup>22</sup>

The complex concepts around the relationship of the body and the soul, the character of death, and the nature of the resurrection required time to come to terms with for many new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Psalms, 4: 7-10.

<sup>19</sup> Orent omnes pro ipsa anima sine intermissione. Sicard, La liturgie de la mort dans l'Église latine des origines à la réforme carolingienne,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., 124; Paxton, Christianizing Death, 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> For further information about Job in the Office of the Dead see Chapters 3 and 5 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Psalms, 117: 17-20.

Christians. This difficulty was increased by the nature of the early Church – it was geographically spread out, and included people from many different social and religious backgrounds. As a result, during the second through to the fourth century many learned scholars and clerics devoted time to writing treatises that clarified these ideas, as well as solidifying what would become the official doctrine of an emerging ecclesiastical institution.

By this time the extent of the Christian spread was wide. There were established churches in places as far as Gaul, Egypt, India and Spain. <sup>23</sup> The spread of Christianity to the far reaches of the Roman Empire created a problem: how was the orthodox liturgy agreed on by the various ecumenical councils, to be maintained so far from the heart of doctrinal development in Rome? The natural solution was to export educated clerics, who would be able to teach their brothers in such distant locales. However, travel was slow and the receipt of news and new theological developments was sporadic. The farthest provinces began to develop their own liturgical processes in response to the environment in which they were now already established, or were attempting to establish themselves. In Gaul, this was particularly evident in monastic houses that were relatively autonomous from the larger churches in towns and city centres. These institutions began to formulate liturgical procedures that were then standardised and transmitted through the area during the Carolingian period. It was here then, that the Office of the Dead began to take on the form that is recognisably that used in the later medieval period in England.

#### THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD AND CAROLINGIAN REFORM

It is only at the beginning of the ninth century that we get clear evidence of the existence of such an Office occurring as a fixed event in the daily *horarium*. A document from the second half of the eighth century containing details of observances at Monte Cassino states that upon the death of a brother, the community was to recite the *psalmi speciales* for him after Vespers of the day, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The Teachings of the Apostles, 2: 1-10.

Psalms later known as the seven Penitential Psalms, with litanies.<sup>24</sup> Conventions in England at this time are the same, suggesting that this was common practice in Benedictine monasteries of the period. A document from the early years of the ninth century, c. 811-812, drawn up by the monks at Fulda indicate that the practice in this house for commemoration of a dead brother included a service held twice a day, after Lauds and Vespers, consisting of the antiphon *Requiem Aeternam*, the first part of the psalm, *Te decet hymnus Deus*, a verse, and a collect. This community also saw fit to commemorate the death of their first abbot with 'a vigil, and fifty Psalms' on the first day of every month.<sup>25</sup> Both these monasteries were large and influential Benedictine houses during these years, yet however close the links between such foundations, it seems they did not require identical commemorative practice. The independence of monastic institutions and the various origins from which these houses arose, allowed a variety of different commemorative traditions to be in use in the Frankish kingdoms at the beginning of the ninth century. With the effort of the Carolingian kings to create a united Christian society and the related task of bringing order and uniformity to the practice of the faith, a more consistent ritual for the dead emerged out of the disparate traditions.

The Carolingian kings took a much more active interest in church ritual than their predecessors. There was an concern for the proper maintenance of monastic rules that reflects the growing concern with a salvation achieved through intercessory prayer and penance, which became a mainstay of the Frankish church in the preceding centuries. In monastic institutions this interest led to the regular use of the *psalmi speciales*, the series of Psalms recited for souls of the dead, as the right to be prayed for upon death came to be looked on as an important benefit of membership in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Monte Cassino was founded by St. Benedict c. 530 and was the birthplace of the Benedictine Rule. The monastery was looted by the Lombards c. 580 when the community removed to Rome. It was restored in 718 under Abbot Petronax, and remained a large, thriving and influential community until the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century. Edmund Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer," in *Liturgica historica; papers on the liturgy and religious life of the Western church*, ed. Edmund Bishop (Oxford: 1918), 216.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The first Abbot of Fulda drew his monks from Rome and surrounding areas, including Monte Cassino. The commemorative practices used at this monastery are thought to reflect commemorative practice in Italian monestaries generally. Ibid.

monastic confraternity.<sup>26</sup> As well as reflecting a general concern for salvation, the interest of governmental circles encouraged a degree of uniformity in church ritual that would enable a closer association through common practice between the diocese and provinces of the widespread kingdom.

Many scholars agree that the earliest appearance of the Office of the Dead as discernibly that which becomes the popular daily Office of the later medieval period occurs in the Order of Centule (now St. Riquer in Picardy) around the year 800 under the Abbot of St Riquer, Angilbert (793-814), who was a disciple of Alcuin, and a mentor of Charlemagne's son Pippin.<sup>27</sup> Angilbert wrote:

...for the memory of all the faithful departed, [we] should be eager to celebrate watch day and night Vespers, nocturnes and Matins [Lauds] most devoutly...<sup>28</sup>

Edmund Bishop, one of the first scholars to produce early evidence of the Office, underlines that what was contemplated by Angilbert was a *daily* recital of an Office in memory of the dead, including Vespers, Matins and Lauds and it is this which sets it apart from other mentions of commemorative services.<sup>29</sup> Amalar, <sup>30</sup> a contemporary of Angilbert and fellow disciple of Alcuin, also refers to an Office for the Dead, however there is no mention of this as a daily practice, rather this Office was recited as a commemorative service on the third, seventh, and thirtieth days after decease, in addition to nine Psalms, lessons, and responses which were said for the dead at the beginning of each month.<sup>31</sup> The practice, indicated here by Amalar, of reciting the Office on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Suzanne M. Hilton, "A Clunaic Office of the Dead" (Masters Thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 2005), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See J. B. L. Tolhurst and Henry Bradshaw Society, *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester: mss. Rawlinson liturg. e.* 1\*, and Gough liturg. 8, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Volume VI: Introduction to the English monastic breviaries, Henry Bradshaw Society (London: 1942), 107; Hilton, "A Clunaic Office of the Dead", 5, 44; Ottosen, Responsories and Versicles, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Thomas Symons, "Monastic Observance in the Tenth Century: I. The Office of All Saints and of the Dead," *The Downside Review* 50-51 (1932-1933): 150; Hilton, "A Clunaic Office of the Dead", 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Ottosen, Responsories and Versicles, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Amalar was born at Metz in the last quarter of the eighth century and died c. 850. Ibid., 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Symons, "Monastic Observance," 151. The 9 Psalms, lessons and responses recited for the deceased each month closely resembles the month's mind in which a full Matins of the Dead was recited in commemoration of a particular death.

specific days after death was one that was in continuous use throughout both the ancient and medieval period, in memory of both religious and lay deaths.

Bishop asserts that it was not Amalar or Angilbert, but Benedict of Aniane, who was largely responsible for the spread of the Office of the Dead as a daily service. Under the auspices of Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, Benedict set up a monastery at Aachen called Inde. The house followed the well-established Benedictine rule, with the addition of several reforms to monastic life that Benedict of Aniane had developed himself. Inde was intended to serve as a model institution of a reformed church to the other churches in Gaul.<sup>32</sup> One of the developments introduced by Benedict was an increased emphasis on commemoration of the dead that suggests the evolution of an Office of the Dead. With increased numbers in monastic houses and the corresponding decrease in the manual labour required of each member of the community, the monks were able to devote more time to the development of new devotional practices which were performed in addition to the usual *horarium*.<sup>33</sup> At Inde, for example, each monk was encouraged to recite to himself fifteen Psalms in three sets just before Matins began: one for the faithful living, one for the faithful dead, and one for the recently deceased. A short prayer or collect relating to the theme of the set followed each of the groupings. This recital became a universal practice by the 10<sup>th</sup> century. <sup>34</sup>

A synod held in 817 at Aachen proved important in the establishment of an Office of the Dead in the Frankish Kingdom. The purpose of the synod was to acquaint the other abbots in the region with the reforms in use at Inde, with the intention that they be instituted by the attending abbots in their own houses upon their return. Benedict's reforms included special or votive services, and commemorative prayers, as well as private Masses.<sup>35</sup> It seems that an attempt was made at this meeting by Benedict to establish the daily recitation of the Office of the Dead as one of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Bishop, "Origin of the Prymer," 213.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid., 214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> It is not stated whether these are the fifteen gradual Psalms. However, in view of later practice, it seems likely that they were.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Hilton, "A Clunaic Office of the Dead", 3.

reforms to be translated to the other houses. The fiftieth resolution of the synod relates to prayers for the dead, stating that the *psalmi speciales* should be said for benefactors and the dead. The *psalmi speciales*, being the seven Penitential Psalms that were recited at Monte Cassino as part of their practice for commemoration for a dead brother - were texts likely already familiar to the abbots. Another resolution from the synod suggests the Office of the Dead should be recited after Compline, but includes the stipulation that this be an occasional occurrence. It seems that the suggestion of a *daily* recitation was not popular, and this notion was abandoned for the sake of diplomacy.<sup>36</sup>

The abbot of Reichenau, anticipating the reforming verve of Benedict of Aniane, sent two monks to Inde before the synod in 817 to witness the *cursus* performed there, and experience the reforms first hand. In the report drawn up, these men make mention of the performance of a 'vigils for the Dead'.<sup>37</sup> They report:

As soon as Vespers of the day are over, they immediately say Vespers of the dead, with antiphons, and after Compline, Matins of the dead with antiphons and responses, sung with full and sonorous voice and with great sweetness; next morning after Matins of the day, Lauds of the dead.<sup>38</sup>

Although the monks do not specify in this passage the daily recitation of this program, it is implied by the statement that the Offices for the Dead be recited after Offices of the Day which were a daily occurrence, and they give no indication that the Offices of the Dead were limited to special occasions. The program the two monks record is very similar to the Office of the Dead that becomes the foundation of commemorative services in the later medieval period. This suggests that at Inde a familiar Office of the Dead had been established at least by 816.<sup>39</sup>

Some years after the 817 synod at Aachen, Amalar of Metz mentions his monastery's Office

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Ottosen, Responsories and Versicles, 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Bishop, "Origin of the Prymer," 217.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Tolhurst and Society, Breviary of Hyde Abbey, 107.

of the Dead as performed on specific days for commemoration, not as a daily occurrence. However, he also mentions some of the practices found in other areas. Amalar indicates that some houses, and specifically Fulda, commemorate their dead at Lauds and Vespers *each* night excepting Eastertide and feast days. This represents a change from the practice previously held at Fulda discussed above in the years between c. 811-12 and the synod at Aachen. Amalar goes on to indicate that others houses said daily Masses for the Dead and still others recited a series of nine Psalms and nine lessons with the accompanying responses.<sup>40</sup>

While there is no documentation that records whether Benedict of Aniane's reforms at Inde included a daily Office of the Dead other than the suggestive testimony of the two monks of Reichenau, nor any that record the implementation of such an Office at the Synod of Aachen, it seems likely that these reforms, and the meeting at Aachen provided the starting point for the wider spread of the Office: 120-130 years after this meeting a daily Office of the Dead was universally admitted among Benedictine monks from various regions. This relatively rapid and wide spread development suggests the instigation of a high ranking and influential individual such as Benedict.<sup>41</sup>

#### THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD IN ENGLAND

There are two principle sources on the organisation of the Divine Office in England during the early medieval period, the *Regularis Concordia* from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* a century later. Both are fairly comprehensive volumes recording the daily *horarium* in English monasteries, and the roles, positions and duties carried out by the individuals within the brotherhood.

The development of the monastic *horarium* in England was closely linked to developments on the continent through the travel, education and exchange of important scholars and clerics who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Bishop, "Origin of the Prymer," 218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid., 219.

would come to positions of influence in English monasteries. The *Regularis Concordia* is a code of monastic law produced between the years 959-975 during a relatively stable period in the century. 42 It contains various instructions regarding the recitation of an Office of the Dead with relation to its incorporation into the pattern of Hours performed daily during winter and summer seasons. It is clear from this record that the Office of the Dead was a regular feature of the Divine Office and was fully adopted in England by the mid 10<sup>th</sup> century.

The Office of the Dead in the Regularis Concordia comprised of Vespers, Matins and Lauds was much the same as the Office is now. The organisation of the three Hours comprising this Office were based on the Hours of the Divine Office: each was comprised of a set series of Psalms, versicles and anthems. The selection of these responses and versicles could change with the region or Use in which the Office was practiced. This occurred with greater frequency on the continent where regional uses were many. In England, the Office of the Dead usually followed the Use of Sarum, a variant of the Use of Rome that was widespread in the south of the country.<sup>43</sup> Occasionally, a given monastery would deviate from the majority, employing an alternate versicle or response, however generally speaking, the principle texts and arrangement of the Hours for the Office of the Dead in England varied little within the Sarum Use.<sup>44</sup>

Vespers of the Dead began with the anthem, skipping the introductory versicles found in the Vespers of the Day. There were then five Psalms, each with an anthem. These were followed by a versicle, usually *A porta inferi*. The versicle was followed by the *Magnificat* and anthem, and *Pater Noster*. In early texts, Psalms 145 and 141, and the versicles *Requiem Aeternam* and *A porta inferi* follow

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> This was the reign of King Edgar, whose time on the throne coincided with the peak of the Benedictine revival in England, as well as with a stable political environment. Thomas Symons, Regularis concordia Anglicae nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque (The Monastic agreement of the monks and nuns of the English nation), Medieval classics series (London: 1953), ix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> In the north of England the Use of York was commonly found, however this Use was not as widespread as Sarum In addition, often the Office of the Dead would follow Sarum Use within an otherwise York Use Book of Hours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> For a detailed discussion of the deviation and variation found in various locations and Uses of the Office of the Dead see Ottosen, Responsories and Versicles. This volume deals with the subject in depth throughout, but Chapters 2 and 3 are especially relevant.

the *Pater Noster*. These additions were later dropped as a result of Chapter reforms in the twelfth century. <sup>45</sup> Vespers ended with *Dominus vobiscum*, a series of collects that varied based on the occasion (funeral, feast day etc.), and finally *Dominus vobiscum*, *Requiescant in pace*, *Amen*.

Matins consisted of three nocturns each comprised of three invariable Psalms accompanied by anthems, and followed by a versicle. Each nocturn also had three lessons with accompanying responses. These lessons were from the Book of Job, with some variation occurring over the last lesson. <sup>46</sup> The responses, like the versicles, could vary considerably from place to place. Matins ended with Psalms and collects as did Vespers. Lauds followed the same form as Vespers, with five Psalms followed by an anthem, and finishing with versicles and collects. <sup>47</sup>

The Regularis Concordia indicates that the three Hours that make up the Office of the Dead were performed at different times in the summer and winter seasons. In the summer season, which started at Quadragesimae Sunday and ended on November 1st, Vespers of the Dead followed Vespers of the Day and Vespers of All Saints, and was followed immediately by Matins of the Dead. The following morning, Lauds of the Dead followed Lauds of All Saints. Interestingly, the Concordia Regularis indicates that during this season, between Lauds of All Saints and Lauds of the Dead, the monks remove to a different oratory. However, this change is not indicated for the winter, perhaps out of consideration for the more severe weather conditions. In the winter months, Vespers of the Dead again follows Vespers of the Day and All Saints. The morning service occurs in the following sequence: preliminaries, Matins of the Day, Matins of the Dead, Lauds of the Dead. It is only the position of Matins that changes substantially between the seasons, occurring at night during the

<sup>45</sup> Tolhurst and Society, Breviary of Hyde Abbey, 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ottosen catagorised the Office of the Dead in England, and often in France as well, as belonging to his Group 1d, which used the following set of readings for the 9 lessons: Job: 7:16b-21, *Parce mihi*; Job 10: 1-7, *Tedet animam meam*; Job 10: 8-12, *Manus tuae*; Job 13: 22-28, *Responde mihi*; Job 14:1-6, *Homo natus*; Job 14:13-16, *Quis mihi*; Job 17:1-3, 11-15, *Spiritus meus*; Job 19: 20-27, *Pelli meae*; and Job 10: 18-22, *Quare de vulva*. This is the series found, for example, in CUL, MS Dd. 11. 82, an English Primer text from c. 1420-30. See Henry Littlehales, ed. *The prymer, or, Lay folks' prayer book (with several facsimiles) from the ms. Dd. 11.82, ab. 1420-30 A.D., in the library of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols., Original series / Early English Text Society (London: 1895, reprinted 1996).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Tolhurst and Society, Breviary of Hyde Abbey, 111.

longer winter nights, and in the morning during the longer summer days.

In the years shortly after the Norman invasion the ecclesiastic Lanfranc also provided a source for direction on the execution of the liturgical day. Lanfranc, the first archbishop of Canterbury appointed under Norman rule, compiled a set of 'constitutions' governing the monastic day, that were drawn from the practices of various influential continental Houses, such as Cluny and Metz, as well as including his own additions and alterations. These constitutions tell us that the entire monastic community was involved in the preparations that were made for the burial of the dead and the singing of the Office.<sup>48</sup> Once a member of the community had been judged ill unto death, he was not left alone, but was continually read to, first from the Passion followed by other gospel narratives, and then from the Psalter. This was to be done, 'without ceasing so long as he remains alive'. 49 The Hours were also recited at his bedside at the appointed times. The infirmarer, naturally, was involved in these preparations, for it was under his care that the monk in question passed away. It was he that was responsible for letting the community know that the moment of death was approaching. When it was judged that death was imminent, a monk was sent to alert the rest of the community of the event, and they, hearing the alarm, ran to the side of the dying brother, reciting the Credo as they went. The entire community together chanted the seven Penitential Psalms and the ordinary litany.<sup>50</sup> Once the soul had left the body, the bells were rung, a responsory sung, and the commendation of the soul begun. In the meantime, the corpse was removed to be washed and dressed for burial.<sup>51</sup> The chamberlain was responsible for the provision of the burial clothes, and while the body was being washed, he was present with the appropriate grave clothes as well as a needle and thread for sewing, and 'all else that pertains to his office and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> On death in a monastic environment see also Gilchrist and Sloane, Requiem, 22, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> David Knowles, ed. *The monastic constitutions of Lanfranc*, Medieval classics (London: 1951), 122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ibid., 123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Lanfranc adds that the body be washed by a monk of the same order as the deceased. Thus, a priest for a priest, a deacon for a deacon etc. An exception is made for the death of children, who are attended to by converses rather than their fellows. Ibid., 124.

#### task in hand'.52

When the corpse had been suitably prepared the priest sprinkled the hearse with holy water and censed. The brothers said the *Pater Noster*, followed by the priest reciting *Et ne nos; A porta inferi*, and the collect. The bells were then tolled and the cantor began a response which the community chanted as they proceed into the church, placing the body before the altar. When the chant was complete, they repeated the *Pater Noster*, *Et ne nos; A porta inferi* and collect as before. At this time, a number of the brethren remain with the corpse to chant the Psalms, while the remainder of the community return to complete the tasks interrupted by the sounded alarm.<sup>53</sup>

The brothers were rarely absent from the side of the deceased during the day, with exceptions being made for the Hours or Masses, processions, as well as being in chapter, refectory or dormitory. In these cases, a contingent of monks was left with the hearse, reciting the Psalter, commendations of the soul, and the Office of the Dead with *Verba mea* – all of these frequently repeated. <sup>54</sup> During the night, too, constant watch was kept over the body of the dead brother. After Compline, the community was divided into two groups who took it in turns to keep watch. The brothers carried on the recitation of the Psalms, commendations and Office of the Dead throughout the night. After Lauds the children and their masters take over the Psalms for the remaining Hours of the night, accompanied by those brothers who reside in the infirmary, and were free during that time. <sup>55</sup> If the brother died so late in the evening as to make the recitation of at least two nocturnes for him impracticable, the whole community remained in the church to keep the vigil.

The entire community was enjoined to celebrate the Mass for the dead brother the morning following the vigil. The Morrow Mass was said, and during the Mass the corpse was censed each time the altar was censed. After the sermon, the deceased was absolved by the abbot, who

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Ibid., 125.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Ibid., 126.

commanded thirty Masses to be said for him in thirty days. <sup>56</sup>

The time allotted for the burial of the body depended on the time of death. Usually burial followed a night vigil, however if the death occurred during or after the night Hours but before the morning, he was to be buried after High Mass. If the death occurred after then morning wake-up call, the funeral was postponed until after chapter on the following day, unless a reason caused the burial to take place earlier, after the High Mass or None. 57 The usual placement of the funeral was after High Mass. The monks went to the body singing the Verba mea while the bells were tolled three times, calling those at a distance to the funeral.<sup>58</sup> The sacrist distributed tapers and candles to the brothers and the children, while they arranged themselves around the bier. The priest sprinkled the body, and the cantor began a series of verses, responses, and collects. When he intoned the antiphon in paradisum the community left the church, singing In exitu Israel. The procession to the grave, in which the body came last, was accompanied by a tolling of the bells that lasted until the body had been laid in the grave.<sup>59</sup> At the graveside, the community arranged themselves as they would to stand in the choir. Collects were recited, and the grave sprinkled with holy water and censed. Two of the brothers who were outside the grave held the pall over it, while two others took the body from the hearse and gave into the hands of those who had gone into the grave. The body was laid out with a scroll of words of absolution set on his breast. The body was covered, the candles extinguished and the community returned to the church.<sup>60</sup>

From the eleventh century on there are plenty of written records of the Office of the Dead as performed in English monasteries, with examples having survived from as many as twenty institutions.<sup>61</sup> However, the Office of the Dead, as well as the numerous other devotions springing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> This Mass was said in addition to the public Mass. This ensured that a Mass was recited for the dead man every day for the 30 days beginning the day after his burial. Ibid., 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 130

<sup>61</sup> Tolhurst and Society, Breviary of Hyde Abbey, 108

into common use in monastic communities, still needed to be transferred to the secular clergy. Since the Office was transferred from the monastic community to the secular world, and uses the shape of a monastic form of devotion, an Office comprised of Hours, it is logical to assume that monastic practices would have had a strong impact on the shape of the Office in secular churches as well. Some monastic sources, such as Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, while finding an immediate audience in the community at Christ Church Canterbury, would have been read and used by other communities as well. While the instructions in this compilation are most applicable to a monastic setting, there are indications that both monastic and secular communities were intended readers. While they cannot be taken as definitive evidence, sources such as the *Monastic Constitutions* provide a good source of information on the form and shape of the early English Office of the Dead in both the monastic and secular environment.

The transfer of these new religious observances from the monastic environment to the secular institutions, particularly collegiate and cathedral churches, occurred at the discretion of individual abbots and bishops. The transfer was assisted by the Augustinian Canons, who both professed a Rule, and worked as part of the clerical body as participants in pastoral and ministerial duties. This gave them the opportunity to demonstrate current practice to the secular clergy they worked with.<sup>64</sup> The Office of the Dead and other accretions to the daily *horarium* were adopted primarily during the twelfth century, and were completely absorbed by the end of the thirteenth – a period that also saw the founding of many new cathedral churches. There is little surviving evidence that might allow us to fix the dates on which these accretions made their first appearance in the secular liturgy. However, those fragments that remain make it likely that the Office of the Dead was a part of the public service by the mid thirteenth century. There are, for example, several pre-1305

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> See Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: a History* (Cambridge: 2009), 108-110, for discussion of the dissemination of the *Constitutions*. See also H.E. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> See Ibid., 106 for a discussion of the language of the *Constitutions* that suggests Lanfranc may have intended a wider readership that just his own community.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Bishop, "Origin of the Prymer," 232.

statutes from St. Pauls Cathedral in London that mention the Office of the Dead. 65

By the end of the twelfth century this Office was being performed with some exceptions on a daily basis in addition to the Office of the Day. It was not usually performed on Sundays or feast days, except on occasions where death had just occurred. While it was performed regularly, it was not always recited in its complete form. Instead, there were numerous variations and shortened forms of the Office, which would be used from day to day. Frequently only three of the nine lessons, responses and versicles that formed Matins were recited, with the others inserted on a rotating basis. Regardless of how much of the Office was being performed, it was established by this point that the daily performance of the Office of the Dead was part of the obligatory Hours and prayers required of the professional religious.

Of course, in addition to the Office of the Dead being performed as part of a daily round of religious observances in monastic and some secular churches, it was also an important aspect of parochial life as a part of funeral observances and commemorative services. The Office was performed on the occasion of deaths in the community as well as in memory of deaths past, as a method of commemoration of individuals from the parish on 'mynd' days. Additionally, other community-based corporate bodies such gilds performed services in memory of their deceased members and services in memory of 'All Souls' for the deceased members of a parish.

#### THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD IN DEVOTIONAL BOOKS

As monastic communities were growing, and more time freed up by a wider division of labour, monks and nuns passed more time in various supplemental devotional practices. The creativity of the religious was not confined to the commemoration of the dead – it was during this time that additions such as the graduals Psalms, and the litany, were also working their way into

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> The whole body of devotional additions are recorded at a later date in Sarum books, indicating that they were all in use by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Ibid., 233

<sup>66</sup> Harper, The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy, 105.

common practice. By the tenth century the fifteen gradual Psalms before Matins, the Matins, Lauds and Vespers of the Dead, Vespers and Lauds of All Saints, seven Penitential Psalms and the litany after Prime were all in wide spread use. By around the year 950, with the exception of the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the commendations, the texts that become the principles of the Book of Hours are in place.<sup>67</sup> These items, which formed a daily round of supplemental prayer in monastic communities developed during the same period.

The Office of the Dead was clearly felt to be important by religious communities - and, as it was the first of the popular devotional additions to the Divine Office to be accepted and put into use by the secular clergy, lay communities as well came to value it.<sup>68</sup> This is particularly represented by the presence of the Office of the Dead in the Book of Hours. Given the importance of the Office of the Dead in devotional life, it is not surprising to find that rather than simply being included in the Book of Hours, it was an intrinsic part of the development of this example of popular piety. The Office of the Dead was never *added* to the Book of Hours, it developed in conjunction with those supplementary devotions that would eventually be so widely used, and so popular, that they were bound together into their own volume.

In written records of the Office, whether ecclesiastical statutes or the *horae*, the Hours of the Office of the Dead are often referred to by various terms. Vespers is frequently called after the first anthem, *Placebo*. Similarly, Matins is called *Dirige* after its first anthem, or *Vigilae mortuorum*. We see this use in the *Regularis Condordia* where Matins of the Dead is referred to as Vigils of the Dead.<sup>69</sup> Lauds is very infrequently separated from Matins and thus *Dirige* commonly refers to both Hours. However Lauds, like the first two Hours, is occasionally called after the first anthem, *Exultabunt*.<sup>70</sup> In documents from the thirteenth to fifteenth century the Office of the Dead is most often referred to

<sup>67</sup> Bishop, "Origin of the Prymer," 220.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ibid., 231.

<sup>69</sup> Symons, Regularis concordia, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Tolhurst and Society, Breviary of Hyde Abbey, 108.

In the vibrant culture of Christian faith during its early years, the prevalent attitude toward death was that it was a welcome end to a tiresome physical existence that was fraught with temptation, and as a joyful beginning to a new spiritual life. Care for the sick and dying, as well as care for the dead, was a Christian duty that formed an important part of the faith. It was one of the more obvious ways that Christians visibly differentiated themselves from other religions, and in the succeeding centuries it continued to be a significant aspect of Christian life. Burial of the dead numbered among the Acts of Mercy that were advocated for every good Christian. Images of care for the dead appear in church decoration such as stained glass, and wall painting, as well as manuscripts to remind parishioners of their duties. It appears for instance, in a late fourteenth Spanish-Hebrew miniature, Yates Thompson 31, f. 110v, depicting the Acts of Mercy.<sup>71</sup> Here, among the other charitable actions felt to be important to a good Christian life, is an image of three clerics reading a service at the graveside, as earth is shoveled over the cloth-wrapped corpse. Though not an Office of the Dead miniature, the image bears a strong resemblance to the many graveyard scenes that appear at the Office of the Dead in French and Flemish Books of Hours throughout the later Middle Ages. Images of the Acts of Mercy and the burial of the dead also appear in England, as for example, in a stained glass window in the church of All Saints, North Street in York. Here, among the other acts, is an image in the middle light representing care for the dead and dying.

The primary function of the ninth century Office of the Dead was as a funerary rite enacted immediately after death. It was both a funerary and commemorative service in which the deceased himself was present one last time, speaking through the celebrant. However, once it became customary to celebrate the Office of the Dead on a daily basis, the Office began to serve a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> London: BL, *Yates Thompson MS 31*, Breviari d'Amour, Catalonia?, late fourteenth century. O. Elfrida Saunders, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: 1932), 139-140.

secondary purpose - one focused on commemoration. In this guise the Office was principally used as a means of remembering the faithful, both the named and anonymous departed, and praying for their safe deliverance from purgatory, and thus the service was less intimately tied to the circumstance of death. There was not always an individual making his or her last statements of faith and repentance through the words of Job. Instead, the texts of the Office of the Dead were interpreted as expressive of the sentiments of all suffering souls in the afterlife. By the thirteenth century, when the Book of Hours including the Office of the Dead was making an appearance in lay and religious society, it was this commemorative purpose that was often uppermost in the minds of the readers. While the Office could be, and was, read during a funeral, it was also read in times of personal prayer and meditation as a reflection of mortality and as a reminder of life's frailty. In the following chapters, the illustrations that accompany the Office of the Dead will be considered in light of both the ritual and commemorative aspects.

## ∞ Chapter Two ∞

#### IMAGES OF THE FUNERAL AND REQUIEM MASS

In examining how the popularity and importance of the Office of the Dead influenced the visual culture and experiences of people in medieval England the Book of Hours is an invaluable tool. This book was an important and popular volume, frequently the only book owned by a family. As the most widely read and distributed volume of the period, it provides today's reader with a sense of what was important to the medieval reader. While the genre of the Book of Hours was widespread, it must be remembered that these were not volumes from a single press run. Rather, each book was individual in a way that is rarely found in today's text-saturated society. In the early years of the Book of Hours, the volumes reflected the interests and values of the patron or owner of the book, who made a specific commission often indicating which texts should be included, which segments he or she wished to be illustrated and even what those illustrations should be. As the book grew in popularity and became available 'off the shelf' in the local stationer's shop, this high level of embedded specificity became less common. However, the personalisation of the books continued, as owners added to the calendars dates of importance to the family, prayers addressed to their own problems and concerns and even, sewn or glued in, additional images

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd ed. (London: 2005), 168, 176, 178; Christopher de Hamel, "Books of Hours: 'Imaging the Word'," in *The Bible as Book: the Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John Sharpes and Kimberly van Kanpan (London: 1998), 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Janet Backhouse, *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library* (London: 1997), 66; De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 168-178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors or Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 753; Thomas Lentes, "Prayer Books," in *Transforming the Medieval World: Uses of Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Marcus Ostermann Franz-Josef Arlinghaus, Oliver Plessow, Gudrun Tscherpel (Turnhout: 2006), 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See for example Higgit, *The Murthly Hours*; Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*; and Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion* for indepth discussions of a few of these early very individual volumes.

collected and saved for this purpose.<sup>5</sup> The Book of Hours, therefore, can be used to investigate both societal trends in personal piety, and the specific interests of individuals. As will be seen in the following discussion of the illustrations accompanying the Office of the Dead, both the usual and the unusual image can tell us something of how the contemporary reader understood this text and liturgical event in their own lives and in the lives of others.

It has been noted that the illustration of the Office of the Dead is one of the most iconographically diverse of the illustrated Hours regularly included in Books of Hours. It is true that this Office can be accompanied by miniatures of such diverse subjects as Job on the Dunghill, the Raising of Lazarus, the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead*, the Funeral of Renart the Fox, the ascension of a soul into Heaven, or the mouth of Hell. These subjects describe biblical narratives, depict contemporary legends and stories relating to death and the afterlife, and reflect the eschatological concerns of a religious society. While this variation in themes and images can be found generally in western manuscripts produced between the years 1250 and 1500, when one begins to focus on Books of Hours produced in and for England and English readers, one finds the majority of images at the Office of the Dead display a greater uniformity than is found on the continent. The most common subject used to illustrate the Office of the Dead in these volumes is a tableau from the vigil or funeral service. This chapter will focus on these images of the familiar service, examining different aspects of the theme, how it developed, and why it might have been so extensively, even monotonously, used in English Books of Hours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See for example York: York Minster Library, MS XVI. K. 6, Pavement Hours, York, c. 1420 (Cat. 67). Neil Ripley Ker and Alan J. Piper, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, VI vols. (Oxford: 1969-1992), IV, 727-30 This volume contains a number of sewn in images that have been added to the original bound text. Amelia Grounds, "Evolution of a Manuscript: The Pavement Hours," in Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England, ed. Margaret Connolly and Linne R. Mooney (York: 2008). See also Duffy, Marking the Hours, for further information on the personalisation of individual Books of Hours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wieck, Poos et al., *Time Sanctified*, 124; Wieck, *Painted Prayers*, 119; Fiero, "Death Ritual,", 276, 291; Nigel J. Morgan and Bronwyn Stocks, *The Medieval Imagination: Illuminated Manuscripts from Cambridge, Australia and New Zealand* (South Yarra, Vic.: 2008), 130.

#### DEATH AND THE COMMUNITY

Death was a strong presence in the medieval period, heard and seen in the life of the community in the pattern of additional services, Masses and bells, as well as in the donations and bequests to the church that enriched the visual experience of parish life. It was, and is, a subject that holds great fascination for every society and it has been the subject of many anthropological studies that attempt to understand how a self aware species deals with mortality. One of the pioneering works in this field which has influenced studies on medieval death is Arnold van Gennep's *Rites of Passage*. Van Gennep investigated social activities or rites that he viewed as expressions of 'regeneration' - which he saw as a principle force in the universe. He viewed all rites of passage as essentially created to accomplish a similar thing: maintain a cohesive society through ritual action which governs the periods of separation and integration that come with regeneration. Through ritual, the social and mental stresses of these two elements are mitigated, making an easier transition from one to the other. 9

For medieval societies, death was a dangerous time - both body and soul undergoing a period of transition, as well as an important time in both the religious and social spheres. The body was of no less importance than the soul in the long term - the ramifications of a bodily resurrection at the Last Day made care for one's mortal remains of vital importance. In addition, immediately after death, the body became the site of social change. Concern over the appropriate method of dealing with the body was an important aspect of the funeral ritual; the body became the site of mourning for friends and community, a symbol of the separation between the living and the dead,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See chapters Four and Five for the impact of these donations on the musical life of the parish. Clive Burgess,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Longing to be Prayed For': Death and Commemoration in an English Parish in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: 2000), 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*. See the final Chapter on ways various societies deal with death.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid viii-x

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, "Death in the Middle Ages: Some Modern Implications," *Proceedings of the American Philisophical Society* 142 (1998): 589, 594-595.

and of the gap created in the community by the death of one of its members.<sup>11</sup> The choice of burial site could also express the loyalties and allegiances of the deceased, as well as of the family of the deceased, through the selection or patronage of sites other than one's home parish as a final resting place.<sup>12</sup>

The markers identified by van Gennep in the processes that are involved in the rite that is the funeral can easily find counterparts in Catholic liturgy. The importance of this transitional time is noted by Van Gennep, who articulates the funeral and mourning period as covering the transition from a state of separation to a state of reintegration into the community of the living. He notes that beginning of this transitional period is often marked physically by the stay of the corpse in the coffin the home or sacred place; that during mourning normal social life is suspended, and that this hiatus lasts in accordance with close relationship to the deceased, and with the social rank of the deceased; that acts of reincorporation in regular life, such as a shared meal, are important; and that this transitional period is divided into parts and marked by commemorations. Medieval counterparts can be found for each of these things in Catholic practice of the time, from the vigil over the body in the church, to the 'mynds' so coveted by medieval parishioners.

The illustrations that accompany the Office of the Dead often capture the enactment of the formal funeral ritual. They depict those moments when the body of the deceased forms the focus of the religious and secular community, the intermediary space between 'before' and 'after' where the living and dead exist in the same physical environment and readjust themselves to the reality of both social and spiritual change.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> R.C. Finucane, "'Sacred Corpse. Profance Carrion': Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Socialy History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley (London: 1981), 41, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Binski, Medieval Death, 55-58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Gennep, The Rites of Passage, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid., 147-149, 164-165.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS AT OFFICE OF THE DEAD

We have seen that the Book of Hours developed in conjunction with the increasing accretions to the monastic *horarium*, one of these being the Office of the Dead. It is unsurprising that the Book of Hours would be one of the principle texts for the dissemination of this Office, nor, given that the Book of Hours was reflective of the growing interest of the laity in personal devotions, that these Hours should be elaborated with the addition of historiated initials and illuminations. The presence of the Office of the Dead in such a book is itself an indication of the importance of the Office in daily devotional practices, and in the general devotional lives of medieval English communities.

Before delving into a discussion of specific manuscripts and iconography, it seems useful to make some general comments about the Office and its images. The placement of the Office of the Dead within Books of Hours is fairly uniform: it almost always appears toward the end of the compilation, after the Litany, and before the Commendation of Souls. On the occasion of a death, these Hours, commonly referred to as the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, would be recited the night before the Requiem Mass and burial service took place. The Office of the Dead formed part of a wider concern for the souls of the departed and was recited daily in monastic communities, chantries and collegiate institutions, for all the faithful dead. In addition, it was recited in remembrance of particular individuals at their request any number of times, in commemoration of their soul, and frequently, the souls of their spouse and family members. These requests ran from long term and lavish to fairly modest depending on the wealth of the testator. Robert Bokeland in 1436 requested that a Trental Mass as well as the *Placebo* and *Dirige* with the nine lessons be said for his soul and the souls of his father, mother, brother and "all thoo that I am bounden to pray for" by a priest established at Oxford or Cambridge University every Friday for twenty years after his death. He asked the same of the canons of Ottery St Mary College in Devon, and requested the attendance of the poor men of that parish. In addition, he requested that the Dominican, Carmelite, Franciscan and Augustinian Friars in London also perform the *Dirige* and Requiem Mass on his yearly mind for five years after his death.<sup>15</sup> A more frugal request can be found in the 1428 bequest of Richard Whyteman, a waxchandler from London, who requested a mere seven services as a yearly 'mind' to be kept for him for the seven years after his decease.<sup>16</sup> In addition to these corporate occasions when the Office was recited in the public space of the church, parishioners were encouraged to read this text privately as part of their personal devotions.<sup>17</sup>

The images themselves appear within the Office in a variety of places. The earliest examples of illustration in the Office of the Dead are found in historiated initials, which are usually simple compositions. The standard size of these early initials, relative to the size of the books, is between three and five lines of text in height. The initial that is most often selected for artistic embellishment of this nature is the *D* of *Dilexi*, at the beginning of the Office, but examples are also found of the *P* of *Placebo* being treated in this manner. By the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, the illustrations found in the Office of the Dead were growing in size and prominence. Where in earlier Books of Hours the Office of the Dead may only have been illustrated with a decorated or historiated initial, by the end of the century it was common to see larger historiated initials, such as that found in the Bohun Psalter-Hours, BL Egerton MS 3277 (cat.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> "All-so y wull that ther be founded at the universities of Oxonford or Cambrigge, after the discrecion of my wyf & executours, two gode honnest and vertuous preestes of conuersacioun, the terme of XX yere, prayenge for the soules of me, my fadyr, moder, broder, and for all thoo that I am bounden to pray for, eche of the saide preestes takynge yerly C s, hauynge in Charge to seye euery friday a messe of the trentall, with Placebo and Dirige, & the ix lessons. Item, I bequethe xx marces unto divers preestes for to singe Masses of the grete Gregorie trentals. ... All-so y gif unto the collage of saint Mary Ottroye in Devenshire, xx ti, to be demened, xx s therof yerely in this wise: that euery yere duryng the terme of xx yere, my mynd, with Placebo & Dirige & Masse of Requiem to be doon oones, yevynge to every chanon being ther-at viij d, to euery preest vj d, to euery secundary & clerc of the chirche iiij d, and to euery quatester ij d; Ans yf ther leve any thynge of the said xx s, to be delt to euery pouere ma of that parissh ij d and all thoo pouere men to be at the Dirige & messe. Item I bequethe moneye for MM Masses to be saide after my decesse, that is to sey, to every preest sayinge for me the Dirige and a messe of Requiem, iiii d. Item I wol that the house of Freres precHours in London haue euery yere durynge the terme of v yere, xx s to sey be note the Dirige & messe of Requiem and my mynd day. And yn the same wise the saide som yerly unto the white Freres, grey freres and Austins, performynge the Dirige adn Messe a-forsaid." Frederick J. Furnivall, The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London, A.D. 1387-1439, with a priest's of 1454, Early English Text Society, Original series (London: 1882), 104. 16 Ibid., 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Smith, Art, Identity, and Devotion, 97.

29), f. 142 (fig 13), and half page miniatures, such that in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 94 (F. 5. 21) (cat. 18), f. 144, accompanying the Office. 18 While the initials are found set in-text at the opening of the Office, the larger and usually more elaborate compositions are typically located on the facing page to the opening texts of the Office of the Dead.

The reader of the Office of the Dead in an illuminated Book of Hours would probably find the opening of the Vespers of the Dead decorated with a scene from the funeral. The small size of the early historiated initials did not prevent the artists from creating images that could be quite detailed. The familiar scene is described for us in Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* which, in speaking about funeral practices in the eleventh century says:

All shall then proceed to the church; those who bear the vat of holy water, the cross, the candlesticks and incense shall go first, then the children and the rest of the community; last of all, those who have washed the body and now carry it. When the corpse is placed in the usual position in church the bells cease to toll; the cross is set up at the feet of the dead man, and the two candlesticks are placed one at his head and the other at his feet, with tapers burning without cease till the body it taken out for burial.<sup>19</sup>

The images almost always include the above mentioned candles, often in the indicated positions at head and foot of the coffin. The depiction of the cross is more unusual, but does occasionally appear. <sup>20</sup> Though the Office of the Dead was performed inside the church, it is not until the fifteenth century that one finds the depiction of a believable interior ecclesiastical space with any regularity. <sup>21</sup> Instead the small historiated initials with limited compositional space largely employ flat patterned or gilded backgrounds. <sup>22</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Both manuscripts are discussed more fully below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Knowles, ed. *Monastic Constitutions*, 124-125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See also London: BL, *Egerton MS 1151*, Hours, Oxford, c. 1260-c. 1270, f. 118v (cat. 25); New York: PML Library. *MS G. 50*, De Lisle Hours, York, c. 1320, f. 113 (cat. 47).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See also Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, *MS 1945-65-6*, Mostyn Hours, c. 1470, f. 158v (cat. 57); London: BL, *Arundel MS 302*, Hameldon Hours, Suffolk, c. 1450, f. 77v (cat. 42) (fig. 18); London: BL. *Add. 50001*, Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, London, c. 1425, f. 55v (cat. 36).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See also Baltimore: The Walter Arts Museum, *MS W. 102*, Walters Hours, English, c. 1290-1300, f. 55 (cat. 1); London BL, *Add. MS 21926*, Grandisson Psalter, Chichester, c. 1270-1280, f. 208v (cat. 27); Dublin: Trinity College Library, *MS 94 (F. 5. 21)*, Offices of the Virgin, English, fourteenth century, f. 114 (cat. 18).

This then, is what the 'typical' Office of the Dead image depicts: a bier draped with a pall cloth and surrounded by candles, a cluster of clerics who hold vigil over the coffin saying the Office, and a group of mourners, who listen to or read the Office from their own Book of Hours. Such a depiction is found in many of the manuscripts highlighted in the catalogue.<sup>23</sup>

While similar iconographically, the images show a variety of details that indicate changes in practice and fashion in the funeral. We turn now to the development of this iconography, followed by a discussion of some of the specifics of this funeral scene.

#### EARLY VISUAL INFLUENCES AND THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN

It is unsurprising that the image most often found with the Office of the Dead is one depicting a scene from the celebration of the Office itself, or from the Requiem Mass, and these display a marked uniformity. By the end of the fourteenth century, just as the Annunciation at Matins in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or the Crucifixion for the Hours of the Holy Cross had become standard images denoting specific places and texts within the book, so too had the funeral become the recognisable iconography for the Office of the Dead. The increase in the size of the images, in addition to the development of a largely unvaried English iconography of the Office, reflects the establishment of these visual themes in the popular mainstream.

It seems, for example, that the image of the funeral may have appeared as a subject for wall paintings in parish churches. E. W. Tristram identifies such a scene in St Margaret Church, Starston, Norfolk, and dates it to the very early fourteenth century.<sup>24</sup> The mural is no longer extant, having been destroyed in 1872 during renovations to the church fabric, but it is known from drawings done

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See for example Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Library, *MS 39*, Hours, English, c. 1420-1440, f. 70 (cat. 20) (fig. 8); Edinburgh: NLS, *MS Adv. 18. 6. 5*, Psalter of Eleanor de Bohun, English, 1382 - c. 1396, f. 48 (cat. 19); Herefordshire: Hatfield House, *MS CP 343*, Hours, English, fifteenth century, f. 100 (cat. 23); Whereabouts unknown: Sotheby's Sale, 23rd June, 1998, Saxby's Hours and Psalter, London, c. 1430-1450, f. 74 (cat. 65).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Carl Tancred Borenius and Ernest William Tristram, *English Medieval Painting*, 1st ed. (New York: 1927 (reprinted 1976)), 251-252.

shortly after its discovery. The scene is arranged as a horizontal composition; the bier, draped with an elaborately embroidered pall and resting on a carved hearse structure at the centre front, is the focus. Behind the bier there are three groups: on the left is an officiating priest with assistants, and a mourner clasping his hands; in the centre are two women mourners, one dressed in fashionable contemporary clothing who clasps her hands, while the other is clad in a grey tunic and grey headdress and holding a prayer-book in one hand while she raises the other to support her head; on the right is large group of figures dressed in white tunics who appear to be there in support of the woman with the book. Tristram has indicated that the scene was previously "erroneously" identified as a Death of the Virgin, and asserts that it is instead a fourteenth century funeral scene.<sup>25</sup> This scene shares many characteristics with funeral scenes of the type appearing in Books of Hours, however it is very unusual that the head of the deceased was once visible in the wall painting. The left side of the bier, now much defaced, clearly suggests that the individual once appeared here. Whether or not this is a Funeral of the Virgin, the depiction of a face, a specific person, suggests that it was possibly not intended to represent a contemporary funeral, but rather a biblical or historical one interpreted through fourteenth-century eyes.

It is interesting that the funeral scene at St Margaret Starston is combined with the rise of the soul to Heaven, usually two separate scenes in *horae*. In the upper centre a small naked figure is carried up to Heaven by two angels in a white cloth. The image is very similar to those depicted in Books of Hours at the Commendation of Souls, and given the posited date of execution, suggests that this and similar visual tropes may have been familiar to people before the Book of Hours became as mainstream as it was later to do.<sup>26</sup> Certainly, other funeral scenes, such as encountered in

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 251.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The Commendation of Souls and accompanying iconography are discussed further below. See Chapter Three.

the story of the Death of the Virgin or the Entombment of Christ, would have been familiar in medieval churches, as these scenes appeared in wall painting and in stained glass visual schemes.<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, the early iconography of the Office of the Dead may have been influenced by other subjects and stories such as the Death of the Virgin, illustrations of which appeared in other common devotional texts like the Psalter.<sup>28</sup> Marian subjects such as the Death of the Virgin were increasingly popular in the fourteenth century and formed part of the larger visual experience of the medieval parishioner. There is, for example, a very well-preserved and particularly extensive cycle in the chancel of the Church of St Mary, Chalgrove, in Oxfordshire.<sup>29</sup> The subject is also depicted in stained glass images, such as the thirteenth-century window found in the church of Stanton St. John in Oxfordshire, and the fifteenth-century east window in St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, Norfolk.<sup>30</sup> The Stanton St John image shows the bier being carried by two now faceless figures. Above, two angels cense the bier. The St Peter Mancroft image bears strong compositional similarities to a standard fifteenth-century illumination for the Office of the Dead.<sup>31</sup> These are particularly strong in the placement of the figures and the coffin within the frame. Both the Stanton St John and St Peter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Marian themes, and especially the death and burial of the Virgin, were increasingly popular in the fourteenth century. J. J. G. Alexander and Paul Binski, *Age of Chivalry: art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400* (London: 1987), 129, 229-230, cat. 93; Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion*, 259, 288 n.5. See below, pp. 49 and 99, fn. 62. See also Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English & Welsh Churches* (Woodbridge: 2008), 319, 322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>The Death of the Virgin appears, for example, in the Luttrell Psalter. London: BL, *Add. 42130*, Luttrell Psalter, c. 1325-1335, f. 99-99v. The images described here are similar in composition to the comparable scene in the St John's College MS K. 26, discussed below, and Walters MS W. 102 at the funeral of Renart the Fox, discussed further in Chapter Four. On the Luttrell Psalter see Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: 1998), *passim.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The cycle contains eleven scenes from the death of the Virgin including the funeral procession with the bier. Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 127, 229, cat. 93; Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 280, fig. 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Peter A. Newton and Jill Kerr, *The county of Oxford: a catalogue of medieval stained glass*, Corpus vitrearum Medii Aevi (London: 1979), 189; David King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich*, Corpus vitrearum Medii Aevi (Oxford: 2006), 73-75; Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (London: 1993), for Stanton St John, 71, 147, fig. 70, 119, for St Peter Mancroft, 195-196, 198, fig. 166; Painton Cowen, *English Stained Glass* (London: 2008), 68, 86. On St Peter Mancroft see also Richard Marks, Paul Williamson et al., *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547* (London: 2003), no. 120, 259. The earliest stained glass example of the funeral of the Virgin occurs in three Chapter House windows in York Minster that date from c. 1299-c. 1314. For further information on gothic stained glass see Richard Marks' article in Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 137-147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> David King also highlights the similarities between these glass and manuscript images. King, *Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft*, 74.

Mancroft examples show the Jews being foiled in their attempt to overturn the bier on which the Virgin lies. In this event from the legend of the Virgin's death, burial and assumption, a few Jews attempted to ambush the funeral procession, by overturning the bier and throwing the corpse to the ground. As soon as their hands touched the bier, however, they withered and adhered to it. On the advice of St Peter, the Jews called on the mercy of the Lord, and were restored to health when they converted.<sup>32</sup>

The earliest surviving illustrated English Book of Hours, the de Brailes Hours, BL Add. MS 49999, has a very fine Funeral of the Virgin scene in the bas-de-page of f. 61 that shows a procession.<sup>33</sup> Contained in a roundel on the left is the Death of the Virgin in a death bed scene, with the apostles around her. In the centre portion of this framed miniature, the bier of the Virgin is carried to the tomb by the apostles, and in the roundel on the right we see the Burial of the Virgin, as the shrouded body is reverentially placed in a stone sarcophagus. The composition of the central scene is particularly reminiscent of images found decorating the Office of the Dead, and it is images like these that provide possible antecedents to the funeral that comes to commonly appear at the Office of the Dead. Another example of this scene is found in the stained glass of Stapleton Chantry, Berkshire. The composition of this Burial also displays similarities to those seen in manuscripts illuminations. The visual similarity to contemporary funeral practices and the placement of this series in a chantry setting creates a strong visual and thematic connection between images of the Death of the Virgin and of contemporary death.<sup>34</sup>

A thirteenth century Psalter from Cambridge, St John's College MS K. 26, f. 24r (fig. 23), also contains a miniature of this subject that bears resemblance to contemporaneous images

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> William Granger Ryan, ed. The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, II vols. (Princeton, N.J.: 1993), Vol I, 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> London: BL, Add. 49999, De Brailes Hours, Oxford, c. 1250. Donovan, The de Brailes Hours, passim; Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285, no. 73, 119-121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Philip Nelson, Ancient Painted Glass in England, 1170-1500, Antiquary's Books (London: 1913), 54.

appearing at the Office of the Dead.<sup>35</sup> In this image we see the bier poles in use as the Virgin is carried across the composition by the apostles. Three small figures, the Jews from the Legend of the Death of the Virgin, run along beside the bier attempting to over turn it. To the left and the right of the composition cluster the apostles, leaving nothing to distract the eye from the body of the dead Virgin which is emphasised by size and position. Unlike images from the Office of the Dead where the body is rarely seen, here we do see the head of the Virgin uncovered. The style and depiction of the bier and pall is similar to those found in thirteenth and early fourteenth century manuscripts such as BL Egerton MS 1151, f. 188, and WAG MS W. 102, f. 55.

Such visual consonances between this popular apocryphal legend and contemporary funeral scenes can also be found contained within the same manuscript: the De Lisle Hours, PML MS G. 50 (cat. 47), produced in York between 1316 and 1330,<sup>36</sup> contains an image of the burial of the Virgin on f. 161, and another of the Office of the Dead on f. 113v. In spite of the difference in subject matter, the compositions share many characteristics. The biers are described in very similar terms, though the one in the burial of the Virgin scene is being carried by the apostles, while the other rests in a simple hearse in the Office of the Dead image. In both, the figures are grouped behind and to either side of the bier, the poles are similarly shaped, the palls similarly patterned, and in neither is there any indication of a body or coffin resting under the embroidered cloth.

The images discussed above demonstrate how the iconography of the death or burial of the Virgin may have influenced the depiction of funeral illustrations. The artists painting the Death and Burial of the Virgin images in manuscripts produced before the Office of the Dead became common in Hours and psalters, would have drawn on their visual experience of medieval funeral practices, in addition to attending to similar visual themes around them. Thus the tradition of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cambridge: St John's College, *MS K. 26*, Psalter, English, c. 1397-1400. This image, however, is from a series of earlier images attached to the late fourteenth century Psalter. These forty six images date between 1270 and 1280. Binski and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations*, no. 74; N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1250-1285*, 2 vols., A Survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles (London: 1982, 1988), II, 182-183, no. 179; Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion*, 171-172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, no. 77.

funeral iconography, and the developing iconography of the funeral illustrations at the Office of the Dead drew inspiration from both traditional depictions of the similar subjects and from the artists own experiences of death and burial in medieval England.

#### THE BODY: AT REST AND IN PROGRESS

Just as the focus of the funeral service was the body, so too is it the focus of the images, where the body of the deceased in its coffin is found in the 'usual place' at the centre of the composition.<sup>37</sup> The body often takes up more space than any other single element, as seen in the Psalter of Simon de Montacute in St John's College MS D. 30 (cat. 6), f. 154v (fig.3), Cambridge.<sup>38</sup> The pink-draped coffin in this historiated initial occupies half of the composition, while the figures of four nuns are fitted around it. This is true too of the Bohun Psalter, NLS MS Adv. 18. 6. 5 (cat. 19), f. 48 (fig. 7),<sup>39</sup> where the body of the deceased with coffin and hearse takes up so much of the pictorial space that the figures in the image appear to be stuffed around the edges. In examining the depiction of the body in the Office of the Dead images, we find examples of changes in the means and styles of display employed at the funeral.

In the earliest examples from Books of Hours and Psalter-Hours of the thirteenth-century the body rests on a carrying board that has been draped with an embroidered pall cloth. In BL Egerton MS 1151(cat. 25), f. 118 (fig. 10), dated 1260-1270, for example, the poles used by the pall bearers to carry the body into the church for the service, and out of the church for burial, are clearly visible. Here, the poles cross the boundary of the picture frame as provided by the shape of the initial, D, and appear to rest on the letter itself rather than having any support within the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> As stated earlier, this chapter focuses on images that depict the Office of the Dead or Requiem Mass. Images of the body also occur in other contexts and these are discussed below. See Chapter Three.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Cambridge: St. John's College Library, *MS D. 30*, Psalter of Simon de Montacute, Ely or Cambridge, c. 1340- 1345, and late fourteenth century. Binski and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations*, no. 7; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts* 1285-1385, II, 125 - 126, no. 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Edinburgh: NLS, MS Adv. 18. 6. 5, Psalter of Eleanor de Bohun, English, 1382 - c. 1396. Ibid., II, 163-165, no. 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 217.

composition. This both draws attention to the poles by their violation of the imagined space, and serves to focus the attention of the reader on the bier which has, as a result, also been placed in the reader's space rather than in the fictional space of the image. The inclusion of the long poles that were used to carry the bodies of the deceased into the church would have increased the immediacy of the images, as this reflected the practice of the time. Indeed, in a depiction from the Roman de Renart, an animal fable set in medieval France following the exploits of the devious fox Renart, found in the bas-de-page of WAG MS W. 102, f. 55 we see just such a configuration used to carry Renart in his funeral procession while the wily fox feigns death. In addition, it emphasises a sense of physical movement and procession. The reader would recognise the method of transport, and be reminded that the body was in transit from house to church thence to the churchyard, and eventually, to a final rest in the earth. This final physical transit from deathbed to grave could be understood by the reader as a metaphor the journey through life towards death and salvation.

While there is no sense of there being a coffin in these images, neither is there any indication of the body of a deceased man or woman; rather, the pall lies neatly across the carrying poles as though there is nothing under it.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps this description of the body-less bier would invite the medieval reader to reflect on the inevitability of their own death, and the fact that they will one day occupy that now empty space. Such reflection would not be amiss, as much medieval iconography encourages this kind of self referential reading, and is particularly apropos in a book that is by nature private and reflective. While the Office is celebrated by the living over the bodies of the dead, direct images of death or shrouded corpses are relatively rare in the English illustrations. There is an overwhelming preference in English Books of Hours for illustrations of a moment from the Office

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>. See below, Chapter Three, for a further discussion of this Renart cycle and other bas-de-page images in the Office of the Dead. Florence McCulloch, "The Funeral of Renart the Fox in a Walters Book of Hours," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 25/26 (1962/1963), 8-27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> See also London: BL. *Add. MS 50000*, Oscott Psalter, Oxford, c. 1265-1270, f. 233 (fig. 11). Some variation in the body's layout is found. In an image from the end of the thirteenth-century, WAG, MS W. 102, f. 55 (cat. 1) (fig. 1), we see both the trestles and the bier poles. Here too, the poles extend beyond the framing of the letter into the space of the reader. Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 356; Wieck, Poos et al., *Time Sanctified*, no. 111

of the Dead during the vigil in the church or one from the Requiem Mass, <sup>43</sup> unlike continental books, which much more commonly include images ranging from the death bed to the burial of the body. <sup>44</sup>

An example of the body appearing at the Office of the Dead is found in J. Paul Getty Museum MS 5.45 This manuscript highlights the close relationship between French and English illuminators during the first half of the fifteenth century. The illustrations in this book are attributed to the Fastolf Master, a French illuminator who worked in Paris and Rouen, before settling in London. MS 5, perhaps produced in London, contains two high quality full page miniatures with the Office of the Dead in addition to a small historiated initial. The historiated *D* at *Dilexi*, f. 173v, shows an image of the soul leaving the body, a type more frequently found in English books a few pages later, adorning the Commendation of Souls.46 The main figure lies on a poorly articulated surface - a table, or perhaps even a tomb. Unusually, the battle for the soul does not seem to be occurring over the death bed, as is normal, but somewhat later, as the body has already been washed and sewn into a shroud. From above the shrouded figure, God the Father leans down out of Heaven and picks up the soul, a rather substantial figure who appears to leap off the chest of his deceased earthbound body. In the shadows to the right a darkened devilish figure reaches out to grab at the ascending soul's hand. Interestingly, the shrouded body in this image is very well defined, and there is a strong sense of the form that has been sewn up in the wrappings. The fact that the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, I, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> In an illustration on f. 86v in the Duc de Berry's famed *Très Riches Heures* (Musée de Condé, Chantilly) the artist, Jean Colombe, has depicted the corpse in the church as the Requiem Mass is celebrated. This unusual scene is of the funeral of Raymond Diocrès, a canon of Notre-Dame in Paris, who rose up in his coffin to announce the judgement of God. In this instance the lid of the coffin has come ajar and the traditional black pall with the white embroidered cross is slipping off to reveal the head and upper torso of the dead Raymond. Jean Longnon, Raymond Cazelles et al., *Les Très riches heures du Duc de Berry, Musée Condé, Chantilly* (London: 1969), 80, 202. The scene was also used by the Limbourgs in the Les Belles Heures, ff. 94v - 95. Millard Meiss and Elizabeth Home Beatson, *Les Belles Heures de Jean Duc de Berry: from the MS. in The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (London: 1974). See below for a further discussion of images of funeral procession and series as found in English Books of Hours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Malibu, California: J. Paul Getty Museum. *MS 5*, Hours. French or English, c. 1430-1440. Attributed to the Fastoff Master. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 298, 310, 329.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> See below for a further discussion of the images at the Commendation.

body is so recognisable as a human form, combined with the breath-stopping white wrappings that encase and suffocate the inert form serves to underline the 'deadness' of the body for the reader. Another scene emphasising the death of the body appears in an English Hours, Blackburn Public Library, MS Hart. 21040 (cat. 72), where the Office of the Dead is illustrated with an image of a shrouded body laid out in a tomb.<sup>47</sup>

A more usual scene in which to see a corpse, albeit a shrouded one, is in a depiction of burial. This subject, common in French books of Hours, typically shows the body being lowered into the ground while others look on.<sup>48</sup> Such a scene appears in an English Hours in Edinburgh, University Library, MS 308 (cat. 21), on f. 66v.<sup>49</sup> In this rare English depiction of a burial scene, two men lower a corpse into a grave in the foreground, holding it by the tied ends of the winding sheet at head and foot. The winding sheet has three small crosses embroidered on it, at the head, chest and foot. Behind the men lowering the corpse into the ground are two clerics standing next to the opening in the earth. One of them reads from a book which he holds in one hand, while with the other he makes a gesture of blessing. The second figure looks on while holding a processional cross. The graveyard is enclosed by a low stone wall with a wooden gate at the right. A burial also appears in a volume from Swaffham parish church in Norfolk, MS 1 (cat. 62).<sup>50</sup> The fifteenth century manuscript contains the image of burial at f. 62v facing the opening texts of the Office of the

<sup>47</sup>. Ibid., II, 195, 169, 177, 352, Table III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> On of many examples is a Book of Hours made in Paris and commissioned from the Spitz Master around 1420, Getty Musuem MS 57. This contains a detailed image of burial in the churchyard on f. 194. The miniature show the corpse of a man being lowered into his grave in the foreground - without a shroud. Behind the dead man stand the priest with aspergillum, and a group of mourners. To the right we see into the church, and perhaps into the past, as the candles and coffin are still in situ and surrounded by a number of monks, who have not yet finished the Office of the Dead. The cemetery contains details of bones, graves, a charnel house and a three figures sitting at the base of a large cross. Kren and Museum, *French Illuminated Manuscripts in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 74. A London manuscript, BL, *Egerton MS 2019*, Hours, French, c. 1450-1460, f. 142, has a very similar composition to the Getty MS 5. Here too is found the shrouded corpse, grave, celebrants, mourners and churchyard setting See also London: BL, *Add. MS 25695*, Hours, French, late fifteenth century, f. 165; London: BL, *Yates Thompson MS 46*, Hours, French, c. 1410-1429, f. 156v, London: BL. *Burney MS 332*, Hours, French, late fifteenth century, f. 69; and London: BL, *Sloane MS 2468*, Hours of the Umfray Family, Paris, c. 1420, f. 163 for additional French examples.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 310-311, no. 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Swaffham (Norfolk): Church of Saints Peter and Paul. MS 1, Hours, English/Flemish, early fifteenth century. Ker and Piper, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, IV, 485-87. This manuscript has sustained some damage.

Dead. Here, the body is firmly wrapped up in a cocoon-like shroud, with the stitching visible along the length of the body. The two men stand in the grave as they lay the body down. At the graveside two priests recite the final prayers over the body, while three mourners dressed in black cluster on the right of the image. A burial scenes also appear in other media, seen in a stained glass cycle of the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy in a medieval house on Highcroass Street, Leicester. The window, c. 1500, shows a shrouded corpse being lowered into his grave while the priest asperges it, and reads the service from a book held open by another cleric. Two mourners are present, and the foreground is scattered with bones. <sup>51</sup> These descriptions of the event are reflected in Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions* indicating that the ceremony accompanying the burial of the body changed very little over the course of the centuries, and varied little from monastic to lay burial. <sup>52</sup>

These images are unusual in English Books of Hours, in that they display the death of the body in more explicit terms than is normally seen.<sup>53</sup> In England it was another medium that commonly displayed representations of the defunct body, tomb brasses. During the fifteenth, through to the end of the sixteenth century, the depiction of the body in a shroud was often seen in this type of commemoration. The examples that have survived show the deceased encased in a voluminous sheet, gathered, as was the common practice, over the head, with the stitching unpicked over the face to permit the figure that represents the deceased individual to be revealed on the memorial. Just one of many examples can be found in the tomb of Henry and Agnes Fayrey, and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Gilchrist and Sloane, Requiem, 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Knowles, ed. *Monastic Constitutions*, 128-130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> See also Michael Camille, Master of Death: the Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator (New Haven: 1996), 183.

their sons, c. 1516. Both Henry and Agnes are wrapped to the waist, where the shroud opens, showing the figures nude from the waist up with hands raised in prayer.<sup>54</sup>

In the manuscript illustrations, the depiction of the body carefully covered by the pall and encased in a coffin was standard, and perhaps reflects the tradition in northern Europe of hiding the physical form of the deceased person soon after death, keeping the actual corpse out of sight while it is still nominally on display for mourners.<sup>55</sup> The body is assumed, but not actually seen, both in life and in the miniatures. The following section discusses changes in the arrangement of the coffin and palls that cover the corpse in these miniatures.

### MATERIAL EMBELLISHMENT

The poles used to carry the bier from the home of the deceased to the church, and thence to the grave site, disappear from the images by the end of the fourteenth century. Additionally, the pall becomes longer, and images that display the structure on which the coffin rests, such as in the Grandisson Psalter, become rare.<sup>56</sup> In an English book from the beginning of the fourteenth century, Huntington Library MS HM 1346 (cat. 60), f. 119 (fig. 20, 20a), in San Marino, the poles are present, but the pall is now draped down to the floor covering the trestles, and we see the poles used

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<sup>54</sup> Marks, Williamson et al., *Gothic*, 455, no. 350. Malcom Norris lists among the best examples of London shop shroud brasses those of Joan Mareys (1431, Sheldwich), John Manfeld (1455, Taplow), Tomesin Tendryng (1485, Yoxford), Margaret Shelley (1495, Hunsdon), and John Symondes and his wife (1512, Cley), among others. Norris, *Memorials*, 206-210, esp. 208. Examples can also be found at St Mary and St Walstan, Bawburgh (Nor.); St Andrew, Frenze (Nor.); and St Andrew, Kirby Beton (Nor.). D. P. Mortlock and C.V. Roberts, *The Popular Guide to Norfolk Churches, No. 2: Norwich, Central and South Norfolk* (Cambridge: 1985). On a particularly interesting and early brass of this type see Paul Binski, "John the Smith's Grave," in *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, ed. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (London: 2006), 387-393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> This was not always the case in southern Europe, and particularly in Italy, where it was much more likely that the body would be seen by the mourners. Often the corpse, though wrapped in the shroud, would have the face left untouched and visible to those at funeral proceedings. See Ariès, *Images of Man and Death*, 157; Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*; Binski, *Medieval Death*, 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> In the Grandisson Psalter, BL Add. MS 21926 (cat. 27), illustrated between 1270 - 1280, the draped body of the deceased is clearly visible underneath the pall cloth, which outlines the figure from head to toe. The body rests on three trestle tables that have been set up in the sanctuary space. London: BL. Add. MS 21926, English, 1270-1280. Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1250-1285, II, no. 165.

at supports for a simple hearse structure.<sup>57</sup> The historiated initial on f. 58 in another manuscript, Bibliothèque Municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 93 (cat. 3),<sup>58</sup> from the late fourteenth century shows a mid-point: here, the poles are present, but the bier is also clearly a stable, solid-looking structure in the church space, as is the norm in later images. With time the structure of the coffin becomes more defined, sometimes even appearing with a small peaked roof, and the hearse becomes increasingly prominent, and increasingly elaborate. All of these changes are noticeable in the late fourteenth-century manuscript, BL Add. MS 16968 (cat. 30), f. 33.<sup>59</sup> In this simple composition in the initial 'D' of *Dilexi*, there are no figures. Instead we find a detailed image of the coffin with peaked roof, the long draped pall cloth that reaches the floor, and a very elaborate hearse structure built around it. The sense of transience suggested by the poles in the earlier compositions gives way to a sense of permanence in the later image. Perhaps this reflects the increasing appearance of and emphasis on permanent commemorative structures in church interiors in the fifteenth century.<sup>60</sup>

Like the poles, which gradually disappear from the funeral scenes accompanying the Office of the Dead, the description of the pall cloth also undergoes initial changes. These pall cloths could offer a place for rich display in the funeral, and people might donate such fabrics to a parish or gild as a commemorative act. In the earlier miniatures and historiated initials there is a much greater variety of colour, pattern and texture described in the textiles that are used to drape the coffin or the body. We see this variety in the manuscripts that we have already examined: the palls in WAG MS W. 102, BL Egerton MS 1151 and the Grandisson Psalter are all different colours, lengths and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> San Marino, California: Huntington Library, MS HM 1346, Hours, English, early fourteenth century (cat. 60). C. W. Dutsche, Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library, II vols. (San Marino: 1989), II, 580-582.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Boulogne-sur-Mer: Bibliothèque Municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer, MS 93, Hours, York, late fourteenth century, f. 58 (cat. 3). A. Gérard, Catalogue des livres manuscrits et imprimés composant la bibliothèque de la ville de Boulogne-sur-Mer. Première partie: Manuscrits (Boulogne-sur-Mer: 1844), 77-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> London: BL, *Add. MS 16968*, Hours, English, c. 1380-1390. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, II, 167-169, no. 145. <sup>60</sup> On the development of permanent commemorative elements such as architectural tombs and discrete spaces like the chantry chapel, see Colvin, *Architecture and the After-life*, 147-184.

patterns.<sup>61</sup> However, increasingly, these beautiful and varied textiles begin to disappear from the images and are replaced with a more subdued black or dark blue pall over which is laid across the length and width of the bier two wide, white ribbons which form a large cross. Such a pall is seen in the c. 1415 Lambeth Palace MS 474 (cat. 33), on f. 72 (fig. 15),<sup>62</sup> the fourteenth-century Keble College Oxford MS 47 (cat. 54), f. 75v,<sup>63</sup> and a fifteenth-century manuscript now in Firle Place, Sussex (cat. 22), f. 47,<sup>64</sup> to give just a few of many examples.

It is difficult to know whether this uniformity reflected a change in the fashion of funeral furnishings, or whether it was influenced by other images that might have caused it to become the standard. Certainly this seems to be a standard description of the pall in many of the Flemish books produced in the Low Countries for English use that were being imported to England especially during the latter half of the fifteenth century in response to the increased demand for affordable prayerbooks. The currency of the plain pall is likely a combination of factors: the plain pall and crossed ribbons are easily made, and maintained, and were more affordable than the expensive patterned textiles seen in earlier images, so they may have been in regular use for funeral services.

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<sup>61</sup> The Walters manuscript has a striped and dotted pattern, BL Egerton MS 1151 a diapered pattern with a wide border and several embroidered red crosses, and the Grandisson Psalter a plain pall in a rich red. Other manuscripts also display these rich materials. The fourteenth-century Trinity College Dublin MS 94 (F. 5. 21), f. 114, for example has a delicate swirled foliate pattern reminiscent of the delicate foliate borders found in many French manuscripts; the fourteenth century Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 53, f. 174, has two band-patterned cloths layered over one another; an Hours of the Virgin c. 1360, Liverpool University Library MS F. 3. 14 (cat. 24), f. 180 (fig. 9), has a rich blue pall embroidered with a pattern of small gold thread crosses. This is the only miniature in this manuscript. Margaret Gibson and Martin Kauffman et al, "Medieval Manuscripts on Merseyside: Catalogue of an exhibition held in the University Art Gallery, Liverpool, from 6 May to 16 July 1993, and in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, from 15 October to 28 November 1993," ed. University of Liverpool (Liverpool: Holywell Press, 1993), 15-16. See also New York: PML, MS G. 50, De Lisle Hours, York, c. 1320, f. 113; Boulogne-sur-Mer: Bibliothèque Municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer, MS 93, Hours, York, late fourteenth century, f. 58; San Marino, California: Huntington Library, MS HM 19913, Miller Hours, English, early fifteenth century, f. 65 (cat. 61). Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 157-158, no. 49. Montague Rhodes James, A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, vol. I-II (Cambridge: 1912), I, 105-111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> London: Lambeth Palace Library, *MS 474*, Hours of Richard III, London, c. 1415. Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *The Hours of Richard III* (Stroud. Glos.: 1990), 18-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Oxford: Keble College Library, MS 47, Hours, English, c. 1380-1390. M. B. Parkes and Keble College Library, The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford: a descriptive catalogue with summary descriptions of the Greek and Oriental manuscripts (London: 1979), no. 47, 215-223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Sussex, Firle Place: Collection of Lord Gage, Hours of the Virgin, English, mid fifteenth century. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 169, 234, 240, 250, 272.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> For discussion of Flemish books produced for English use see Rogers, "Hours Produced in the Low Countries" .

This might be especially the case for palls that were rented by the church or gild to its parish community, and thus were cared for and paid for by that community. The Gild of Our Lady of Roncesvalles in Charing Cross, London, for example, took fees for the use of the cloth or pall, and torches, from which they derived a small income. For illuminators, such an arrangement has an excellent graphic quality with strong contrasts and shapes, which might make this presentation desirable for laying out easily deciphered compositions. In addition, this was the usual choice of colour in the Dutch and Flemish books at the time when exports to England were increasing. The influx of books from the Low Countries may have familiarised the readers with this image, and consequently made it particularly recognisable and effective as a shorthand or 'bookmark' to indicate the beginning of the Office of the Dead. Thus the black pall and ribbon reflected both the needs of life and art: it suited the testators who might need to acquire a pall, the parish churches and gilds who often maintained one for the use of poorer parishioners, and the artists who were painting the small images.

The long black palls that covered the trestles on which the coffins rested and the boxy structure of the coffins, created an increasingly stable and permanent appearing bier. This structural presence in the church was also strengthened by the increased appearance of hearse structures around the bier. The following section discusses the development of these hearses, and the importance of lights for the Office of the Dead and other funeral services.

### "NINETY-THREE DOZEN CANDLES": PROVISION FOR LIGHTS AT THE FUNERAL SERVICE

Lights were an important accourtement of the funeral ritual. They are also long-standing: from very early in the development of a Christian burial rite, the use of lights had formed a constant element, as indeed they did in pre-Christian funeral rites as well. Dendy writes, "there is abundant

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Eamon Duffy, "Religious Belief," in *A social history of England, 1200-1500*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and W. M. Ormrod (Cambridge: 2006), 305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> H. F. Westlake, The Parish Gilds of Mediaval England (London: 1919), 98.

classical evidence for the use of lights at funerals, in honour of gods and demi-gods, and as votive lamps, and numerous passages in classical authors foreshadow fairly distinct usages which appear in the Church in the third and fourth centuries."68 If the use of lights was adopted from pagan funeral practices, it quickly became an important aspect of Christian ritual as well, not only in death rituals but in all manner of liturgical ceremonies.<sup>69</sup>

Lights had strong biblical associations such as God as creator of light, and Jesus as the light unto the Gentiles. It was also a metaphor for spiritual goodness, and a symbol of the Gospel. All of these ideas were symbolically represented in the use of lights during worship. Even the materials that comprised the candle was theologized: the beeswax of liturgical candles, and the Paschal Candle particularly, was thought, in the medieval period to represent the body of Jesus Christ, while the wick running through the candle represented his human soul, and the flame his divinity. This is summed up in a Candlemas prayer said on this traditional day for the blessing of lights, "This candle I carry in honor of the holy Mary / Take the wax for the true body born of the Virgin. / Take the light for God and his supreme majesty. / Take the wick for the soul concealed in the fat flesh." In England, the enormous paschal candles of the great churches such as at Salisbury and Westminster were melted down after their final use, and made into tapers which were then used at the funerals of the poor.

Through the presence of all candles then, Christ was symbolically located at the site of any ceremony. 73 Lights were also an important symbol of the resurrection of Christ, an association that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> D. R. Dendy, *The Use of Lights in Christian Worship*, Alcuin Club collections (London: 1959), 92.. C.f., Rowell, *Liturgy of Christian Burial*; Alfred C. Rush, *Death and burial in Christian antiquity*, Studies in christian antiquity (Washington: 1941); Rutherford, *Death of a Christian*.

 $<sup>^{69}\</sup> Herbert\ Thurston, "Lights,"\ \textit{The Catholic Encyclopedia}\ 9 (1910),\ http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09244b.htm.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Herbert Thurston, "Paschal Candle," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 11(1911), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11515b.htm.; A. J. Schulte, "Altar Candles," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 1(1907), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01347a.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Hanc in honore pio/Candelam porto Mariæ./Accipe per ceram Carnem de Virgine veram, /Per lumen numen / Majestatis que cacumen. /Lychnus est anima/Carne latens praeopima. Translation in Ryan, ed. *The Golden Legend*, vol. 1, 149.

<sup>72</sup> Thurston, "Paschal Candle."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Herbert Thurston, "Candles," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 3(1908), http://www.newadvent.rg/cathen/03246a.htm.

was particularly relevant for the funeral rite.<sup>74</sup> Candles were an important part of the Tenebrae service, which resembled a dirge or funeral service commemorating the death of Christ.<sup>75</sup> On the three evenings before Easter Sunday the lights of the Tenebrae Hearse were gradually extinguished, and this darkness symbolized the time Christ spent in Hell before His resurrection. The resurrection of Christ and the re-entry of the light of truth into the world was represented by the lighting of the Paschal Candle, itself a symbol of the body of Christ:<sup>76</sup> light represented the hope of salvation.

The equation of Christ with light and the candle as a symbol of that light and of the promised resurrection of the body is articulated in the prayers for blessings and consecrating cemeteries:

He who is eternal day, light unfailing, clarity everlasting, who thus commanded his followers to walk in the light so that they might be able to evade the darkness of eternal night and to happily arrive to the homeland of light, who through assumed humanity wept for lazarus, through the power of divinity restored [him] to life... <sup>77</sup>

The presence of candles at the funeral would have been understood to represent the presence of 'he who is eternal day', and a powerful symbol keeping at bay the darkness of eternal night that was the source of so many medieval anxieties. The desire for this eternal light was often repeated in the text of the Office of the Dead in the responds: "Endeles reste, 3yue hem, lord! / And euerlastynge li3t, li3tne to hem!".<sup>78</sup>

The lights offered at funerals and supported by bequest also acted as both visual prayers and acts of charity. The donation of candles was a symbol of the participation of lay people in the economics of salvation - they offered lights and prayers to assist the dead, and in doing so hoped to improve both the fate of the dead, their own future fate, as well as contributing to the parish. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Margaret Aston, "Death," in Fifteenth-Century attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: 1994), 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Herbert Thurston, "Tenebrae," The Catholic Encyclopedia 14(1912), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14506a.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Leo Kelly, "Tenebrae Hearse," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 7(1910), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07162c.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Derek A. Rivard, Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion (Washington D.C.: 2009), 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Littlehales, ed. *EETS* 105, 55, 68, 69, 75 & 77.

following, through examining wills and gild rules that deal with the provision of lights, demonstrates the value medieval people placed on having these candles illuminating their funeral, before going on to discuss the appearance of these lights in the images.

The importance of lights in the period covered by this thesis is nicely illustrated in the gild certificates of 1389.<sup>79</sup> Of the 471 certificates, the majority of which make some provision for the funeral arrangements of their members, 141 specifically record numbers of candles and torches to be provided to each member of the gild upon their decease, or the use of the gild light at this service. <sup>80</sup> The manuscripts record images with various numbers of lights from none at all, as in BL Egerton MS 1151 and WAG MS W. 102, to the twenty-two seen in both BL Egerton MS 3277 (cat. 29), <sup>81</sup> f. 142 (fig. 13a), and BL Add. MS 16968<sup>82</sup>: in both of these latter cases the lights adorn large hearse structures. However, wills, gild certificates and manuscript illuminations suggest that most frequently between two and six lights were employed. <sup>83</sup> Many parishioners made provision in their wills for candles or torches burning around their bier on the day of their death, as well as on their 'minds'. Thomas de Harpham in 1341 specified both the number of candles, as well as their weight in wax. <sup>84</sup> A London widow of 1434, Margaret Asshcombe, requests in her will that she "haue iiij torches brennyng, to brynge my [sic] to my grave, and ij tapers to stande at my hed while my body resteth in my hous of dwellyng or in eny Churche." Richard Grey, from the parish of St Bartholomew in London, in his will of 1432 desired there to be four tapers and four torches about

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> On gilds see also Virginia R. Bainbridge, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire c.* 1350-1558, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 10 (Woodbridge: 1996); Ken Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia, c.* 1470 - 1550 (Woodbridge: 2001).

<sup>80</sup> Westlake, Parish Gilds, Appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> London: BL, Egerton MS 3277, Bohun Psalter-Hours, English, c. 1361-1373. Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 503, cat. 689; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, I, fig. 359-362, II, 151-154, no. 135.

<sup>82</sup> London: BL, Add. 16968, Psalter-Hours, English, c. 1380-1390. Ibid., no. 145; British Museum, Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1846-1847 (London: 1864), 333-334.

<sup>83</sup> Westlake, Parish Gilds, Appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Thomas de Harpham was a Yorkshire clergyman, d. 1341, "Item lego in cera emenda et circa copus meum ardenda in octo cereos conficienda sex libras cerae." James Raine, John William Clay et al., *Testamenta Eboracensia, or, Wills registered at York: illustrative of the history, manners, language, statistics, etc. of the province of York, from the year MCCC. downwards*, 6 vols., Publications of the Surtees Society (London: 1836), II, 2.

<sup>85</sup> Furnivall, English Wills, 96.

his body on the day of his burial.<sup>86</sup> A few of the images show only one light in use, as seen in the York Bolton Hours, MS Add. 2, where a single large taper is set in a heavy candlestick, and placed on top of the coffin.<sup>87</sup>

Wax was an expensive commodity, and frequently the greatest single expense of a parish or gild.<sup>88</sup> A light usually designated to an altar in the church or the gild light may have been used as a funeral light by parishioners or gild members who could not afford to provide more wax candles of their own for the funeral. For those who could afford to do so, wax offerings were a common method of providing for the devotional practice of the parish churches. One such donor was the very generous Nicholas Honey, who in 1454 donated ninety-three dozen candles to various charities:

I leave 93 dozen candles to be distributed in the following manner: to relieve the poor and infirm at Bethlehem outside Bishopsgate, 10 dozen; to the Charterhouse next to Smithfield, 12 dozen; to the poor priests of the house of St Augustine Pappey under the wall, London, 7 dozen; to the prisoners of Fleet, 4 dozen; to the prisoners of Newgate, 6 dozen; to the prisoners of Ludgate, 7 dozen; to the prisoners of King's Bench, 6 dozen; to the prisoners of the Marchalsea, 6 dozen; to the prisoners in the Bishop of Winchester's prison, Southwark, 2 dozen; to the poor men lying in the hospital of the Blessed Mary Rouncival near Westminster, 7 dozen; and to be distributed to the poor on the day of my funeral, 20 dozen; and to Agnes Levet, 7 dozen...<sup>89</sup>

Such donations of wax, usually on a less lavish scale, commonly appear in wills from the fourteenth century. In addition to the donation of new wax, many testators provided the means to procure wax by donating a yearly income, or even bees themselves to the church.<sup>90</sup> Many also specify the further use to which the torches, lights and candles that were in use during the funeral might be put. Richard

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> And y wyll, as towchyng my bryngyng on erth, to be takyn of the hole goodes that is my owne, & that ther be a-bowt my body iiij tapers and iiij torches, and ther be geuen un-tp the conuent vj s viij d for to pray for me to our lord Ihesu cryst. Ibid., 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> One such request is found in the will of Roger Elmesley, a servant to a London waxchandler, who in his will of 1434 asks for a single torch at his interment, which is also to be burned on Sundays at the elevation during high Mass. Ibid., 100

<sup>88</sup> Charles Cox, Churchwardens' Account from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century (London: 1913), 161.

89 Burgess' translation. Nicholas Honey's generosity was perhaps especially remarkable given his relatively poor home

parish of St Andrew Hubbard, London. Clive Burgess, *The Church Records of St Andrew Hubbard, Eastcheap, c. 1450-c. 1570*, London Record Society 34 (London: 1999), 242-243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Aston, "Death," 220.

Whyteman, a London waxchandler, required his executors to provide six torches for his funeral, and "after all the service ys done, I woll be-quethe 1 torche ecclesie mee parochiali; 1 ecclesie de Wondesworth; 1 to seint mildred chirche; 1, to seynt Nicholas Oloff; 1, to Garlekhithe Chirche; 1, to Trinite Chirche." In 1495 Joan Rogers, wife of a London vintner, requested that she "have xij new torches and iiij new tapers of wax to burn about my body at my Dirige and Mass of Requiem... Of the xij torches I bequethe vij; that is to say, ij torches are to go to the parish church of St Leonard in Shoreditch beside London where I was born, ij other torches to the parish of St Botolph without Bishopsgate of London, another ij torches to the church of St Andrew abovesaid, and the seventh torch to the fraternity of the blessed Trinity held and kept in the said parish church of St Andrew."

The donation of the lights to other altars, churches or religious communities was a practical way to contribute to that community and to garner the prayers and remembrances of those in receipt of the gift; thus such donations benefited both the receiver in assisting with parish expenses, and the giver, who received the benefit of prayers that might shorten a stay in purgatory.

Parish churches often had a pair of lights and candlesticks available to the parishioners for use at funerals where new candles could not be afforded. We find in churchwarden accounts records of payment for the rental of these lights, such as these from the parish of St Andrew Hubbard in London from 1457-1459, "Item received of Robert Barbour for wasting of 2 lb wax of the torches at his wife's burial - 12d. / Item received for wasting of 2 torches at Wetherle's Dirige - 4d. / Sum - 12s 4d", or these from 1486-1487, "Item received of Mistress Mawde for the waste of 2 torches at her son's burial - 20d. .../ Item received of Master Phills for the waste of 2 torches at the burial of his father's child - 8d./ Item received of Denise Burton for the waste of 2 torches - 6d."94

91 Richard Whyteman, d. 1428. Furnivall, English Wills, 82.

<sup>92</sup> Burgess, LRS 34, 215-217.

<sup>93</sup> From records for the parish church of Holy Trinity, Cambridge in 1504-5: "Off Adam Sampyll wyff at the beryyng off hyr husband for the ij standers, 4d.... Off Mastres Merns for mastres cope for her derege for ij stander and ij small tapers, 8d. Off Wylliam berbur goldsmythe for hys derege and for the borowyng off the ornaments off the churche with the standers, 3s, 4d. Charles Cox, Churchwardens' Account from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century (London: 1913), 173-174. Dendy, Use of Lights, 105.

<sup>94</sup> Burgess, LRS 34, 6, 49.

Some parishioners, like David Westbury, a London wood seller, made use of the parish torches to supplement his own provision: "I will that at my burying my executor purvey for 6 torches, 4 of them to be bought outright and the other 2 to be hired..." In addition, the church was able to generate some income from renting out the candlesticks in which the dearly bought candles would sit. 96

The ubiquitous inclusion of candles and torches in the images of the funeral in English *horae* reinforces the message of the wills we have seen here; the presence of lights at a funeral was viewed as a vital aspect of this ceremony. People provided the candles for their own funerals, but they were also conscious that this essential visual and spiritual element of the Office of the Dead was expensive, and the community together, or the wealthy individually, provided for those who could not provide for themselves. The manuscripts discussed below display all levels of waxy expense, from one to one hundred.

The two candles called for in the *Monastic Constitutions* often appear; sometimes as in the Grandisson Psalter or Add. MS 42131 (cat. 34), f. 46, both set in the foreground of the composition, or as stated in the *Monastic Constitutions*, at the head and foot of the coffin, as in Lambeth Palace MS 474, f. 72, or York Minster Library MS XVI. K. 6 (cat. 67), f. 52v, the Pavement Hours. In laying down the obligations of the new clergy to be employed at the chapel of St Thomas-the-Martyr in Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury instructs the warden to provide four candles for the altar of St Thomas, and two "at the tomb of the founder's father and mother, one at the head, the other at the foot. These are to burn daily during sung Mass in the chapel, and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> David continues in his will of 1487, indicating that the four torches that were his should be given over to a similar use in burial: "of which 4 I bequeth 2 of them to the use of the said church, there to burn at all sacraments ministered, and the other 2 to be delivered to the brotherhood of the Trinity, Our Lady and St Katherine to (?) bury the brethren and sister of the said fraternity without any of them therefore to be taken." Ibid., 257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Cox, Churchwardens' Accounts, 173-174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> London: BL, MS Add. 42131, The Bedford Hours and Psalter, London, c. 1420-1422 (cat. 34). Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 166-171, no. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> London: Lambeth Palace Library, *MS 474*, Hours of Richard III, English, c. 1415; York: York Minster Library, *MS XVI. K. 6*, Pavement Hours, York, c. 1420. Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, IV, 727-30.

the recital of the Office of the Dead."<sup>99</sup> There are also two lights in Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 11. 7, f. 80 (cat. 7).<sup>100</sup> In this image, the tapers are held by two elderly bearded men in full mourning garb, perhaps poor men hired from the community to carry them - a practice recorded both in wills, such as William Halhede's of 1471,<sup>101</sup> and in the gild certificates for the Gild of St Christopher, established in 1384 in Norfolk, and the Gild of St Mary and All Saints, established 1385 in Carrow Priory, now in Norwich, Norfolk. <sup>102</sup> Four lights are the most common number in the miniatures of the Office of the Dead. <sup>103</sup> Compositionally, four candles can be well balanced in a small image, one to each side of the bier, and perhaps this is why it appears so often in the miniatures, although the gild certificates also suggest that four was a standard minimum number of lights. Three gilds in Cambridge, the gild of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the Assumption of the Virgin, and of St Katherine each indicate that four torches are to be provided at the funerals of the members. <sup>104</sup> In Huntington Library MS HM 1346, f. 119, where we begin to see a hearse structure, the four candles are arranged two to each long side, each set in a holder on the bier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> From an entry written on 31st of December, 1336, Hartlebury. Roy Martin Haines, *Calendar of the Register of Simon de Montacute Bishop of Worcester, 1334-1337* (Worcester: 1996), 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Cambridge: Trinity College, MS B. 11. 7, Hours, London, late 14th century - early 15th century (cat. 7). Binski and Panayotova, The Cambridge Illuminations, 196-198, no. 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> William Halhede's will of 1471 says, "And to the said church 1 torch from the torches ordered and used at my funeral. ... I will to those 12 poor men carrying 8 torches and 4 candles at my exequies on my month's mind, that is to each to them 4d. to pray for my soul." Burgess, *LRS 34*, 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> St Christopher's was centred around the Augustinian Friar's Church, Norwich. Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, 202; The Gild of St Mary and All Saints was founded in the Conventual Church of Carrow by the Saddlers and Spurriers. This was a well known Benedictine convent in the medieval period. The lavishly illuminated Carrow Psalter (Baltimore: WAG, *MS W. 34*, Carrow Psalter, East Anglian, c. 1250-1260) is associated with this community. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285*, no. 118, 88-90. The Priory is also recorded in contemporary literature such as John Skelton's *Philip Sparron*, written before 1508. Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, 205; V. J. Scattergood, ed. *John Skelton: the Complete English Poems*, The English poets (New Haven: 1983), 71-106.

 $<sup>^{103}</sup>$  Of the 141 entries that mention lights, 16 specify four lights. Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, Appendix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> The gilds were established in 1379 at the parish church of St Mary, 1384 at the Church of Holy Trinity and 1385 at the Church of St Andrew respectively. It seems likely that in communities where a gild already existed, the existing statutes would influence those of the newer gild, perhaps explaining why all the gilds here have very similar regulations regarding funeral provisions. The Gild of St William in Norfolk, est. 1376, also specifies four torches, and like the other mentioned Norfolk gilds recorded in the certificates, sanctions the hiring of poor men to carry the lights at the funeral. San Marino: Huntington Library, *MS HM 19913*, Hours, English, early fifteenth century, f. 65 contains a miniature that may well be such a funeral with four elderly men in black carrying large torches. Ibid., 138, 204-205. The provision of a proper burial for members seems to have been on the principle concerns of the guild communities. For other benefits a member might expect see Chapter Four of Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia, c. 1470 - 1550*.

poles. This can also be seen in the late fourteenth century Bibliothèque municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 93, or Houghton Library MS Richardson 5 (cat. 13), f. 44v (fig. 4), an early fifteenth century manuscript now at Harvard University.<sup>105</sup>

The hearse, now understood as the vehicle that conveys the corpse to the graveyard, once denoted the candles and torches that the deceased had provided to surround the bier. <sup>106</sup> Of the manuscripts examined for this thesis 40 of them contain the candles that make up a hearse, and at least 12 of these depict hearse structures - that is, the candles not held in candlesticks, but are supported around and sometime over the bier on structures built for this purpose. <sup>107</sup> While standing candlesticks placed around the coffin were the most common sort of hearse, the most complex were vast structures holding hundreds of pounds of weight in expensive wax candles. <sup>108</sup> The former would have been found around the bier during the vigils and Mass of the funeral in modest circumstances, while the latter were a privilege of the wealthy. The parish church again often made some provision for the hearse, having a simple frame that might be borrowed for use by the parishioners. These were used and reused by the community, and repairs and upkeep of the hearse

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Houghton Library, *MS Richardson 5*, Hours, English, early fifteenth century (cat. 13)(fig. 4). Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vols. (New York: 1935-1937), 957; Wieck and Library, *Manuscripts in the Houghton Library*, 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> There is relatively little written that focuses on medieval hearse structures in England due to the sparse survivals: only two English medieval hearses survived to the present, one at Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, and one at the Marmion tomb in Yorkshire. Daniell, *Death and Burial*, 43. Books on ironwork sometimes include these or other hearse fragments in the discussion. See J. Starkie Gardner, *Ironwork: from the earliest times to the end of the mediaeval period*, South Kensington Museum art handbooks (London: 1893), and more recently, Jane Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (London: 1999). The records of expenditures relating to hearses are often all the remain of them. See Ian W. Archer, "City and Court Connected: The Material Dimentions of Royal Ceremonial, ca. 1480-1625," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71 (2008), and Anne F. Sutton, Livia Visser-Fuchs et al., *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor* (London: 2005) for studies that discuss hearse expenses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> For a description of each of these images see the Catalogue of Manuscripts entries 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, **18**, **19**, 20, 22, 23, **24**, 27, **29**, **30**, 33, **35**, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, **45**, **46**, **47**, **48**, 50, 51, 54, 56, 59, **60**, 61, 65, 66 and 67. Those in bold have hearse structures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> These structures are perhaps epitomised in the hearse of Abbot John Islip of Westminster Abbey, who died in 1532, a record of which is preserved in the well-known Islip Roll. Islip was born c. 1464, and held office at Westminster from 1500 - 1532. W. H. St John Hope, "The Obituary Role of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, 1500-1532, with Notes on other English Obituary Rolls," *Vetusta Monumenta* vii (1906): 39-51.

formed part of the parish expenses.<sup>109</sup> An example of one of these simple hearse structures is found in the Stowe Breviary, BL Stowe MS 12, f. 320. The initial *D* at the *Dirige* in this breviary is illustrated with a bier surrounded by candles supported on a what appears to be a raised metal ring that encircles the coffin.<sup>110</sup> In a similarly uninhabited initial from BL Add. MS 16968, f. 33, the hearse has become not only a ring of lights, but a full-blown house-like structure that surrounds and surmounts the coffin, creating around it an enclosed space.<sup>111</sup> Sometimes simple wooden or iron hearses were reproduced as decorative elements built right into a tomb, and used on obits and minds when candles would once again surround the deceased: such a structure is found on the tomb of Richard Earl of Warwick in Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, where a brass hearse was built over it to bear a pall and lights.<sup>112</sup>re

The complexity and ornamentation that the hearses of the wealthy reached could be immense. In the winter of 1461 Edward IV had celebrated obsequies at St Paul's Cathedral in London, for his father and brother, the Dukes of York and Rutland respectively. Few details of this service remain, but there is a record of the commission for the hearse from a London waxchandler named John Talbot. John was paid £75 17s and 2d to built the structure. John Coller and John Teller, both London grocers, supplied the £44 and £37 16s worth of wax candles respectively to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> The bier too formed part of the usual complement of funeral objects that the parish kept for the use of the parishioners. The burden of repair thus fell on the parish churchwardens. The churchwardens of Halesowen parish church record a small expenditure in 1488, 1 penny, for an iron pin for the bier. Frank Somers and Halesowen Eng. (Parish), *Halesowen Churchwardens' Accounts*, Worcestershire Historical Society Publications (London: 1957), 72. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 170. Cox also suggests that these structures were sometimes incorporated into the permanent monument of wealthier people, and used to hold the lights on that person's mind date. See below and fn. 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> London: BL, Stowe MS 12, Stowe Breviary, Norwich, 1322-1325. British Museum, Catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts in the British Museum, vol. I (London: 1895), 8-9; Sandler, Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385, II, no. 79; Backhouse, The Illuminated Page, no. 92; Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, cat. 360, 575; Lucy Freedman Sandler, "An Early Fourteenth-Century English Breviary at Longleat," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 39 (1976): 4f, 9f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> The use of the hearse as a separate mourning space is discussed further below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> A few of these survive, notably at Tanfield and Bedall in Yorkshire, and at Spratton, Northants. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 170; Marks, Williamson et al., *Gothic*, 224-225, no. 87.

adorn the hearse. 113 Together, £157 13s 2d was spent on the construction of this temporary monument - a sum that equals roughly £80,000 in today's money.

No visual record remains of what must have been a magnificent structure, but some idea can be gained in looking at images such as that at the opening of the Office of the Dead in BL Egerton MS 3277, the Bohun Psalter-Hours, or NLS MS Adv. 18. 6. 5, the Psalter of Eleanor de Bohun. In Egerton MS 3277, on f. 142, while the centre of the large historiated initial *D* at *Dilexi* is filled with biblical imagery of the death and resurrection of Christ, the marginal spaces around the letter contain more contemporary images of death and burial. Here we see what may be the funeral proceeding of Edmund Fitzalan, fourth Earl of Arundel. Along the outside spine of the *D* is Edmund's hearse: it is a tall structure, with four principal pillars on which large candles are set. The pillars support a roof that is comprised of two rectangular tiers each again set with candles along the horizontal bars. The second tier, smaller than the first, is set higher than and within the lower tier, creating the tapered effect of a peaked roof. 115

NLS MS Adv. 18. 6. 5, f. 48 has a slightly less elaborate hearse. The canopy of black cloth, shaped with a slope that levels out to a flat roof, is supported by four columns, which double as candle supports, while three additional smaller candles are supported on the cross beams on each long side between the four corner supports. Around the plane at the top are an additional six candles, three on each long side. The small image does not show us anything as lavish as the 700 candles that surrounded the Earl of Flanders (d. 1385), but it is easy to imagine, looking at such an image, not only the expense, but the great heat that these substantial and highly embellished edifices must have produced in an enclosed space. 116 Indeed, there are records of the heat of the candles

<sup>113</sup> Anne F. Sutton, Livia Visser-Fuchs et al., The Reburial of Richard, Duke of York, 21-30 July 1476 (London: 1996), 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Camille, Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England, 126, fn. 6; Sandler, Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385, II, 153.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Sutton, Visser-Fuchs et al., Reburial of Richard, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> R.C. Finucane, "'Sacred Corpse. Profane Carrion': Social Ideals and Death Rituals in the Later Middle Ages," in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley (London: 1981), 47.

and torches being so great as to necessitate breaking windows in order to allow fresh air and oxygen into the room to allow the attendants to breathe.<sup>117</sup>

The elaborate hearses, unlike the simple resuable parish hearses, were usually impermanent structures, built for the funeral of an important person and dismantled after his or her burial into more manageable components, which would then be recycled and incorporated into the regular use of the church community. In particularly grand funerals, where procession from the place of death to the chosen place of burial was necessary, a new hearse might be constructed in each of the parish churches that the body rested in on its journey. These hearses would be left behind in each parish, donated to the fabric of the church to be used as the community decided. This was the case during the funeral procession for the reburial of Richard, Duke of York at Fotheringhay, where a new hearse awaited the body of the Duke in every church that the procession stopped at on the way to Fotheringhay. An account of the procession notes that "on the 23rd day of the said month the body was moved to Blyth and received there [and] escorted by all the local people as said above. And every day alms were given to all who came and every day there was a new hearse, which remained in the said place with all its apparel. And there the 'Dirige' and his Requiem were [sung]." Each time the hearse structure with the accompanying candles and fabric adornments was left behind as alms to the parish.

Such hearses as might be made for royal or noble funerals like Richard's, could form a very substantial donation to a parish: fabrics would be made into altar curtains, altar cloths and even

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Daniel Rock, The Church of our Fathers as seen in St Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury: with dissertations on the belief and ritual in England before and after the coming of the Normans, 4 vols. (London: 1905), 403, n. 83; Sutton, Visser-Fuchs et al., Reburial of Richard, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Rock, The Church of our Fathers, 397.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Some of the remains of the hearse that was made for the reburial of Richard of York at Fotheringhay in 1476 were still in that church at the time of the Dissolution. Sutton, Visser-Fuchs et al., *Reburial of Richard*, 36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> From the "First" French account of the procession, recorded in London: BL, Harley MS 48, ff. 78-81. Ibid., 5, 17.

parish pall cloths, while the heraldic and 'majesty cloths' 121 that adorned such hearses would be used to decorate the church interior. In this manner, the materials of the hearse could go on being used for many years. 122 A hearse like that appearing in the Psalter of Eleanor de Bohun, NLS MS Adv. 18. 6. 5, f. 48, might not approach the scale of one made for royalty, but one can imagine that the fabrics of the canopy, the structure and the wax candles could all be put to good use.

Both of the hearse images mentioned above, Egerton MS 3277 and Adv. 18. 6. 5, were in manuscripts made for the wealthy and well-connected Bohun family in the fourteenth century. The elaborate canopied hearse favoured by the well-to-do was a likely sight at the funeral of a member of the Bohun family. 123 The English books that contain funeral scenes with depictions of the expensive hearse structures discussed here, are often richly executed throughout, such as BL Add. MS 16968. Thus, the images that appear at the Office of the Dead in these manuscripts reflect the status of the owner by including these expensive and ephemeral forms of commemoration. The artist, in executing these commissions, personalised the books by including forms of commemoration that a Bohun reader, for example, might have reasonably expected to be present at his or her own funeral.

While some people could afford and desired elaborate funeral arrangements and expensive trappings, for the majority of the population this would not have been possible, and more modest arrangements would have been made. Occasionally, even those who might be able to afford some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> The record of the painter's charges (College of Arm, MS I.II, f. 34) for the funeral of Edward IV record one 'maieste for the herce'. Sutton et al note that at least three majestys must have been made for each of the stops in the funeral proceedings. The account for the burial of Prince George in 1479 records the price of the majesty, and other decorative elements for the hearse: "xlvj pensels of bokeram, a maiestee cloth and 4 valances for the garnysshing of the herse of my said lord George xxvj s. viijd." Sutton, Visser-Fuchs et al., *Royal Funerals*, 46, 54. The Majesty cloth was a painted element of the hearse included in lavish funerals. It consisted of an often large canvas painted with an image of Christ in Majesty or Judgement, which was hung image down, over the body on the interior of the canopied hearse enclosure. This meant that it was primarily the deceased who had the privilege of 'seeing' and 'contemplating' the image and the fate of his or her own soul as he or she reclined on the bier. They were also found on the interior of carriages or other transports that carried the deceased from one church to another on the way to the final burying place. Ibid., 21, 98-99; Sutton, Visser-Fuchs et al., *Reburial of Richard*, 5, 45, n. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> On the importance of the Bohun family and their patronage of illuminated manuscripts see Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family* (London: 2004), Introduction.

degree of pomp chose to eschew display in favour of a more humble funeral.<sup>124</sup> This type of funeral is often requested in the arrangements made for ecclesiastics. We find these sentiments expressed in the will of Philip Repton, a Bishop of Lincoln from 1405 - 1420, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, in his will of 1414.<sup>125</sup> This was also the case in the funeral of one of the bishops of Norwich, Henry Wakeryng, who recalled St Augustine's *De cura pro mortuis* in his will of 1425, asking that his funeral not be expensive or elaborate: "I want the vigils of the dead to be performed in the ordinary way immediately after my death, without elaborate ceremonies and processions, which solace the living, according to the blessed Augustine, rather than help the dead." <sup>126</sup>

We have seen in this section that funeral lights were an important part of the visual experience of the medieval funeral: they appear frequently in both wills and the manuscript images. While expensive, the presence of these lights was seen as vital to the proper performance of the Office of the Dead, and both new and used candles were therefore donated by the wealthy, provided by gilds, and subsidised by the parish for the use of the poor in the congregation. In addition, they represented at once the presence of Christ, the hope for salvation, and belief in the resurrection of the body. The use of the candle-laden hearse during Holy Week and at the funeral was an echo that would not have been missed by medieval men and women. The Tenebrae hearse represented a time of darkness in the lives of Christ and the disciples, just as the funeral hearse was in the lives of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> The desire to have a simple funeral, along with a violent contempt for the body and an emphasis on one's own unworthiness has been identified as particularly characteristic of Lollard wills. While this may be true, such views may be found in the testaments of many late medieval individuals, and indeed, while perhaps not so vehemently expressed, such attitudes might be said to be characteristic of late medieval mainstream piety. The question of identifying Lollard wills is further discussed in K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford: 1972), Chapter VI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Philip Repton's testament is found in E. F. Jacob and H. C. Johnson, eds., *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443: Wills Proved before the Archbishop or his Commissaries*, vol. II (Oxford: 1938), 285-287. See also McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights*, 219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> The relevant passage: "So, then, all these things, care of funeral, bestowal in sepulture, pomp of obsequies, are more for the comfort of the living, than for help to the dead." Augustine, "On Care to be had for the Dead," 541. Jacob and Johnson, eds., Reg. Chichele II, 312; Tanner, Late Medieval Norwich, 99.

medieval people: the fate of the soul of the deceased was in the balance, and all the living could do was pray that their loved one would, like Christ, enjoy an eventual resurrection of the body.

We have also seen that the lavish use of lights was one of the many ways to express social or financial standing through conspicuous consumption. The hearse, while in essence merely a device to prop up the candles around the bier, grew to immense proportions as the wealthy indulged in a display of that wealth. It has also been noted that the manuscripts containing these elaborate hearses are contained in books owned by individuals who might expect such a thing at their own funeral, and thus the image of the Office of the Dead may be said to reflect the specific status of the book owner in these cases. We turn now to another aspect of the funeral that could express community standing, the presence of mourners.

# "BRYNG IN ÞE WEPARS, ARAYYD IN BLAK." 127

While one does encounter funeral arrangements like those mentioned above that request simple and inexpensive commemoration, all, even the simplest of arrangements, call for the presence of mourners or poormen to stand around the bier. Mourners were an important part of the funeral proceedings in the Middle Ages. The Earl of Worchester, in his will of 1524, directed that his funeral should be 'without pomp or great charge of torches or clothing, hearse, wax or great dinner, but only for them that must needs be had, that is to say twenty men of my own servants, to bear every man a torch": 128 while the material trapping of funeral pomp were dispensed with, the people were still required. In addition to the family and friends of the deceased individual, many testators, or the family of the deceased, hired 'weepers', recruited poor men and women from the community, or in the case of gilds, commanded the gild members to attend with monetary penalties

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> From the Mary Magdalene play in Frederick J. Furnivall, The Dighy Mysteries. 1. The killing of the children. 2. The conversion of St. Paul. 3. Mary Magdalene. 4. Christ's burial and resurrection, with an incomplete morality of wisdom, who is Christ (part of one of the Macro moralities), New Shakspere Society Series VII (London: 1882), 86, line 841.

<sup>128</sup> Dendy, Use of Lights, 105.

dispensed to those who were absent without cause.<sup>129</sup> The mourners gave social significance to the event, and also, importantly, were another source of prayer for the soul of the deceased.<sup>130</sup> The manuscript miniatures and historiated initials record the presence of these vital participants with regularity, as, for example, in Houghton Library MS Richardson 34 (cat. 14), f. 88v (fig. 5).

In a similar vein to court pageant and theatrical settings, the funeral was a stage for underlining divisions that structured social interaction. The part of the funeral in this structuring is underlined in the Digby mystery play *Mary Magdalene*. Here, the death of both Cyrus, Mary's father, and Lazarus, Mary's brother, are worked into the narrative as a way to emphasis the wealth and power of the penitent saint's origins. It is through the funeral that the social identity and stature of the Magdalene's family background is made evident in the narrative sequence for the purpose of contrasting this state with her consciously adopted poverty at the end of the play. 132

Lazarus' funeral in the Digby *Mary Magdalene* takes the form of many such funerals of the wealthy middle and upper classes. The stage notes call for such important funeral accompaniments as weeping black-clad mourners to accompany his bier, "Here be one knygth make redy be stone, and other bryng in be wepars, arayyd in blak." Mary Magdalene herself underlines that the mourners, who are described as weeping and wailing, were part of a common practice, saying "As be use is now, and hath byn aye,/ Wyth wepers to be erth yow hym bring". The dramatic pageantry

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> The Gild of the Holy Cross in Stratford-on-Avon, for example, required the brethren of the gild to take turns praying for the deceased during the night vigil. Those that were absent were charged a penalty of one half-penny. Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, 111-112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Camille, Master of Death: the Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator, 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> David Lepine, ""High Solemn Ceremonies": The Funerary Practice of the Late Medieval English Higher Clergy," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61 (2010): 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> T. Coletti, "Paupertas est donum Dei: Hagiography, Lay Religion and the Economics of Salvation in the Digby Mary Magdalene," Speculum 76 (2002): 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> "Here the one knight makes ready the stone, and the other brings in the weepers, arrayed in black." Furnivall, *Digby Mysteries*, 86, line 841.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> "As the use is now, and has always been / With weepers to the earth bring him. / Alle this must be done as I tell you, / Clad in black, without lacing." Ibid., 86, lines 834-837. A similar scene is found in the fifteenth century Getty MS 5, f. 203v.

that a procession of black-clad mourners would present calls attention to the event of Lararus' death as important both socially and spiritually.

Just as Lazarus' funeral is scripted in this play, so too did individuals attempt to describe what they desired to take place in their wills, often providing details such number and type of mourners. <sup>135</sup> In 1346 Hugo de Tunstede, the rector of Catton in Yorkshire, indicated that he wanted his body to be surrounded by 4 poor men clothed in black tunics with hoods and holding torches at his burial. <sup>136</sup> A wealthier contemporary of Hugo, Walter Percehay, Lord of Ryton Manor also in Yorkshire, left £10 in 1344 to the manor's villagers so that on the day of his death they would form a procession to the parish church, clothed in black, surrounding his bier and carrying his arms before him. <sup>137</sup>

Not only the rich material trappings of the bier were used to highlight the importance of the deceased. The mourners, weepers and clergy also served to enhance the status of the funeral proceedings. Nearly all of the English images include a crowd of attendants: the more people who attended, whether hired weepers, genuine mourners, or paid clergy, the greater the perceived importance of the dead man or woman. The number of pall bearers, number of people in the procession, even the use of human torch bearers in addition to the candle pickets surrounding the bier all contributed to the pomp of the event. This can be seen in a fifteenth-century funeral described in Cotton MS Julius E IV, which records the burial of Richard Beauchamp. On f. 27 (fig. 24) of this manuscript, a posthumous glorification of the Earl of Warwick's career, we see the coffin being lowered into the tomb, presided over by a bishop and a group of clergymen. On the left there are two women mourners in secular dress, and with them a crowd of mourners in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Ariès, The Hour of our Death, 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Raine, Clay et al., Testamenta Eboracensia, 17-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> London: BL, *Cotton MS Julius E IV*, section 6, The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, English, after 1483. The Pageants contain 53 drawings illustrating the life of the relatively recently deceased Richard Beauchamp. The drawings have been attributed to the Caxton Master. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 137; Marks, Williamson et al., *Gothic*, 218, no. 85.

typical engulfing robes. The rows of mourners disappear out of the frame of the image, each figure holding a candle, creating a forest of lit torches.

The number of mourners could suggest the relative importance of the deceased in another way. Both Hugo de Tunstede and Walter Percehay specified that their mourners be clothed in black, and mourning garb was often provided to the attendants at the funeral by the deceased: the more mourners present, the more expensive this would be.<sup>139</sup> It was a point of honour that the relations, clergy, friends all be given the appropriate clothing, and gifts of mourning to poor folk attending the funeral was viewed as a charitable act that was beneficial for both the giver and the receiver. Indeed, mourning clothes were sometimes referred to as 'doole', a word used more generally to indicate something given away during a time of grief such as money, bread or wine.<sup>140</sup>

The engagement of the community in the process of mourning was important, and is also underlined in the text of the Digby *Magdalene* play, when the First Knight tells the sisters Mary and Martha, that their neighbours have come to participate in the funeral as weepers: "gracyows ladyys of grett honour, / thys pepull is com here In yower syth, / wepyng and welyng with gret dolour/becavse of my lordes dethe". This involvement was one of the principle ways in which the medieval funeral worked to maintain a cohesive social structure. By giving each member of the community a role in the observances, all members are affirmed in their roles within the group. Hugo, the rector of Catton, specifically named those four poor men that he wished to have around his coffin. The men he chose held a place in the community as the "honest poor", and thus their prayers were felt to be especially effective. Similarly, Walter Percehay requested his tenants to form a convoy for his body, asserting even after his death his role as the lord of manor. The number of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Bertram S. Puckle, Funeral Customs; their origin and development (London,: 1926), 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Ibid., 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> "Gracious ladies of great honour, / these people have come here in your sight, / weeping and wailing with great sadness / because of my lords death." Furnivall, *Digby Mysteries*, 86, lines 838-841.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Ariès, The Hour of our Death, 165.

official mourners also indicated rank – the rector requested only four, while Walter Percehay had a village.

While the number of people present reinforced the social position of the dead, and by association, his or her living relatives, naturally, these attendees are not of equal importance, and this too is reflected in funeral practices. The hearse, as we have seen, eventually grew to be an elaborate enclosed "house" with pillars and a roof which was fenced in by barriers. This structure could emphasise social difference not only through the display of wealth, but also by separating the mourners into different groups. In these cases, the space created by the hearse structure became a private enclosure into which only the closest relatives, or most eminent attendees were allowed to enter as mourners. In BL Egerton MS 3277, f. 142, for example, we see four mourners standing within the barriers, two tucked behind a divider decorated with heraldry. In NLS MS Adv. 18. 6. 5, f. 48, this *castrum doloris* space is occupied by three mourners, one of them a women carrying an infant. A low cloth barrier is depicted in both Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 11. 7 (cat. 7), f. 80, and in the Hours of Catherine Valois, BL Add. MS 65100 (cat. 35), f. 193v, dividing the mourners from the other figures. 143

In the case of the gilds, many of which, as we have seen, made some provision for the funeral arrangements of their members, the importance of community was extended after death. Like the monastic communities that sent circular letters to sister houses announcing recent deaths in the group and requesting prayers from the larger community, the gilds too continued to remember those that had formed and shaped the confraternity after their death. The miniature found on f. 75 at the Office of the Dead in the Hours of the Duchess of Clarence, MS J.A. 7398 (cat. 32), an early fifteenth-century manuscript from the Estate of Major J. R. Abbey, is a rare visual record of what appears to be a gild Requiem Mass with the important record of the dead gild members resting on

<sup>143</sup> Cambridge: Trinity College Library, MS B. 11. 7, Hours, English, late 14th and early 15th century (cat. 7). London: BL, Add. MS 65100, Hours of Catherine de Valois, English, c. 1420-22 (cat. 35). Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, no. 72.

the altar. <sup>144</sup> In this half-page rectangular image a pall-draped coffin is set before the altar as the Mass is said, while behind the coffin a group of tonsured men sing from a large book set out on a wooden lectern. In the foreground, four male mourners in black dress with their hoods pushed back sit on a long bench, each holding a tall taper. A priest and his aide stand with backs to the others at the altar. The priest seems to focus his attention on the framed tablet with two columns of tightly set text which is resting against the back of the altar. Some gilds urged their priest to keep this bede roll set on the altar at all times, to remind him to remember the deceased members in his prayers. <sup>145</sup> In a similar way, parish priests read the names of dead parishioners aloud at services, and the people themselves were urged to keep dead community members in prayer. <sup>146</sup> In John Myrc's list of questions for the examination of conscience he asks, "Hast thow ay I-come by chyrche yorde, / And for the dede I-prayed no worde?" <sup>147</sup>

Mourners were important for many reasons: they lent significance to the event, they were a source of prayer for the dead, they could highlight the social importance of the deceased, and they provided a way to engage with the community. In the miniatures, they may also be said to represent an expression of grief. While the reader of the Office of the Dead may not be present at a funeral during the reading, through reading this text he or she takes the spiritual place of one of the mourners in the image, grieving for the loss of friend or family and hoping through prayer to relieve their suffering.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> London: Executors of Major Abbey, *MS JA 7398*, Hours of the Duchess of Clarence, London, after 1412. Ibid., II, 176-178, no. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> It was a common feature of gilds that a Requiem Mass for the remembrance of dead gild members be performed once a year. This was customarily on the eve of the gild's yearly feast at which the names of the dead were once again read aloud and prayed for. Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> See John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution 1200-1700," *Past and Present* 100 (1983): 35-37, on the bede roll and lay participation in the Mass.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> John Mirk and Edward Peacock, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, Early English Text Society. Original series (London: 1868), 43.

## FUNERAL NARRATIVES: FROM BEDSIDE TO GRAVE

English manuscripts with illustrations of the service for the dead often offer only a single snapshot of the proceedings - the vigil taking place in the nave of the church, or the Requiem Mass. However, there are some books that offer a fuller narrative of this important religious event, including events leading up to vigil in the nave, and subsequent events to the point of burial. This 'narrative' approach to describing the Office of the Dead does not frequently appear in English Books of Hours, especially in comparison with examples from French and Flemish books, where such an approach seems to have enjoyed a greater popularity. One rare example of an English manuscript that does incorporate the events before and after the vigil and Requiem Mass is the Bohun manuscript discussed above, BL Egerton MS 3277.

The burial series in this manuscript begins on f. 142 at the *D* of *Dilexi*. The interior of this historiated initial contains scenes from the events following the Crucifixion. However, it is the decoration around the historiated initial that claims our attention here. To the left of the *D* are a series of small vignettes of funeral events. At the top left corner of the *D*, is a small enclosed circular composition that depicts a deathbed scene. Here the sick man, looking very near to death, lies under a voluminous blue blanket. Behind the bed are four attendants: one appears to be feeling the forehead of the ill man and is perhaps his doctor, another clasps his hands anxiously while a third already wears the deep face-hiding hood of a mourning cloak. The fourth figure on the far right, the only figure without a beard, could be a woman and is perhaps the wife of the dying individual.

The largest of the three vignettes is found underneath the deathbed scene, and is an image of the vigil, indicated by a hearse structure, bier and mourners. The hearse is an elaborate one - a full house structure with two tiers of candles creating a peaked roof above the mourners. The sides of the hearse are filled in by red-patterned banners topped with a series of shields and these enclose the space around the bier. The coffin is draped in the same material as the fabric used in the curtain

around the hearse. Four mourners occupy the space around it. Behind the bier are two men, one with a hood and one without, and in front of the bier are another two figures, again both dressed in mourning garb. The figure on the left holds open a large book which he looks at, while the figure on the right who is only just visible above the divider seems to be attempting to peek over at the viewer, just as the viewer is peeking over at him.

The final scene like the first one, is contained in a small circular border. Here we are shown the end of the series, the tomb. The deceased is now entombed in an elegant grey stone sarcophagus topped by an effigy of a reclining knight. At his head two angels sit, one on either side of the helmet, and the knight raises his own hands in prayer. The side of the tomb is articulated with arched mouldings along the side, and a small figure stands in each. These small figures, unlike the rest of the tomb, are not painted in the grisaille technique that would suggest stone. Instead, though they stand in the traditional place of 'pleurant' or mourning figures, they may be members of the dead man's family. The first two figures, one in mourning cloak and one in secular dress face forward with bent heads and hands folded together. The third figure, a woman, is presented in profile, kneeling, and faces toward the head of the effigy, with her hands folded and raised in prayer. These figures may be intended as counterparts to the figures in the deathbed scene, and be a combination of brothers and sons in addition to a wife or daughter.

While the first and last scenes are set in roundels, the larger centre scene is unconstrained by a frame or border device. Instead, the activities of the vigil seem to emerge from underneath the large D creating a layered effect that suggests the activities of the borders, displaying the contemporary funeral, and the activities of the initial, showing the discovery of Christ's Resurrection, are to be understood by the reader as occurring simultaneously. The combination and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Such figures are found in a similar situation on the tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (d. 1404) on his tomb now in Dijon, or Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (d. 1439) on his tomb in St. Mary, Warwick. Marks, Williamson et al., *Gothic*, 224-225, no. 87; Marilyn Stokstad, *Medieval Art* (New York: 1986), 385-386. In her will of 1439 Isabell Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, describes her tomb, describing these figures, "And all a-bowt my tumbe to be made pore men and wemen In theire pore Array with thier bedys In thiere hands". Furnivall, *English Wills*, 116.

overlapping of these separate spatial spheres might tell the reader that the death of the body as represented by the funeral, is of less importance than the life of faith, represented by the faith of the women at the tomb. This faith, ultimately, through belief in Christ, overcomes bodily death, just as the images of the discovery of Christ's resurrection 'overcomes', by overlapping, the image of the funeral.

The miniatures present at the Office of the Dead both reflected contemporary experience of the Office, and shaped the visual expectations of the medieval viewer as regards the funeral. As increasingly elaborate images of the Office come to decorate this section of the book, one may postulate that they reflected and were influenced by, contemporary trends in commemorative practices, and by association, perhaps raised the standard of artistic embellishment expected at funeral proceedings. Artists who executed images of splendid funerals for wealthy patrons may also have painted similar images in less exalted commissions, spreading an iconography of the funeral as visual event to other less wealthy persons for whom such embellishments might be financially impossible. In addition to the iconographic continuity found in the English illustrations we find among the more lavish and expensively illuminated books the influence of French and other continental artists, who provide a greater iconographic variety, which at the end of the fifteenth century began to be found not only among the expensive books of the rich, but in the books of the middle and mercantile classes as well.

Though the texts that compose the Office of the Dead are largely biblical, being mainly comprised of Psalms and selections from the Book of Job, the accompanying illustrations are largely not reflective of the text in which they are embedded. Instead, we have seen in this chapter that these images commonly display contemporary liturgical practice, are highly repetitive, and appear with little variation or innovation. Michael Camille has suggested in discussing the work of the French illuminator Remiet, that through repetition the medieval maker reflected his

understanding of God as the only 'originator', as well as the boundaries of the time and culture in which he dwelled. 149 The repetition of this illustration suggests that the Office of the Dead was recognised as important for the role it played in the medieval society - in the social environment as well as for its religious and devotional character - and that the compilers, illustrators and readers of these books recognized in the performance Office of the Dead something of particular relevance to themselves and society as a whole. While these images are not accurate representations of what that service looked like to the medieval individual attending it, they can be said to reflect contemporary fashions and practices, as artists and illuminators drew on their own visual experiences of the Office, as well as on the visual experiences of others through their representations of funeral scenes. In this way, the stock funeral image was developed and an iconography for the Office of the Dead was established.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Camille, Master of Death: the Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator, 3.

# ∞ CHAPTER THREE ∞

# SOULS, SAINTS AND SNAILS: OTHER THEMES FOUND IN THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

It is not only images of the funeral or Requiem Mass that are found at the Office of the Dead in English Books of Hours. Other iconographies also make an appearance there, drawing on relevant biblical texts or figures such as Job or Lazarus, or looking forward to the eschatological implications of Christian death and illustrating images of the Last Judgement or the soul entering heaven. These alternative scenes embrace images of saints, souls, fables, miracles, and biblical stories. Some of these are images usually associated with other parts of the Book of Hours, such as the Commendation of Souls, while others, like the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead* or Renart the Fox, draw on contemporary fables that comment on perceptions of death and mortality in the medieval period. In this chapter, we will address the issues raised by these images, and how they might have been read and understood by a medieval reader in the context of the Office of the Dead.

"LORD! TO ÞEE WE BITAKEN ÞE SOULIS OF ÞI SERUAUNTIS"<sup>1</sup>: IMAGES OF SOULS IN AND AROUND THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

It is surprising given the enormous concern over, and preoccupation with, the life of the soul after death, that images of the soul at the Office of the Dead are relatively uncommon. While such an image would have been entirely topical, we have seen that the depiction of earthly, bodily death as displayed in the funeral enjoyed a far greater popularity than the depiction of the unearthly events that followed death. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is the regular appearance of soul images at the *Commendatio*, or Commendation of Souls, which usually followed the Office of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From an English York use version of a Book of Hours. This is the last prayer from the Commendation of Souls. Littlehales, ed. *EETS 105*, 89.

Dead in the Book of Hours. It is interesting to note that the inclusion of the Commendation of Souls was a much more regular feature in English Books of Hours than in those produced on the continent, and thus images accompanying it would often be viewed in conjunction with the Office of the Dead itself.<sup>2</sup> As we shall see below, when taken as a whole, the images that accompanied the Penitential Psalms, Office of the Dead, and Commendation of Souls provided a wider range of opportunities to articulate the earthly and unearthly events that surrounded the death of a Christian than that available just in the Office of the Dead. If read through, the reader would then have seen both the events surrounding the death of the body and the hoped-for continuing life of the soul.

The illustration frequently found at the *Commendatio* shows the rise of the soul to heaven in the care of angels, or even God the Father himself. The trope appears in early devotional compilations, such as the earliest English Book of Hours, the de Brailes Hours, BL Add. MS 49999. Here, it appears as a small historiated initial at psalm 127 of the Gradual Psalms, *Beati omnes*, f. 96.<sup>3</sup> In this image the body of the deceased, identified by Donovan as the owner of the book, Susanna, lies peacefully at the bottom of the composition tucked in beneath bedsheets. Above the recumbent figure, the soul, here shown only from the torso up with a thin halo surrounding her head, rests in the cradle of a white napkin which two angels carry up toward heaven. If indeed the ascending figure in this image is meant to be the owner of the book, as suggested by Donovan, then it would have an increase poignancy for this principle reader, not merely illustrating the hypothetical happy ending to a well lived life, but *ber* happy ending: the image becomes a visual assurance of God's grace. This composition type, with the references it contains to the events of the Last Days, and to the ultimate fate of the body, was appropriate to a text commending the soul to God, and was widely adopted as an opening miniature for the Commendation of Souls.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Grounds, "The Pavement Hours," 123; Wieck, Painted Prayers, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Donovan, The de Brailes Hours, 120-121.

In Edinburgh University Library MS 39 (cat. 20), f. 102, the Commendation begins with a large historiated initial 'B' at *Beati* that contains this image type: a naked figure stands in the centre of a large white napkin that is being borne up towards heaven by angels carrying it on either side.<sup>4</sup> Beneath the soul-figure, we do not see a death bed as in the de Brailes Hours, but instead the grave, which is left behind as the soul rises; a reference not only to the rise of an individual soul, but also to the rise of all souls. A similar composition is found in the Miller Hours, MS HM 19913 (cat. 61), f. 104.<sup>5</sup> Here the miniature, set apart and above the text, again contains the napkin, but in this case carrying three naked figures. Rather than being lifted up to heaven by the angels, these lucky three are being carried by God the Father himself. Again, the empty grave is left behind.<sup>6</sup> Where the effect of the first composition, in the de Brailes Hours, is to suggest a particular and individual death and subsequent rise of the soul, the image in the Miller Hours, by including more figures, and by eliminating all but God and grave, appears as a shorthand for the eventual ascension to heaven of all Christian souls.

All three images are reassuring and evocative of comforting concepts of reception after death such as the 'Bosom of Abraham', in which the soul is said to rest in the company of holy men Isaac, Jacob and Abraham as a metaphor for the entrance into heaven.<sup>7</sup> This scene was iconographically very similar to the images that appear in the Books of Hours, showing a white

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Library, MS 39, Hours, English, c. 1420-1440. Catherine Robina Borland and University of Edinburgh Library, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediæval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library (Edinburgh: 1916), 69-73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> San Marino: Huntington Library, MS 19913, Miller Hours, English, early fifteenth century (cat. 61). Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 157-158, no. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Another excellent image at the *Commendatio* is found in the Hours of the Duchess of Clarence, J.A. 7398, f. 106, a manuscripts in the private collection of J.R. Abbey. Here three naked souls are carried to heaven in a napkin by two angels. Above them God the Father, with Christ and another figure, perhaps John the Baptist, on either side of him. All three figures raise their hands in gestures of greeting and benediction. Below, rather than the grave, there is a barren landscape with trees that recedes into the distance to the sea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Matthew, 8:11: "And I say to you that many shall come from the east and the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven". See Pamela Sheingorn, "The Bosom of Abraham Trinity: A Late Medieval All Saints Image," in *Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium: England in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Daniel Williams (Donington: 1986), 273-295, and Jerome Baschet, "Medieval Abraham: Between Fleshly Patriarch and Divine Father," *Modern Language Notes* 108, no. 4 (1993), 738-758 for further discussion of this theme.

napkin full of small naked souls held up by God the Father. In addition, there was the specifically English variant of this theme, called an Abraham Trinity or Trinity with Souls, in which the crucified Christ and Holy Spirit also appear.<sup>8</sup>

One might be tempted to read these images, particularly those like that in HM 19913 that depict several souls, not as the ascension of the individual soul to heaven in the company of angels after their own death, but as depictions of the bodily resurrection and ascension that was looked for at the Last Day.<sup>9</sup> This association may also have been made by contemporary readers, especially in view of the physical forms of the soul-figures and the empty graves which are left behind. However, there are some distinctions in these types. The depiction of the soul as a human figure was a practical solution used by the medieval artist to deal with the difficulty of portraying the invisible. This convention is perhaps best represented in images such as that found in a Pontifical from the fourteenth-century, Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 79, f. 272v,<sup>10</sup> in the miniature that accompanying the Office for the Sick and Dying. Here we see a man lying on his deathbed, with a man and a woman looking on. The soul is literally exhaled: a small but solid naked human figure emerges out of the sick man's mouth as he breathes his last. The image also occurs in the mid thirteenth-century Wilton Psalter, Royal College of Physicians MS 409, at the Office of the Dead on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Francis Cheetham, in his catalogue of English alabasters, lists nine surviving examples of the Abraham Trinity (in his catalogue referred to as Type B), and ten examples of this theme with additional figures (Type B/C). Francis W. Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: 2003), 149-150; pl. 6-10. See also Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 514-515.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See also London: BL, *Harley MS 2887*, Hours of the Earls of Ormond, London, c. 1460, f. 97v (fig. 19a) and New York: PML, *MS M. 893*, Warwick Psalter-Hours, London, c. 1430-1445, f. 80v, for similar scenes at the *Commendatio*. In Harley MS 2887 there is only one soul being carried up in the napkin but it is situated over a churchyard landscape of open and empty graves, while MS M. 893 has three souls being carried away from three empty burial plots.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, *MS 79*, Pontifical, English, after 1407, f. 272v. The manuscript was probably started for Bishop Mona of St David's. Later on in this Office the conventional funeral scene, with a black pall draped coffin and white cross, four candles and two singers, also makes an appearance (f. 277). James, *Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, I-II*, no. 79.

f. 212.<sup>11</sup> This weightless yet substantial human form is the soul departing from the earthly prison that is the body upon death.

In addition to the soul-bodies, the presence of the empty grave in the Commendation images also suggests resurrection. However, there are important differences in the portrayal of the grave between these images and those of the Last Day. Here, the empty grave is meant to suggest the shucking off of the sinful flesh, which is left behind as the soul rises toward heaven. <sup>12</sup> We see the grave, but no suggestion of the corpse. In images of the bodily resurrection of the faithful that feature in some Last Judgement images, there is a much greater emphasis on establishing concretely the death of the body, which, by association, highlights the miraculous nature of its revivification. A fine example of this emphasis on corporality is found on f. 302v of BL, Royal MS 2 B. vii, the Queen Mary Psalter, an early fourteenth-century manuscript named after its sixteenth-century owner, Mary Tudor. <sup>13</sup> Here, below the image of Christ in Majesty, we have a delicate wash painting against a red diapered background with a collection of figures waking up, sitting up and clambering out of their tombs which lie together in close proximity, as above them the angels sound their awakening trumpets. It is noteworthy that these figure are dressed or wrapped in shrouds, that they strive to remove the slabs that entombed them and that they gesture with large movements. Each of these things underlines the presence and use of a physical form: the body that was inert is now not

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> London: Royal College of Physicians, *MS 409*, Wilton Psalter, Salisbury, c. 1250, f. 212, 213. Geoffrey Davenport, Ian McDonald et al., eds., *The Royal College of Physicians and its Collections: an Illustrated History* (London: 2001), 88-89. See also Getty MS 5, f. 171 discussed above.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> This could also be seen as the release of a soul from Purgatory. On the representation of souls in Purgatory in medieval art, see Binski, *Medieval Death*, 181-199.

<sup>13</sup> London: BL. Royal MS 2 B. vii, Queen Mary Psalter, London, c. 1310-1320. See Anne Rudloff Stanton, The Queen Mary Psalter: a study of affect and audience, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia: 2001), passim; Anne Rudloff Stanton, "The Queen Mary psalter: narrative and devotion in Gothic England" (PhD Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1992), passim; George F. Warner, Queen Mary's Psalter: miniatures and drawings by an English artist of the 14th century, reproduced from Royal ms. 2 B. VII in the British Museum (London: 1912), passim; Sandler, Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385, II, 64-66, no. 56; Binski and Panayotova, The Cambridge Illuminations, 80, 83, 117; Camille, Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England, 30, 79, 111, 195, 289; Richard Marks and Nigel J. Morgan, The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200-1500 (New York: 1981), 19, fig. XI; Smith, Art, Identity, and Devotion, 120, 165, 189, 215-216.

only alive, but lively.<sup>14</sup> This emphasis on the corporeal nature of a bodily resurrection was underlined using a verse from the Book of Job, by Thomas Aquinas in *Expositiones in Job*, when he says regarding Job 19 that:

There are those who assert we will rise with celestial bodies, but Job excludes this when he says: "And my skin will surround me again."...For in this way of speaking he gives the reason of the resurrection, that the souls not remain denuded forever of its proper clothing. 15

Another reference to the resurrection of the body, in a form that was perhaps more accessible to both lay and professional religious readers, is found in the *Pety Job*, a vernacular verse paraphrase of the nine lessons from the Office of the Dead, at verse thirty-four. Here the author of the poem has drawn on Job 14:14, a verse that appears in the sixth lesson of the Matins of the Dead, rephrasing and expanding it thus:

Trowest Thow nat that man shal ryse Ayene to lyfe, that dyed onys? Yes, and that in a wonderful wyse, With flesshe and felle, bloode and bones.<sup>16</sup>

The passage emphasises both the miraculous manner of such a resurrection in describing it as a "wonderful wyse", as well as reflecting a belief in the tangible, concrete nature of the body that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Debate and uncertainty around the resurrection of the body was manifold in the medieval period. There were innumerable questions regarding the literality of raising the dead. On this subject see Bynum, Resurrection of the Body, passim, and Binski, Medieval Death, 199-202.

rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God. Whom I myself shall see, and my eyes shall behold, and not another: this my hope is laid up in my bosom." Of course, not all medieval scholars and thinkers ascribed to the same views regarding the corporeality of the body at the resurrection. Much debate took place on the subject of the relationship between a physical body and an incorporeal soul, and the implications of separation and unification of these possibly disparate elements. Regarding the ongoing debate in the medieval period about the nature of the body and specifically, the nature of the body at the point of resurrection, see Bynum, Resurrection of the Body, passim, and 258. Aquinas also asserts this point of view in the Summa Theologica, Supplementum, Q. 75.

16 Job 14:14, "Shall man that is dead, thinkest thou, live again?" Suzanna Greer Fein, ed. Moral Love Songs and Laments (Michigan: 1998), 322-323. See J. Kail, ed. Twenty-six political and other poems (including 'Petty Job') from the Oxford mss. Digby 102 and Donce 322, Early English Text Society. Original series (London: 1904) for the text of the poem, and Karis Crawford, "The Middle English Pety Job: a critical edition with a study of its place in late medieval religious literature" (PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1977) and Lawrence L. Besserman, The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, Mass: 1979), especially pp. 59-63, for a discussion of it.

will rise again, articulating flesh, skin, blood and bone as components of this revived form.<sup>17</sup> Images of bodily resurrection and Last Judgement rarely appear at the Commendation of Souls, instead appearing in the Penitential Psalms, and in general, as in the Queen Mary Psalter example discussed above, these have quite a different tenor to the peaceful rise toward heaven shown in the *Commendatio* images.

One reason why the image of the resurrection on the Last Day, also a theme that might be thought relevant to the Office of the Dead, was not common as an illustration of this text, was that it was strongly associated with judgement rather than with bodily ascension to heaven. Accordingly, these images appear in the Penitential Psalms, where the reader appeals to God for mercy on fallible flesh, and forgiveness for sins committed. A standard image found here might show a Christ in Majesty with his hand raised in blessing and seated on a rainbow, sometimes with St John, and the Virgin seated next to him, and God the Father above. Below the rainbow the dead clamber out of coffins or emerge from the ground. An example of this compositional type is found in the Bohun Psalter, Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 1826\*, on f. 141. Here, in the large historiated initial D, we find Christ seated on the rainbow, and surrounded by angels who hold up various instruments of the Passion. Below is a particularly lively group of the dead waking up and climbing out of the tombs. To the left, in the curling corners of the D, are images of the Elect at the top, and the of the Damned at the bottom being forced in the jaws of the Hell Mouth.

Some images however, such as the one found at psalm six of the Penitential Psalms in the fourteenth-century OBL MS Auct. D. 4. 4 (cat. 55), f. 169, seem to deliberately move the emphasis

<sup>17</sup> The *Pety Job* is a poem removed from the scholarly environment of theological debate, and the fact that in this poem there seems to be no doubt about the physical nature of the resurrected body surely reflects the commonly held beliefs of the medieval lay person. This, for the purposes of understanding such images in the context of a book made principally for lay people, is of rather more use than the nuances of the debate that surrounded the issue in scholarly circles can be.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Vienna: Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS *Cod. 1826\**, Bohun Psalter, English, fourteenth century, f. 141. Lucy Freeman Sandler, "Word Imagery in English Gothic Psalter: The Case of the Vienna Bohun Manuscript (ÖNB, cod. 1826\*)," in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, ed. F. O. Büttner (Turnhout: 2004); Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, II, 147-149, no. 133; Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 501-502, cat. 686; Marks and Morgan, *English Manuscript Painting*, 85, pl. 23.

away from the Judgement and focus it on the resurrection of the dead. <sup>19</sup> The Oxford manuscript has a small rectangular composition which is divided into five compartments: one long vertical one that runs from the top to the bottom of the space, and four smaller square ones dividing equally the spaces to the left and right of the centre panel. The centre panel contains a Christ in Majesty, arms raised and hands open in a gesture of blessing. In each of the upper compartments to either side of this are angels: on the top left and right spaces are three angels, two carrying instruments of the Passion, and one who sounds the trumpet to awaken the dead. This instrument breaks out of the decorative frame that contains the upper quadrants to point down at the earthly realm below. In the lower spaces appears a graveyard, with naked and shrouded people climbing out of their tombs. On the left we have a king, a bishop, a nun - each identifiable by their headgear - and two others. On the lower right there is a monk, still in his habit, a woman with long hair, and three other figures.

While the miniature is focused on the resurrection rather than on the judgement of the Last Day, judgement is not neglected. This aspect is addressed in the historiated initial that is found immediately below the miniature. Here, in the *D* of *Domine*, is a crowded scene where the less fortunate are seen to be consumed by infernal fires. In this image, the fires are burning quite literally in the mouth of Hell - a great gaping maw in which the figures are standing.<sup>20</sup> On the chin and nose of this monstrous mouth are two devils each blowing on their own, less elegant, instruments: horns

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 4.4., The Bohun Hours, English, c. 1380 (cat. 55). Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, II, 157-159, no. 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The mouth as the gateway to Hell was picked out of Job 41 from passages such as verses 4-5 ("... who can go into the midst of his mouth? Who can open the doors of his face?") where he describes the Leviathan. Of the great beasts of the Old Testament, Leviathan seems to have been the more commonly depicted. Petra Hofmann, "Infernal Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Charters" (PhD Thesis, University of St Andrews, 2008), 143 - 144. See also Job 40: 19-20 and Gregory the Great and his *Moralia in Job*, which cemented and popularised the relationship between Leviathan, Satan and the Mouth of Hell image. Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey, Icon Editions ed. (London: 1972), 379-381; St. Gregory, *Moralia in Job, Patrologia Latina*, vol. 76, Book 33, sections 14-17, col. 680-682. A particular vivid portrayal of the mouth of Hell image is found on the York Minster Doom Stone.

made from horns.<sup>21</sup> The devils point their instruments up, toward the more fortunate souls, mirroring, and in stark contrast with, the beautiful trumpeting angels above.

The images of the funeral that usually appeared at the Office of the Dead, images that underline the death of the body and its removal from family, friends and social position, were sandwiched between two additional images of eschatological relevance that spoke to the anxieties regarding the life of the soul after death, and at end times. The Office of the Dead and its funeral image is only the start of what truly concerned medieval people, the journey of the soul after death. Together, this series of images, the Last Judgement, the funeral, and the heaven-ward rise of the soul after death, if viewed and read with their accompanying texts, comprehensively, if not chronologically, illustrated these principle concerns surrounding this journey.<sup>22</sup>

However, having established the conventional placement of these three iconographic themes of bodily resurrection at the end of days, funeral, and the soul's arrival in heaven, it must be pointed out that, as always, there are exceptions to this format. All three themes are indeed appropriate to the Office of the Dead and occasionally they appear here rather than in the usual place. Both the *Commendatio* scene, and the Judgement scene can be found illustrating the Office of the Dead. One example is the manuscript Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Pal. Lat. 537, f. 168 (cat. 68).<sup>23</sup> The Office in the manuscript is opened with a large historiated initial that appears to be a *P* with a very short descender, however, it is not associated with the following *Placebo* nor could it be intended as the *D* for *Dilexi* as both of these key words have their own smaller capitals to begin. The bowl of this large and rather ambiguously placed letter is filled with the scene usually found in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Jeremy Montagu points out that the shape and construction of this 'doom horn' is unlike known medieval instruments, but does appear with regularity as the preferred instrument of the denizens of Hell. Jeremy Montagu, "The Restored Chapter Hours Wall Paintings in Westminster Abbey," *Early Music* 16, no. 2 (1988), 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Even in very early Psalter, Psalter-Hours, and Book of Hours compilations that did not regularly include the Office of the Dead, the images of judgement, funeral and rise of the soul might have been viewed regularly together. Donovan suggests that these devotional books would have been supplemented with other books containing the missing texts, perhaps a 'dirige book' supplying the Office of the Dead. Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *MS Pal. Lat. 537*, Hours, English, c. 1350 and early fifteenth century (cat. 68). Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, II, no. 116.

Commendation of Souls. At the bottom of the composition an undressed man lies under a red blanket gesturing towards the small nude figure of his soul being carried up toward heaven in a napkin by two angels. Above, in a swirl of vibrant blue cloud God awaits its arrival, raising one hand in a gesture of blessing, and holding in the other a globe. A similar image is also recorded in the Douai Psalter, Bibliothèque Communale, MS 171 (cat. 17), on f. 211.<sup>24</sup> The image of the soul's ascent to heaven is found in books other than Hours and Psalters where it is relevant as well. It appears, for example, in BL Add. MS 16998, a book of Offices and prayers. In this collection the image occurs at the beginning of the text for the Requiem Mass on f. 44.<sup>25</sup>

Other examples of the the more unusual placement of the Last Day are found in both Norwich Castle Museum MS 158.926.4f (cat. 52), f. 105v,<sup>26</sup> and New York Public Library MS Spencer 2 (cat. 46), f. 259.<sup>27</sup> In the Norwich Book of Hours, the illustration of the historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi* at the opening of the *Placebo* contains God the Father, leaning out of the cloud making a gesture of blessing. Below him, the bodies of the dead are reawakened from death, and are in the motion of sitting up with their hands raised toward God above them. In the New York manuscript the scene of the Judgement, and specifically the separation of the blessed and the damned, finds a place in the illustration of the Office of the Dead at the *Dirige*. The illumination of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Douai: Bibliothèque Communale, *MS 171*, Douai Psalter, English, fourteenth century (cat. 17). The manuscript bears some stylistic similarities to the Macclesfield Psalter, now at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. M. Pierre-Jacques Lamblin, Curator at the Bibliotèque Municipale, Douai, personal communication, August 23rd, 2007; Caroline Susan Hull, "The Douai Psalter and related manuscripts" (PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1994), 1, 62; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, II, 115-117, no. 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> London: BL, *Add 16998*, Offices and Prayers, London, c. 1405-1410. Charles Kuhn, "Herman Scheerre and English Illuminations of the Early Fifteenth Century," *The Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): Figs. 12, 13. The image is of God the Father holding a white napkin with wide spread arms. Inside the sheet are four naked souls, with hands folded in prayer. The image does not contain the usual sense of narrative, but seems instead to synecdochally suggest the rise of all Christian souls.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Norwich: Norwich Castle Museum, *MS 158.926.4f*, Hours, English, fourteenth century (cat. 52). Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, II, 53-55, no. 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> New York: Public Library, *MS Spencer 2*, De la Twyere Psalter, York, after 1316 - c. 1340 (cat. 46). This manuscript also has a historiated initial opening the first Hour of the Office of the Dead on f. 258. This "P" contains the more usual funeral imagery, with a bier surrounded by a hearse with six candles each side and two candles each end. Behind the bier four monks hold out their books and sing, which a central figure says the service. Two other figures are suggested behind this central figure, but it is difficult to tell if they are also clerics, or if they are mourners as almost nothing of the figure can be discerned. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, II, no. 36, 41-42.

the page is arranged in an unusual fashion; the illustrative scheme is not limited to the historiated initial in which the principle image is contained. In addition to this defined space, the narrative of the Judgement spills out into the undefined areas of the bas-de-page and side margin spaces of the page.<sup>28</sup> The historiated initial is placed midway down the page and holds a large central figure of Christ who occupies nearly the full height of the enclosed space. To his left and right in the upper portion of the composition are two angels sounding the trumpets to awaken the dead. At Christ's feet there are four coffins from which we see the faithful dead rising up with their hands held out in gestures of prayer. As in the Queen Mary Psalter image discussed above, the figures are not anonymous, but represent important estates including rulers and religious; in this image there is a king and queen on the left hand side, and a bishop and monk on the right hand side. The narrative of the Resurrection on the Last Day continues in the bas-de-page scene where we see the results of the Judgement of Christ above. This neat composition sits on the lower branch of the bar borders that run around the frame of the page. In the centre is a sturdy looking scales with a solid stone column in the place of the fulcrum that acts to divide the scene. Small figures are climbing and moving off either to the left or right from of the scale bowls on either side of the column. On the left hand side of the page we have those fortunate souls who number among the blessed. With hands clasped in prayer three naked figures follow an angel towards a ladder which leans on the leftmost or inside border, while two especially eager fellows already clamber up the rungs. It is this same branch of the border that appears to support the historiated initial with the large figure of Christ. Thus, the two figures who are already making their way up the ladder to heaven, are in a very literal sense climbing towards Christ. On the right side of the bas-de-page composition the less fortunate damned are being roped together and led away towards the mouth of Hell by a demon. Unlike the blessed souls on the left who walk peaceably, these unwilling souls are pulled along by the demon toward the toothy jaws of the monstrous Mouth. The demons and the damned do not confine

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> For a further discussion of marginal illustration in the Office of the Dead see below.

themselves to the bas-de-page spaces, they also tumble down from the border on the right side of the page. Mid way up this right hand border we find a monk and a king who wears both a crown and a dunce cap. These two unfortunate souls are being tugged down the branch toward Hell by a demon holding a rope tied around their necks, while from behind they are being whipped by another demon.<sup>29</sup>

It is interesting to note that there are far more figures depicted among the damned than on the side of the elect who climb toward Heaven. Perhaps the illuminator has attempted to reflect such biblical passages as Luke 18:25 or Matthew 25:32-41, which underline the difficulties of leading a pure and Christ-like life when burdened with a sinful nature, and the implied punishment for this shortcoming. Certainly it was concern over just this issue that encouraged the private recitation of the Office of the Dead, as it was not only beneficial for one's own soul, but also assisted those who had already been judged short of a heavenly reward. The sentiments expressed in the Luke passage also underlines the insidious and corrupting nature of wealth, which, with the associated power, was the source of many a spiritual downfall. Among the damned number three kings, one bishop, one queen, and three monks: obviously high status, whether lay or religious, cannot hide the true nature of the soul from the Judge at the end of days.

Two final notes might be made on the location of these three eschatological themes: first, it should be pointed out that the usual Office of the Dead image of the funeral might also be found on occasion at one of the other divisions of the horae. This is the case in a manuscript from the mid fifteenth century, CUL MS Ee. 1. 14 (cat. 9), f. 103,<sup>30</sup> where the often-seen funeral trope with a centrally placed bier, surrounding candles, mourners and priests appears as a historiated initial in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The lampooning of authority figures such as the king or the bishop as a method of underlining the inescapable nature of judgement and its universal application is of long standing in Last Judgement scenes. (Perhaps most famously seen in Michelangelo's Last Judgement in Rome). It is highly likely parishioners would have been familiar with such imagery from the many murals of the Judgement that adorned the parish church walls. See Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 345-346

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Cambridge: CUL, MS Ee. 1. 14, Hours, Bury St Edmunds, c. 1440, f. 103 (cat. 9). Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 77-78, no. 16.

B of Beati at the beginning of the Commendation of Souls. And second, that the three scenes themselves are not as static as perhaps might be gathered from the above discussion. Medieval illuminators were inventive people, and combinations of related themes and innovations in established scenes do occur. One such is seen in the Taymouth Hours, BL Yates Thompson MS 13 (cat. 28).31 The opening page of the Office of the Dead in this manuscript, f. 151 (fig. 12) is decorated by a full page miniature under which the beginning of the text is indicated by the incipit, *Placebo.* The miniature is a neat combination of the image types that have been discussed. The artist here has included aspects of both the deathbed scene with the soul, and the Judgement. Within a bar border frame, another frame appears - this one enclosing the figures in an open architectural structure resembling a church, or perhaps a castle chapel. At the bottom of the composition, a man lies on his deathbed under a rich blue cloth. He is already dead, and his soul has departed the body. This is where the image begins to differ from others of this type. Rather than seeing the peaceful rise of the soul toward heaven carried by angels in a white cloth, the soul of this man is being judged. Behind the deceased on the right side of the composition stands an angel holding a large balance with his colourful wings raised. The small soul sits in one bowl of the scales while a small demon sits in the other. Representatives from both heaven and hell are present: on the left the Virgin Mary, as Queen of Heaven, leans into the picture, while on the middle right two beastly demons caper about the scales attempting to fix the outcome. The demons are unsuccessful in their attempt to capture the soul as Mary gestures kindly toward him, and a white bird, surely the dove of the Holy Spirit flies down perhaps to welcome the soul to heaven. Even the angel does not remain impartial, using his free hand to push one of the demons away from the balance. This deathbed judgement trope is one that is more commonly found as a part of Ars moriendi series, though this

<sup>31</sup> London: BL, *Yates Thompson MS 13*, The Taymouth Hours, English, c. 1325-1335 (cat. 28). Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, II, 107-109, no. 98.

composition lacks the general chaos often found in those more elaborate battles over the fate of the soul.<sup>32</sup>

We have seen in the above discussion that the usual images for and around the Office of the Dead were more mobile than first seemed to be the case, and are not always limited to the location where they were most frequently found. In addition, they might combine elements of several themes, as in the Taymouth Hours, to create unusual but relevant images. The appearance of the funeral scene with such persistent regularity in English books was not the case in French or Flemish produced volumes. Perhaps in the continental books, where the Commendation appeared less regularly, greater iconographic variety was employed at the Office of the Dead as it was the principle point of illustration. In the English books, the commonly occurring scenes from the Penitential Psalms, the Office of the Dead and the Commendation of Souls could be situated at any one of these three segments of the Book of Hours, and they must often have been viewed together, providing, as a set, a fuller visualisation of the important ideas and events around death than they could alone.

#### SUDDEN DEATH AND MEMENTO MORI: PREPARING FOR DEATH

The inevitability of death and the coming Judgement was a serious concern for the devout medieval person, and to alleviate some of the anxiety around this issue, people hoped for some forewarning to death which would allow them time to spiritually prepare for the rigours ahead in the afterlife. The legend of the death of the Virgin, discussed above, was held up as a ideal death because she was forewarned, prepared, untempted and surrounded by friends.<sup>33</sup> Sudden death was feared, as it did not permit time for the last minute preparations that could make a difference to the

<sup>32</sup> The *Ars mordiendi* is discussed further below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Donald F. Duclow, "Dying Well: The Ars Moriendi and the Dormition of the Virgin," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. Debruck and Barbara I. Guisick (New York: 1999), 384, 395.

soul's final destination.<sup>34</sup> This anxiety lies at the root of contemporary tales such as the *Three Living* and the *Three Dead*. While such themes do appear in continental Books of Hours, and particularly French ones, images of sudden death or stories such as the *Three Living and the Three Dead* are comparatively rare in English sources, though as we shall see, there are a few examples.

An unusual image from an English book which reflects the concern over sudden death is found at the Office of the Dead in the Macclesfield Psalter, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 1-2005 (cat. 5), f.  $235v^{35}$  This image, a large historiated initial P, occupies the upper half of the page, and is accompanied by smaller images in the margins that are twined into the interlace of the P's upright. Here, a man lies on his deathbed, as his head lolls back on the pillow. A figure of Death stands on the bed with a flimsy shroud wrapped around him grinning with his cadaver's head while he pierces the man; schest with his spear. Witness to the scene, the man's wife stands behind the bed clutching her raised hands together in anguish. In one of the small roundels to the upper left of the P, in the left-hand margin, is a figure of Christ dressed in a red robe and seated on a long stone bench covered with a red cushion. He leans over and reaches down toward the dramatic scene enacted below with his left hand. The medieval anxiety over violent death encouraged the appearance of this topos in literature and art. <sup>36</sup> The fourteenth-century Carew-Poyntz Hours, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 48, for example, also sports one of these images of sudden death.<sup>37</sup> On f. 188v of this volume a king is depicted seated on a low throne bench, holding a sword in one hand and raising the other in a gesture of recognition. Facing the seating monarch is a skeletal death figure. While standing, he is only slightly taller than the seated king, he sways backward in an elegant and courtly stance, and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> On the fear of sudden death, see Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, 310-313.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, *MS 2005-*1, Macclesfield Psalter, English, c. 1325 (cat. 5). Stella Panayotova and Fitzwilliam Museum., *The Macclesfield psalter* (London: 2008), 73, f. 235v. Binski and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations*, no. 78, 187-188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> On interest in, and probability of violent death in medieval England, see Hanawalt, "Violent Death in Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth-Century England," 297-320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, *MS* 48, Carew-Poyntz Hours, English, fourteenth century. This manuscript also contains an excellent bas-de-page scene of the resurrection of the dead on f. 152. Binski and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations*, no.83, 194-196; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript* 1285-1385, II, no. 130; Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion*, 88, 127-130, 185, 188, 191.

holds two spears in one hand. The longer of the weapons has been thrust into the gut of the king, while the shorter spear, with an exaggerated arrowhead end, points at the crowned head.

Such images of violent death, while uncommon as illustrations in English Books of Hours, do find visual precedent in other manuscripts dealing with this or related topics. Another such image is found in an early fourteenth century manuscript, now in St John's College Cambridge, MS S. 30, on f. 64 (fig. 25).<sup>38</sup> In this manuscript, a uniquely English *Somme le Roi*, we find an image similar to that in the Carew-Poyntz Hours. Here, while the text admonishes the reader to accept death, we are presented with an early personification of Death: a king rests on his throne as the figure of Death is captured in the act of running him through with a long spear. In both previous examples, as here, Death is depicted as a skeletal cadaver, his posture is similar, and the weapon the same. This Death figure seems to have been a type that appeared fairly regularly in manuscript illustration, as well as in wall painting of themes like the *danse macabre*.<sup>39</sup> This familiarity with the image of Death would have increased its visual resonance with the reader of the Book of Hours, by calling to mind other ideas and situations in which he had been previously encountered.

Clearly, these are not images of the calm rise of the soul toward heaven from a peaceful deathbed. Instead, they are violent descriptions of the moment in which the soul leaves the body. While the passage of the soul from earth-bound body to the heavenly realm is not explicitly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Cambridge: St John's College, MS S. 30, Somme le Roi, English, c. 1320-1330. The Somme le Roi or "The Virtues and Vices" was intended as improving literature for powerful lay people such as the king. The manuscript also contains other miscellaneous texts. L. Dennison, "An Illuminator of the Queen Mary Psalter Group: The Ancient and Master," Antiquaries Journal 66, no. 2 (1986): 287-314; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, no. 60; Binski and Panayotova, The Cambridge Illuminations, no. 117, 257-258; Jessica Berenbeim, "An English Manuscript of the Somme le roi: Cambridge, St John's College, MS S. 30," in The Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers, ed. Stella Panayotova (London: 2007), 97-104; Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages, 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>. See Sophie Oosterwijk, "'Of Corpses, Constables and Kings': The *Dance Macabre* in Late Medieval and Renaissance Culture," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 157 (2004), and Amy Appleford, "The Dance of Death in London: John Carpenter, John Lydgate, and the *Daunce of Poulys*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008), 285-314. Though few survive, murals of the Dance of Death included scenes where the human 'dancer' needed some encouragement to join in the dance. In an example from a Parisian Dance of Death printed in 1490 by Guyot Marchand, is found in the depiction of Death collecting the Halberdier or Spearbearer. Death tugs at the arm of the man, while raising his spear threateningly and grinning. William M. Ivins, *The Dance of Death printed at Paris in 1490: a reproduction made from the copy in the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress*, 2nd printing ed. (Washington: 1945).

depicted, such a narrative is implied by the presence of both Death and God: the former causing the severing of the soul from the body, and the latter leaning forward to welcome the deceased. The treatment of the death-bed scene as one of violence and struggle is unusual in Books of Hours or Psalters from this period. However, the topos was developed and taken up in the popular Ars moriendi, the books On The Art of Dying Well, that became widely distributed in the later Middle Ages. 40 These books, which enjoyed a particular popularity in England, articulated the drama enacted at the point of death between the powers of Good and Evil in their attempts to secure the new soul to their own side. 41 The second chapter of the treatise, the most popular section and one which was made into a shorter block book version of the Ars moriendi, treated the temptations one could be expected to face on one's deathbed, and provided ways of passing through those temptations soul unscathed. 42 The images often depict these temptations as a battle enacted around, and over, the dying individual, with the bed chamber packed with angels and demons in addition to the clerics and family present for the Last Rites. The popularity of these books in the fifteenth century in turn influenced the decoration of the Office of the Dead in late fifteenth-century examples, and gave rise to some miniatures that reference the notion of the deathbed battle over the soul. These illustrations appear mainly in continental Books of Hours, such as Oxford, Bodliean Library MS Liturg. 41, f. 147.43 This late fifteenth-century full page miniature from Paris shows a rich interior with clerics administering the Last Rites at the side of the dying man, two figures reading from prayer books in

<sup>40</sup> For more information on the popularity and spread of the *Ars moriendi* in England see Nancy Lee Beaty, *The Craft of Dying: a study in the literary tradition of the 'Ars moriendi' in England*, Yale studies in English (London: 1970); Binski, *Medieval* 

Death, 33-47; Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, 313-327; Gilchrist and Sloane, Requiem, 19-20.

41 There is even a surviving example of a scene from the Ars Moriendi tradition in that very English medium, the alabaster carving. The panel is now in the Catholic church in Emmerich, Germany, and show a woman on her death bed speaking (via bandarole), to an attending male figure at the foot of the bed. Above them a representation of the Trinity appears. Cheetham, Alabaster Images, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The term *Ars moriendi* properly refers to the shortened version of the longer *Speculum, antis bene moriendi*. It was this shorter version that was accompanied by the recognizable woodcuts as it was distributed widely in block book form. Beaty, *The Craft of Dying*, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> This Book of Hours was probably painted by Maître François, painter of the Wharncliffe Hours. Books of Hours. (London: 1996), pl. 73. Falconer Madan, A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which have not hitherto been catalogued in the quarto series, with references to the Oriental and other manuscripts. Vol.V: Collections received during the second half of the 19th century, and miscellaneous MSS. acquired between 1695 and 1890 (Oxford: 1905), 383.

the foreground, and importantly, the soul ascending to heaven while a demon strives to reach it, and fails. As in the Macclesfield Psalter, the dead man's wife anxiously looks on. Perhaps one of the most well-known and unique images of a battle for the soul is found on f. 159 of the Rohan Hours, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS latin 94715, where the small soul of the dead man is seized by a batwinged demon as it soars toward the large face of God the Father on the right of the composition. The demon in turn is seized by a warrior angel who raises his sword about to drive home a blow that will vanquish the demon and allow the soul to reach God.

The conflict around the soul, and contrast between the the results of a 'good' and 'bad' death was not invented with the *Ars Moriendi* genre. The results of both kinds of death are found in the PML *MS 43*, a thirteenth century English Psalter, perhaps executed in Oxford and now held in New York. In this manuscript, the Huntingfield Psalter, of c. 1210-20, there is a full page illumination on f. 21 depicting contrasting scenes. The image is divided into two halves, each half framed and stacked on top of one another. The upper half shows the viewer the 'good' death: the dead man lies on his bed with one hand raised, as the rather hefty figure of his soul is carried heavenward by an angel leaning out of the clouds. At the foot of the bed appears God the Father enthroned, with a small Christ seated on his lap. The 'good' death is rewarded by entry to heaven, and vision of God in majesty. The lower image provides the other option. Here, with the face of the dead man contorted in discomfort, his soul is forcibly pulled out of his mouth by a horned demon. Instead of the holy vision of the upper image, here it is the mouth of hell that appears at the foot of the bed, and two more horned demon stuff the soul-figure down into the flames. <sup>45</sup>

Another visual theme that reflected the medieval fear of sudden death, and of the unavoidable confrontation in the afterlife, was the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, *MS latin 94715*, The Rohan Hours, French, fifteenth century. Millard Meiss and Marcel Thomas, *The Rohan Book of Hours: Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (MS. latin 9471)*, trans. Katherine W. Carson (London: 1973); Leslie A. Blacksberg, "Death and the Contract of Salvation: The Rohan Master's Illumination for the Office of the Dead," in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination Around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Lewen 7-10, Sept. 1993*, ed. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon (Leuven: 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285, I, no. 30.

morality poem that became popular in the thirteenth century. 46 It originated in France in the thirteenth century, and was popularised through the writings of several poets such as Nicholas de Margival, and Baudouin de Condé, and the earliest versions are fairly simple. 47 The story runs thus: three nobles, often one prince, one duke and one count, meet three dead, sometimes one pope, one cardinal, and one cleric. The first youth turns in terror, the second says it is a vision from god, and the third comments on the horrors of decay. The first dead says "What you are, we once were. What we are, you will be", the second reminds the youths that death comes to all people, and the third emphasises that there is no escape from death. All three dead urge the young men to do good works and pray for salvation saying, "Wealth, honour and power are of no worth; at the hour of death good works only will avail you." There is always a strong opposition between the social status of the living and the physical state of the dead. Whether or not the living and the dead are identifiable as princes or clerics, the living are always richly dressed and fashionable, while the dead are, as Nigel Llewellyn puts it, "subversive, transexual, and no respecters of the niceties of social discourse". 49 By the fifteenth century the poem had been amplified to include a prologue by an observing hermit and a moralising epilogue. 50

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Stories along the same lines as the *Three Living and the Three Dead* were already known in the East by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara Gusick, eds., *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages* (New York: 1999), 25; Philippa Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death in Medieval English Literature* (London: 1976), 162. See also Suzanne M. Halstead, "An Image of Contemptus Mundi: literary and visual representations of the meeting of the Three Living and the Three Dead in Europe before 1350" (Masters Thesis, La Trobe University, 1995), *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> James M. Clark, *Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Glasgow: 1950), 95. For a discussion of differences that appeared in the English versions see Susanna Greer Fein, "Life and Death, Reader and Page: Mirrors of Mortality in English Manuscripts," *Mosaic* 35, no. 1 (2002): 69-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Clark, Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 95. See also Saunders, A History of English Art in the Middle Ages, 140-141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Nigel Llewellyn and Victoria and Albert Museum., *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-c.* 1800 (London: 1991), 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550* (London: 1986), 70. Similar poems dealing with this theme emerged in other areas, for instance the fifteenth century English *Disputacione betnyx the Body and Wormes*, wherein a dead Lady laments her former pride. This poem is found in London: BL, *Add. MS 37049*, f. 33, and is accompanied by some illustrations. It is directly preceded by a danse macabre, also with illustrations, on f. 31. See Jenny Rebecca Rytting, "A Disputatcioun Betwyx the Body and Wormes: A Translation," *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 31, no. 1 (2000): 217-232; Binski, *Medieval Death*, 144-145.

The *Legend* seems to have been a popular theme for church wall painting, and many examples in a wide range of states of preservation, remain to be seen today on the walls of English parish churches.<sup>51</sup> One of the earliest depictions is found in Longthorpe Tower, a secular building decorated in the early fourteenth century by an artist trained in nearby Peterborough.<sup>52</sup> Traces also remain of the *Legend* in St. Mary parish church, Haddiscoe Norfolk, on the north side of the nave. In All Saints, Belton, Norfolk, a large fifteenth century scheme was uncovered in the nineteenth century, and a fine fourteenth century example can be found in St Margaret and St Remigius, in Seething, also in Norfolk, just to name a few of the many instances of surviving examples.<sup>53</sup> While English images of the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead* appear in church mural painting far more often than in manuscripts,<sup>54</sup> these depictions have shared characteristics. The early depiction in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle, BL, Arundel MS 83 II, on f. 127,<sup>55</sup> for example, is so closely paralleled in the murals at Belchamp Walter that David Parks postulates that there must have been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> The recorded survivals suggest the popularity of the theme in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for wall painting. David Park notes some thirty examples are extant from the fourteenth century. Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 129. Though many survived to relatively recent times, of the fifty extant fifteenth-century examples that were recorded in the nineteenth century, nearly half have been subsequently lost. Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death*, 141. See also Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings* for more information on the subject. Rosewell also includes a gazetteer (pp. 225-306) listing the appearance of the *Three Living and Three Dead* throughout England and Wales organized by counties. A brief discussion of the theme and select catalogue is also found in Alan Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford: 1963), 44-49, 129-182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 249-250, cat. 137; Rickert, *Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages*, 140, 142; Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Mortlock and Roberts, *Guide to Norfolk*, *No.* 2, 8-0, 53, 121-122; Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, 45-48.
<sup>54</sup> There are only five English manuscripts that contain illustrations of the *Legend*. These are: Baltimore, WAG MS W. 51, ff. 1v-2, inserted at the beginning of a Bible (Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, II, no. 18); London: BL Arundel MS 83 II, f. 127, the de Lisle Psalter; New York: PPM, MS G. 50, f. 6v., the de Lisle Hours - only the Three Living remain, the Dead have been removed; London, BL, Yates Thompson 13, f. 179v-180, the Taymouth Hours; London, BL, MS Royal 10. E. iv, ff. 158v-159, the Smithfield Decretals. This last manuscript contains images of the kings persuing the hunt in the forest before the macabre encounter, ff. 251-262 (Ibid., II, 111-112, no. 101). See Fein, "Life and Death, Reader and Page: Mirrors of Mortality in English Manuscripts," 74-82, for descriptions and illustrations of the *Legend* images from these manuscripts. See also Willy F. Storck, "Aspects of Death in English Art and Poetry, I-II," *The Burlington Magazine* 21 (1912): 249-256, 314-319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> London: BL, Arundel MS 83 II, Psalter of Robert de Lisle, English, c. 1310, f. 127. Lucy Freeman Sandler, The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library, 1st pbk. ed. (London: 1999), passim; Sandler, Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385, II, no. 83, 43-45; Saunders, A History of English Art in the Middle Ages, I, 89, 96, 101, 103, II, pl. 105-107; Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages, 147, 152, 154, 162, 163, 170, pl. 130; Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 452, cat. 569; Marks and Morgan, English Manuscript Painting, 20. 83, pl. 22.

some common source.<sup>56</sup> Another similarity between the Psalter of Robert de Lisle and the *Legend* in wall paintings is the appearance of English text. While inscriptions with murals, if they appeared, tended to remain in Latin, it is in the fourteenth century that vernacular text begins to make an appearance, as, for example, in an early fourteenth-century depiction of *The Legend of the Three Living and Three Dead* in the church at Wensley, North Yorkshire.<sup>57</sup> Though fewer than in wall painting, there are two instances of the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead* appearing in English *horae*, and at least one as an accompaniment to the Office of the Dead.<sup>58</sup>

This lone example is found in the margins of the Taymouth Hours. The Office of the Dead in this manuscript contains a rich series of marginal illustrations in the bas-de-page spaces of the book, <sup>59</sup> and among these a *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead* appears on facing pages f. 179v and f. 180 (figs. 12b, 12c), under the eighth lesson of Matins. The living are shown on f. 179v, dressed in elegant and fashionable clothes. Their high status is indicated by this, and their engagement in the noble pursuit of hunting, indicated by the man on the far right who carries a falcon on his wrist. The right and centre figures look over to the next folio at the vision of the dead, while the left most figure looks out at the viewer. On f. 180 the three dead are presented as corpses in various states of decay. <sup>60</sup> The right most corpse is naked, while the other two of the figures, the left and centre, wear their white shrouds wrapped around the waist, the centre figure holding a fold

<sup>56</sup> Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> While the story was often found decorating church interiors, it does not seem to have been as popular as an external or sculptural decoration. Only one significant record of this theme in sculpture is recorded. This one example was commissioned by the Duke of Berry in 1408 for the façade of the famous Cemetery of the Innocents in Paris. The church also contained a celebrated *Dance of Death* which was painted in the cloister walk under the galleries and charnel houses. Unfortunately the church was destroyed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century during a project to widen the narrow road. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgement and Remembrance*, 104; Clark, *Dance of Death in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 22; Binski, *Medieval Death*, 135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> For further discussion of the marginal illustrations found in the Taymouth Hours see below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Unlike the skeleton, which was a relatively new icon in medieval imagery, the shrouded corpse had been used to depict Death as early as the 1070's. In the fourteenth century however, the corpse was made newly effective by transforming it into a discoloured, rotting body that vividly portrayed the horror of death. Eventually, the corpse began to replace the skeletons who originally appeared in depiction the *Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead*. The corpse had added potency in this tale warning people against pride and hubris by reminding people of the corrupt nature of the material world. It was a graphic image of the repulsive nature of decay evoking even the stench of death.

of his shroud casually over his arm echoing the elegant gestures of the centre figure among the living. Care has been taken to cast the dead as macabre echoes of the living: in stance, gaze and gesture they mirror the arrangement of the living without being merely repetitive.

The appearance of the dead in the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead is a projection into the future of those living who encounter them.<sup>61</sup> The three living are granted a vision of what they themselves must inevitably become, and placing this image in the Office of the Dead, served to remind the reader that he or she was also heading inexorably towards death. Though the three dead in the Legend were individual people, they were understood as emissaries for all the dead, and therefore as personifications of Death. With the growing popularity of this legend and similar images, as well as the expansion of the story, the dead were accorded greater individuality, and became more easily identified with as a result.

The *Legend* seems to be an eminently suitable subject for the Office of the Dead, and though not popular in English manuscripts appears frequently in French and Flemish examples. We find an example in a fifteenth-century manuscript in Free Library of Philadelphia MS Lewis E 86 f. 113.<sup>62</sup> The dead, all relatively intact and covered with skin, approach the well dressed living, who ride out of the composition and away from the dead. Another French example combines the *Legend* with the more common funeral scene. In Houghton Library MS Lat 253 f. 86v,<sup>63</sup> the centre miniature shows the living recoiling in fear from the advancing, and rather crudely executed, dead. In the border around this image are two smaller roundels that contain a scene of the vigil with two priests and two mourners, and below, an image of the burial at graveside as the corpse is lowered into the ground.

The message of the Legend is that life is brief, that wealth cannot help you, and that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Edelgard E. DuBruck, "Death: Poetic Perception and Imagination (Continental Europe)," in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara Gusick (New York: 1999), 299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Philadelphia: Free Library of Philadelphia, *Lewis E 86*, Hours, Bourges, fifteenth century. Ricci, *Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, II, 2038.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Library, MS Lat 253, Hours, Rouen, late fifteenth century. Wieck and Library, Manuscripts in the Houghton Library, 111-112; Ricci, Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, 1016.

fortunately, there is still time to repent of worldly ways in anticipation of your mortal end. The reference to the *Legend* then seems like a very apt reminder of why the reader should spend time over the Office of the Dead, of how it might benefit their soul by turning the mind to reflect on the fate of the dead, and to pray for their eventual deliverance to Heaven. It also acts as a spiritual preparation against the dangers of sudden death. The reader of the Office will not be caught unaware, as the dead in the *Legend* appear to have been.

## MIRACLES, VISIONS, SAINTS AND SNAILS: UNUSUAL IMAGES AT THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

Many of the finest English illustrated Books of Hours are distinguished not only by the stand alone miniatures and in-text illuminations, but also by the schemes of marginal illustrations that enliven the less prominent areas of the page. The margins of the Office of the Dead are as diversely decorated as any other section of the Book of Hours, and these marginal decorations can sometimes be seen to have a degree of association with the subject of the text. The subject of marginalia broadly speaking has been covered by other scholars. <sup>64</sup> The following section will focus on some of the more unusual images or themes that appear at the Office, from the margins as well as the initials, which can be read in relationship with the text of this service. The Taymouth Hours, in particular, contains a surprising assortment of illustrative schemes not usual in English Books of Hours. The Office of the Dead in this manuscript includes among other incidental drawings, narratives and themes such as the death of a saint, the miracles of the Virgin, and the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead, as we have seen above.

The cult of saints in the medieval period formed an important aspect of the devotional life of lay and religious men and women.<sup>65</sup> It is unsurprising, then, to see saintly figures depicted at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> For further reading on the role and meaning of marginal illustration in medieval books see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: 1992) and Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, California Studies in the History of Art (Berkeley: 1966). For information specifically about marginalia in Books of Hours see Duffy, *Marking the Hours*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> See Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, Chapter Five on the role of the cult of the saints in medieval English piety.

Office of the Dead: this was a service attended and read by the recently bereaved, those people who might be in especial need of the reassurance that prayer to a particular saint could provide. The Book of Hours was, after all, in many cases a highly personal book, with a great deal of embedded specificity reflecting the devotional needs, wants, and desires of the reader. Images of saints, however, while they do appear elsewhere in the Hours, are a rare appearance at the Office of the Dead. The Taymouth Hours, a volume with extensive marginal and bas-de-page illustrations that range over a series of subjects including both the miracles of the Virgin and some of the miracles of St Francis, provides an exception.

Some of the St Francis images in the Taymouth Hours are uncommon devotional images, and their appearance here surely reflects the tastes of the original owner of the book.<sup>66</sup> The four scenes selected are St Francis cutting up his robe (f. 180v) (fig. 12d), the Franciscans sent throughout the world (f. 181) (fig. 12e), the sermon to the birds (f. 181v), and the receiving of the stigmata (f. 182).<sup>67</sup> The first two of these images are very rare, and appear to be unique to the Taymouth Hours in English manuscript painting, while the sermon to the birds and the receiving of the stigmata are more common images.<sup>68</sup> The bas-de-page also includes images of St Dominic (f. 182v), St Francis' contemporary mendicant founder. A selection of the miracles of the Virgin also appear. These were standard devotional fare - images from the apocryphal life of the Virgin were depicted in church

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Joan of Scotland has been suggested as the original owner. John Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (London: 1977), 48; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, II, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> On the appearance of St Francis in English art see A. G. Little, *Franciscan History and Legend in English Medieval Art*, British Society of Franciscan Studies (Manchester: 1937), Chapter IV, and especially 53-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ibid., 41, 43. St Francis preaching to the birds also appears in the Grandisson Psalter, (Add. MS 21926), on f. 14, and in the Luttrell Psalter (Add. MS 42130), on f. 60v.

mural schemes, shown in stained glass, and referred to in sermons.<sup>69</sup> They are not common subjects in Books of Hours, in spite of the dedication to Hours in her honour. The inclusion of some of the miracles of the Virgin may reflect the tastes of the patron of the book, but the Marian miracles that are depicted here also reflect awareness of the text above. Several of the scenes show Mary saving the devout from death, usually instigated by demons, and one memorable image has her healing a man who is depicted lying on his deathbed of leprosy (f. 153) (fig. 12a). Perhaps these scenes were interpreted in the context of the Office of the Dead as hopeful images of the devout being protected by the Virgin from disease and sudden death, just as the reader hoped to be protected. Indeed, Books of Hours might include prayers to the Virgin that focus on her compassionate and intercessory attitude toward the dying supplicant.<sup>70</sup>

### ANIMAL TALES IN THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

The Office of the Dead pages are not only filled with images of souls and funerals. The marginal decorations of these volumes also contain images of animals and birds which can be seen in relationship with the Office text. The medieval period had a rich store of animal lore which was distilled and concentrated in the illustrated bestiaries. Personalities, characteristics and even moral character were attributed to different species of animal in such a way as to reflect Christian morals

<sup>69</sup> Marian subjects were popular during the fourteenth century. The apocryphal legends associated with her, including the account of her death and funeral, were particularly common in visual schemes. The death and assumption of the Virgin appears in a well-preserved example in the chancel of the Church of St Mary, Chalgrove in Oxfordshire, discusses above, p. 50. Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 127, 229, cat. 93. The miracles of the Virgin also appeared in wall painting, as for example at Eton College Chapel and Chalfont St Giles, St Giles, Bucks., and Ripon, Rochester and Winchester Cathedrals (Yorks., Kent, and Hamps. respectively). Rosewell, Medieval Wall Paintings, 63, 322. There are glass examples in Lincoln Cathedral and York Minster. Marks, Stained Glass in England, 125, 126, fig. 98. Manuscript illustrations of individual miracles of the Virgin appear, for example, in the Luttrell Psalter (BL Add. MS 42130), f. 104v, and in the Neville of Hornby Hours (BL Egerton MS 2781), f. 24v. Deirdre Jackson, Marvellous to Behold: Miracles in Medieval Manuscripts (London: 2007), 66-67; Smith, Art, Identity, and Devotion, 222-231. On the use of miracle stories in sermons see Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215, Rev. ed. (Aldershot: 1987), 24-29, 175-176. For manuscripts that contain the miracles of the Virgin see Harry L. D. Ward, Catalogue of romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 3 vols. (London: 1883-1910), II, 586-594.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> For the role of the Virgin in late medieval English piety see Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: 2004), Chapter Six, and especially pp. 139-140. On the character of the Marian miracles and veneration see Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215*, Chapter 8, 132-165.

and precepts. Some animals were seen to possess Christian virtues such as the pelican, one of the most popular medieval images of Christian charity, and a symbol of the sacrificial love of Christ for his believers. Others displayed less spectacular virtues, such as the heron who was admired for his common sense. And still others were viewed as examples of vice, or ill omen, such as the ape who was a symbol of sin, or the owl, who shunned the daylight for darkness. Some, such as the goat, managed to be both a symbol of Christ and of lechery depending on the kind of goat, and the writer of the bestiary. These bestiary stories and moralisations on the characteristics of animals were derived from early natural histories, such as the *Physiologus*, which was translated into many languages, and were liberally added to, expanded, or contracted as the fashion dictated. Many of the characteristics attributed to the various animals had their basis in scripture and other theological writings, which informed both lay and religious in their understanding of the natural world around them. Indeed, the Latin Aviary written by Hugh of Fouilloy during the mid twelfth-century, drew heavily on the Psalms, Book of Job and St Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, among others, for the moral characteristics ascribed to the birds included.

The border decorations of several of the manuscripts here considered contain images of birds; notably, the Grandisson Psalter, BL Add. MS 21926, f. 208, Huntington Library MS HM 1346 f. 119, and the Bohun Psalter-Hours, BL Egerton MS 3277 f. 136. The bird depicted in these margins may be more than a mere decorative addition, having associations with the tradition of depicting the Holy Spirit in this form, and perhaps making reference to one of the more fantastic creatures of the medieval natural world, the caladrius.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Ann Payne, *Medieval Beasts* (London: 1990), 36, 40, 68, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> This natural history enjoyed wide popularity and was translated from the original Greek into Ethiopian, Syrian, Armenian, and Latin, as well as French, German and Italian. Francis J. Carmody, "*De Bestiis et Aliis Rebus* and the Latin Physiologus," *Speculum* 13 (1938): 153-155, 158-159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> These are all texts that also heavily inform the structure and knowledge of the Office of the Dead in the medieval period. It is also supposed that the text was composed as a teaching tool for the lay brothers at the monastery of which Hugh was Prior. Willene B. Clark, "The Illustrated Medieval Aviary and the Lay-Brotherhood," *Gesta* 21 (1982): 63-64, 67.

Depictions of the Holy Spirit as a bird nearly always show the bird in question to be a dove, as is suggested in the Bible when the Spirit appears at the baptism of Christ.<sup>74</sup> The birds that I mention here, however, bear little resemblance to the small doves usually indicating the Spirit, being both quite large, and resembling sea birds. It may be that the birds were meant to suggest to the reader the caladrius. This bird was a creature reputed to have both prophetic and healing qualities. Perhaps the most well known of its skills was the ability to predict death. The caladrius would turn its face away from a man who was destine to perish of his sickness, but would gaze on the face on one who would recover. 75 Having looked in to the face of the ill individual, the caladrius was said to 'draw the whole infirmity upon itself' and proceeded to fly toward the sun, burning up the illness, and curing the patient. Two thirteenth-century manuscripts, BL Harley MS 4751, f. 40, and BL Harley MS 3244, f. 52, both contain miniatures of the caladrius that are not dissimilar to the birds found in the horae manuscript borders.77 Such a creature would be entirely appropriate to the pages of the Office of the Dead. The two birds in the margins of the Grandisson Psalter sit perched on the descender of the large historiated initial 'P' at the *Placebo*; neither appears to be a dove. These two, unusually, also carry with them a candle and a bell, both objects used in the funeral ceremony; the first held by by people who were 'sick unto death' during the Last Rites, as well as to form the hearse around the body, and the second signaling the death of a parishioner to the community.

<sup>74</sup> Matthew 3: 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> London: BL. *Sloane MS 278*, f. 34v has a miniature that shows us both the happy man that the Caladrius gazes at, and the justifiably concerned fellow the bird turns away from. Peter Murray Jones, *Medieval Medical Miniatures* (London: 1984), 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> The Caladrius was also construed as a symbol of Christ's sacrifice by medieval theologians. Honorius of Autun in his *Speculum Ecclesia*, writes that the caladruis is "Christ born of the Virgin. He drew near to sick humanity when sent by His Father to save the world. Turning his face from the Jews and leaving them to die, He looked toward us and bare our sickness on the cross, and a sweat of blood streamed from Him. Then returning to His Father with out flesh He bought salvation for all." Mâle, *Gothic Image*, 41-42. Payne, *Medieval Beasts*, 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> London: BL, Harley MS 4751, Bestiary, Salisbury?, early thirteenth century, f. 40. Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285, no. 76; Alixe Bovey, Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts (London: 2002), 22-25. London: BL, Harley MS 3244, Theological Miscellany, English, after c. 1236, f. 52. Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 148-149, cat. 151; Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285, II, no. 80; Bovey, Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts, 23. There is also an example of the caladrius in church sculpture, at St Mary, Alne, in Yorkshire. Arthur H. Collins, Symbolism of Animals and Birds represented in English Church Architecture (New York: 1913), 114-117, fig. 27a.

These objects were important during one's last Hours, as they were required when the priest set out from the church with the all important Host for Last Rites, as John Myrc confirms in his *Instructions* for Parish Priests, telling his readers, "bere thyn ost a-nont thy breste, / In a box that ys honeste./ Make thy clerk be-fore the gynge, / To bere lygt, and belle rynge; / On thy power then haue thow mynne, / That thow mygt a-soyle of alle synne." The inclusion of these objects makes it clear that the margin decoration here was intended to relate to the text being illumined.

Another example of marginal illustration involving animals in the Office of the Dead is found in the WAG MS W. 102, where the funeral of a well known medieval ne'er-do-well, Renart the Fox, is contained in the bas-de-page images. The Roman de Renart was a medieval cycle of fables retelling the exploits of the mischievous title character. The tales, written by several authors over a number of years, are frequently lewd and irreverent, lampooning structures and habits from all social classes, particularly those of the nobility and the Church. This is certainly the case in Branch XVII of the cycle which contains the death and funeral procession of Renart. When the funeral takes place, the wily fox has merely feigned death to avoid further injury, however his fellows all believe him to be dead. The funeral that the animals put on for Renart to outward appearances follows closely the ritual structure of the medieval funeral as it took place in everyday life. However, while externally the process of Renart's funeral follows the same pattern as that of a medieval man or woman, the principle events are carried out in such as way as to mock both the somberness of the situation and the conventions of the time. Grimbert the Badger does call the court to the vigil, and Vespers of the Dead is performed in what seems to be an earnest fashion, however directly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Mirk and Peacock, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> On the Roman de Renart manuscripts in the British Library see Ward, Catalogue of romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, II, 368-396.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Patricia M. Gathercole, "Illustrations of the 'Roman de Renart': Manuscripts BN fr. 1581 and BN fr. 12584," Gesta 10 (1971): 39. For further reading on the origins, structure and development of the Roman de Renart see R. Anthony Lodge and Kenneth Varty, The Earliest Branches of the Roman de Renart, Synthema (Louvain: 2001); Kenneth Varty and Elaine C. Block, Reynard the Fox: Cultural Metamorphoses and Social Engagement in the Beast Epic from the Middle Ages to the Present (New York: 2000); Kenneth Varty, Reynard, Renart, Reinaert and other foxes in medieval England: the iconographic evidence (Amsterdam: 1999).

afterward the animals return to their frivolous ways, playing a game of *plantées*, and apparently finished with any grieving they might have engaged in over the death of their meddlesome friend. Similarly, the sermon that Bernat, the archbishop donkey, gives on the morning of Renart's burial suggests that everyone follow the example of Renart himself - extolling the virtues of his misendemours, mischief and licentiousness. §1 This inversion of normal social and religious mores is in keeping with the spirit of festivals and events such as the Feast of Fools, and the election of a Boy Bishop at the end of the Advent season. The mock-serious nature of Renart's funeral must have appealed to the medieval taste for amusing and subversive images that presented a world "upside-down", but perhaps it also reminded the reader of the importance of sincerely meant devotion and prayer by contrasting it with the blithe attitudes of the animals: it is well for Renart that he was not dead, since it is clear neither he nor his friends were spiritually equipped, or interested, in getting Renart through the pains of purgatory.

Another significant aspect of this episode of the Renart story in relation to the Office of the Dead, is his surprising 'resurrection'. To all appearances Renart has died and his friends mourn for him. However, as noted, it transpires that Renart is not dead, he has merely swooned. When he revives from this swoon it appears to his friends as though he has miraculously been 'resurrected' from the dead. The presence of the funeral of Renart in the context of the Office of the Dead could be an example of the practice made popular in the thirteenth-century among the preaching orders of using contemporary events, anecdotes, and popular stories as examples or illustrations of moral messages, particularly in sermons. Members of the Franciscans and Dominicans compiled volumes of exempla on which preachers could draw to enliven their sermons and thus both clarify

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Alison J. Williams, "Ritual in Branch XVII of the 'Roman de Renart (mort et procession Renart)': A key to a Carnivalesque Reading of the Texts?," *The Modern Language Review* 95 (2000): 960.

the message and entertain the congregations of lay folk who flocked to hear them.<sup>82</sup> Here, while the Office of the Dead laments the pain of death and prays for the soul now residing in purgatory, the events of Renart's life assures the reader with this light-hearted tale, of the resurrection of the body when all good Christian souls will assume a place in heaven.

There are numerous other instances of animal hijinx in the margins of English manuscripts, including the margins around the Office of the Dead. Not all of them obviously relate to the text: neither the pissing *babenyn* in the Macclesfield Psalter, or the knight jousting with a snail in the Douai Psalter, for example, appear to comment directly on the Office of the Dead. 83 As we have seen, however, the medieval use of animal lore to articulate events or characteristics from common experience, allowed animal antics and fables to be used as commentary on the subject of the text that occupied the same pages.

#### BIBLICAL NARRATIVES FOR THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

There are some biblical narratives and characters that seem particularly appropriate as illustrations of the Office of the Dead. Perhaps the most obvious of these is Job, the main biblical character in the Office text itself. Lazarus, too - a quintessential proof of the bodily resurrection for the faithful at the end of days - is a figure with eschatological relevance. In spite of their relevance, the appearance of these figures with the Office is rare, occurring in very few of the English *horae*. Three of the manuscripts with illuminations at the Office of the Dead have images from the life of Job: Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, MS Thott 547.4 (cat. 16), f. 43 (fig. 6); Trinity College Cambridge, MS B. 11. 7, f. 85; and OBL MS Auct. D. 4. 4. There are also three, MS Auct. D. 4. 4,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> For more information regarding the use of exempla in manuscript illumination see Lilian M. C. Randall, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination," *The Art Bulletin* 39 (1957): 97-107. In addition, the preachers themselves were likened to crafty foxes in popular word and image. Arnold Clayton Henderson, "Medieval Beasts and Modern Cages: The Making of Meaning in Fables and Bestiaries," *PMLA* 97 (1982): 43. See also Kenneth Varty, *Reynard the Fox a Study of the Fox in Medieval English Art* (Leicester: 1967).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> For more on the jousting snail image see Lilian M. C. Randall, "The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare," *Speculum* 37 (1962): 358-367.

Victoria and Albert Museum, MS A.L. 1695-1902 (cat. 41), and Castle Museum, Norwich, MS 228.961 (cat. 53), that contain Lazarus.<sup>84</sup> The following discussion examines the examples that contain Job or Lazarus, and considers the relationship of these biblical figures to the practices of commemoration during the period. It seems appropriate to begin such a discussion with Job, as he is the key biblical figure in the longest of the three Hours in the Office of the Dead, Matins.

The Cambridge manuscript, Trinity College MS B. 11. 7, is the least involved of the Job manuscripts. Job appears in the second image found in the Office of the Dead, after the opening historiated initial of a funeral found on f. 80 at the D of Dilexi. The Job scene is found in the V of Verba mea at Lauds of the Dead, and the initial contains a scene from the second testing of Job. 85 Job is seated on a small rise in the ground, naked and covered with sores. His three friends, Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite stand before him richly dressed in contemporary clothing. The three men wear, from left to right, a soft red cap and blue doublet, a long, shaped, blue hat and pink tunic with blue stockings, and a tall pink headscarf with a long red robe. The fashionable clothing indicates the wealth of Job's friends and by association, Job's own dramatic fall from comfort and riches to poverty and affliction. The grass is detailed with small flowers and the background is quilted with small flowers set within a grid of gold diamond shapes. The scene of Job and his three friends or comforters is the longest segment of the Book of Job, and the section of the book that engages most deeply with important theological issues, as it is in these dialogues that Job questions the nature of God, sin, justice, and punishment. In the exchange that take place between Job, Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, the friends express the conventional view that those who fall on misfortune must have offended God, and therefore deserve the punishment meted out, if God is by nature just. In contrast, we have Job who asserts his innocence, rails against

<sup>84</sup> Copenhagen: Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott MS 547. 4, Psalter-Hours of Mary de Bohun, English, 1380-1394 (cat. 16).
Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, II, 161-162, no. 140. London: National Arts Library, V&A, MS 1695-1902 (Reid MS 54), Hours, British, c. 1450 (cat. 41). Ker and Piper, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, II, 383. Norwich: Norwich Castle Museum, MS 228.961, Hours, Cambridgeshire?, c. 1450 (cat. 53).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Job 2: 7-8, 11.

the injustice of his situation and scorns the hypocrisy of his friends, but who also repents of his anger and, albeit grudgingly, acknowledges the right of God to do as he pleases with his people. 86 Many of the most poignant readings from the nine lessons in the Office of the Dead come from these dialogues and speak to the grieving through Job's words. 87

The other two manuscripts mentioned above contain much more extensive series of images from the Book of Job. In both of these, the scenes are of the narrative sections of the Book of Job, rather than, as in Trinity College MS B. 11. 7, focusing only on the dialogical portion. In the Copenhagen manuscript we have a large historiated initial at the start of Vespers of the Dead, standing seven lines of text tall (fig. 6a). The series of images begins at the end of the story: the opening initial D is filled with a scene of God the Father enthroned between two columns, and dressed in richly coloured and patterned garb, a blue robe with gold sun patterns under a rich red cloak with red and gold patterning. He is flanked on either side by an angel gowned in blue. In front of the enthroned God the Father and angels, are two smaller figures. To the right of the composition is a man, Job, in red doublet and blue hose and cape. He holds his hands out in supplication towards the enthroned God who raises a hand in benediction in response. On the left side of the image God pushes away a brown devil-like creature. The scene is clearly from the end of Job's tale, his trials and tribulations ended and his patience and endurance rewarded by the God who allowed him to be so tested. The demon pushed away by God the Father indicates the defeat of Satan who is conquered by Job's steadfast faith. The placement of this final scene at the beginning of the Office emphasizes that, in the end, events come out in Job's favour as a result of his steadfast faith, and encourages the reader in a similarly steadfast faith.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> On interpretation and analysis of the Book of Job see Carol A. Newsom, *The book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (Oxford: 2003), and N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job: A New Commentary* (Jerusalem: 1957).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> For example, the wonder and worry about the resurrection of the dead expressed in the sixth lesson of the Dirige, "gessist bou not bat a deed man schal lyue a3en?" (Job 14:14), or this grim reflection on death without hope of resurrection from the seventh lesson, "if y susteyne, helle is myne hous; & y haue araied my bed in derknessis. I seide to rotenesse: "bou art my fadir"; & to wormes "3e ben my modir and my sister": berfore, where is now myn abidyng, & my pacience?" (Job 17: 13-15). Both excerpts from a English York Primer. Littlehales, ed. *EETS 105*, 64, 68.

The very beginning of the tale is omitted from the illuminations. Instead, the artist begins with the dramatic scenes of Job's initial testing. The bas-de-page is compactly filled with the figures and events of the first three of Job's tribulations, depicted slightly out of the order in which they occur in the biblical narrative (fig. 6b). The first scene is of the death of Job's children while they were banqueting in the home of his eldest son. On the left, in a small enclosed space representing the interior of a house, three figures - standing in for the seven sons and three daughters of Job, sit down to a meal.<sup>88</sup> On the roof above the room, demons tug and pull at the tiles. A servant is driven out of the house to give news of the disaster to Job. 89 The centre scene, which precedes the death of Job's children in the narrative, is a combination of the theft of Job's oxen by the Sabeans and camels by the Chaldeans, with the massacre of his servants, and the burning of his sheep. 90 Three armoured men on horseback with swords and spears drive the cattle, sheep and camels before them, as a servant runs from a descending blade. Beside the attackers' horses, a brown devil runs alongside prodding the animals with a fork. In the third scene in the lower margin we see Job and his wife receiving the terrible news brought by the servants who had escaped the slaughter, fire and collapse of the house. A servant kneels at the feet of Job while his wife stands behind him. Job has rent his clothing and holds aloft a scroll that says, "dominus dedit, dominus ab[stulit]" - Job's response to the news from the biblical text: "The lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away".91

In the Bodleian manuscript, Auct. D. 4. 4, the cycle of images from Job is even more extensive. Here, on ff. 244 and 248, the illuminator has sectioned off a small rectangle at the top of each page, sitting above and resting on the top of the initial letter of the text below it. Each rectangle has been subdivided into four quadrants each containing a discrete scene. In addition, the first initial of the text that follows is historiated, so that they are five separate scenes from the story

88 Job 1: 2,4.

<sup>89</sup> Job, 1:18-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Job, 1: 14-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Job 1: 20-22.

of Job on each page. Unlike the Copenhagen manuscript, in this series the images do start at the beginning of the narrative, and continue through to the end. At the opening of the Office, on f. 244, in the upper right quadrant of the miniature the tale begins with a scene of Satan standing before God and a company of angels discussing with him the fragility of human faith in the face of severe trial. God sits enthroned on the left of the scene, with a brown demon creature on the right gesturing toward him. Behind these two figure is a dense group of figures, the 'sons of God', or angels, who came to stand in the company of the Lord. Here God boasts of Job's faith, permits Satan to persecute him as a test of this faith, and so begins Job's tribulations. 92

The following three scenes detail the destruction of all Job's worldly possessions. In the top right quadrant we have the death of Job's children, by the collapse of the house of the eldest son. The artist has drawn the house with a missing front wall, allowing the reader to see inside where three figures sit at a long banqueting table. On the roof a devil figure dislodges the roof tiles and throws them down. In the bottom left quadrant Job's servants and flock of oxen and asses are put to the sword by the pillaging Sabeans. The artist has been faithful to the biblical narrative here, and shown the oxen ploughing and the ass feeding just as is described in Job 1:14-15, "The oxen were ploughing, and the asses feeding beside them, And the Sabeans rushed in, and took all away, and slew the servants with the sword". In a similarly faithful rendering, in the bottom right quadrant the 'fire of God' consumes the sheep and the servants attending them.

The final scene on f. 244 is in the historiated initial *D* at *Dilexi*. Here the figure of Job stands to the right of the space pulling on his robe while he speaks to a kneeling figure on the left. A scroll comes from Job's mouth, but unfortunately all the text has been rubbed away. This scene shows Job receiving the news of all the catastrophes that have afflicted him. He tears at his pink tunic as the kneeling figure of the servant, standing in for all the other men who come to Job, speaks the repeated motif, 'and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' Though the words of the scroll have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Job 1: 6-12.

vanished, and there is nothing left to indicate what was there, it seems very probable that as in the Copenhagan manuscript the scroll allowed Job to speak the same bitter words that appear there: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away."

The second set of scenes on f. 248v, picks up the story where it left off on the earlier page at the start of the second chapter. The upper left quadrant of the miniature on this folio is very similar to the corresponding section on f. 244, the scene being essentially the same. Just as the biblical text echoes itself, 94 so do the images parallel one another: God the Father is seated on the left hand side of the composition, the brown devil stands before the throne to the right, gesturing toward God, while behind them both, the company of angels stand in a compressed block in the centre background. Satan, having failed to corrupt Job by attacking his family and household, now tells God that Job would resign his faith if it was his own person that was afflicted. God grants him permission to try any means but death to persuade Job to give up his faith. 95

The following three quadrants detail the consequences of this conversation, as in the miniature on f. 244. Here the repercussions fall on Job himself, rather than on his family. In the upper right quadrant we see Job afflicted with sores and sprawled across the dunghill, while a brown bestial Satan claws at his back. This is likely an unusual interpretation of Job 2: 7-8: "So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and struck Job with a very grievous ulcer, from the sole of the foot even to the top of his head: And he took a potsherd and scraped the corrupt matter, sitting on a dunghill." In this last sentence it appears that the 'he' in question has been interpreted as Satan, who is scraping Job's sores, rather than as Job himself. In the bottom left Job, still seated on the dunghill, speaks to his wife who holds out to him a piece of bread. The scene is a combination of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> In a hierarchical and patricarchical society such as that found in medieval England such a phrase might be understood as an excellent Biblical justification for entrenched power, reminding the poor of their position and the wealthy of their right to do as they please. However, the events of Job's life, and Job as the speaker of these words belies this more comfortable interpretation, since it represents the mighty brought low by the will of God.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Job 2:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Job 2: 3-6.

the biblical verses, Job 1: 9-10, where Job chastises his wife for her lack of faith, and the scene from the various medieval legends about Job, in which Job's wife works as a servant to earn bread to feed him with, and is eventually reduced to selling her hair to secure enough bread to feed her husband and herself.<sup>96</sup> At the bottom right Job is seated on the dunghill and surrounded by his three friends.

The closing scene of the narrative is found in the historiated initial V at V at

It is worth noting that the texts from the Book of Job that form that principle biblical lessons for the Office of the Dead in Matins are all derived from the central dialogue portions of the book, and not from the narrative sections that begin and end the book. However, the illustrations we have just seen are drawn from the first and second chapters of the Book, those chapters that are primarily narrative and contain the active events of Job's trial. Though this text was not read as a part of the liturgical Office of the Dead, these events would have been just as well known as the dialogue texts from the Office, from the various writings, plays and legends that were built up around Job over the course of the centuries. The images of the familiar narrative of Job's plight provide context for the plangent text of the Office, offering visual justification for Job's questions and complaints. Perhaps also, the events of Job are more easily understood than the theological quandaries articulated in the verses of the Office of the Dead. In addition, the images of the physical suffering of Job may have appealled to the benighted minds of recently berieved

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Perhaps the longest version of this story is found in the Testament of Job, where Job narrates, "And I spent forty-eight years sitting on the dung-heap outside of the city beset by diseases so that I saw...my humbled wife carrying water into the house of a certain crude person as a maidservant until she could obtain bread and bring it to me." He continues, relating the story of his wife publicly cutting her hair for bread as a lengthy exchange between the woman and Satan, who is disguised as the bread seller. Robert A. Kraft, ed. *The Testament of Job: according to the SV text*, Pseudepigrapha series (Missoula, Mont.: 1974), lines 21.1-2, 22.1-23.

contemporary layfolk who sought assurance in Job's story that God is indeed present in all things - though moving in mysterious ways.

The Book of Job had long been a favourite of theological writers and thinkers who expounded on this complex and often obscure text. The best-known in the Middle Ages of these exegetical works was St Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, which was hugely influential for medieval writers and thinkers, and was the principle Job commentary until the fourteenth century. <sup>97</sup> The popularity of Job and of writings such as Gregory's had the effect of creating a medieval vision of Job that bore little resemblance to the Job of the Bible. Gregory's Job is one that formed the basis of the medieval understanding of that figure: this Job is a patient Christian saint figure, a prefiguration of Christ, and embodies the idea of the Christian warrior, fighting the temptations of Satan with a vigourous, athletic faith - all themes which are prevalent in medieval portrayals of Job. <sup>98</sup> The *Moralia* also introduces narrative events, such as Job being attacked by the devil through his wife, which were subsequently taken up and emphasised in medieval Job lore. <sup>99</sup> In addition to the *Moralia*, there were other Job texts that contributed to the development of the medieval view of Job, such as the apocryphal *Testament in Job*, or the *Psychomachia*, which paint this biblical figure respectively as saintly and generous, and patient warrior. <sup>100</sup> The effect of these influential texts was to create a vision of Job that largely ignored the problematic content of the biblical story. Through these texts Job was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> The most significant early works on Job in Old English was Aelfric's prose rewriting of the *Moralia in Job, Homily on the Book of Job,* which is the earliest extended notice of Job in Britain. Significantly, it was both a vernacular work, and fairly popular - making the Job of the *Moralia* accessible to people who could read vernacular but not Latin texts. Besserman, *Legend of Job,* 73-74. Gregory's *Moralia* also provided the basis for later medieval writers on Job such as Odo of Cluny, Bruno of Asti, and Honorius of Autun. Mâle, *Gothic Image,* 380.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> On the medieval interpretation of Job see also Berthold Kress, "Noah, Daniel and Job - Three Righteous Men of Ezekiel 14:14 in Medieval Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2004): 259-267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Moralia in Job was one of only two patristic texts to have been regularly illustrated, demonstrating the importance and popularity of this text. C. M. Kauffmann, Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700-1550 (London: 2003), 102. The influence of St Gregory's Morialia in Job begins to wane after the rise of scholasticism in the fourteenth-century and the subsequent appearance of other commentaries on Job by scholars such as Albert the Great, and St Thomas Aquinas. Besserman, Legend of Job, 55-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> The warrior Job is described as 'clinging' close to the side of his mistress, Patientia, in Prudentius' battle of virtues and vices. See Rosemary Burton, ed. *Prudentius Psychomachia*, 2 vols., Bryn Mawr Latin Commentaries (Bryn Mawr: 1989), Text, lines 162-168, Commentary, 16-17. See also Macklin Smith, *Prudentius' Psychomachia: a Reexamination* (Princeton: 1976), 178, 181-183, 187.

created as a perfect example of the patient faithful man of God, he accepts the trials of life with composure, always articulating an unshaken belief in the justice of his Lord, and, importantly, in a bodily resurrection.

This is Job as he would have been understood by the reader of the Cambridge, Copenhagen and Oxford manuscripts. The emphasis on the events of Job's trials underline for the reader the virtues of medieval Job - his patient suffering, vigourous defence of his faith, and, most importantly for the Office of the Dead, his constant belief in the resurrection of the body. It is this belief, expressed in the words "I know that my redeemer lives...", that was so often placed in the mouths of the dead by its incorporation into monumental epitaphs. 101 This passage, which forms the first responsory and versicle after the first lesson of the Dirige, is found in some form on at least fortyeight English brasses from the fourteenth through mid-sixteenth century. Jerome Bertram writes that this passages shows up in "innumerable examples of all dates and localities". He indicates 22 examples of a shortened version of this text, ending after surrecturus sum, two fourteenth-century example with the full text, four mid-sixteenth century examples in English versions, and 21 other example with extracts or variations from all dates. 102 Job's trials were to be viewed as a reflection on one's own earthly trials, and Job's patience and understanding a model of behaviour in the face of these events. The medieval vision of Job's character often overlooks the many challenging passages contained in the biblical text that contradict this description of a patient, saintly Job. However, the verses in the Office of the Dead contain many of the most plangent and difficult sentiments

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<sup>101</sup> Credo quod Redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum, et rursum circumdabor pelle mea et in carne mea videbo Deum salvatorem meum, quem visurus sum ego ipse et oculi mei conspecturi sunt et non alius, reposita est hec spes mea in sinu meo. Jerome Bertram, "Meeting Report: First Read the Label," Monumental Brass Society Bulletin 99 (2005): 791; A. Jefferies Collins, Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis: from the edition printed at Rouen in 1543 compared with those of 1506 (London), 1516 (Rouen), 1523 (Antwerp), 1526 (Paris), Henry Bradshaw Society (Chichester: 1960), 137. See also Littlehales, ed. EETS 105, 59, for an English version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Bertram, "Meeting Report: First Read the Label," 791. It is interesting to note that the wording of this passage on the tombs is drawn from the Dirige responsory, rather than from the biblical source of the text, Job 19: 25, which also appears in the Office of the Dead as part of the reading of the eighth lesson of Matins. For other extracts from the Office of the Dead that appear on English brasses see Jermone Bertram, "Inscriptions on Late Medieval Brasses and Monuments," in Roman, Runes and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent, ed. John Higgit, et al. (Donington: 2001), 196-197.

expressed in the Book. The two characters of Job sit side by side in these Books of Hours, and would have been seen as a complement to one another rather than sources of contradiction.

The voice of Job was familiar to medieval people, but while the events of Job's story were familiar, in terms of the biblical text, the majority of the population would have best-known those verses of the Book of Job that appear in the Office of the Dead. Indeed, the *Pety Job*, or "little Job", a poem based on these Office lessons, was read as an abbreviated version of the Book of Job, though it contains a limited amount of the biblical text. The wide-spread nature of the interest in Job as part of the late medieval desire for a rich personal devotional life, is reflected in the contemporary mystical and devotional writings on Job ascribed to well known religious writers of the period. In some surviving manuscripts for example, the *Pety Job* was ascribed to the fourteenth-century mystic Richard Rolle, whose writings enjoyed a degree of popularity in the fifteenth century. In fact, this Yorkshire mystic did write a commentary on Job, the *Postillae super novem lectiones*, which was based on the Job texts found in the nine lessons of the Matins of the Dead. <sup>103</sup> Although the earlier Job writings inherited by the Middle Ages largely did not address Job's concerns, they were often articulated in vernacular writings that were based on the verses of the Office which came directly out of the biblical narrative rather than on the established tradition of Job that was already present in scholarly writing; one such is the *Pety Job*.

The story of Job, his sufferings and his tribulations, were most closely associated with the Office of the Dead, through the use of those texts in the service. The text of the Office used the voice of Job to express those volatile emotions associated with times of grief and bereavement in a ritualised way, and it is through Job that anger, rebellion, doubt, entreaty and submission are made acceptable. The ubiquity of the Office made these portions of the Book of Job the most widely known, and they were expanded in works like the *Pety Job*, the *Story of Holy Job* and other such

<sup>103</sup> This ascription reflects the desire of London stationers to sell more material using the fifteenth century taste for mystical devotional writings, and the popularity in particular of Richard Rolle. Suzanna Greer Fein, "Pety Job," in Moral Love Songs and Laments, ed. Susanna Greer Fein (Michigan: 1998), 292.

texts.<sup>104</sup> Commentaries and glosses like these expanded the verses of the Book of Job from the Matins of the Dead, elucidating the themes and motifs which were of importance to the emotional nature of a funeral service. In a cyclical fashion, some of these vernacular translations and writings work their way back into the liturgical setting of the Office of the Dead as text in the English language Primers being produced in the fifteenth century.<sup>105</sup>

The *Pety Job* particularly, was an important text. The voice of Job in this poem seems to be in transition between the biblical character who suffers epic trials, and the medieval reader who endures quotidian ones, just as the voice of Job speaks both for himself, and for the medieval listener in the Office of the Dead. The Job of the *Pety Job* asks to be remembered with prayers and by *Dirige* and *Placebo*, an intrinsic part of the very structure of medieval English devotional life, and paradoxically, the place where Job's own voice is most frequently heard. At this moment the narrator is a conflation of Job and the contemporary medieval reader, who exclaims:

Reweth on me, reweth on me! My frendes namly, now halpth at nede! For I am there I may nat fle: The hande of God ful sore I drede. And frendes, seeth that I am he Thys other day that on the erth yede. Now helpe, yef that youre wyll be, With prayer, fastyng, and almesdede. For these mowen best gete me mede With *Placebo* and *Dirige*. <sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> The Story of Holy Job is thought to have been written by Lydgate, or one of his followers. The poem survives in a single copy, Huntington Museum, MS HM 140 (ff. 93b-96b), and may have been written to accompany a series of miniatures, now missing. The format of the texts suggests the emblem poem form, as it frequently begins sections with formulae that seem to call attention to specific moments, or images, such as, "Here, lo, holy Job...", Lo, here,..." and "Here begins..." G. N. Garmonsway and R. M. Raymo, "A Middle English Metrical Life of Job," in Early English and Norse studies: presented to Hugh Smith in honour of his sixtieth birthday, ed. Arthur Brown, et al. (London: 1963), 77-78; Marike de Kroon, "Medieval Pilgrim Badges and Their Iconographic Aspects," in Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles, ed. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, Studies in medieval and Reformation traditions (Leiden: 2005), 391. Another text based on Job is the Middle English treatise Dimitte me, domine, preserved in Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS Pepys 2125, ff. 39-50v. See Mayumi Taguchi, "A Middle English Penitential Treatise on Job 10:20-22, Dimitte me, domine," Mediaeval Studies 67 (2005): 157-217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> As for example in the Primer edited by Henry Littlehales from Cambridge University Library, MS Dd. 11. 82, c. 1420-1430. See Littlehales, ed. *EETS 105* .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Fein, "Pety Job," 328, lines 541- 550.

This call for pity, based on Job 19:21, is Job's own call for help and remembrance in the face of his tribulation, as well as expressing the wish of the medieval laity who also asked to be remembered by the *Placebo* and *Dirige* in the months and years after their death. <sup>107</sup> In this verse Job couches his cry in the familiar terms of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century commemorative practices - fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, in addition to the all important Placebo and Dirige. Job's desire to be remembered perhaps increased the medieval interest in him, as this would have resonated strongly with the powerful contemporary desire for commemoration that was prevalent in these centuries.

Given the wide-spread knowledge of Job, and his status as a medieval saint, <sup>108</sup> it seems logical that he would have had a presence in media other than manuscript illumination, such as in parish church wall paintings and statuary. 109 After all, the parish church was the site of the funeral and all subsequent commemorative services for the majority of the lay population, and the appropriateness of Job to these occasions could not be overlooked. Remarkably however, keeping in mind the paucity of surviving wall painting in Britain which limits the examples that remain for consideration, the only prominent example of a Job painting in England is found in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster. 110 It seems exceptional, given the lay familiarity with Job via the Office of the Dead, his role as a prefiguration of Christ, the common employment of Job as the subject of sermons and homilies, 111 the prevalence of vernacular literature such as the Pety Job and the Story of Holy Job, and the popularity of morality plays concerning him, that this cultural and spiritual currency in the parish should have no similar outlet in visual representations. It is difficult to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Job articulates this cry for remembrance again in Job 19:23, where he requests that his words be recorded so that he might not be forgotten.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> The feast day of St Job appears in a Sarum calendar of c. 1450 in OBL, MS Rawlinson G. 20, f. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> See Chapter 5 for discussion of the Wezemaal cult of Job centred around a miracle working wooden Job statue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> The surviving fragments of this large mural, now in the British Museum, represent the destruction of Job's children, and the messenger bringing the news to Job. Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 129-130, cat. 680, 681; Paul Binski, Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400 (London: 1995), 184-185; Caiger-Smith, English Medieval Mural Paintings, 84-87; Saunders, A History of English Art in the Middle Ages, 171.

<sup>111</sup> The use of Job as a subject for sermons was a longstanding tradition, seen, for example, in Aelfric's Catholic Homilies. Malcolm Godden, ed. Aelfric's Catholic homilies, Early English Text Society, SS (London: 1979), 260-267.

convincingly postulate the loss of *all* Job paintings: even after the accidental and deliberate losses inflicted by climate, time and violence, there are many surviving images of, for example, St Christopher, a similarly popular and widely known saint of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on English church walls.<sup>112</sup> If Job did appear in parish church decoration, he could not have been a very common choice.

The St Stephen's example then represents a topical, if rather unusual, choice for the decoration of the chapel. Possibly, the choice of Job in this royal chapel is evidence of the close artistic ties between England and the continent in royal circles at this time, just as the Bohun manuscripts, commissioned by an aristocratic family with connections to the English royal family as well as other important noble houses, contain images of Job though the theme was not common in English illuminated *horae*. In St Stephen's, the interest in artistic trends, and the more cosmopolitan tastes of the wealthy are also reflected in the French and Italian influences that have been detected in the Job fragments that survived the general destruction in the nineteenth century.<sup>113</sup>

St Stephen's Chapel was used as a commemorative space for the royal family, and the Office of the Dead, therefore, would have been one of the principle liturgical services that took place in this space. The voice of Job through the texts of the Office would have been heard while the people in attendance were able to look upon images from the life of Job. In doing so the viewer/listener is shown the virtues to which he or she should aspire to treat the challenges and sorrows of life, while simultaneously hearing a heartfelt expression of the emotional stresses that such life events cause. Like the Cambridge, Copenhagen and Oxford manuscripts, which contain the anger, desperation

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Rosewell, for instance, identifies 138 St Christophers in England and Wales, but only one Job. Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 324-328. See also Borenius and Tristram, *English Medieval Painting*, 300. In addition to these reasons for Job's appearance in the parish, he was also seen as a figure representing Fortune, another popular medieval theme that was present in literature, sermons, and wall painting. Tristram, *Figures of Life and Death*, 141-142; Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 348.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> For a stylistic discussion of the paintings in St Stephen's Chapel see Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, 181-182, 184-185; Borenius and Tristram, *English Medieval Painting*, 48-58. For the paintings at Westminster generally, see also Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber and Painting at Westminster c.1250 to 1350*, Society of Antiquaries (London: 1986), and esp. 68.

and repentance of Job's words in text and his calm and stoic acceptance of the traumatic events of his life in image, the paintings on the walls of St Stephen's chapel would have occupied the same devotional space as the voice of Job, in this instance literally sounded by the priests and clerics performing the Office. As in the manuscripts, voice and image work in tandem with one another, and as a result of this combination, Job's character is made at once more complex and more sympathetic to the medieval audience as they are exposed to Job in word and deed.

#### THE UNDEAD: LAZARUS AND THE PROMISE OF RESURRECTION

Like Job, Lazarus seems a natural subject for the Office of the Dead. Both figures appear as 'cadaver' type images, and both, in a sense, have been 'resurrected': Job from his travails, and Lazarus from the grave. While neither is dead, and both form part of a larger narrative concerning mortality, they also conform in spirit to the body of medieval macabre images that employ the anonymous corpse as a *memento mori*. Lazarus does not have the same intimate connection with the lessons and responsories of the Office text as Job, but his story is one that imbues him with eschatological relevance. His is a story that provides proof of the possibility of resurrection of the body, providing encouragement for the faithful, a fact that is borne out by the appeal made in the first responsory after the second lesson in the Matins of the Dead: "Thou þat reisidist a3en stynkynge la3er fro his graue; þou, lord, graunte hem reste & places of for3yuenesse!" While the subject is rare in English *horae*, 115 there are, as mentioned, three surviving examples, Auct D. 4.4., f. 243v, the Oxford manuscript discussed above, a volume now in Norwich Castle Museum, MS 228.961, f. 57v, and in a fifteenth-century manuscript from the Victoria and Albert Museum, MS A.L. 1695-1902, f. 50v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Littlehales, ed. EETS 105, 60. Qui lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fetidum. Tu eis domine dona requiem et locum indulgentie. Collins, Manuale ad usum percelebris ecclesie Sarisburiensis, 137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> The subject also seems to be rare in wall painting. Rosewell lists only two examples, Brook, St Mary (Kent) and Wincester Cathedral (Hampshire) that have Lazarus scenes. Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings*, 314

The Lazarus in the Oxford manuscript occurs at the beginning of the Office of the Dead, and is a full page miniature on the facing page to the text. The scene shows the open tomb of Lazarus at the bottom left as a grey stone sarcophagus. The lid has been pushed off to the back, and leans against the side of the coffin. Larazus sits up in the tomb, his whole body still enveloped by the shroud, the cloth of which is still tied closed on the top of his head, as so often seen in cadaver effigies and brasses. The sheet is parted around Lazarus' face, and he looks up toward Christ standing in the centre of the composition. Christ, dressed in a blue robe with a red lining, raises his hand in a gesture of blessing toward Lazarus as the man sits up. This is clearly the moment Jesus calls to his friend, "come forth!" - Lazarus is woken from death, still clothed for burial, while his sisters look on in amazement. Unlike some other images of the Raising of Lazarus, none of the spectators show any signs of the stink that Martha warns Jesus about, Lazarus having been dead four days at the time of his revival.

There are three groups of figures in the composition surrounding the centre actions of Christ and Lazarus. Behind Lazarus and the sarcophagus, on the left of the image, stand a group of onlookers at the front of which two women feature prominently. These figures, surely Mary and Martha, are dressed as contemporary well born ladies, with fashionable headdresses of gold netting and white bands. Behind the women the group of six onlookers crowds forward to see the miracle. Opposite this group, at the top right, is another grouping of figures. Several of these figures wear 'eastern' headdresses. They gesture and point toward Christ while talking amongst themselves. These two groups of figures may represent the Jews that followed Mary to Lazarus grave, to comfort her and her sister in their mourning as described in John 11: 31. The division of the comforters into two groups is likely a reflection of the passage in John 11:45-46, which describes the division of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> See above Chapter Two, p. 63 for sources on shroud brasses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> John 11: 43 - 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> John 11: 3.

group of friends into those who believed in the miracles of Christ, and those who did not. 119 Behind Mary and Martha cluster the Jews who have believed, while those who whisper amongst themselves represent those who did not. At the bottom right of the image is a third group of figures, who are meant to be those disciples who accompany Christ to Lazarus' grave. 120 Several figures in the foreground kneel or sit, making gestures of prayers and amazement toward Christ, while several more stand behind them.

The Norwich image is badly damaged. However, from what can still be discerned and by analogy with the illustration in Auct D. 4. 4, it also appears be an image of the raising of Lazarus. The compositional layout resembles that found in the Oxford manuscript. The figure groupings are very similarly arranged with one at the left, one at the top right and one bottom right. The centre of the miniature is the most heavily damaged area, obscuring the place where the figures of both Lazarus and Christ should appear.

The third example of a Lazarus miniature at the Office of the Dead is found in a manuscript that may be Scottish in origin. This image shows seven figures surrounding Lazarus as he climbs out of his tomb. The figures on the left hand side of the image, Christ, Mary and Martha, raise their hands towards Lazarus, while a fourth figure peeks over the heads of the two sisters. On the right side are three onlookers, one of whom raises his sleeve to cover his nose in response to the stench. The background of the composition is occupied by a large, tall church with crosses set on each spire.

The story of the raising of Lazarus was obviously one that would be encouraging for the family of the recently deceased. Lazarus was raised from the dead, and such a bodily resurrection was promised to all the faithful, and indeed, all. Like Job, whose story emphasises the saving role of faith in the face of worldly loss and sorrow, Lazarus' story also emphasises faith, in this case a faith

<sup>120</sup> John 11: 14 - 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> John 11:45-46.

that leads to the resurrection of the dead at the end of days. Just as the medieval reader of a Book of Hours would have known the story of Job and recalled it when viewing images of Job, so would they also know the story of Lazarus. When looking at the image of Lazarus rising from a contemporary tomb, and dressed in medieval winding clothes, as in the Oxford description of the theme, the viewer would not only have seen the resurrection of Lazarus, but may also have recalled the words spoken by his sister Martha in response to Christ that affirm her belief - and the belief of the reader - in the resurrection of all the faithful dead: "I know that he shall rise again, in the resurrection at the last day...Yea, Lord, I have believed that thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, who art come into this world." 121

In OBL Auct. D. 4. 4. there are, unusually, images of both Job and Lazarus. However, even where Job is not illustrated his story might be read in in conjunction with Lazarus' by virtue of his presence in the text. There are many congruences between these biblical characters that might have resonated with the reader of the Book of Hours, particularly as they relate to the Office of the Dead. Both Job and Lazarus are figures of faith in the face of unusual and unfortunate circumstances, and the (eventual) positive effect of that faith on one's life. The stories deal with issues of life and death: both Job and Lazarus, through Mary and Martha, articulate faith in the resurrection, both accept the sorrows and losses of life with resignation in light of this belief. Both figures were seen as Christ-like characters. Job was understood as an Old Testament prefiguration of Christ, whose earthly sufferings, encompassing both mental and physical torments, foreshadowed those of Christ who similarly was plagued by Satan during his temptation in the desert, and afflicted with pain, and eventually death - the final torment and one that was spared Job. Lazarus too was viewed in the context of prefiguration. His resurrection prefigured the loosening of the bonds of death, as he was freed from death just as generations of the faithful would be during the Harrowing of Hell. In addition, the manner of his own revival with the cave burial and rolling away of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> John 11: 24 - 27.

stone, echo the manner and language used to describe the events of Jesus' own resurrection from the dead. 122

The characters and stories of Lazarus and Job were both adopted by medieval society and then imagined and recreated in writing and plays as people who might have lived and acted within this milieu. Both figures became wealthy medieval men of rank who conducted their affairs in a manner recognizable to the contemporary reader or audience. We saw earlier in the *Pety Job*, Job articulating his desire for remembrance using the familiar language and framework of commemorative practice in medieval England. In a similar way we find that Lazarus' funeral in the Digby *Mary Magdalene* mystery play takes the form of many such funerals of the wealthy middle and upper classes.<sup>123</sup>

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It is surprising that neither Job nor Lazarus were very popular subjects for the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours produced in England. On the continent however, both of these characters and Job particularly, are common in illuminated Hours, and especially those of the late fourteenth century. The English books discussed here are highly decorated and expensive volumes commissioned by wealthy and noble patrons. These individuals, by virtue of wealth and birth, would have been more aware of the French fashions so influential in court circles, and this link may explain the appearance of the iconography in these books more than in others: conscious of fashion, they may have

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> John 11: 38 - 39. This passage bears comparison with the following passages from the Crucifixion story. Mark 15: 46:, and Matthew 25: 59-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> "Here be one knygth make redy be stone, and other bryng in be wepars, arayyd in blak."." Furnivall, *Digby Mysteries*, 86, line 841. "As the use is now, and has always been / With weepers to the earth bring him. / Alle this must be done as I tell you, / Clad in black, without lacing." Ibid., 86, lines 834-837. A similar scene is taking place in London: BL. *Burney MS 332*, f. 69. See above, Chapter Two, on the form of Larazus' funeral in the Digby plays.

commissioned books from fashionable artists who were familiar with continental trends. 124 The principle examples here, OBL MS Auct D. 4. 4, and Kongelige Bibliotek MS Thott 547.4 are manuscripts that were both commissioned by the Bohuns - a family with royal connections that is known for having commissioned several beautifully illuminated devotional books that survive. 125 Additionally, as both Job and Lazarus were envisioned within contemporary society as wealthy men of some social standing, they many have been considered images of particular relevance for persons who were themselves wealthy and important. This seems especially true in light of Job's appearance in the royal chapel of St Stephen's in Westminster.

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<sup>124</sup> Job appears, for example, in a full page miniature in London: BL, MS Add. 35254, Hours, Flemish, f. T. a folio from the now disassembled Hours of Louis XII. Thomas Kren and Mark Evans, eds., A Masterpiece Reconstructed: The Hours of Louis XII (London: 2005), pl. 19. Walter de Grey Birch, in his dictionary of subjects, lists at least 22 examples of horae at the British Library containing images of Job, three Flemish and 19 French, ranging from the early fifteenth century through to the early sixteenth century. Walter de Gray Birch and Henry Jenner, Early Drawings and Illuminations. An introduction to the study of illustrated manuscripts; with a dictionary of subjects in the British Museum (London: 1879). The raising of Lazarus seems to have been particularly popular in Italian illumination as seen in the fifteenth-century manuscripts, BL, Add. MS 19417, Hours, Italian, second half of the fifteenth century, f. 110v; BL, Add. MS 27697, Saluces Hours, Italian, mid fifteenth century, f. 118v; BL, Add. MS 34294, Hours, Italian, c. 1490, f. 257v; BL, Yates Thompson 23, Hours, Italian, c. 1485, f. 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> See Lynda Eileen Dennison, "The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop, ca 1340-1400" (PhD Thesis, University of London, 1988), and Lucy Freedman Sandler, "A Note on the Illuminators of the Bohun Manuscripts," *Speculum* 60 (1985), 364-372.

# ∞ Chapter Four ∞

### MUSIC IN SOCIETY: LEARNING AND USE

In the present day, both the visual and musical arts are considered genres of artistic expression. Both disciplines are valued as a means through which a given culture can express emotional highs and lows in a manner that is unique, and often specific to the cultural milieu. The modes of expression employed in the medieval period, as others, adopted conventions both musical and visual to convey important cultural messages to the listener or viewer. The use and practice of music in the Church was bound by tradition and custom, and had from the early years of the Church been a valued expressive part of the ritual of liturgy. While it is often overlooked by art and architectural historians, it was part and parcel of religious aesthetics during the later middle ages. It had its own role in the Office of the Dead, and deserves to be examined alongside the visual material discussed to this point, not as a contrast, but as a complement. To the traditional duo of text and image, it is time to add music.

To understand the relationship between music and the Office of the Dead, we must also understand the place of music in the liturgy, and the relevance of music to parishioners in medieval English society. Music has a transitory nature, fully existing only when performed and leaving an inanimate, and to many, incomprehensible, series of directions in the form of neumes which await interpretation when silent. In the absence of contemporary recordings, this means that it is very difficult for modern scholars to know precisely how this auditory art was performed, heard or understood by a medieval audience. It is not the concern of this thesis to attempt an exposition on this subject (one which has been pursued by many musicologists over the years) but to demonstrate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There are a few recent exceptions: Paul Binski, Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170-1300 (London: 2004), in Chapter 11, "Music and the Angelic", 261-282; Margaret Bent's chapter "Music Seen and Music Heard: Music in England c. 1400-1547" in Marks, Williamson et al., Gothic, 120 - 127, and an exhibition on music and art in the Middle Ages, Martine Clouzot, Olivier Cullin et al., Moyen Âge, entre ordre et désordre: exposition, Musée de la musique, 26 mars-27 juin 2004 (Paris: 2004), especially pp. 26, 107, and 184-187 on music and death.

using those inanimate sources the importance of music to the Office of the Dead, and in particular, to those lay and religious people for whose benefit the Office was performed.

The music that appears at the Office of the Dead in the books that are discussed in this thesis is liturgical chant. These are monophonic melodies, that is, there is a single melodic line that is voiced by one or by many in unison. However, in the musical context of the period polyphonic liturgical music was becoming increasingly prevalent, and is discussed where relevant. While the term 'polyphony' has several nuanced definitions, for the purposes of this study the term is used to indicate music comprised of two or more melodic lines that are sounded simultaneously.<sup>2</sup> The polyphonic church music of the twelfth through fifteenth centuries was heavily based on the well-known liturgical chant melodies and these often form the basis for the compositions.<sup>3</sup> The earliest polyphonic church music involved singing a second melodic line at a fixed interval from the chant melody, usually a 4th, 5th or octave.<sup>4</sup> Further developments in harmony permitted the inclusion of the remaining intervals, and rhythmic independence from the chant which eventually resulted in the complex compositions of composers such as Machaut.<sup>5</sup> However, the simple improvisation of a second or descant line remained a popular form of elaborating the music of the Mass and Offices well into the fifteenth century in parishes.<sup>6</sup> This is particularly true of funeral music, which remained musically conservative.<sup>7</sup>

The depictions in Books of Hours and Psalter-Hours of what appear to be reasonably accurate portrayals of medieval life have lead this genre of book to be used on many occasions as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the different nuances in the definition of polyphony see Wolf Frobenius, "Polyphony," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42927.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Richard H. Hoppin, Medieval Music, 1st ed., 2 vols. (New York: 1978), 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid., 189-193. THe earliest repertory in a script that indicates pitch and rhythm is from the Notre Dame school in Paris of the late 12th and early 13th centuries. Carl Parrish, *The Notation of Medieval Music* (New York: 1978), 60-61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Guillaume de Machaut was an influential French composer of the fourteenth century. See Wolf Arlt, "Machaut, Guillaume de," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/51865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> One form of this kind of improvisation that was popular in England from the early 15th century through to the Reformation, was faburden, which employed the chant as the middle voice of three, and harmonised using primarily 3rds and 6ths. This was known as a particularly 'English' sound. Brian Trowell, "Faburden," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This is discussed further in the following Chapters FIve and Six. See esp. p. 180.

source of information for historians of various persuasions.<sup>8</sup> This is true too of musicologists who have looked to the Book of Hours for direction when attempting to determine such things as the shape of liturgical performance, the method of execution, or the role of musicians in the church. It is frequently the Office of the Dead that provides this guidance, as it is this Office more than any other that records an image of the sung Mass in progress.<sup>9</sup> The Book of Hours can clearly be a useful tool for the historical musicologist despite its silent nature, and can, in conjunction with the wills and parish accounts left by those who lived and heard the music of the community, contribute to our greater understanding of the role of music in the parish, and particularly, in the rites of commemoration. I shall begin with a brief account of how music was learned and understood in religious, academic and lay communities during the medieval period, which will set the scene for the discussion of music in the Office of the Dead and in prayerbooks to follow.

#### MUSIC IN THE MONASTERIES

The importance of music in remembrance of the dead was established in the early Church and we find the link between them worked directly into the organization of the monastic community as described by Lanfranc. The monastic community by the Middle Ages had become one comprised of what might be described as semi-professional singers. Singing was an integral part of the profession of these men, both in the sense of executing the duties of a job, and of being a declaration and affirmation of the faith that lead them to this profession. Indeed, the proliferation of personal or private sung services and devotions such as the Requiem Mass and Office of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The extensive marginal illustrations found in the Luttrell Psalter for example. See Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England*. See also Gilchrist and Sloane, *Requiem*, 20, for the connection between archeological study and the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Both James McKinnon and Leslie Korrick have used the illustrations of the Requiem Mass in their discussions regarding the use of instruments in the church and particularly as part of liturgical performance. James W. McKinnon, "Representations of the Mass in Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31 (1978): 21-52; Leslie Korrick, "Intrumental Music in the Early 16th Century Mass: New Evidence," *Early Music* 18 (1990): 359-370. Korrick's article is largely written in response to McKinnon, with whom she is in disagreement.

Dead coincided with the displacement of congregational musical participation by deputized priests, leading to a professionalization of music in the church. 10 The most skilled or musically learned singer in the monastic community was the cantor, a monk whose duties involved overseeing the musical content of the day, and ensuring that the choir was well taught. 11 An extension of his usual duties, the cantor led the singing of Psalms, responses and antiphons during the Office of the Dead and burial service in the monastery, and he initiated the call for prayers for the dead brother. He was also charged with care of the objects needed for the graveside service, and the performance of said service. Though it has previously been made clear in the Constitutions that he was responsible for the performance quality of all services, Lanfranc makes especial reference to the importance of this service, the last Office the deceased brother would 'participate' in, saying that it was the cantor's "particular task... to take every possible care that no negligence occur in this office." A further indication of the relationship between music and prayer for the dead is the assignment to the cantor of duties regarding the 'death-bills'. Along with overseeing the musical activities of the monastery, it was among the cantor's duties to supervise the letters sent out to other monastic foundations to request prayers for dead brethren and to keep track of the cycle of week and month minds that were kept by the community.<sup>13</sup>

The study of music in the cloister was practical rather than theoretical. This is borne out in Odo of Cluny's, *Enchiridion musices*, written c. 935, where he comments on the lack of musical theoretical understanding in the choir.<sup>14</sup> His treatise goes on to discuss various methods of teaching

<sup>10</sup> Barbara Haggh, "Foundations or Instutitions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into the History of Medieval Music," *Acta Musicologia* 68 (1996): 90-91. This phenomenon finds one of its more famous examples in the French monastery of Cluny. Hilton, "A Clunaic Office of the Dead", Introduction.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> For other duties see Knowles, ed. *Monastic Constitutions*, 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Odo of Cluny, "Enchiridion musices", in Oliver Strunk, ed. *Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, vol. I, Source readings in music history (London: 1965), 111.

the large chant repertory to his community.<sup>15</sup> It is clear that he is writing for a monastic audience who are required to learn the chant for everyday use but who have only a basic understanding of the principles and rules governing the creation and performance of consonant music. It is interesting to note that it was under Abbot Odo, himself a musical theorist, that the keeping of obits and regular performance of a sung Office of the Dead as a commemorative service became part of the integral fabric of musical and religious life at Cluny, and by association, at many affiliated religious houses in France and England.<sup>16</sup>

The study of music, however, was not confined to the monastic congregation. It found a place in the academic world as well, though the emphasis here was not on the execution of music as in the Church, but on the theoretical.

#### "HOW ADMIRABLE IS THE SCIENCE OF MUSIC"

Visual and aural arts were divided along lines of education. While visual art was considered craft, accessible to the public and fairly universal in its ability to be 'read' and understood, music was classified as a science, and formed one of the four branches of the university *quadrivium*. <sup>17</sup> Music was among the subjects considered essential to the training of a logical mind, <sup>18</sup> and was associated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Odo's treatise goes on to explain the use of the monochord and for the first time, the assignment of letters to musical pitches in a systematic fashion, a teaching technique that will become standard during this period. Both methods are designed to speed up the process of learning the chant, and indeed, Odo boasts that the techniques outlined in his treatise will enable the boys to learn new antiphons and to sing them without hesitation in only a few days. Odo of Cluny, Ibid., 103-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See Hilton, "A Clunaic Office of the Dead", for information on the development of the Office of the Dead and the integral role the Office and commemorative services played in the development of the monastic community at Cluny and affiliated houses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The quadrivium was compulsory for students wishing to continue to the faculties of law, or theology. Music maintains its strong connection with theology and philosophy throughout the medieval period, and by the end of the fifteenth century it had gained an identity independent of the other quadrivial arts, as a result it became a separate faculty among the higher faculties, and at Oxford and Cambridge, led to the awarding of degrees in music. These institutions were unique among the medieval universities in offering this degree. Nan Cooke Carpenter, "Music in Medieval Universities," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 3 (1955): 144; Roger Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England," *Music and Letters* 76 (1995): 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The branches of the *quadrivium* were concerned with mathematics - arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Each dealt with a different facet of mathematics, describing number as pure, stationary, moving and applied respectively. Morris Kline, *Mathematics in Western culture* (London: 1954), 287.

with harmonics, ratios and proportion. It was in this guise that music found a place in medieval curricula.<sup>19</sup>

The writings of early Christian writers and philosophers such as Boethius, Isidore of Seville, and Cassiodorus formed the basis of musical instruction in medieval institutions. These writers focused on theoretical speculations on the nature of music and the role it played in relationship with man and the natural world. <sup>20</sup> Not only was music representative of both the whole and the parts of Creation, it was responsible for holding them in relationship with one another. <sup>21</sup> Oppositions of time, season, and temperature were equated with the highs and lows of musical pitch, each balancing the other to maintain an overall consonance. <sup>22</sup> Thus music became the study of harmony and balance as it could be perceived in the natural world, whether in sound or in sight.

Contemporary medieval theologians and academics also wrote about music and its place in the *quadrivium*. The quadrivial subjects were alike in their ultimate aim to enhance understanding of theological truth. Music, alone of the four subjects, was in the unique position of being able to exemplify the principal tenets of the other three arts.<sup>23</sup> Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln and

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The seven liberal arts that comprised the *trivium* and *quadrivium* were so well established in medieval universities, that no specific courses of study were enumerated in early university rules and statues. However, in the later middle ages the requirements for a first degree were more specifically articulated, as at Oxford in 1431 when the role of music was assigned a particular place in the university's curriculum. According to these statutes, students wishing to proceed to a higher degree must have fulfilled the requirements of having studied the seven liberal arts for eight terms, which included a term of music, and specifically, the study of Boethius. Nan Cooke Carpenter, "The Study of Music at the University of Oxford in the Middle Ages (to 1450)," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 1 (1953): 12. Boethius' *De Musica* was a standard text at universities on music well into the Renaissance. The text is a summary of Greek theories of music and was influential for other music theorists such as Hucbald, Regino of Prum, Guido of Arezzo and Odo. Edith Woodcock, "The Influence of Boethius on Musical Thought," *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* 7 (1943): 30.

<sup>20</sup> Such musical hypotheses were based around notions of music as expressive of number in time: since number and proportion, the basis of music, were thought to regulate Creation, music was then representative of both the sum (the cosmos), and the parts (everything contained in it) of the natural world. Cassiodorus, "Institutiones", in Strunk, ed. *Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 92; Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "For the very universe, it is said, is held together by a certain harmony of sounds, and the heavens themselves are made to revolve by the modulations of harmony." Isidore of Seville, "Etymologiarum", in Strunk, ed. *Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 94; Boethius, *De institutione musica*, Ibid., 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "in the music of the universe nothing can be excessive and destroy some other part by its own excess, but each part being its own contribution or aids others to bring theirs." Boethius, Ibid., 84-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Nancy Van Deusen, *Theology and Music at the Early University: the Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*, Brill's studies in intellectual history (New York: 1995), xiii.

graduate of Oxford, significantly places music at the head of the *quadrivium* in a discussion on the arts as a necessary introduction to the study of philosophy.<sup>24</sup> This placement of music as first of quadrivial arts is reflected in the organization of the painted ceiling at Peterborough Cathedral. The painted wooden ceiling is divided into three columns of lozenges. Midway down the nave, looking toward the east end of the cathedral, a series of panels describing each of the seven liberal arts appears beginning with the *trivium*. The depiction of *musica*, a woman playing an instrument, is placed in the north row as the first of the *quadrivum*.<sup>25</sup> In his various treatises on the liberal arts Grosseteste uses music as a way of illustrating various difficult philosophical points, using modern musical theoretical developments to provide concrete, perceptual examples.<sup>26</sup> Using a relatively new musical development in polyphonic composition, that is, contrary motion in simultaneously sounded melodic lines, he illustrates the idea of consonance through dissonance, and applies this proof to the process of exegetical reading.<sup>27</sup> Thus, though two passages from the Bible may seem to contradict one another, they may in fact, like the two distinct lines of melody, form two separate iterations of an idea that while superficially different work together to form a consonant whole. In this way

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the li

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For the life and philosophy of Robert Grosseteste see James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: 1982), and James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: 2000). Grosseteste was reknown for his interest of music, and his writings indicates that he was *an fait* with the contrapuntal style emerging in the early twelfth century. Robert's own love for music as well as some of his attitudes toward it, were captured in a poem from William de Wadington's *Manuel des Peches*: 'Y shall you tell as I have herd/ Of the bysshop seynt Roberd: / His toname is Grosteste, / Of Lyncolne, so seyth the geste. / He loeved moche to here the harpe, / For mans witte it makyth sharpe; / Next hys chamber, besyde his study, / Hys harpers chamber was fast the by. / Many tymes, by nightes and dayes, / He hadd solace of notes and layes. / One askede hem the resun why / He hadde delyte in mynstrelsy: / He anwserde hym on thys manere / Why he helde the harpe so dere: / 'The virtu of the harpe, thurgh style and ryght / Wyll destrye the fendys myght; / And to the cros by gode skeyl / Ys the harpe lykended weyl. McEvoy, *Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste*, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Folke Nordström, "Peterborough, Lincoln and the Science of Robert Grosseteste: A study in Thirteenth Century architecture and Iconography," *The Art Bulletin* 37 (1955): 249-250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> For example, in discussing the concepts of time and motion drawn from Aristotle's recently introduced *Physica*, he uses music to illustrate the passage of time, the potential motion of time, and the divisibility of time. Music exists invisibly within time and is therefore demonstrative of the longitudinal movement of time; because music is artistically structured in time, it includes empty spaces, or pauses (rests), which demonstrate potential motion; the measurability of a musical piece and each of its component parts as sections of time demonstrate time's (theoretically) infinite divisibility. Van Deusen, *Theology and Music*, 2-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The term polyphony is used here and throughout this thesis to denote music of the medieval period that is composed of two or more voices sounding simultaneously. This is in contrast to monophonic compositions which are comprised of only one melodic line. For a more information of the use of the term see Frobenius, "Polyphony." On the history and development of polyphonic musical forms see Hoppin, *Medieval Music*.

difficult theological concepts were made comprehensible to the eyes in musical notation, and to the ears through sound.

The study of music at the university level was purely theoretical, and the performance of music considered quite a lowly activity. Boethius wrote: "It is far greater and nobler to know what someone else does than to accomplish for oneself what someone else knows". However, music was important in the life of an academic, as it was for the monks. Indeed, music formed an important aspect of feasts, processions and celebrations in the life of the university, and among these were many memorial Masses and commemorative services for founders and benefactors of the colleges. The founder of All Souls College, Oxford, Archbishop Chichele, even made it a requirement of admission to his college that the applicant be possessed of a musical education. Among some Oxford statutes having jurisdiction over the whole university, are those that indicate the importance of such services, requiring that the active professors in the university sing humbly and devoutly at the funerals of their colleagues.

## LAY MUSICAL EDUCATION

We have seen that both the clergy and academics received differing kinds of tuition in music. Did the laity have similar access to music eduction which would allow them to read the music encountered in prayerbooks? Levels of literacy in the Middle Ages are difficult to assess with any

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Boethius considered instrumentalists equal in rank to the craftsmen. The craftsman lacked reason, and must therefore labour, since 'physical skill obeys like a handmaiden while reason rules like a mistress': it was better by far to understand the elements that comprised harmonious music than to be able to wield them. *De institutione musica*, Boethius, Strunk, ed. *Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 85-86. Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> De institutione musica, Boethius, in Strunk, ed. Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The foundation charters of many Oxford colleges include specifications for clerics with a variety of musical skills, from singing both plainchant and polyphonic music, being able to teach the choristers, and being willing to lead others in the chapel services. Similar statutes providing for music in the college community are found in the founding charters for Queen's College (est. 1340), and New College (est. 1400). Carpenter, "The Study of Music at the University of Oxford,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> If a professor dies, "communiter magistri cuiuslibet facultatis toti exequiarum servicio et etiam nocturnis, vigilis ad corpus defuncti magistri presencialiter debent interesse, et Psalteria sua humiliter et deuote decantare." Ibid.: 14.

degree of certainty, and the same is certainly true for levels of musical literacy outside institutions. However, some music education was available to children as a part of their primary eduction.

In the traditional orally based society of medieval England, learning song was closely allied to reading, as both were performed aloud. In the 12th and 13th centuries this connection was so strong that elementary education was received at places referred to as 'song schools'. These song schools usually run by communities of secular clerics, such as those found at the cathedrals of Exeter, London, Lincoln, Wells and York which all ran such schools in the 13th century, though monastic communities also ran schools that trained boys for musical service. A high proportion of the children who attended these schools in the period before the Reformation, were there with the intention of entering into a career in the Church. An education in song then, would be of practical value, preparing them for the rounds of Masses and Offices that would become a part of their daily experience. These schools taught plainsong which accompanies the daily services, rather than the more complex polyphony. While these boys were being taught music, there is little to indicate that they were being taught to *read* music. As discussed above, many techniques for learning plainchant relied heavily on memorization rather than notation. At an elementary level, it is more likely that the boys learned in the old style, by rote.

By the beginning of the 14th century, changes were taking place in both music and society that altered the role of the song school. Literacy was becoming increasingly useful for careers outside the church. It was also on the rise in the lay population, which meant reading could be learned from parents or teachers outside the schools, and this, in addition to the irrelevance of singing to these other professions, meant the song schools became less popular for the education of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Nicholas Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages (London: 1973), 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Song schools in the Middle Ages, 19-21. Ibid., 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> John Nelson Miner, "Schools and Literacy in Later Medieval England," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 11 (1962): 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, 63.

children. <sup>36</sup> Students who wanted to learn to read and write had more opportunities to receive this elementary education informally from chaplains and clerics who tutored boys from the parish, in addition to primary 'song' schools or the more advanced grammar schools.

In addition, the music of the liturgy was changing. Boys voices had been desirable, but not required, for chant melodies or early polyphony which used combinations of tenor voices. However, as the musical styles changed polyphonic compositions for the church increasingly relied on the presence of highly trained treble voices.<sup>37</sup> The song schools became vocational schools, not only to teaching basic literacy and plainchant, but training boys as the next generation of skilled 'singing men' in church or chapel. The rise of polyphony and the increasingly advanced level of musical tuition received at song schools meant the level of musical literacy among the choristers would have increased dramatically. These choristers received an advanced level of musical education: Thomas Foderly, for example, was employed at Durham Cathedral in 1496 to teach the boy to play the organ, to read prick note (a style of notation), and to sing faburden, descant, swarenote and counter - all various kinds of polyphony.<sup>38</sup> These skills were put to use in cathedral or chapel services, and while it was not common to see them participating in the daily services, they were frequently employed to sing special Mass settings, such as those for the Lady Mass which became popular in the later fifteenth century. 39 This difficult repertory required the singers to be able to read musical notation at an advanced level. Choristers who received this kind of musical education were well set up to become professional singing-men, whether they remained in the church or moved into the secular employ.

Music was ever present in the environment of the church, but it was also and important aspect of secular, and especially court, life. Court pageantry frequently involved music of various

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools* (London: 2006), 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Nicholas Orme, Medieval Children (London: 2001), 226-227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, 247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibid., 246.

kinds from a single lutenist to a full choir. The professional musicians creating these musical accompaniments were usually one of two distinct types: gentlemen of the chapel, or minstrels of the court. 40 The 'singing men' of the chapel were clerics, and usually trained at cathedral songschools. Though they were often borrowed from the chapel to perform secular music, they cannot be called 'secular' musicians any more than the singing men of parish churches, collegiate or chantry foundations could be. These were the most highly trained musicians, and the only ones able to read the pricksong part books in which secular music was recorded. The minstrels, on the other hand, were instrumentalists, and might be itinerant or permanently on staff depending on the resources of a given household. 41 The minstrel was the social inferior of the gentlemen of the chapel, with less training and education, and as a result they received reduced pay and privileges. 42

Amateur music also had a place in medieval society, particularly in middle and upper class homes. By the late fifteenth century, music on a practical level was taught to the sons, and occasionally daughters, of gentlemen, as a courtly and chivalric pursuit. These lessons were usually imparted by musicians proficient on instruments, rather than university educated theorists, or chapel-trained 'singing men'. These musicians may have doubled as servants in the household. While the pursuit of music was encouraged for young gentlemen, it should be noted that this musical education was grounded on practical learning - there is no indication that musical theory, composition, or indeed musical literacy, formed a part of these lessons. <sup>43</sup> There is similarly little evidence that amateur singers used written music. Instead these singers probably engaged in improvised part singing called faburden or fauxbourdon, a technique used to ornament plainsong as well as secular melodies, which involved making up contrasting lines at set intervals above and below

<sup>40</sup> For a detailed discussion of musical professionals in late medieval England see John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Cambridge: 1961, 1979), Chapter 13, 296-328.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Ibid., 298-303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court, 303.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid., 273-275, 284.

the main melody.<sup>44</sup> Amateur music in this period was learned and performed 'by ear' rather than 'by note'.

Despite some opportunities to learn music, it was never a widely accessible skill. It remained specialist knowledge, imparted to boys who trained for the church where musical literacy was necessary. Those children who did not attend school, or who were tutored at home, would not likely have been taught to read musical notation. Similarly, children taught to play instruments as a courtly skill, middle class musical enthusiasts, and professional minstrels would also not have been proficient music readers. While there was some access to music tuition, for the majority of the population, musical literacy would have been an unusual skill.

It is clear from the above that the pursuit of a musical education was one that fell within the theoretical-academic and practical-clerical realms. The relationship between the theory and theology would not have been understood by most people, lay or clerical. Nor was the ability to read musical notation a common skill. This particular language, then as today, was one only learned by those who had need of it, and in the medieval period this was largely limited to the professional church musicians whether monastic or secular. The study of music at university, as we have seen, did not itself require practical musical knowledge, nor did the attendee of a song school necessarily learn to read musical scripts. Similarly, those outside the cloister who primarily practiced secular music for a living learned their craft through aural transmission - thus written music was frequently as much a mystery to them as to the average lay person.

The result of all this for us, is that many owners of Books of Hours would have been ill equipped to interpret the wealth of information contained within the small black neumes that preserved the music of the divine office. However, in the case of the Book of Hours and the Office of the Dead, it might be argued that the issue of whether lay people could or couldn't *read* the

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 285-286; Hoppin, Medieval Music, 506-507.

music, or whether they received any formal musical training could be considered irrelevant. If we assume that a degree of Latin literacy could be achieved through constant exposure to a familiar text, there is no reason to think that this process should not have also occurred with regard to music. Indeed, monophonic plainsong settings visually echo the melodic contour of the chant much more directly than letters resemble phonetic sounds. The various ways in which musical notation might have functioned in and have added to the experience of the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours is discussed in depth in Chapter Six. Now, however, we turn to how the relationship between music and the Office of the Dead was expressed in the day-to-day running of the parish.

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## MUSIC, THE PARISH AND THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

Music and funeral practices have always had a special connection, and this link is demonstrated in English prayer books: the Office of the Dead is one of the most likely places to find musical notation in English Books of Hours and Psalter-Hours. The unusual appearance of written music in a personal prayer book, confirms the vitality of the relationship between music and commemorative practices in medieval England. This chapter will explore that relationship by examining the role of music in the Office of the Dead in the parish, the desire for musical services expressed in the wills and bequests, and the impact of this desire on music in the community.

The parish church, the building and associated activities, held a place of pride in medieval communities. The people of the parish invested their time and efforts in the improvement of the church building even after their own deaths. The church was a place of beauty, it was the setting for the word of God and for the fellowship of communion, it offered the reassurance of familiar rites and Offices, and was beautified by the addition of aural embellishments as well as visual. It is clear from the wills and writing of the period that the presence of music was extremely important to the parish community, and that the provision for appropriate musical resources, no less than for the structural soundness of the building or the visual richness within it, was a concern of community members. Testamentary bequests, large and small, provided this support, particularly through provision of funds towards sung commemorative services and funerals. We have seen that the funeral was an important time for the expression of social distinction, and being able to afford a mass 'by note' was a mark of social standing as well as of religious value.\(^1\) It was of particular important at this last church ritual the parishioner was present for. The Office of the Dead thus has close links to musical life of the parish, links which are made particularly plain in the areas of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court, 297.

performance and preservation of the musical office. Many parish members make apparent their interest in the improvement of the musical life of the community, and through their wills and bequests document this desire with requests for musically gifted clergy to take up positions in the parish church. This, with the notation in English prayerbooks, indicates a special relationship between this particular element of the daily *horarium* and the music of the liturgy.

The following discussion explores further the close relationship of music to the Office of the Dead through an examination of the cultural value placed on its performance, before going on to discuss the preservation of music in these manuscripts in the next chapter.

"WHY DO THE SORROWING, IN THEIR LAMENTATION, EXPRESS THEIR VERY GRIEF WITH MUSICAL MODULATIONS?"

This question, asked by Boethius in his treatise on music, *De institutione musica*, demonstrates again the long-standing nature of the link between music and funeral ritual. Music was understood to reflect the large movements of the earth, seasons, time, and stars – regulated movements whose origin could not be discerned, but it was also thought to reflect on more mundane things, an individual's health, wealth and religious devotion. Music was the connective tissue between the seen and the unseen; it was understood as the glue between body and mind, body and soul. The power of music was such that it could provide a perceptible link between the earthbound body and its intangible components. "For what", writes Boethius, "is that which unites the incorporeal activity of the reason with the body, unless it be a certain mutual adaptation, and as it were a tempering of low and high sounds into a single consonance?" As a science (or art) which spoke directly to the relationship between the visible and the invisible it was particularly well suited to liminal rites such as the funeral, where it was precisely the recent division between body and soul, and the uncertainty around the nature of the relationship between them that was the source of grief and anxiety. In the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Boethius, in Strunk, ed. Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 85.

medieval mind there was "no doubt that the state of our soul and body seems somehow to be combined together…linking together the modulations of harmony", and the division of this harmonious whole into disparate parts of body and soul was met with fear: fear of the unknown, of decay and of damnation.<sup>3</sup>

Certainly one of the reasons why music was felt to be an integral part of funeral practice was due to the emotive quality of this art. Just as the texts from the Book of Job that make up the lessons of the Office of the Dead provided a discontented voice expressing anger, fear, sorrow and resignation – all emotions to which the mourners might relate, music too provided an outlet of expression. Thus, through listening to the music of the office the mourner had an opportunity to feel that some of his own emotions were being expressed and worked out to a satisfying, and consonant, end. Boethius' question above was followed by the observation that lamentation expressed via music was, in his day, the particular métier of women, and that it was affected 'to make the cause of their weeping seem sweeter with some song': 4 in effect, to ameliorate some of the immediate outpouring of strong emotion, and to make it the more bearable.

Other early music theorists also write about this aspect of music. Cassiodorus notes that music "soothes the mind to endure toil", that the "modulation of the voice consoles the weariness of each labour" and importantly, was able to "compose distraught minds".<sup>5</sup> Isidore of Seville, in describing the perfect voice, says that in addition to a fine tonal quality and vocal projection, it must be able to "soothe the minds of the hearers".<sup>6</sup> In the early thirteenth century Robert Grosseteste sums up the beliefs of these early medieval writers, saying:

The function of music in not less useful in *philosophia naturali*, for it can heal, as all sickness is cured by an orderly arrangement and temperateness of the spirits, and as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Boethius, Ibid., 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Boethius, Ibid. See Chapter Two for information on sung lamentations in the Jewish funeral tradition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cassiodorus, Ibid., 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Isidore of Seville, Ibid., 94.

every one who by an orderly arrangement and temperateness of the spirits is cured, so is he healed by musical modulations and sounds, as also the philosophers believe.<sup>7</sup>

A present-day scholar, Grayson Wagstaff, in his study of the polyphonic music composed for the Office of the Dead in the sixteenth century in Spain, notes a particular emphasis on this emotional channelling element of the liturgy. The power of music to manipulate feelings or sway an audience or congregation was widely understood; however, while it was used and lauded for the ability to stir people to devotion, this same quality also posed some difficulties for theorists and clergy since it could be as easily misused. Documents commenting on funeral and memorial practices in Spain during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries often make specific reference to the need to control or curb the 'excessive' laments and outpourings of grief that were a part of traditional mourning practices. The document below, from Badajoz in 1501, indicates that traditional practices were disrupting the performance of the Offices of the church:

We have found that in the exequies of the dead 'guayas' are sung and 'endechas' and other 'plantos' and excessive cries disapproved by the holy scripture are sung, by doing which the office that in the church it is customary to say for the dead is disturbed. <sup>9</sup>

The disruption of the regular Office of the Dead by these vigorous mourning practices was dealt with by the Synod creating an either/or situation: if the traditional lamentations were being performed, then the clerics in charge were to stop singing the Office of the Dead. Thus, the people were forced to choose between ancient tradition and the Church custom. It continues:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Nordström, "Science of Robert Grosseteste," 250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> While the music of the spheres and of heaven was acknowledged to be pure and incorruptible, the musical efforts of mere humanity were often viewed with suspicion since they might easily lead one into sin and immorality. This debate was recurrent regarding the use of polyphonic settings of the liturgy, and eventually resulted in the severe curtailing of a centuries old musical tradition during the Council of Trent, 1562-1563. See also Barbara Haggh, "Foundations or Instutitions? On Bringing the Middle Ages into History of Medieval Music," *Acta Musicologia* 68 (1996); Craig A. Monson, "The Council of Trent Revisited," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55 (2002); for the traditional assessment of the Council, HK.G. Fellerer and Moses Hadas, "Church Music and the Council of Trent," *The Musical Quarterly* 39 (1953).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This English translation in Grayson Wagstaff, "Music for the Dead and the Control of Ritual Behaviour in Spain 1450-1500," *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998): 556.

Consequently, ...from now on ... when such things are done, we mandate to all such clerics that they should not be present to do or say the exequies and offices customary for the dead and they should cease to accompany it until that one or those who make such cries cease from making them. And whenever we are likewise informed that at the time that they take the body of the dead in the church and say the Mass or office they make for it those laments with cries and they pull and tear their faces in a manner in which the office is not able to be heard, we mandate likewise to the clerics that they admonish the men and women who so this that they be silent and if they are not able to abstain from crying without giving confusion to the office and to those who listen to it, and if they do not want to stop, that they [the priests] cease from doing the office until they are satisfied.

Perhaps as a way to soften the blow, the polyphonic music commissioned for the responses of the Office of the Dead may have been an effort on the part of the Church to replace the folk tradition that allowed for violent and immoderate outpourings of grief with a Church sanctioned tradition that was equally expressive. The polyphonic music fell within the bounds of what was considered an 'appropriate' display of grief given the Church's stance on death as a door to heaven, albeit via the trials of purgatory. In addition, in stark contrast to the traditional Spanish lamentations, which seem to have both been unruly and gender inclusive, the Offices of the Church were executed by a controlled group of male singers under clerical direction, performing pieces composed over a strong cantus firmus drawn from the long established repertory of plainchant. The relative restraint and propriety of the music for the Office of the Dead may have been heard as a better reflection of a 'good' Christian death - one accompanied by peaceful acceptance of God's will (the structured, unified, and consonant plainchant), rather than by violent opposition to it (the tempestuous folk tradition).

While music clearly had the power to encourage excessive sentiment and misconduct in church, it could also be used to direct emotions in a more appropriate direction. Thus the music of the Office of the Dead was able to provide an appropriate channel for the grief experienced by friends and relatives without violating the structures of the liturgy or being in opposition to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The control of folk traditions was of particular concern during this period and used as a method of cleansing Spain of anything Jewish or Muslim in flavour. Ibid.: 556-557.

orthodox view of death as a beginning rather than an end. The role of expressive media, such as music or the visual arts, was essential in providing an environment that was appropriate to the charged emotional event. Such expressive elements, like the voice of Job as previously discussed, provided a voice for the mourners present at the funeral services.

# "...AND TO SYNGGE FOR ME AL-SO": REQUESTS AND BEQUESTS FOR MUSIC IN THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

We have seen that the popularity of the Office of the Dead in both lay and professional religious spheres impacted strongly on devotional life, and this was no less true of the musical life of the community than of any other area of artistic endeavour. It is important to understand the great impact that the emphasis on the Office of the Dead as a commemorative event had on musical life. The consequences of this emphasis can be seen in the desire for musical commemoration, the many individual requests for sung services, the increase in chantry priests, and the results of these requests on parishes.

In seeking to establish a form of ongoing commemorative service, the bequests of many of the parishioners augmented the complement of clergy available in the community to take part in the celebration of the regular daily round of Mass and Office. Frequently these bequests specified clerics that were proficient singers and musicians, and as a consequence, the large number of Masses requested in remembrance of members of the parish not only served to enshrine their memory, but also to enrich the aural fabric of the community as a whole, and thus to increase the beauty of the divine service.<sup>11</sup>

The most common request was for Masses or the 'Dirige' to be sung for the deceased for a specified length of time.<sup>12</sup> This takes might be done by the parish priest, for which he would receive a sum of money, in the parish church, or the bequest might specify a particular altar or monastic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The dead contributed to the maintenance of the parish in many ways, providing money, equipment, church fittings, and sources of revenue in addition to funding the support of extra clergy. Burgess, "Longing to the Prayed For'," 63. <sup>12</sup> Tanner, *Late Medieval Norwich*, 100.

community in which the prayers should be said. A Middlesex man, Robert Schapman made this type of request in 1428, asking his priest to sing for him and all Christian souls for the course a year. <sup>13</sup> Often these requests specified that another cleric be hired to do this job, adding to the number in the parish. There was clear concern that this priest be of good character, since he was being trusted with the fate of the deceased's soul. The testator had to trust both in the priest that was chosen, and in the executor of the will to exercise good judgement. John Token, a London vintner, phrased it well in his 1428 will: "I wil that a discreet and an abul preest be choson aftur the good discrecion of myne executours to syng and rede for my sowle...". <sup>14</sup> The practice was obviously a much cherished one that was held on to in increasing religious turbulence. As late as 1541 John Metcalfe was making a very similar request asking Christopher Truwhaite to sing for his soul in Richmond church for a year. <sup>15</sup>

The wealthier members of a parish might choose to establish a chantry chapel, or hire a chantry priest to chant the Office of the Dead on their behalf, often insisting on musically gifted clergy to fill the position, and these newly hired clergy remained in the parish as members of the community. It was not only the wealthy that established chantries, the urban middle classes and rural gentry also founded establishments of this kind. Having been hired for long-term positions, these chantry priests became part of the musical and liturgical resources of the parish and participants in services extraneous to the intercessions which were specified as part of their chantry duties. It

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Furnivall, English Wills, 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> James Raine and Surtees Society, Wills and Inventories from the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Richmond; extending over portions of the counties of York, Westmerland, Cumberland, and Lancaster, Publications of the Surtees Society (Durham: 1853), 19-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Burgess, "'Longing to the Prayed For'," 57. On the early establishment of early English chantries see Robert James Edmund Boggis, *Praying for the Dead: an historical review of the practice* (London: 1913), 152. On the role of women in establishing chantries see Barbara J. Harris, "The Fabric of Piety: Aristocratic Women and Care of the Dead, 1450-1550," *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tanner, *Late Medieval Norwich*, 92; Colvin, *Architecture and the After-life*, 154. On the chantries established at St Paul's see Rousseau, "Chantry Foundations and Chantry Chaplains at St Paul's Cathedral, London c. 1200-1548".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See Clive Burgess, "By the Quick and the Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *The English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 849-855.

The explosion in commemorative services which occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw about 2000 chantries founded during these centuries to support the memory of their benefactors. 19 In fifteenth-century London, St Paul's Cathedral alone had 44 chantries, while a further 186 existed in 65 parish churches.<sup>20</sup> This meant that in some parishes the round of daily obits and the Offices of the Dead formed an important segment of service, and heavily influenced the routine of the religious community. The number of services being sung would have created a situation where a church interior was often filled with music, and the devotional experience of the parish members who visited the church even outside the principle Mass times could have been one accompanied by music. In this manner the number of obit Masses and services for the dead, by their continual presence, resulted in the aural enrichment of the church experience for the entire community. In addition, the regular celebration of particularly important obits would have become musical events within the parish, church or chapel. The parish church of St Margaret's, Westminster, for example, had close ties with many of the Gentlemen of the Royal Chapel, some of whom chose to be buried there. An affiliate of the chapel, Henry Abingdon, who was a Master of the Choristers of the Royal Chapel for Edward IV, was buried at St Margaret's in 1497 making generous arrangements for his commemoration, establishing both an obit and a perpetual chantry that became an event in the musical life of the parish.<sup>21</sup>

The density of musical activity in medieval parishes was made possible by those well-to-do benefactors who founded chantry chapels, and by those who hired chantry priests to sing services and obits for them in the parish church. Barbara Haggh has argued that these kind of bequests, and particularly chantry foundations, are of especial importance in the history of music, as the introduction of, and provision for, some kind of music was intrinsic to these foundation from their

<sup>19</sup> Puckle, Funeral Customs, 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> These numbers from the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535. Tanner, Late Medieval Norwich, 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Abingdon's 'mind' was apparently quite a lavish event based on the 2s 9d wages paid out to those who performed it. Fiona Kisby, "Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster," *Early Music* 23 (1995): 228.

establishment, in contrast to institutions, which were essentially secular structures where music was often present, but not necessary.<sup>22</sup> The priests required to keep a chantry foundation, and those clergy affiliated with a particular obit, but without a permanent foundation, became regular contributors to the musical fabric of the church.<sup>23</sup> They became assistants to the work of the parish priests in addition to their chantry duties, and were 'almost invariably required to be present in the choir during celebration of the parochial mass and to say all the canonical hours with the parish priest.'<sup>24</sup> Evidence of this contribution is found in the wills and foundation documents of benefactors establishing chantries, as well as in the church accounts kept by the wardens of the parishes having to maintain these foundations.<sup>25</sup>

Richard Lloyd, who has written on the musical life of the London parish of St Mary at Hill, notes that the group of musicians active in St Mary's during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that saw the greatest growth, was the chantry priests. At St Mary at Hill the benefactors of all seven of the perpetual chantries founded in the parish stipulated in their wills that their chantry priests be capable of saying and singing the daily divine service for their patrons. From the earliest of these chantries, established 1323, to the later ones, there appears to have been a conscious effort on the part of the testators to have a sung intercessory office. There is an expressed preference for musically proficient chantry priests that is consistent with the value placed on music as a vehicle of spiritual expression and the long standing association of music with funeral rites. Rose Writell, the earliest chantry founder, as well as both John Causton and William Cambridge request a chantry

<sup>22</sup> Haggh, "Foundations or Instutitions?," 96. See also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 139-140 on the awareness of chantry founders of the impact and contribution to the community of that chantry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Many benefactors were unable to afford the expense of a chantry kept in perpetuity, and would instead found a temporary one for a set amount of time. Kathleen Woodleigh, "Some Aspects of the History of Chantries during the reign of Edward III," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 4 (1932), 26; Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey, "Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550," *Early Music* 19 (2000): 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Woodleigh, "Some Aspects of the History of Chantries during the reign of Edward III," 43; Francis Aidan Gasquet, *Parish Life in Mediæval England* (London: 1906), 95, 266.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> See David Skinner and John Caldwell, "'At the Myde of Nycholas Ludford': New Light on Ludford from the Churchwardens' Accounts of St Margaret's Westminster," *Early Music* 22 (1994) for the use of churchwarden accounts to establish musical links between musicians and parishes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Richard Lloyd, "Music at the Parish Church of St Mary at Hill, London," Early Music 25 (1997): 224.

priest who is a 'good singer', as did John Nasyng, whose chantry priest, Thomas Lewes, was described as 'a good singer, a player on the organs and prettily learned'. William Cambridge, a generous benefactor to St Mary at Hill, not only established a perpetual chantry by his will of 1431, but also left provision and instruction for lights to be kept in the church at various altars and Masses, and for his yearly mind. While he makes no mention of the manner of delivery for the Masses to Our Lady, or All Saints, he does specify that his anniversary Mass and Office should be sung, underlining the particular significance of music as associated with funeral or commemorative practice. <sup>28</sup>

The pains taken by parishioners at St Mary at Hill to ensure that their obits were sung rather than just recited were pursued in other parishes as well, and bequests often specify that an Office of the Dead or Requiem Mass performed over several years be done 'by note', that is, sung. Richard Bokeland's will, written in 1436, leaves sums of money to a number of churches and institutions over a wide area, including the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the college of Ottery St Mary in Devonshire, and his parish church of St Paul's London, as well as to the groups of religious in London. He clearly indicates that he wishes his year minds to be sung, saying:

I wol that the house of Freres prechours in London haue euery yere durynge the terme of v yere, xx s to sey be note the Dirige & messe of Requiem and my mynd day. And yn the same wise the saide som yerly unto the white Freres, grey freres and Austins, performynge the Dirige adn Messe a-forsaid.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Rose Writell's chantry priest, Christopher Burley, is described as "a good singer and well learned"; John Cawston's priest, Edmund Alston, was "a good singer and handsomely learned"; William Cambridge's chantry priest, Matthew Berye, was "a good singer and indifferently well learned". C.J. Kitching, ed. *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate 1548*, London Record Society 16 (Chatham: 1980), 5; Henry Littlehales, ed. *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St. Mary at Hill) AD. 1420-1559*, vol. 125, 128, Early English Text Society Original Series (London: 1904), 4-9; Lloyd, "Music at St Mary at Hill," 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> "And that the said Wardeyns...kepe yerely for euermore the Day of myn Annyuersary in the said Chirch of Saynt Mary ate hill togider with the commemoracion of **þ**e soules aforesaid, that is to sey, with Placebo & Dirige, & Masse of Requiem on the morowe folowyng, by note...". William Cambridge financed the building of the chapel of St Stephen the Martyr in the north part of the church, where he was buried on his death. Littlehales, ed. *Medieval Records (St. Mary at Hill)*, 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Furnivall, English Wills, 104.

In addition to these minds in London, Richard Bokeland also left sums to money to Chesthunt convent and to the Abbey of Waltham for services, again taking care to indicate that these be sung:

I woll that Dame Cicile Gifford Prioresse of Chesthunt, haue xl s; and that euery nonne of the same house haue vj s viij, sayenge for me a Dirige and a messe of Requiem *by note*. Item, I woll that sir Iohn Gifford, Chanon of the Abbery of Waltham, haue xl s that euery Chanon of the same house haue xx d, sayenge for me a Dirige and a messe of Requiem by note.

The deliberate nature of the request and its constant reiteration suggest that it was a common occurrence for these minds not to be sung, but recited. Robert Aueray of London in 1410 also makes clear by the wording of his will that sung Offices were not the default. He too has requested the religious groups of London to perform services for him, and in each case, not content with a said *Dirige*, specifies that they 'sing for him also'.

y be-quethe to Freres Carmes off London ij s. vj d, And that they sey a diryge for my soule in the Church of Seynt Clementis and sungge for me also / ... Also y be-quethe to the frer menoures ij s vij d for to seyn a deryge for me in seynt Dunstanes Church in the West and to syngge for me al-so / y be-quethe the Frere Austynes ij s vi d for to seyn for me a Dirige in seynt Dunstanes Church in the west, and for to syng for me.<sup>30</sup>

It seems from such examples that it was well to be particular if a musical offering was desired. The said Offices and Mass would not have been unlikely in small parish churches where the acting clergy may not have had the resources for a sung service. The education of parish priests was sporadic and frequently inadequate as the plethora of instructive texts such as Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests* indicates.<sup>31</sup> These clergy, perhaps attending to smaller parishes, may not have had the resources to perform a sung Office of the Dead on a regular basis. On the other end of the spectrum, we have bequests like the one found in the will of Thomas de Dalby in 1400. Thomas, who was archdeacon of Richmond, wished his executors to establish a chantry in York Minster to commemorate himself

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Mirk and Peacock, Instructions for Parish Priests, passim.

and Archbishop Thomas Arundel. In addition to this already expensive bequest, he added his desire to increase the number of choristers at the church leaving three hundred marks for the purpose.<sup>32</sup> While the generous donation of Thomas de Dalby cannot be said to be usual, it does clearly demonstrate the direct impact that commemorative services and foundations such a chantries could have on the musical life of the religious community.

In parishes, large and small, it was often the foundation of a chantry or provision for a priest to say an obit that enabled a church to pursue a more ambitious musical programme. As such bequests increased, the chantry priest became a ubiquitous sight throughout England and the presence of this class of cleric is regularly recorded in churchwarden accounts from across the country.<sup>33</sup>

#### THE MUSICAL VOICE OF THE COMMUNITY

The churchwarden's accounts from St Mary at Hill contain information such as details of payments made for obit services, which demonstrate the involvement of the chantry priests with the church choir. <sup>34</sup> The accounts regularly record payments from 1479 onward, both in money and kind, which were made to priests and clerks of the church for their services at obits that were celebrated in the parish. <sup>35</sup> The wills of permanent chantry founders often request that their chantry priest celebrate an annual obit in addition to the daily round of services, though they do not seek the

<sup>32</sup> Raine, Clay et al., *Testamenta Eboracensia*, I, 262-263; K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: 1965), 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Churchwardens usually served for one year in pairs. They kept the accounts and acted in the best interest of the parish in all matters. Their duties included looking after the church building, furniture, bells, and vestments, with the aim of ensuring everything was provided for the smooth operation of all the rites and services.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> The chantry was an important foundation for the physical maintenance of many musicians. Singers were largely supported by benefices, bequests, and chaplaincies. The founded Masses and obits dictated the duties of musicians within the community and provided the bulk of their income, which was supplemented by performance at singular events such as weddings or funerals. Haggh, "Foundations or Institutions?," 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> There is evidence also that chantry priests in the larger community might be 'borrowed' from one institution to assist with the music for a special occasion in another. The many chantry priests from St Paul's, London, were paid on occasion to sing at St Mary at Hill as well as other London parishes. Burgess and Wathey, "Mapping the Soundscape," 16.

attendance of the additional priests or clerks who are indicated in the church records.<sup>36</sup> By 1479 there were seven permanent chantries at St Mary at Hill, and therefore theoretically, at least seven chantry priests who would be able to assist in the celebration of obits other than their own. Richard Lloyd notes that the payment in kind to the additional priests present at these obits strongly suggests that they may have been other chantry priests – who were forbidden by the chantry founders from taking on *paid* duties other than those associated with their chantry.<sup>37</sup>

As the chantry priests became an asset to draw upon for the augmentation of the musical activities of the parish in general, there were greater available resources for the celebration of musical activities unrelated to the performance of the Office of the Dead or other commemorative services. A note appended to the end of William Cambridge's will by the St Mary at Hill churchwardens indicates that the church had at that time at least fifteen singers available in the choir.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the will of Jane, Vicountess Lisle, from 1500 reveals similar resources available in her parish church of St Michael Cornhill, London, when she stipulates that her Requiem Mass should be sung solemnly by note for 40 days after her burial by at least 10 or 12 priests.<sup>39</sup> At the royal chapel at St George, Windsor, during 1398-1399, there were ten obits performed, at least six of which were performed with a full choir in attendance: the full choir consisted of as many as 12 canons, 13 priests, 4 clerks, and 6 choristers.<sup>40</sup> In the late Middle Ages, Exeter Cathedral regularly counted among its establishment between 14 and 18 'annuellars' or chantry priests, who were supported by private endowment.<sup>41</sup> The proscription against taking on additional paid duties did not

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Lloyd, "Music at St Mary at Hill," 224.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.: 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> At the time of the Henrician Chantry Certificate of 1548, St Mary at Hill's musical resources are recorded as being Sir Alan Percye, the rector, one curate and "certain conducts to sing and help the choir". Kitching, ed. *Chantry Certificate* 1548. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> "and the number of priests daily shall be twelve, or ten at least." Burgess and Wathey, "Mapping the Soundscape," 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Roger Bowers, "The Music and Musical Establishment of St George's Chapel in the 15th Century," in *St George's Chapel, Windsor, in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Colin Richmond and Eilen Scarff (Windsor: 2001), 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Nicholas Orme, "The Early Musicians of Exeter Cathedral," Music and Letters 59 (1978): 396.

prevent chantry priests from taking on a good many unpaid duties, and indeed, they were sometimes required to do so.

After its reorganization in 1507 the Jesus gild at St Paul's Cathedral, London, ceased to employ its own chaplain, and drew instead on the resources of the cathedral personnel, including the chantry priests. After the ordinary service on the eve of the feast of the Transfiguration, the subdeacon, twelve minor canons, eight chantry priests, six vicars choral and ten choristers sang the Vespers for the vigils of the Transfiguration, and the Matins and Mass on the festival itself. These groups also performed the second Vespers, Matins and High Mass on the feast of the Holy Name and "sang the divine service de Nomine Jesu solemply by note." While this participation in the greater life of the community might not be mentioned in the wills that establish the chantry foundation, such involvement in the parish was assumed. The chantry priests participated in the day-to-day liturgical activities of the parish, which included being present in the choir at Mass and the Hours to assist by singing invitatories, hymns, anthems, responses, reading lessons, epistles, gospels and Psalms. They might also take on the duties of a curate in outlying districts, or of chaplain in hospitals and jails, or even that of a schoolmaster or librarian. 43

These additional responsibilities could amount to quite a lot a work above the duties required of the chantry. At Exeter Cathedral, for example, it was a chantry priest who was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> For these services the canons divided 20s between them, the chantry priests 8s, and the vicars 9s. If the priest, or canon had also participated in the processions, he was paid an additional 4d. Besides these devotions, the guild also undertook to recite the names of all dead brethren every Friday, when a special memorial was held for them. Westlake, *Parish Gilds*, 77-79; David Mateer and Elizabeth New, "In Nomine Jesu': Robert Fayrfax and the Guild of the Holy Name in St Paul's Cathedral," *Music and Letters* 81 (2000): 511.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The references to chantry priests as a "teacher of children" appear several times in the 1548 Chantry Certificate. The obit of Richard Gesseling at St Mary at Hill specifies John Sperpyn "priest aged 44, a teacher of children"; the obit of Robert Rasamond at St Gregory employed one Peter Jackson "teacher of children"; James Rimyger was employed as "master of the singing children and organ player" at St Dunstan in the East; St Mary Woolnoth employed Hugh Jones as a conduct and teacher for the singing children. Kitching, ed. *Chantry Certificate 1548*, 5-6, 14, 26; Lloyd, "Music at St Mary at Hill," 225; Ann R. Meyer, *Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem* (Woodbridge: 2003), 106-107.

responsible for the music of the Lady Chapel in the rectory of Altarnun in Cornwall.<sup>44</sup> Management of the chapel was charged to 'the minister of the altar of the Blessed Virgin' as the position was called in 1236 - later simplified to 'clerk of the chapel'. In all recorded instances from 1390-1535 the clerk was appointed by consensus of the dean and chapter, and until the end of the fourteenth century they regularly chose a priest from among the ranks 'annuellars' or chantry priests. In 1337, this preference is recorded as being the usual custom.<sup>45</sup> By 1392, not only was the 'clerk of the chapel' the musical head of operations, he was also the administrator of funds allotted to it, receiving all quarterly payments to the choristers from the cathedral exchequer.<sup>46</sup> The role of music teacher was also delegated to the 'clerk of the chapel'. As well as directing the music of the chapel, this chantry priest was in charge of teaching his young singers music for performance in the Lady chapel. Eventually, the succentor's duties as instructor to the boy choristers was ceded to him as well, putting the chantry priest in sole charge of the musical education of all the Cathedral's treble voices.

A later example of the diverse occupations included in a chantry position is found at St Paul's, London, where the cathedral's quantity of chantry priests – forty-seven by the time of the Reformation – were called on to perform a number of duties besides those of the obits that paid their salaries, such as singing in the choir and attending services outside the cathedral.<sup>47</sup> In the terms of some chantries reported in 1548, the priests were required to attend, 'all maner processions, specially, generally, and rogations'. One was required to act as librarian for a library founded by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> The chapel was appropriated to the Cathedral in 1236 by Bishop Brewer, on the condition that a daily Mass should be celebrated in the Lady chapel. The Mass there was performed daily by five vicars, five secondary clerks and four choristers - a complement of singers that suggests the possibility of polyphonic music being performed. That charge of this chapel was a musically significant one is supported by its being held by competent musicians. Chantry priest Thomas Pack held the position between 1498 and 1490. He was an organist, lodging several complaints that the cathedral organs were difficult to play in 1492, in addition to being a composer. Six of his pieces survive: 2 short Masses, a Te Deum and three motets. John Derke, another professional musician/priest became clerk of the chapel in 1514, after taking a BMus from Oxford. Orme, "The Early Musicians of Exeter Cathedral," 397, 404-405.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Ibid.: 397.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Rousseau, "Chantry Foundations and Chantry Chaplains at St Paul's Cathedral, London c. 1200-1548" for the chantry situation at St Pauls, Chapter 2, section 3 on the Office of the Dead.

benefactor for the use of students, while other testators made provision for the support of the choir or young choristers a part of the chantry priest's job.<sup>48</sup>

The chantry priests enriched the musical life of the community not only by acting as resource drawn upon to enlarge the detail of singers for the performance of Office and Mass but also as skilled musicians, who contributed to the repertory itself. As has been demonstrated, musical ability in a chantry priest was clearly desirable for both patron and church, and perhaps this led men with talent or inclination to pursue the skill further. St Margaret's, Westminster, was fortunate in having one Richard Ede as a chantry priest between 1509 and 1512, to look after the chantry of Henry Abingdon, the musical resident of Westminster mentioned earlier. Richard was himself an excellent musician: he attended Oxford for the degree of BMus between 1506-1507, and was a skilled organist and composer.<sup>49</sup> He may also have been composer, rather than copyist, of various *kyries* and sequences for which he was paid 3s 8d from the churchwardens in 1511-1512.<sup>50</sup>

# WHY A SUNG SERVICE?

The spectre of damnation and the prospective duration in purgatory facing a dying soul helped to produce a society that was eager to bestow money on the church to ensure post mortem prayers, and the preservation of their memory. The wealth found in late medieval cities and towns, as well as the propinquity of various rich secular and ecclesiastical courts, encouraged the citizens in a stream of intercessory foundations, from the establishment of convents and hospitals to the smaller colleges and almshouses.<sup>51</sup> Richard Lloyd points out that it was bequests to the church that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Burgess and Wathey, "Mapping the Soundscape," 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Henry Abingdon was, with Thomas Saint, among the first recorded recipients of a Mus.B from Cambridge University in 1463-64. Richard Ede was similarly, the among the earliest recipients of a music degree from Oxford, for which he composed a Mass and an antiphon to be performed on the day the degree was awarded. Bray, "Music and the Quadrivium in Early Tudor England," 5-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Kisby, "Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster," 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Clive Burgess in his article on pious provision in late medieval Bristol discusses various cases where an almshouse or hospital was established instead of the common chantry chapel, as a way both to maintain pious contribution to the community after death and to secure the particularly efficacious prayers of the ill and the poor. Burgess, "By the Quick and the Dead'," 845-848.

enabled the employment of musicians to sing for the memory of the deceased, and that this practice is what led to an increase in the composition and performance of polyphony in urban centres. <sup>52</sup> In addition to the emotive and moral qualities that were associated with music, the musical liturgy was desirable because sung liturgy was liturgy performed as it was meant to be, whole and entire. <sup>53</sup> The number of testators requesting an office 'by note' suggests that this wholeness in performance was perceived as more sacred, and thus more efficacious for intercessory purposes than a simple said service could be as a remembrance of the passing soul.

As an adornment of the service, the full sound and beauty of a sung Office of the Dead or Requiem Mass most certainly had a greater impact on those who attended the service, mourners, family and friends, than a said service would have. This is particularly so regarding polyphonic performances. Naturally, the more important the service, feast day, or individual being celebrated, the greater the musical and visual elaboration of the event. In funeral services, as we have seen from the illustrations in prayer books, the visual elaboration of the proceedings included great hearses, sumptuous fabrics, and large quantities of lights and mourners. With all this care to set the scene, it is extremely unlikely that the aural elaboration of such services would have been neglected, especially given the central role that it played in the service. Indeed, for some events, it was the musical elaboration rather than the visual which conveyed the stamp of greatness.<sup>54</sup> Wagstaff notes that though written examples are scarce, a tradition of musical polyphonic ornamentation based on

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> By the late medieval period nearly all of London's one hundred and seven parish churches had been enriched by intercessory provision, and particularly chantry foundations. Burgess and Wathey, "Mapping the Soundscape," 26,27. Over ninety percent of testators left money to their parish churches for intercessory prayers, Offices of the Dead or Masses. Lloyd, "Music at St Mary at Hill," 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> The authorities at the chapel of St George's, Windsor, for example, required that all member of the roster, vicars, clerks and choristers, have a voice suitable for singing. Bowers, "Music of St George's Chapel," 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> See also Guillaume de Machaut's *Messe de Nostre Dame*. This is the earliest cyclic setting of the Ordinary of the Mass, long thought to have been performed for the coronation of Charles V at Reims Cathedral in 1364, where Machaut was a canon. Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 378, 419. While this long held view has now been largely discounted, it is maintained that the Mass setting must have been composed for an event of considerable importance. See further Elizabeth A. Keitel, "The So-Called Cyclic Mass of Muillaume de Machaut: New Evidence for an Old Debate," *The Musical Quarterly* 68, no. 307-323 (1982).

the responsory chants sung by the cantors in the Office of the Dead must have existed, and indeed, have provided the basis for the later, notated works of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>55</sup>

Spain has enjoyed a celebrated tradition of funeral music, <sup>56</sup> but the Requiem Mass attracted the attention of fifteenth-century composers elsewhere in Europe as well. Initially however, liturgical music for funeral services was one of the areas most resistant to the incorporation of polyphonic settings. <sup>57</sup> This is perhaps due to the perceived 'festive' nature of polyphony, which made it initially seem an inappropriate addition to a solemn occasion. Examples begin to appear with increasing frequency from c. 1450: several examples of individual movements from the Requiem Mass survive from this early period, but the earliest extant cycle is by Jean Ockeghem (d. 1497) and dates to sometime in the second half of the fifteenth century. <sup>58</sup> This mass cycle may have been preceded by a *Missa pro defunctis* which was associated with an Office of the Dead setting written by a slightly earlier Burgundian composer Guillaume Dufay (d. 1474) neither of which have survived. <sup>59</sup> Requiem Mass cycles become increasingly common between 1500 and 1520, but the conservative attitude to funeral music continued, and Requiem settings often rely heavily on the chant melodies as compositional bases, and incorporate plainsong as a method of introducing movements. <sup>60</sup> Indeed, it is likely that the improvisation of simple polyphonic lines over the well known chant melodies

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Wagstaff, "Music for the Dead," 551.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Fabrice Fitch, "Requiem Mass: Polyphonic settings to 1600," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/43221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Ibid. This conservatism regarding musical embellishment later extended to prohibiting organ music during the Office of the Dead, and only permitting it to support the choir during the Requiem Mass. Henry Bewerunge, "Organ," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 11(1911), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11297a.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Variously spelled Johannes or Jehan, Okeghem or Hocquegam. Ockeghem worked most of his life as part of the royal chapel. Leeman L. Perkins, "Ockeghem, Jean de," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20248. See also Alec Robertson, Requiem: Music of Mourning and Consolation (London: 1967), 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Variously spelled Dufay, Du Fai or Du Fayt, he was acknowledged by his contemporaries to be the leading composer of his generation. Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Du Fay, Guillaume," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08268. Robertson, *Requiem: Music of Mourning and Consolation*, 29. See also R. Wexler, "Which Franco-Netherlander Composed the First Polyphonic Requiem Mass?."In *Netherlandisc Studies I*, Conference Papers, 1982, edited by William Fletcher, 71-76. Lanham: University Press of America, 1985 for further discussion of this debate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Perkins, "Ockeghem, Jean de.". See also Robertson, Requiem: Music of Mourning and Consolation, 12, and Fitch, "Requiem Mass: Polyphonic settings to 1600."

would have been a common occurrence in parishes with skilled singers before the polyphonic Requeim Mass or Office of the Dead developed,<sup>61</sup> and this practice may have assisted in the introduction of these musical cycles.

One of the few surviving early pieces of evidence that demonstrates the use of polyphonic music at commemorative services in England, comes from the court of Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. As befitted a noble woman of her time, Margaret Beaufort was known for her piety, rigorous devotion, and charitable works, and self-identified with this role, having herself portrayed in this pious guise several times during her life. 62 She was said to have begun her devotional regime at five o'clock each morning, hearing several masses before breakfast, while the remainder of the day was peppered with periods for private prayers, reading from one of her many devotional books, and meditation in addition to further services in the household chapel. 63 These activities would have necessitated having a well staffed and well supplied household chapel, which would have included music books and singers. 64 In addition, while Lady Margaret had a distinct establishment of her own at Collyweston, as mother to the king she remained closely connected to the court and the musical and religious activities there. The excellence of the musical establishment at Collyweston must have been an asset as she played host to important political persons at the behest of her son. Indeed, one Henry Parker, a member of Lady Margaret's household, commented that her chapel was equal to

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Her contemporary, Cecily Neville, Duchess of York for example, is said to have had a similarly rigorous round of personal and public devotions. Michael K. Jones and Malcolm G. Underwood, The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby (Cambridge: 1992), 174; Charity Scott-Stokes, Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England (Cambridge: 2006), 150; Rosalynn Voaden, "Who Was Marget Thorpe? Reading Mechtild of Hackeborn in Fifteenth-Century England," Religion & Literature 37, no. 2 (2005): 15. On the portraits see Jones and Underwood, Appendix 6.

63 Fiona Kisby, "A Mirror of Monarchy: Music and Musicians in the Household Chapel of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Mother of Henry VII," Early Music 16 (1997): 212-213; Scott-Stokes, Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England, 150. On Lady Margaret's literary interests see Jones and Underwood, The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, 174-187. See also Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," and Carol M. Meale, "... alle the bokes that I haue of latyn, englisch, and frensch': laywomen and thier books in late medieval England," in Women and literature in Britain, 1150-1500, ed. Carol M. Meale, Cambridge studies in medieval literature (Cambridge: 1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> For example John Mason, or Henry Orlow, both 'singing men' employed in the chapel. For others in Lady Margaret's household, see Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby*, Appendix 3.

that of her son. 65 Certainly Margaret Beaufort's chapel was known for the high caliber of music and musicians it produced. 66 It was at Collyweston chapel that musician Robert Cooper was employed, and where he wrote compositions for performance by the choir. Little is known about Cooper (variously spelled Cowper or Couper). Of the very few of his compositions which survive (they number only five), one is a setting of *Peccantum me quotidie*, the 1st respond of the 7th lesson of Matins in the Office of the Dead. 67 Cooper worked in Lady Margaret's establishment between 1504 and 1509, this composition from the first decade of the 16th century then falls at a time which corresponds with the increase in Requiem settings. 68 The usual musical rotation at Lady Margaret's chapel, like the Chapel Royal, was comprised principally of plainsong, so this more elaborate setting of the respond was likely saved for special commemorative services in the chapel. Given the close royal connections of the household, it is possible that such compositions were used for performing obits in honour of royal ancestors, a custom which was kept by the chapel of Henry VI. 69

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Music was obviously an important part of the Office of the Dead, and the illustrations in English manuscripts reflect this. A historiated initial on f. 74r in the fifteenth-century Saxby Hours (cat. 65) records an image that confirms the value placed on music in the Office of the Dead. 70 Here, the artist has depicted not one or two singers, but three ranks of singers crammed into the image, ranging themselves in front of a sturdy wooden lectern holding a large choirbook. There are enough singers in this image to produce the dense harmonies of medieval polyphonic settings, or the rich

<sup>65</sup> Kisby, "Mirror of Monarchy," 214.

<sup>66</sup> Kisby, "Music and Musicians of Early Tudor Westminster," 227.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> The other four of these compositions that remain are: *Gloria in excelsis*, *O crux gloriosa*, and two settings of *Stella caeli*. Cooper is also known to have written several Mass settings that are now lost. Kisby, "Mirror of Monarchy," 220-222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Greer David, "Cowper, Robert," *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06748?q=cowper+robert&search=quick&pos=1&\_start=1#firsthit..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Kisby, "Mirror of Monarchy," 222. The earliest examples of such musical elaborations for the Office of the Dead in Spain date from the period between 1470 and 1510, and may have been similarly used, in this case to honour the death of Prince Juan, heir to Isabella and Ferdinand. Wagstaff, "Music for the Dead," 552.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Whereabouts unknown, *Sotheby's Sale, 23rd June, 1998*, Saxby Hours and Psalter, London, c. 1430-1450 (cat. 65). Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 238, 249.

sound of the plainchant. The Heller Hours, Bancroft Library MS UCB 150 (cat. 2)(fig. 2),<sup>71</sup> also illustrates the preference for a sung service. In this full page miniature on f. 103v the funeral service is taking place in a chapel space. The scene contains a red draped coffin, with mourners and clerics. The point of view that the artist has chosen allows the reader of the manuscript to clearly see the musical notation on the pages of the large book that rests on a lectern in front of the clerics as they perform the Office.

The music of the Office of the Dead and Requiem Mass was valued by testators enough that they parted with the extra funds required to ensure such a commemorative service or chantry foundation. These funds, duly put to service providing prayers for the dead, had the additional benefit of supporting the musical environment in their parishes. Such bequests enabled communities to support larger choirs, employ additional singers for special occasions, and even to train young choristers. A mainstay of this musical environment was the chantry priest, who frequently brought considerable musical and compositional skills to his position.

The chantry priest was an important member of the musical community and was obliged by the benefactors who obtained his services to contribute to the musical life of the church in which he served through singing, playing, and composition. Thus, through the preoccupation with purgatory and the resulting desirability and perceived efficacy of intercessory prayer, and particularly the Office of the Dead, the industry of commemoration contributed directly to the musical maintenance and embellishment of the regular divine service and Mass via the clergy.

The pains taken by parishioners to ensure that their obits were sung rather than just recited also attests to the perceived value of the sung Office of the Dead. It is not known whether the testators who specified musical obits and chantry priests were deliberately intending to augment the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Berkeley, California, Bancroft Library, University of California. *MS UCB 150*, Heller Hours, London, c. 1470-1480 (cat. 2). Ibid., II, 334-336, no. 126. A clearly noted book can also be seen in Cambridge: University Library. *MS Ii. 6. 2*, Hours, English, early 15th century, f. 84 (cat. 74). Cambridge University Library, ed. *A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: 1856, 1857), III, 497-498.

complement of musicians available in their churches, though it is safe to say that such a bequest was intended for the betterment of the parish, as all bequests - from the establishment of a chantry chapel to the giving of bees - were to some extent intended for this purpose. In the case of St Mary at Hill, where a number of such bequests were made, it seems that a musical culture having been encouraged by early chantry founders, an environment that encouraged the appreciation of quality music was engendered in this community, and so perpetuated by subsequent bequests in as much as they could be afforded, and would not interfere with the principle aims of the chantry to provide intercessory prayer and commemoration.<sup>72</sup>

In many ways, the use of music as a commemorative act in regularly performed obits and 'mynds' finds its art historical equivalent in the donor portrait, pictorial tomb or brass. <sup>73</sup> In essence, the function performed by both of these artistic outputs is the same: they are intended to keep fresh in the minds of the community those departed souls who now require intercessory prayer. This is accomplished through the visual representations of death and decay in the one medium, and through a voiced presence, via their chantry priests and the words of Job, in the other. In the same way that tombs and brasses exhorted passers-by to gaze on the results of death and putrefaction, and to say their *Aves*, the performance of the Office of the Dead for a benefactor became an aural rather than a visual sepulchre, calling to mind through the music and the familiar texts of Job's questions and laments both the necessity for prayer for the souls of the departed, and the ever present assurances of eventual rest in the light of God.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> The proximity of this church to London and the musical activities of The Gentlemen of the Chapel, as well as other musical foundations no doubt made the desire for and maintenance of fine musicianship easier to attain. The churchwarden accounts for St Mary at Hill contain many references to singers from the royal chapel participating in their services, as in this example from 1509-10: "Paid þat day for Brede, wyne & ale for þe syngers of the Kynges chapel & for þe Clarkes of þis towne, xv d. Paid for ij galons wyne, gevyn to the syngers of the Kynges chapel at Mr Sidborughts at dyner, xvj d". Littlehales, ed. *Medieval Records (St. Mary at Hill)*, 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Some tombs, like that of William Cambridge, became the focus for musical events. A codicil to Cambridge's will indicated that at evensong on Christmas day it was customary for fifteen priests, clerks and children to process to his tomb and sing a respond of St Stephen, and a verse with the collect of St Stephen, followed by an anthem to Our Lady. Lloyd, "Music at St Mary at Hill," 225.

# ∞ CHAPTER SIX ∞

# MUSIC AND ART IN MEDIEVAL BOOKS

The popularity of the Office of the Dead, used to commemorate recent as well as long past deaths, made music a regular sight and sound in parish life. It has been demonstrated that English parishioners were concerned that the sound be a musical one: the documents and bequests examined above suggest that the desire for musical commemoration impacted vitally on the musical life of the church community, augmenting the musical resources available not only for obits and minds, but also for the regular daily services. The value of music in the performance of the Office of the Dead was clearly felt to be important.

Some of the prayerbooks examined in the course of this research recorded the music of the liturgy of the dead. As discussed above, both skill and training was involved in learning to read musical notation, and while some men probably had access to a basic level of musical learning, the Book of Hours remains an unusual genre to carry this type of information. However, it has also been suggested that an ability to read musical notation may not have been essential to the appreciation of this element in the book. As an approach to this music, we consider here how this popular compilation of texts was used by its readership, and through doing so attempt able to assess how the presence of music might contribute to or support the role of the book in the lives of its users.

If we think of the Book of Hours as a devotional tool used by the devout to assist them in adhering to the monastic Hours of the day within the confines of a lay existence, then the music of the Office of the Dead can be seen as an extension of this purpose. *Horae* are divided into the Hours that correspond with the monastic custom, and were intended, ideally, to be read or listened to at the same hour that the service was being chanted in monastic communities; that is, in emulation of monastic custom. To include the music of the Office of the Dead with the text brought the reader of the Book of Hours even closer to the monastic experience, for though they

were not present at the service, they too were seeing both text *and music* as it was performed in the nearest religious community. The music becomes a way of expressing the relationship between the lay reader and the clerical performer of the Office.

One might also think of the Book of Hours as a way of encouraging and reinforcing a deep and abiding familiarity with the important devotional texts of the period. The content of these books was adaptable, adopting new prayers and texts, absorbing and reflecting the religious climate in which it was produced. Considered in this light, the contents of the Book of Hours become a mirror of spiritual tenor of the day and a window into one aspect of piety as practiced by the lay and religious community. Even if they could not read the Latin, the texts in Book of Hours were a reminder to the reader of material with which they are already quite familiar - a circumstance especially true of the public and frequently performed Office of the Dead. In the same way, music here also becomes a reminder, in this case, of the aural quality of a familiar service.

The Book of Hours was also considered an art object; it was an expensive possession that could be valued as much for the artistic border decorations, miniatures and historiated initials as for the spiritual value of the texts.<sup>1</sup> As an object of value, the presence of music contributed considerably to its prestige. Music was expensive, requiring both a skilled and educated scribe to execute the work, and more parchment than a solely texted Office requires. The presence of music could demonstrate the wealth and sophistication of a patron just as decorative schemes could. In addition, music *looks* good on the page, being a decorative element itself, which contrasts strikingly with writing, borders and, where extant, images. Thus, the different visual quality of the music provides an element of *varietas* to the manuscript, which would have appealled to patrons concerned both with sophistication and edification.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Notable books collectors often had more than one Book of Hours in their collections. The text of the volumes does not vary greatly, and what variation there is can be reasonably be assumed to be limited by interest and location in the *horae* of the same person. Thus the presence of multiple Books of Hours in such collections suggests that the books were being commissioned and collected for aethetic value as well as for the text. Notable collectors of *horae* include Jean de Berry, and Anne of Brittany in France, as well as the Bohun and Bedford families in England. Kren and Evans, eds., *A Masterpiece Reconstructed: The Hours of Louis XII*, 2-3.

These ideas, the use of music as a way to link the lay reader to the monastic reader, music as a reminder of the aural presence of the Office of the Dead, and music as a visual element of an art object, contribute toward the construction of a wider understanding of why music appears in these books, and how it might have enriched the reading experience of a reader; and particuarly a layman or woman.

#### THE SOURCES

There are sixteen manuscripts with a noted Office of the Dead that are included in the Catalogue (Appendix B) of this thesis. Of these, nine of them are Books of Hours, six of them are Psalters, and one is a Psalter-Hours. It should be stated that the catalgoue in Appendix B is not a general catalogue of Books of Hours containing notation, but one with a specific focus on notation in the Office of the Dead. The catalogue of books noted at the Office of the Dead found here is not a comprehensive catalogue due to the difficult nature of finding these noted Books of Hours. It is the case that many manuscript catalogues do not indicate whether a Book of Hours contains notation or not. In thematic, library and general catalogues musical notation is recorded inconsistently. For example, Sandler, in her catalogues of Gothic Manuscripts, does not mention the presence of musical notation at the Office of the Dead in Longleat MS 11, the Luttrell Psalter, Add. MS 42130, or in the Howard Psalter, Arundel MS 83 I, though there is a lengthy discussion of these manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> A psalter at the Wren Library, Cambridge, MS O.4.16, contains a noted Office though this is not mentioned in the Trinity College Catalogue,<sup>3</sup> and examples such as this continue. In addition, inconsistency can be found within the same publication: the index of the MMBL catalogues produced by Neil Ker, while including a section and siglum for books with musical notation, lists none of the Books of Hours included in these volumes as containing music.

<sup>2</sup> Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, II, no. 73, no. 107, no. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Montague Rhodes James, *The Western manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue*, IV vols. (Cambridge: 1900-1904), vol. 1, 265-268.

However, if one reads every entry for English Books of Hours, one does find notation occasionally mentioned. All this makes the business of locating Books of Hours with a noted Office of the Dead a difficult affair. The catalogues cannot be relied upon to give accurate information regarding notation, which means that the only alternative for the determined hunter of such books, is to travel, order and personally examine every last one. While such time consuming (and expensive) research has not been possible here, the manuscripts that have been included are the results of as extensive an examination of the manuscript sources as was possible. The investigation of musical sources such as the Book of Hours is an area that has not received much attention. It is my hope that with continued research more Books of Hours with a noted Office of the Dead may be uncovered, and develop the picture that is only starting to be revealed here. Although the current state of research on this subject is minimal, it seems likely a significant number of these books do exist and warrant further and more extensive study.

Few English prayer books containing music at the Office of the Dead can be traced to the original commission. Indeed, this is a difficult task to accomplish confidently for many Books of Hours on account of often quite humble beginnings, and the subsequent alterations they have undergone over time. Many of the English Psalters and Hours that contain music cannot be specifically dated or attributed.<sup>4</sup> One might expect to find indications that these books were made and used by professional religious, given the presence of the music. However, while such indications can be found in some of the manuscripts, there are others for which this is not the case. Of the sixteen manuscripts discussed here, six of them contain indications that they may have been commissioned for use by religious. The remaining manuscripts do not suggest a specific type of reader.

Six of the books included here suggest use by the professional religious, who sang the Office of the Dead nightly. MS 4, a manuscript produced c. 1424, contains text that suggest it was intended

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Appendix B.

for a Brigittine reader, such as the Translation of St Brigit (May 28), the Birth of St Bridget (23 July), and the Canonization of St Bridget (Oct 7). The manuscript is currently housed in the library of Syon Abbey at South Brent in Devon, the direct descendent of the original Brigittine foundation established on the banks of the Thames in Isleworth in 1415: the manuscript contains the Dedication of that church at Isleworth (Oct 1). The latest of the manuscripts, MS 2-1957, was also made for use in a convent. This book belonged to the Elizabeth Shelford, who was Abbess of Shaftesbury, a Benedictine community, from 1505 to 1528. A fifteenth-century Bodleian manuscript Rawl. G. 127 was also written for use in a religious house, while MS 94, kept in St John's College library, Oxford, was written c. 1420 by a Dominican recluse, John Lacy, for his own use. St John's College Cambridge MS G. 34, while not explicitly suggesting through the text that it was made for a cleric, does suggest this through the musical setting, which includes only the incipts of the sung portions of the Office. The use of incipits suggests the intended reader was familiar with this convention of liturgical manuscripts and with the music of the Office.

With the large Psalters and Psalter-Hours from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries we fare somewhat better with the early life of the books, as many of these volumes have been extensively studied, and more information about the early provenance of the books has emerged as a consequence. The Howard, Oscott, and Luttrell Psalters, each containing a noted Office of the Dead, partial or whole, have all received such treatment. The Howard Psalter, BL Arundel 83 I,<sup>9</sup> may have been produced for John Fitton, who died in 1326, and whose arms appear on ff. 47 and 55. John was a landholder in the parish of Wilmslow, once the demesne of Le Bolyn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ker and Piper, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, V, 343.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum acquired between 1895 and 1979 (excluding the McClean Collection), 2 vols. (Cambridge: 1982), vol. II, 516-521.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Walter Howard Frere, Bibliotheca musico-liturgica: a descriptive handlist of the musical and Latin-liturgical MSS of the Middle Ages preserved in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland., II vols., vol. I (Hildesheim: 1967) 51, 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Montague Rhodes James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge (Cambridge: 1913), II, no. 201, 234.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> London, British Library, Arundel MS 83 I, Howard Psalter, English, c. 1310-1320. Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages, 147, 162; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, 58-60, no. 51; O. Elfrida Saunders, English Illumination, 2 vols. (Florence: 1928), I, 89,96, 99, 101, 103.

His grandfather held a grant of Rushton and Eaton, and the family was connected with the Earl of Chester. John himself was also connected through his marriage with Cecily de Massey, with the barony of Dunham Massey. If John was indeed the commissioner of the book, it is unlikely that he himself would have used the music in the noted Office. However, this is a large Psalter-Hours, and it is possible that though John or Cecily may not have read it, it would have been kept in the manor chapel or on a prayer desk, and read to them by a cleric associated with the manor or parish. He perhaps, would have been able to read the notation, and thus to sing the Office to a listening audience in a devotional setting. Another large psalter, the Luttrell Psalter, may also have been used in a similar setting such as the manor chapel. The Luttrell Psalter is lavishly decorated throughout, and contains many references to Geoffrey Luttrell, who commissioned the book. It is reasonable to assume that these decorative schemes were intended to be within the visual experience of those to whom they would mean the most. Use in a manor chapel or by a personal chaplain may explain the size of the book, while setting it within view of the family.

For the Oscott Psalter, the oldest of the books containing a noted Office of the Dead in this group, a connection to professional religious has been suggested. D. H. Turner, in examining an excised leaf of the manuscript, essayed the idea that the Psalter was made for Cardinal Ottobuono Fieschi, who was a papal legate in England between 1265 and 1285, and would later become, albeit briefly, Pope Adrian V.<sup>11</sup> Nigel Morgan, in *Gothic Manuscripts*, notes that while the gold Agatha and Michael entries in the calendar may point toward a patron with Italian connections, the presence of regional saints such as Modwenna and Edith of Polesworth are difficult to reconcile with the suggested Italian Cardinal. Morgan in turn suggests that the Psalter was made for an English patron

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Michelle Brown and Folio Society, eds., *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: 2006), ff. 295-309v; Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England*, passim; James McKinnon, "The Late Medieval Psalter: Liturgical or Gift Book?," *Musica Disciplina* 38 (1984), 133-157; Michelle Brown, *The Luttrell Psalter, Commentary* (London: 2006), 26.
 Cardinal Ottobuono Fieschi was elected to the papal tiara July 11<sup>th</sup>, 1276, and died just over a month later on August 18<sup>th</sup> of that same year. C. R. Cheney and Michael Jones, *A Handbook of Dates: for Students of British History*, Royal Historical Society guides and handbooks (Cambridge: 2000), 55. Turner bases this argument on the presence of Agatha and the Apparition of Michael in the calendar in gold lettering, and suggests this indicates a patron with Italian interests. D.H. Turner, "Two Rediscovered Miniatures of the Oscott Psalter," *BMQ* 34 (1969-1970).

from the West-Midlands with an interest in the religious communities of Burton-upon-Trent and Polesworth.<sup>12</sup> Regardless of which is correct, both of these proposed provenances provide a case for clerical use, where the principle readers of the volume would have been able to make practical use of the noted Office of the Dead.

Of the manuscripts that do not explicitly suggest their origin, some do contain some indications of who might have used them at one time. Trinity College Cambridge MS O. 4. 16, for example, a late thirteenth-century manuscript, has had what might have been useful obits erased from the kalendar. 13 The names of these early obit entries have been scratched away, leaving only the dates, 1328, 1330 and 1340. However, a full page fifteenth-century miniature has been added to the kalendar at f. 8, showing a man in secular contemporary dress kneeling at a prayer desk on which lies an open book under a canopy. The image is accompanied by the inscription, "Of your charyte pray for the soull of wyllyam Clarkson ferrar (ferear) of London and Margaret hys wyffe and all there childaris", and the kalendar records the obit of one "Margareta de ferrar" on the fourteenth of March. While the origin of the manuscript remains unknown, it is clear at least that by the fifteenth century, the book was used by a layman from London who presumably had no great knowledge of music.

A late fourteenth-century Hours now in Liverpool Cathedral Library, MS 36, gives us a few scant clues about its patron through the litany and other texts, however, though these suggest that the volume seems to have been made for a woman in the diocese of Norwich, they say nothing of who she might have been, nor of whether she was religious or lay by vocation. Another Liverpool Cathedral manuscript, MS 22, provides even less information. There are three added obits;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285, 138-139, no. 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O. 4. 16, Psalter-Hours, English, c. 1300. Sandler, Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385, 56, n. 112, no. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Liverpool, Cathedral Library, *MS 36*, Hours, English, late 14th and early 15th century. Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, 194-196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Liverpool, Cathedral Library, MS 22, Psalter, English, mid 14th century. Ibid., III, 182.

Tohanne hunte' on the 18th of February, 'Rex Edwardus Tercius' on June 21st, and 'philippa Regina' on August 15th. Edward III and Philippa of Hainault died in 1377 and 1369 respectively. These suggest the book was in use in the latter half of the fourteenth-century, but no indication survives of the person for whom the book was made, nor of 'Iohanne hunte'. It is possible that this book, like two others discussed above, was owned by this woman. Devotional books were often passed from mother to daughter or daughter-in-law as gifts, and Johanna may have received or given the book in this manner. <sup>16</sup> Neither of the two Lambeth Palace manuscripts suggest a specific reader, and nor does MS 48 in Winchester. <sup>17</sup> Many of the volumes are medium quality books - they are not large or particularly well decorated. Their lack of ostentation leaves very little to assist the art historian in the absence of textual references that may help in locating them in time and place.

It is clear from the above that the circumstance of the commission and the early life of the manuscripts can be difficult to determine. At least six of these manuscripts suggest that they may have been made for individuals with practical music skills, while the remainder leave few indications of who the initial readers were. The current state of research on these books does not allow for an authoritative statement on the prevalence of noted Offices of the Dead, nor can the proportion of noted manuscripts for lay versus clerical commissions be determined. While this sample suggests that many of these books may have been made for clerical readers (six of fifteen), it is not conclusive evidence that this was always the case. Some noted manuscripts were likely made for lay use. It is also the case that even if all of these books were produced for clerical readers, during their term of use they many have changed hands many times, and like MS O. 4. 16, have passed into use by lay readers. We therefore turn now to look at the way in which music might have been interpreted in these manuscripts by both lay and clerical readers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 749.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Montague Rhodes James and Claude Jenkins, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Lambeth Palace*, vol. III-V (Cambridge: 1932), 768-769; Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, IV, 632-634.

## MUSIC AS A PART OF THE SERVICE

One reason behind the development, and certainly the popularity, of the Book of Hours was the growing desire among lay people in an increasingly secular age to imitate the professional religious. These books, based on the monastic breviary, reflect a desire for a similarly intimate relationship with the divine, and to achieve this there was a need for a book that could render accessible the various popular prayers and devotions. The *borae* worked to recreate the environment of the church or cloister within the structures of the lay experience, and while lay readers would not have been able to emulate the regular Hours kept by monastic communities of monks, nuns or secular clergy, because of the interruptions of daily life, the Book of Hours nevertheless, in as much as it was possible, bound together the secular and religious reader through the shared texts, structures and experience.

Music contributed to the solemnity, mystery and beauty of the rites; from very early on the music of the Church was used as an expression of the majesty of God. In the echoing spaces of the gothic cathedrals as in the more modest environments of parish and monastic churches, the simple lines of the chanted Offices - whether it was the nocturnal Office of the Dead sung in cold, candlelit interiors, or one of the diurnal Little Hours – instilled in the hearer, and indeed, in the performer of these services, a sense of mystery and reverence for the sacred. For both the lay and clerical reader of the Book of Hours, the presence of the music on the page would create or conjure

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The biblical exhortations to such musical expressions are found throughout the text, in both Old and New Testament. Two of the many examples: the prophet Nehemiah writes of the temple services, "For in the days of David and Asaph from the beginning there were chief singers appointed, to praise with canticles, and give thanks to God." *Nehemiah*, 12:45; St Paul, in his letter to the Ephesians writes, "Speaking to yourselves in Psalms and hymns and spiritual canticles, singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord". *Ephesians*, 5:19. The church fathers also quickly acknowledged the value of music and set guidelines, as St Jerome does here, "Let the servant of God sing in such a manner that the words of the text rather than the voice of the singer cause delight, and that Saul's evil spirit may depart from those who are under its dominion, and may not enter into those who make a theatre out of the house of the Lord". Evidently singing and singers fulfilled a valued place in church liturgy, as they are mentioned specifically in the Apostolic Constitutions in a list of benefactors to the church: "We further offer to You also for all those holy persons who have pleased You from the beginning of the world— patriarch, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, *singers*, virgins, widows, and lay persons, with all whose names You know." *Apostolic Constitutions*, Chapter 8, Section II, xii.

up - according to the readers' skill level, the soundscape of religious observance. The addition of musical notation, as well as beautifying the manuscript, may have also contributed to the creation of sense of the divine mystery of these religious observances. The cryptic markings become representative of a method of execution imperfectly understood, and irreproducible except by those with the necessary skills.

The illustrations that distinguish the opening pages of the Office of the Dead most frequently reflect an approximation of the visual reality that would confront someone present at it. 19 They often show mourners, friends, monks and priests gathered around a bier surrounded by candles. The religious figures sing or say the Office while the lay people look on, listening and perhaps reading the words in their own Book of Hours. The ideal performance of the Office of the Dead was a musical one, and the presence of notation in the Book of Hours reflects the aural reality of the Office as the images attempt a version of the visual reality.

These two 'realities', aural and visual, as present in the Office of the Dead do not demonstrate the same degree of veracity. The visual images decorating the Office are in some cases over-optimistic, displaying elaborate funeral proceedings not granted to many, as in PML M. 893 (cat. 49), f. 60, or they might be a visual short-hand, displaying simplified images suggestive of the Christian death ritual but without actually including any distinct part of it, as for example, in Bibliothèque municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer MS 93, f. 58.<sup>20</sup> The music that is recorded in the *horae*, however, is no artistic fancy, but a fairly accurate representative, keeping in mind the transient and variable nature of a performance art, of what would be heard during a performance of the Office of the Dead. The notation records with consistency the same melodic forms for the antiphons and responses of the Office of the Dead in manuscripts produced over a long period.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> See above, Chapter Two.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> New York, PML, MS M. 893, Warwick Hours, London, c. 1430 (cat. 49). Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, no. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Harper, The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy, 105.

Let us consider the two antiphons of the Office of the Dead which are the most commonly referred to in contemporary sources: the opening antiphon for Vespers of the Dead, *Placebo domino*, the first musical section of the Office, and the first antiphon of the first Nocturn of Matins, *Dirige*, *Domine Deus meus*. These important antiphons are recorded in the following samples: MS 11 (cat. 45), f. 208 (f. 22) at Longleat House<sup>22</sup>, BL Add. MS 50000 (cat. 26), ff. 233 – 234 (fig. 11), (the Oscott Psalter),<sup>23</sup> St John's College Cambridge MS G. 34, ff. 64, 71,<sup>24</sup> and BL Add. MS 42130, f. 296-298v, (the Luttrell Psalter).<sup>25</sup> Also included in the following discussion is CUL MS Dd 8 2, ff. 22v - 23,<sup>26</sup> which contains the Hours of the Virgin as well as a noted Office of the Dead, and may have been part of a service book intended for use in the church. The music here then, provides a point of comparison between the music found in prayer books and that found in service books.

When comparing the opening antiphon for Vespers of the Dead in these manuscripts, we find both the melodic contour and the disposition of neumes to be extremely similar.<sup>27</sup> Longleat MS 11, the Oscott Psalter and MS G. 34 are identical – the chant melodies correspond precisely. The melody found in MS Dd 8 2 differs from the other three manuscripts in one small particular only: at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Wiltshire, Longleat House, MS 11, Psalter, English, c. 1310-1320 (cat. 45). Sandler, Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385, II, no. 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> London, BL, *Add. MS 50000*, Oscott Psalter, Oxford, c. 1265-1270 (cat. 26). Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscript*, 1250-1285, no. 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cambridge, St John's College, MS G. 34, Hours, English, late fifteenth century. James, Manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge, I, II, no. 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> London, BL, *Add. MS 42130*, Luttrell Psalter, East Anglia, c. 1325 - 1335. Michelle Brown, ed. *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: 2006), ff. 295 - 309v. Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England*, passim; Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 455, cat. 575; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, II, 118-120, no. 107; E.G. Miller, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: 1932), *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Cambridge, CUL. *MS Dd. 8.2.*, Hours of the Virgin and Office of the Dead, frag., English, c. 1300-1310. The Hours and Office in Dd 8 2 formed part of an obit book for Kingston St Michael. The book was in the possession of one John Baker who donated it to this Benedictine house c. 1493. It contains the two principle texts of a standard Book of Hours, and was described as a 'ffayr Matins boke w<sup>t</sup> dirige' by those receiving it. While the texts suggest that it could have been used as a prayer book while in possession of John Baker, the size of the volume, 350 x 222 mm, suggests otherwise. While it is possible to find large Books of Hours (for example Widener 2 (cat. 15), which measures 329 x 235 mm) it is not common. Julian M. Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300-1540: A Patronage History*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion (Woodbridge: 2005), 5, 192-193, 195; Cambridge University Library, ed. *A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, vol. I (Cambridge: 1856), 334-336; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books*, 2d ed., Guides and handbooks, Royal Historical Society (London: 1964), 106;; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, I, pl. 61-63, II, 34-35, no 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See Appendix A, example 1.

the opening word, *Placebo*, the Cambridge manuscript records the syllabic phrase as A-C-B rather than A-C-C as found in the other sources, moving the interval of the third to occur between *Placebo* and *domino* rather than between syllables *pla*- and -ce- as in the others. The final phrase in all the manuscripts is the same. The similarities between the manuscripts extend to the use and arrangement of the ligatures. All the manuscripts use some form of the *podatus* at *do-* of *domino*. Longleat MS 11, MS Dd 8 2, and MS G. 34 all employ the *podatus subipunctis* at *domino*, including the whole word in the single ligature, while the Oscott Psalter employs what appears to be a liquesent *podatus subipunctis*. In the neumatic section at the end of the antiphon, starting at -o- of *regione* and ending at *vi*- of *vivorum*, the sources again agree: all use the ligature series *clivis podatus clivis* to shape the phrase. The sources for the antiphon *Dirige Domino* correspond even more closely than they do for *Placebo*. The chant melody of the *Dirige* is identical, as is the disposition of ligatures in each of the manuscripts.

These concordant sources were produced over two centuries. The Oscott Psalter is the earliest of the examples from c. 1265-70; MS Dd 8 2, Longleat MS 11, and Add. MS 42130 are from the early fourteenth century, c. 1300-1310, c. 1310-1320 and c. 1425-35 respectively. The fifteenth-century manuscript from St John's College is by far the latest, yet all of them preserve and transmit a nearly identical opening antiphon for Vespers' *Placebo*, and an identical opening antiphon for Matins' *Dirige Domino*. These antiphons also correspond very closely with those recorded in a thirteenth-century Use of Sarum antiphonale, differing only from MS Dd 8 2 in the opening sequence as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> A *podatus* indicates two notes. The notes may be vertically aligned and are rendered from the bottom to the top, the second note always being higher than the first. "Pes." *Grove Music Online*, October 10, 2010 http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21403.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> For further information on technical musical terms pertaining to medieval neumes, see Parrish, *Notation*, 4-11, and especially p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> The neumatic style in plainchant indicates passages where a each syllable is assigned to a ligature. This means that the syllable is sung over two to four notes. This is in contrast with a syllabic style where each note takes one syllable, and the melismatic style, where long passages are sung over a single syllable. "Melismatic Style." *Grove Music Online*, October 10, 2010 http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18333. The *clivis* is a ligature that indicates two notes where the second note is lower than the first. Hiley, David. "Clivis." *Grove Music Online*, October 10, 2010 http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05977.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See Appendix A, example 2.

discussed above.<sup>32</sup> It should perhaps be mentioned that while not identical, the antiphons preserved in these manuscripts are also very similar to the antiphons as recorded today in the *Liber usualis*.<sup>33</sup>

The Office of the Dead is a fixed Office, that is, the same antiphons and responses, both melodic and textual, are used throughout the year regardless of liturgical season. It was also the same in both monastic and secular environments, as the monasteries followed the secular Use, in this case, Sarum.<sup>34</sup> The comparison above shows that this Office also changed little over time. The uniformity of presentation in the Books of Hours indicates that the music presented to the reader in their private devotional books was the same as that used by the choirs performing the music nightly. Thus, the musical or aural 'reality' presented to the reader, was more accurate than the visual 'reality' that accompanied it.

The inclusion of the music in this form, then, becomes a reinforcement of the link between the lay Book of Hours and the monastic breviary or antiphonary. By providing a true record of the sound of the Use of Sarum Office of the Dead along with the text, the reader is permitted to come closer to the monastic experience. For while the lay reader is not able to be present at these regular nocturnal services, it is possible, were they sufficiently literate, that they could be reading the text and seeing the notes of the Office of the Dead that are simultaneously performed by a community of religious. The music becomes a way of visually (and aurally) expressing the completeness and thus the closeness of the relationship between the reader and the (absent) clerical performer of the Office of the Dead.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Walter Howard Frere, Antiphonale Sarisburiense: a reproduction in facsimile of a manuscript of the thirteenth century, with a dissertation and analytical index, 6 vols., Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society (Farnborough, Hants: 1966), vol V, 579, 580.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Vespers' *Placebo* is the more closely related of the two antiphons differing only very slightly at —ne of regione while preserving the overall melodic contour. The antiphon *Dirige* has a more significant deviation in the final phrase beginning at *in conspectus*. Rather than the four *puncti* at *in conspectus*, the *Liber usualis* replaces the second at *con*- with a liquescent *clivis*. In addition, the melodic contour of the phrase is altered at *tuo viam*; instead of the small arced phrase ascending and descending to *meam*, B-C-D-C-A to end on G, the phrase jumps B-C-A-C-B also ending on G. Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes, ed. *The liber usualis: with introduction and rubrics in English* (Tournai (Belgium): 1963), 1772, 1782.

<sup>34</sup> Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, 105. The Office of the Dead also changed little from Use to Use.

#### NOTATION AS MNEMONIC

In addition to what has already been said on the subject, it is well to consider further what value a non-music reader might have received from seeing this so accurately notated Office, and particularly, how much information would be conveyed to the reader in these cryptic markings. Though the precise meaning of the neumes and ligatures might not be grasped, some value might be extricated from the markings. Unlike the letters of the Roman alphabet, which become symbols for sounds and meanings that require previous knowledge and informed recognition in order to become significant, the ligatures of square notation are more easily comprehended, at least on a superficial level. The strokes and dots that comprise this notation are assembled on the page in such a way that they present visually to the familiar reader a general sense of what they mean to convey. Thus, while unable to access information about the duration, pitch, or manner of execution of a given note, the reader is able to see the melodic contour of the chant as it rises or falls, the pitch becoming higher or lower relative to the preceding sections.

The deliberate application of music as a mnemonic device in the Middle Ages is in some respects a difficult subject to treat with accuracy since the crux of the issue rests on the notion of information transfer largely without the use of written aids, and thus there are few surviving sources to draw upon. However, the relationship between words and rhythm (and by extension music) in terms of memory aid was well established in the period.<sup>35</sup> The composer and poet Leonin, whose musical compositions are recorded in the *Magnus Liber Organi*, also wrote a sacred history, the *Hystorie sacre gestas ab orgine mundi*, in the preface to which he indicates that his intention is to render the history both enjoyable and memorable via the use of poetry and rhythm: "But I take pleasure in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The mnemonic quality of a text/music combination noted by Notker Balbulus (c. 840-912), a monk at the thriving musical centre of St. Gall, who makes this link in his preface to a selection of sequences in proposing how this popular medieval liturgical musical genre came into being. He records that as a youth he found it difficult to remember the long melismatic passages of the chant, and had wished for an aid to his unreliable memory. His wish was granted in c. 862, when a monk from Jumièges came to St Gall bringing with him an antiphonary in which some of the long melismas of the *Alleulia*, which had been so difficult for Notker to recall, were syllabically set to additional prose text or verses to assist memorization. Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 155.

bringing pleasing sound to the ear by the laws of poetry/ So that the history may be no less useful to the mind, which, delighted by the brevity of the poetry and by the song, may hold it more firmly the more it enjoys it."<sup>36</sup> The Roman rhetorician Quintilian, who was frequently referred to in medieval discussions on rhetoric, notes in a passage instructing his students on methods of memorization, that the structure and 'artistic sequence' of a text serve to guide the memory.<sup>37</sup> Thus it was by the combination of verse and melody, as well as through structured rhythmic settings, that the medieval reader committed things to memory.

These medieval ideas regarding the use of structure, rhythm and melody as memory aids have been validated by recent studies in memory and cognition that demonstrate the value of these elements for textual memory. A study conducted by Wanda T. Wallace on the effect of melody on text recall concludes that the melody accompanying a text, provided that melody is relatively simple and often heard, facilitates the recall of that text even after a delay.<sup>38</sup> Rhythm was known to assist memory, and many didactic poems, or mnemonic versifications, were composed in the Middle Ages with the purpose of assisting memorization. Wallace notes that the effect of music cannot be attributed merely to the rhythmic element of the tune, but that the melodic contour itself seems to contribute to the efficacy of the memory aid. The study indicates that for the music to become useful as a memory trigger, the melody must be fairly short, simple and often repeated<sup>39</sup> - circumstances that are all met in the responses and antiphons for the Office of the Dead. It has been established that the Office was frequently performed and heard. It is largely comprised of short chants used as settings for long texts, the melodies being repeated as often as necessary to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Translation by Craig Wright, "Leoninus, Poet and Musician," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1986): 18-19. See also Anna Maria Busse Berger, "Mnemontechnics and Notre Dame Polyphony," *Journal of Musicology* 14 (1996), for a discussion of how the rhythmic modes might have been applied to the famous Notre Dame chants as a memory aid for the singers of this vast repertory - a sort of musical version of mnemonic versification.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> "Etiam quae bene composita erunt, memoriam serie sua ducent." Quintilian, *The Institutio oratoria*, ed. H.E. Butler, trans. H. E. Butler (New York: 1921-1922), XI, ii, 39 (p.235); Berger, "Mnemontechnics," 284.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Wanda T. Wallace, "Memory for Music: Effect of Melody on Recall of Text," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning Memory and Cognition* 20 (1994): 1481. The study was conducted using simple folk songs from the ballad tradition of North Carolina.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ibid.: 1482.

declaim the text. In addition, the chant repertory is by nature, in the Office of the Dead, monophonic and melodically unencumbered making it easier to remember.

One must keep in mind, when considering this data, that unlike the participants in Wallace's study, the people memorizing the Office of the Dead in medieval England were not listening to texts in their first or spoken language. For many of them, though they must have known the sense of the verses, the individual words may have been merely syllables, at least to begin. Thus, the music as a tool for memorization becomes even more important, as the melody triggers word order where sense cannot.

The chant setting of the Office of the Dead and the Requiem Mass, then, would have been instantly recognizable to a large branch of almost any medieval audience. It was a service often heard, and just as commercial jingles today heard over and over become associated in our minds with a particular product, so too would this oft heard Office have worked as a reminder to medieval people of frailty and death. Much in the manner of a memento mori, the simple lines of the plainchant called to mind the inevitable end to this life, and the uncertainty of the next. The recognisability of this music made it possible for it to be used in place of the bells that were rung announcing a death or funeral. The familiar introit to the Requiem Mass was put to this use in 1463, when John Baret asked in his will that two bellmen go about the town of Bury announcing his death using a chime barrel set with the Requiem Aeternam for thirty days after his decease. Words set to music are much more easily remembered, the melody and rhythm of the music serving as a mnemonic device and enabling the audience to recall and follow the sequence of the service, perhaps while looking at their own books of Hours.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> "and in lykvyse such day as God disposith for me to passe I will the seid chymes smyth forthwith Requiem eternam, and so day and nyth to conynwe with the same song tyl my xxx <sup>ti</sup> day be past for me and for my freends that holpe therto with ony goods of here." Samuel Tymms, ed. Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commissary of Bury St. Edmund's and the Archdeacon of Sudbury, Camden Society Old Series 49 (London: 1850, reprinted 1968), 28; Gasquet, Parish Life, 121.

Clive Burgess notes that the repetitive nature of the sounds of the church interior, including words of the rite, the music, chants and polyphony, could act as a mnemonic that allowed a parishioner to carry the service with them outside the church space. In a similar fashion the performance of the Office of the Dead functioned as an aural sepulcher to those who entered into the church, and the performance space. The sound of the performed Office of the Dead could become a memento mori in the ear of the listener, and this mnemonic function was not lost in written format. Just as the sound of the performed Office reminded those hearing it of the need to remember and pray for the souls of the dead, the contour of the written neumes on the page remind the reader of the shape and thus the sound of the Office of the Dead as it would be executed out loud. Readers of notated Books of Hours, confronted with both text and music together, had an additional tool, which allowed them both to more easily memorize, and to more easily recall the Office of the Dead in its entirety when absent from its performance.

The process of reading in the middle ages was much removed from the activity that now has that name, and our easy relationship to the written word was not the experience of medieval readers. 42 From the early Middle Ages, studious reading was very much an 'active' occupation rather than a 'passive' one, and the reader did not simply scan the words on the page as we do today, but endeavoured to memorize and 'consume' them in an attempt to fully understand the text, in fact, to 'digest' it, incorporating it into the corpus of their knowledge as a part of themselves. 43 The reader passed from *legio*, where one strove to understand the text, to the more difficult *meditatio*, where one assimilates the expressed ideas, linking them to other texts, other ideas, and importantly, allowing them to become in this augmented form, one's own ideas. They could then be discussed and reworked by a new group of scholars, students and clerics.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Burgess, "Longing to the Prayed For'," 59, 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> See the Introduction for further discussion of literacy in medieval England.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> See Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge studies in medieval literature (Cambridge: 1990), in particular Chapter Five: Memory and the Ethics of Reading, for further reading on digestive metaphors, 162 - 169.

The heyday of this approach to learning is found in the early medieval period, when books were rare and expensive artifacts. The very rarity of the books necessitated reading for the purpose of memorization: a traveling monk or cleric may have brought a volume of sermons or discourses with him on his travels, however he and it, may have only a short stay in a given monastery or cathedral close before moving on. The scholar then had to take advantage of such opportunities and try to retain as much as possible from the text. Even in the later medieval period when books, though still expensive, were much more readily available, particularly in the thriving university towns, the perceived value of reading in this 'consumptive' manner where one thoroughly absorbs text and ideas into one's own body of knowledge continued. Indeed, such internalization of information and oral examination of material continues to be an important element of education today.

This kind of thorough reading, practiced by scholars and academics, was also adopted among both lay and religious individuals reading for devotional rather than scholarly purposes. 44 The use of the Book of Hours during church services was common in the later medieval period. In this environment the reader, surrounded by an atmosphere of holiness, read the text to encourage in themselves a similar spirit of reflection and meditation, as a way of participating in the Mass. 45 The private reading of the Office of the Dead, was not restricted to the lay population, of course. The monks and clerics who performed the Office of the Dead might also have had a written copy of the Office in a personal *horae* or breviary. For these readers, the tradition of *legio* and *meditatio* were firmly established, and they would naturally approach this reading material as they did other religious and devotional texts.

Part of the process of *meditatio* was the production of sound - to memorize and assimilate text with the aid of *murmur*. Quintilian remarks that in silence the mind is easily distracted from its task, and thus "the mind should be kept alert by the sounds of the voice, so that the memory may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> On the role of images in *legio* and *meditatio* see Suzanne Lewis, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-Century Illuminated Apocalypse* (Cambridge: 1995), 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> For a discussion of the use of Books of Hours during the Mass, see Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, 121-123.

derive assistance from the double effort of speaking and listening" adding the caveat, "but your voice should be subdued, rising scarcely above a murmur." The reader reads aloud to him or herself enabling him/her to both *see* and *hear* the text simultaneously. The Office of the Dead was familiar, and it is probable that many medieval lay people, repeatedly exposed to the music and text of this Office, would have memorized key sections of it at a fairly early age. This would most certainly be true for the religious who were responsible for chanting the Office in the early hours of every day. For these readers, the musical notation would have been a fully comprehended language to be read, understood and voiced, whether in private devotion or in public performance. In a similar manner to readers in Saenger's 'phonetic literacy' style, for the lay reader the notation in the Book of Hours, despite relatively low levels of musical comprehension, would have been enough to remind the reader of the simple and familiar monodies of the Office, and perhaps enable them to hum or sing along with the text as they practiced *murmur* in the spirit of *meditatio*.

The notation, like accompanying miniatures, became a cue to the reader, and drawing on both the sense of sight and sound, it became a *visual* reminder of the *aural* quality of the Office. The combination of the visual and aural is important: Albertus Magnus wrote of this combinations that, "something is not secured enough by hearing, but is made firm by seeing". <sup>48</sup> Together sound and image (or notation) formed a more complete 'memory' of the Office of the Dead, informing both eye and ear. Such a tool would have enriched the reader's experience of the text just as it enriched the beauty of the page.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> "Ediscere tacite (nam id quoque est quaesitum) erat optimum, si non subirent velut otiosum anumum plerumque aliae cogitations; propter quae excitandus est voce, ut duplici motu iuvetur memoria dicendi et audiendi. Sed haec vox sit modica et magis murmur." Quintilian, *The Institutio oratoria*, XI, ii, 33-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The widespread knowledge of the text of this Office is borne out by its appearance in other religious writings and poems such as have already been discussed, but also by its use in non religious vernacular material like John Skelton's poem *Philip Sparrow*, written around 1505. The poem is peppered with oft repeated phrases from the Office of the Dead, and indeed takes inspiration from the Office for its internal organisation, the second part of the work being titled *Commendatio* (line 845), as is the section following the Office of the Dead. Scattergood, ed. *John Skelton*, 71-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Carruthers, Book of Memory, 17.

### BEAUTIFUL TO BEHOLD: MUSIC AS A VISUAL ART

The performance of a polyphonic Office or Mass for the Dead instantly endowed the occasion and thus the commemorated person with an air of dignity and solemnity. Even a monophonic setting of the Office, sung by a full choir, conveyed to those present a sense of the importance and prominence of the deceased in death and indicated by extension an analogous position in life. The lavish illustrations, decorative schemes and pen flourishes found in some Books of Hours clearly reflect the social and economic footing of the book owner, and the presence of music in the Book of Hours similarly expressed this. The musical notation becomes a representative of both the sound and sight of the Office of the Dead: it demonstrates through the visual richness of the decorated parchment the aural richness that is tacitly present in the markings of the notation.

That the presence of music in the Book of Hours would have had attached to it a certain caché, is born out by the existence of 'presentation' copies of musical manuscripts, such as the famous Florence copy of the repertoire *Magnus Liber Organi*,<sup>49</sup> as well as through the value placed on even an unadorned songbook, new or battered with frequent use.<sup>50</sup> The wills and bequests of singers and clerics attest to the value of these liturgical books. In 942, Theodred, Bishop of London, was carefully donating 'his best Mass-book' to the church of St Pauls, London,<sup>51</sup> and five hundred years later, such books still ranked among the valuable possessions that an individual would highlight with specific bequests. In 1514, both Sir John Cokker and Sir Thomas Abbot, London priests, left

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> A 'presentation' manuscript here refers to lavish books that were presented or given as gifts with the intention that they be admired and displayed rather than necessarily put to use. Florence: Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, *MS Pluteus 29.1*, French, mid thirteenth century. Hoppin, *Medieval Music*, 217-218, 220-221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Richard Stokeley, a chantry priest from the London parish church of St Swithun's, paid for his memorial in 1513 with a noted book, in this instance, an Antiphoner: "I bequeth to the parish church of Yexsale in Staffordshier wheras I was cristened, to thentent that the parson, curate and parisshons of the same and their successours shuld pray for my soule, my fader and moder soules and for Elizabeth, my suster and all Crysten soules, 10 mark, therwith to bye a booke called an antiphanar, notid and compete to be written in parchment or velome by manys hand, to serve within the queer of the same church…" Darlington, ed. *LRS 3*, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> "To St. Paul's church the two best chausublles that I have, with all the things which belong to them, together with a chalice, and one cup. And my best Mass-book, and the best relics that I have to St Pauls church." Theodred, Bishop of London, 942. Dorothy Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills: Edited with translation and notes*, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge: 1930).

music books to their respective parishes. Among the items detailed by Thomas Abbot was a "lytell with Placebo and diryge", that is, a small book containing just the text and music for the Office of the Dead.<sup>52</sup>

While the majority of Books of Hours cannot be considered presentation manuscripts, books made for display rather than use, since they were used for daily devotions and have neither the quantity or quality of decoration found in presentation copies, the music inside these books does have some congruence with manuscripts of that nature. In presentation copies of music books such as antiphonals, graduals, or missals that were lavishly decorated and magnificently presented, the elegant hand of the notational scribe increased the beauty of the whole, but his efforts may never have been intended to be read and voiced by a music practitioner. On a much less lavish scale, the music included in Books of Hours might be similarly unused by the reader as a tool for performance, but just as assuredly admired by him or her. In addition, music often appears in those horae and Psalters that come closest to presentation book status: the heavily illustrated and illuminated books for a wealthy clientele. The celebrated Luttrell Psalter, BL Add. MS 42130, for example, one of the most richly illustrated English books of the late Middle Ages, also contains a noted Office of the Dead, and though it is incomplete (ending after the third versicle of the ninth lesson in Matins), the quality is in keeping with the high standard of work elsewhere. It does not contain miniatures, historiated initials, or intricate border schemes, but rather is made lovely by the quality and clarity of the scribal work and page layout.

The Oscott Psalter, BL Add. MS 50000, is not a music book *per se*, and does not contain any other notation. The opening of the Office of the Dead is dignified with a historiated initial in the P

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Sir John Cokker, wrote: "I bequeth to the church of Pappaye a manuell prynted, to the auter where I have use to syng in Elsyng Spitell a Masse booke and a peur of vestmentes." *London Record Society 3*, 7; Thomas Abbot wrote: "I bequeith to the said churche of seynt George a prynted portas, a pye, a lytell with Placebo and diryge,...", Darlington, ed. *LRS 3*, 2.; One such book containing just the Office of the Dead is *MS 12544*, now found in the collection of the London Oratory. Unusually, the scribe of this volume obligingly dated his work, noting the year of its completion as 1469. Ker and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, III, 165.

at *Placebo* for Matins, <sup>53</sup> as well as with text and setting. One of the beauties of Gregorian or square notation, is that it creates a textual openness not usually found in manuscripts of this period containing only text. The notation, in order to be functional, forces the scribe to leave space for separations between neumes, so that an individual punctum, podatus or clivis is not mistaken for a distropha, scandicus or climacus. 54 This has the subsidiary effect of creating a mise-en-page that is open, with fully scribed text and large spaces between lines. The Oscott Psalter is a fair sized book, measuring 30 x 19 cm, written in a clear hand. This clarity becomes even more evident in the noted sections of the Office of the Dead, where very few textual abbreviations are in evidence, gaps are left between words so as to align with neumes, and staves separate the lines of text.<sup>55</sup> The generous allowance of parchment that noted manuscripts required raised the value of the manuscript, making it not only an object of beauty, but also an expensive artifact.

Not all manuscripts containing a musical Office of the Dead are as completely notated as the Oscott Psalter. Some, catering to a less wealthy, or, perhaps, more informed clientele, are more economical in their use of parchment and notate only opening incipits for the responsories and antiphons. The Book of Hours from St John's College, Cambridge, MS G. 34, has these short notational passages at regular junctures in the Office of the Dead. These incipits are enough to remind a knowledgeable or familiar reader which melody follows, without an extravagant use of expensive materials.

Musical notation, itself providing a form of visual beautification, did not replace the more common decorative border schemes, miniatures or historiated initials. However, images and decorative schemes that accompany a noted Office are noticeably smaller, and less elaborate than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> See fig. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> By placing a single note in close proximity to the first three, the second three may be read. For example, the single punctum, when another punctum is placed close to it, could be read as a two note ligature, the distropha, where both notes are pulsed on the same siyllable. See Parrish, Notation, 4-11, for a further definition of these terms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> See Michael Camille, *Images on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: 1992), for further discussion of how reading practice altered the layout of books, and particularly, the use of margin spaces. Also M.B. 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. J.J. G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford: 1976).

illustrations accompanying a plain text Office. Longeat 11 (f. 208) and the Oscott Psalter (f. 233), for example, both have illustrations, but they are smallish historiated initials containing a simplified funeral service. Elaborate decorations such as miniatures must have been avoided in part because there was less available space for them, but also because the notation itself became a replacement for these visual embellishments, particularly, for elaborate border decorations. In instances where both decoration and notation are present, it may be restricted to flourished initials of moderate size, as in the Luttrell Psalter (f. 296), and MS G. 34 (f.64). In addition to the above mentioned space issues, the modest images are also in keeping with the style of book illumination from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when many of the fully notated Offices were scribed.

Books of Hours became very popular in the fifteenth-century, and in these Books of Hours from the late medieval period, the Office of the Dead is much more frequently embellished with an intricate miniature, or an ornate border decoration, than with music. The representation of music as sound, i.e. though notational language, is less common than the representation of music as ceremonial, i.e. as an image of people *producing* sound - sound previously represented on the page. The means by which the reader, or indeed the singer, is assisted in the correct execution of the musical Office is removed from perusal by a lay audience. This may suggest that in the later middle ages, the capability existed for silent reading to be accessible to more people, and that the Book of Hours, being a book intended for the practice of a personal devotional program, lent itself to this internal contemplation. While keeping in mind the complexities of the orality-literacy relationship, this infrequent appearance of music in decorative schemes may reflect a shift in reading habits from the *primarily* external activity of the early medieval reader, to the increasingly internal activity of the later Middle Ages, where the production of physical sound for the edification of oneself and others

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Saenger, "Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," *passim*. This does not indicate that private reading practices, i.e. reading alone and solely for one's own benefit, replaced the older practice of reading aloud for the benefit of oneself as well as one's listeners.

is de-emphasized in favour of a quieter, more individual activity.<sup>57</sup> Reading was performative, as music is also performative, and as the act of reading, itself once a performance, becomes internalized, the decoration of the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours is altered to reflect this change in mentality. The images accompanying the Office of the Dead and Requiem Mass now show the reader figures who are in the act of singing, but like the reader, they are silent: the 'voice of the page' sounds, and sings, internally.

# JOB: FUNEREAL PROTAGONIST AND PATRON SAINT OF MUSIC

None of the above addresses the issue of why the Office the Dead alone among the Offices contained in a standard Book of Hours might be found with musical notation. While examples do exist of musical notation being found in Books of Hours elsewhere than the Office of the Dead, these usually accompany unusual texts such as hymns added to the end of the books. No examples of music attending the other principal Offices or prayers found in these compilation volumes exist. Some suggestions for the close link between the Office of the Dead and music have already been discussed, but one that has not yet been mentioned is the connection between the main biblical voice in the Office, that of Job, with music and musicians. Job was principally known as a patron saint of skin diseases such as leprosy, but he also became one of the patron saints of musicians, and as such began to appear in altarpieces for musicians' guilds.<sup>58</sup> The English evidence is admittedly slight, but it seems worth speculating that the importance of Job to the Office of the Dead, and his role as a patron of music, may have lead to an increased emphasis on music in the Office, and thus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> See Coleman, "Interactive Parchment: The Theory and Practice of Medieval English Aurality,", 63-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Both of these aspects of Job are seen in a French woodcut from the end of the fifteenth century now in the Cabinet of Prints in Berlin. In this image, Job is seated in the centre, covered in sores and flogged by a large devil who stands behind him. At his feet two small figures, also covered in sores, kneel in supplicate prayer before their patron saint. In the background to the right of the central Job figure is a scene of Job on the dunghill, being serenaded by three musicians, two playing oboes, and one a trumpet. M. Lannois, "Job, sa femme et les musiciens," Aesculape (1939): 195, 196.

encouraged the appearance of written music in Books of Hours. Accordingly, the following discussion focuses on Job and his relationship to music as a key figure in the Office of the Dead. <sup>59</sup>

Job, the protagonist, if one can put it that way, of the Office of the Dead, provides link between the text and music of this Office through the relationship both have with this biblical figure. The Book of Job, as discussed above, is one of the principle biblical texts of the Office along with the Psalms. Job himself becomes the main biblical figure of the service, and the one who speaks for both the deceased and the mourning in the liturgy of the Office. Job numbered among the patron saints of music, though the development of this role is not very clear; <sup>60</sup> early writings on the Book of Job as a whole, and those that comment on the character of Job, largely do not make mention of any musical connections, and while the Book of Job itself makes several references to music, it does not form a main element of the story, and cannot sufficiently explain the place of Job as the patron of musicians. <sup>61</sup>

Job was primarily understood by the Western Church as a model of faith and patience, that is, in a principally allegorical and tropological sense. His story was one that exemplified Christian virtues and the rewards of unwavering devotion. While there is little in the Book of Job about music or musicians that could explain the later relationship, the Eastern Church developed an apocryphal text, the *Testamentum in Job*, which embellished Job's story with additional trials and tribulations as well as details about his life.<sup>62</sup> In the *Testamentum*, the events are narrated by Nereus, the brother of Job, who learned the story himself from Job just before Job's death. This more detailed narrative of Job's life begins with the information that Job was a wealthy nobleman who entertained lavishly. On these occasions he would have musicians play for the guests at the table, and when they became

<sup>59</sup> For a broader discussion of Job in the Office of the Dead and commorative practices, see above, Chapter Three.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> The others being St Cecilia, St John the Baptist and St Wilgefortis. Kathi Meyer, "St Job as Patron of Music," *The Art Bulletin* 36 (1954): 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Job, 21:12, 30:31 and 38:3-7 make reference to musical activities. Besserman, Legend of Job, 65.

 $<sup>^{62}</sup>$  Quotations from the Testament of Job used here are from a translation by Kraft, ed. The Testament of Job: according to the SV text.

tired, he would himself take up the harp and continue to entertain his company. 63 At the end of the tale, after Job has undergone his various privations, Nereus relates that Job gives each of his three daughters a magic belt which will enable them to understand the choirs of heaven so that they might respond in kind when the angels came to carry Job's soul to heaven, and devote the remainder of their lives to the worship and praise of God with music and singing. To assist them in this task, they are also given his harp, a censer, and a drum.<sup>64</sup>

This apocryphal text was suppressed at an early period in both synagogue and church, however, it continued to be popular and became part of the Islamic tradition as well as the Christian. 65 It was via the Islamic community in Spain that the Testamentum in Job worked its way back into the collection of Western Christian legends. The text, or rather the story recorded in this text, traveled from Spain and Northern Italy with the jongleurs into France and England, where it influenced poems and plays such as La Pacience de Job and The Story of Holy Job. 66 One of the main contributions of the Testamentum to the story of Job is the emphasis on music and musicians.

Both of the poems mentioned above, La Pacience de Job and The Story of Holy Job, relate an incident where the friends of Job fetch their instruments and play for Job, hoping to cheer up their

<sup>63 &</sup>quot;And I used to have six Psalms and a ten-stringed lyre. And I would arise daily after the widows were fed and I would take the lyre and play for them [the servants], and they [the widows] would chant. And by means of Psaltery I would remind them of God so that they might glorify the Lord, and if my maidservants ever began murmuring, I would take up the Psaltery and play for them the payment of recompense." Ibid., 37.

<sup>64 &</sup>quot;And he...brought forth three bands, shimmering, so that no man could describe their form, since they are not from earth but are from heaven, flashing with bright sparks like of the sun, and he gave each of the daughters one band saying, 'place these around your breast so that it may go well with you all the days of your life...it is a protective amulet of the Lord. Rise, then, gird them around you before I die in order that you may be able to see those who are coming for my departures, so that you may marvel at the creatures of God. Thus, when the one of the daughters called Hemera arose, she wrapped herself just as her Father said. And she received another heart, so that she no longer thought about earthly things. And she chanted verses in the angelic language, and ascribed a hymn to God in accord with the hymnic style of the angels." The other two daughters, Kassia and Amaltheias-keras, are described as receiving 'the dialect of the archons' and 'the dialect of the cherubim' respectively. Ibid., 79-83; Besserman, Legend of Job, 46; Meyer, "St Job as Patron of Music," 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> In the synagogue by the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, and by the church in 496 AD by Pope Gelasius. Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> La Pacience de Job is anonymous Middle French mystery play that survives in a single manuscript of c. 1475. There were twelve editions of the work between 1529-1625, and 13 recorded performances between 1514 - 1651. Besserman suggests it may have been the most significant medieval vernacular composition on the Job theme. Besserman, Legend of Job, 90-91, 94-97. Garmonsway and Raymo, "Metrical Life of Job," 77-78;; Meyer, "St Job as Patron of Music," 24.

friend with music – a gesture that indicates Job must have been a music lover. This is supported by the biblical text as well, when Job recalls his former life and laments, "My cithara is now attuned to funeral laments, / And my flute is good only for the dirge of mourners". <sup>67</sup> The English poem, alone among the extant writings on Job's story, introduces the idea that the players are a group of traveling minstrels, rather than his comforters, whom Job rewards with pieces of skin that change into gold. The players show their earnings to Job's wife, who scolds him for wasting money on trivialities like music when they have not enough money for bread. <sup>68</sup> The text of the *Story* says:

This sore syk man syttyng on this foule dongehill, There cam mynstrelles before hym, pleying meryly. Mony had he none to reward aftyr his will, But gave theym the brode scabbes of his sore body, Whiche turned unto golde, as sayth the story. The mynstrelles than shewid and tolde to Iob his wife That he so reward them; where-fore she gan to stryfe.

Than saying unto Iob in angre this woman, "To mynstrelles and players thow [g]evyst golde largely, But thou hidest thi gode from me, lyke a false man,' And with many seducious wordes openly There hym rebuked with language most sharply.<sup>69</sup> (lines 120-131)

The scene was repeated in *La Pacience de Job*, and it seems to be from this sketch that the minstrels became a popular iconographic theme in the middle ages. Interestingly, the anonymous author of the middle English text indicates at line 124 that he has related the advent of the minstrels and their payment 'as sayth the story', suggesting that this incident was perhaps also found in other now lost vernacular writings on the story of Job. Alternatively, by referring to fictional 'other stories', the author may be trying to confer the authority of tradition on his own creative impulse in inventing this episode. In this work, as well as the *Testamentum in Iob* and the biblical text, Job is portrayed as one who appreciates music.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> *Job*, 30:31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Meyer, "St Job as Patron of Music," 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> As transcribed in Garmonsway and Raymo, "Metrical Life of Job," 93-95.

A discussion of a musical Job in the context of the Book of Hours naturally invites reflection on another, more well known biblical musician who has a strong presence in these manuscripts, King David. The most common depiction of a musician in Books of Hours, Psalters and Psalter-Hours is that of David with his harp, and an image of Job playing music or listening to musicians would have reminded readers of King David and his Psalms; certainly, there are consonances to be found between the two biblical figures. Just as the book of Psalms follows the book of Job in the Bible, so to are the Penitential Psalms included in close proximity to the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours, where the reader might encounter David and his harp just before reading of Job. One finds echos in the Penitential Psalms of Job's plight, in particular in psalm 38, in which David petitions God for mercy and relief from physical and mental anguish. The nature of Job's bodily afflictions are echoed in Davids words when he sings,

My wounds stink and are corrupt because of my foolishness. I am troubled; I am bowed down greatly; I go mourning all the day long. For my loins are filled with a loathsome disease: and there is no soundness in my flesh. I am feeble and sore broken.<sup>70</sup>

Both David and Job, in addition to these physical ailments, articulate isolation from friends and family that has resulted: David says, "My lovers and my friends stand aloof from my sore; and my kinsmen stand afar off", while Job extends this theme, saying:

He hath put my brethren far from me, and my acquaintance like strangers have departed from me. My kinsmen have forsaken me, and they that knew me, have forgotten me. They that dwell in my house, and my maidservants have counted me as a stranger, and I have been like an alien in their eyes. ...My wife hath abhorred my breath.<sup>71</sup>

The close proximity of the Penitential Psalms and the Offices of the Dead with its readings from the Book of Job would have encouraged the reader of the Book of Hours to make a link between these two important figures via such textual congruences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Psalms, 38:5-8. See also Job, 2:7 and 8:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Psalms, 38:11; Job, 19:13-17.

The early pictorial tradition of Job focused largely on images of Job on the dunghill with his three comforters, or with his wife giving him bread. However, from the fourteenth century the influence of the popular *Testamentum in Job* and texts such as the *Story of Holy Job* and *La Pacience de Job* becomes more evident, and the theme of Job and the musicians is one that starts to appear in manuscript illuminations of the later medieval period, particularly in France. That such images appear in a popular genre such as the Book of Hours suggests that the *Testamentum in Job*, or at least the story as transmitted through its incarnation in *The Story of Holy Job*, *La Patience de Job* and other like works, was familiar to late medieval readers. While there are very few English examples, we see an impact of *The Story of Holy Job* in images produced on the continent.<sup>72</sup>

The central panel of the Altar of St Job, an altarpiece painted by the Master of the Legend of St Barbara c. 1485, shows the incident with the musicians on the dunghill as it is described in the English *Story of Holy Job*.<sup>73</sup> At the bottom right we see the three musicians, each carrying horns, surrounding Job as he sits, naked, on a small stone stool. Two of them standing behind Job, are clearly engaged in playing, as they hold the instruments up, checks puffed out with air. The third member of their party kneels to the left of Job, holding his horn to his chest with one hand while with the other he accepts some coins. Job gazes toward the kneeling musician to whom he hands the coins, while with the other hand he picks at a sore on his chest. In the centre middle ground we see the next installment of the story: the minstrels stand around Job's wife, carrying their instruments under their arms while one of them holds up a hand to show her the money that they received from her husband. To the far right in the middle ground the final scene of this incident is acted out, as Job is chastised by his wife for wasting money on frivolities and entertainments while they struggle to find enough money for bread.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> While the English example are limited, the treatment of this subject in French books provides some context for understanding the late medieval cult of Job and his association with music.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> The painting is held in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Meyer, "St Job as Patron of Music," 29; Samuel L. Terrien, *The Iconography of Job through the Centuries: artists as Biblical interpreters* (University Park, Pa.: 1996), 114.

The slightly uneasy relationship between purveyors of secular music and the Church is shown in a French illumination found in a late fifteenth century Book of Hours, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 1381, f. 62.<sup>75</sup> Here again we have Job and the musicians, this time augmented by a group of listeners. There appear to be only two principal musicians in this image, the musician with the single stringed bowed instrument, perhaps a simple rebec, in the foreground on the left, and a lutenist just behind him. There is a third man who might be considered part of this group who stands behind the shoulder of the lutenist. He does not hold an instrument, and if intended to be included as a member of the musical party, is presumably the vocalist. However, it seems more likely given the position of this third character, that he is not meant as one of the musicians, but is simply the nearest of the group of three listeners, perhaps these are Job's friends or comforters. The dynamic illustrated here between the musicians and Job is unusual. The minstrels themselves seems fairly disinterested; one glances toward Job, while the other looks down at his fingers. In response, Job reacts to them with a disapprobation that can be read in his stern and oblique gaze, as well as in his self contained hand gesture. Perhaps here Job, as a representative of the virtuous life, is demonstrating his own, and by association the Church's, distrust of itinerant minstrels and jongleurs who made a living from performing secular music.

There is ambiguity about the role of the musicians in these images: are they a comfort to Job in his tribulations or are they adding insult to injury with an assault of raucous noise? The images from the altarpiece by the Master of the Legend of Saint Barbara seem to indicate the minstrels were a welcome distraction, appreciated and even paid for their troubles. However, the image from Bib. Nat. lat. 1381 is more difficult to interpret. Here it is possible to see Job drawing away from the musicians, as I have suggested above. One could interpret Job's reaction to the minstrels as an indication that 'le seul objet de leur présence est de tourner Job en dérision, l'importuner de gestes

<sup>75</sup> The Office of the Dead here follows the use of Rouen. Philippe Lauer, Bibliothèque Nationale Catalogue général des manuscrits latins, vol. I (Paris: 1939), 520, cat. 1381; V. Leroquais, Les livre d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Paris: 1927), 205.

burlesques ou de bruits discordants.<sup>76</sup> This type of behavior on the part of the players would have been expected by the Church authorities from traveling musicians perceived as morally ambiguous. Alternatively, as suggested by M. Lannois, one can interpret Job's gestures and expression as a reflection of the moving effect of the music on Job himself, the listeners, and the musicians. <sup>77</sup>

The most popular musical iconography for Job is derived from the English *Story of Holy Job*, and it is clear that this story as well as the *Testamentum in Job*, influenced French and Flemish writers and artists. However, the number of images portraying Job at the Office of the Dead in English Books of Hours are few. Trinity College Cambridge, MS B. 11. 7, f. 85, contains an image of Job on the dunghill in the historiated initial V at the antiphon *Verba mea*. Job is seated nude on a grassy hillock to the left of the image, and faces towards three visitors who stand in front of him in rich costume. While this where the musicians make their appearance, it is clear from their dress and their lack of instruments that here we have the three friends of Job, depicted as wealthy neighbours, rather than as the minstrels. Another rare depiction of Job is that found in Kongelige Bibliotek MS Thott 547.4, f. 43, discussed above.<sup>78</sup> Again, there is no sign of Job's involvement with the musicians. Neither does the theme of Job and the musicians appear in the wall painting at St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.<sup>79</sup>

A similar type of image can be found in an unusual manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. This manuscript, MS 57 (cat. 12), produced c. 1490, has two miniatures at the Office of the Dead on ff. 125v-126: a historiated initial showing a funeral executed in an English style on f. 126, and a larger full page illumination on the facing page completed in a Flemish idiom. 80 This full

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Lannois, "Job, sa femme et les musiciens," 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> "...Job, les yeux au ciel, porte une main à son ccoeur pour en coprimer les battements, tandis que le tambourinair et le jouer de luth le regardent d'un air profondément apitoyé et que les assisants (les trois amis de Job) écoutent avec recueillement." Ibid.: 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 504, cat. 691. See above, Chapter Three.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Ibid., 498-499, cat. 680. See also Binski, Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets . See above, Chapter Three.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, *MS 57*, Hours, English and Flemish, c. 1490 (cat. 12). The original book was illustrated in England, but was later added to either in Flanders, or by a Flemish trained artist. M. R. James and Fitzwilliam Museum. Library, *A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: 1895), 142-149.

page miniature is divided into several panels: four down the left had side, one large image in the top right, and four smaller panels below it. These panels contain various images from the life of Job. In the centre of the bottom series of images, we see Job in affliction sitting on a heap of straw, and accompanied by two men, one of whom carries a lute. As here the figure carries an instrument and there are only two of them, this may not be Job with his comforters, but an unusual example of Job with the musicians found in an English Book of Hours.

The link between Job and music was known and embraced in the medieval Church, as demonstrated at the site of a pilgrimage devoted to the a cult of Job. The church of Saint Martin in the village of Wezemaal near Louvain in Belgium was a thriving pilgrimage destination for the cult of Saint Job in the latter half of the fifteenth century.<sup>81</sup> The cult was first mentioned in church records in 1437 and reached its peak in the final decades of that century. During the week of the May 10th, the feast day of Saint Job, particular attention was paid to the music involved in the celebration of the divine service as music fell under the auspices of their adopted saint. During the celebration of Job's feast day the Mass was accompanied by polyphonic music sung by three adult singers (tenor alto and bass) and six boy choristers. In addition, musicians travelled from nearby cities, such as Louvain, to perform in the village and the church on this day.<sup>82</sup> Records show that three pipers played before the statue, perhaps recreating the three musicians from the story. Finally, the records show that in 1481 this feast day also saw the performance of the Saint Job mystery play.<sup>83</sup> It is clear that Job's musical associations were well established in the mind of the medieval worshiper, and indeed, the pilgrim badges sold to those who traveled to take part in the festivities

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> The popularity of the cult is reflected in the sale of pilgrim badges. The 1472-1473 account from St Martins records the sale of 636 tokens on the feast of St Job. Kroon, "Medieval Pilgrim Badges," I, 390.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., I, 391

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., I, 390.

did not reproduce an image of the venerated statue or altar, but rather showed Job and the three musicians.<sup>84</sup>

It seems that though the theme of Job and the minstrels was most clearly articulated in the English poem, *The Story of Holy Job* as seen above, the scene was not popular among English illuminators or patrons. This disinterest is in keeping with the comparative lack of images depicting scenes from the Book of Job as illustrations of the Office of the Dead in English Books of Hours when compared to their French and Flemish counterparts. Keeping in mind the accidents of survival, it seems that this popularity on the continent is also reflected in the greater number of extant copies of works such as *La Patience de Job* and the *Neuf leçons de Job* when compared with the surviving copies of the English *Story of Holy Job*.

#### "SCRIPTUM EST ANNO DOMINI..."85: MADE BY WHOM?

Books such as these raise many questions regarding how they came to be. Do we know who commissioned them? What does this information tell us of likelihood of music being included with the text of the Office of the Dead? Is the music part of the original making of the book or are the leaves added later by another hand? They are difficult questions to address satisfactorily, and we have seen that information regarding patron or commission might be scant. In the face of a lack of information regarding the original commissions, another question arises. If we cannot know *for* whom the books were produced, can we know *by* whom the noted *horae* were made?

Reinhard Strohm, in an article dealing with the relationship between the movement of musical manuscripts and European politics, identifies three general types of music book that were 'making the rounds' in political circles. The first group are working manuscripts: those that were written for the purpose of copying, fascicle-manuscripts, which, as tools, were rarely preserved.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds., *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles, Plates, Studies in medieval and Reformation traditions (Leiden: 2005), Fig. 187.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> No name or date is given, but the phrase appears in an Officium mortuorum, London Oratory MS 12544, f. 86.

There are also the richly decorated and copied musical codices that were exchanged as diplomatic gifts between royal patrons - such presentation books often ended up in collections where there was little practical use for the contents. However, the third group is perhaps the most interesting in terms of the noted Book of Hours. These were the non-musical books to which music was added, often by clerics, friars, schoolmasters, and other such persons involved in teaching, who used these books as material in teaching the subjects of the quadrivium. The seems possible that the noted Book of Hours may have served a similar educational purpose, especially given the tradition and widespread use of the Primer in England as a tool for teaching basic literacy. Just as the familiar prayers and texts of the Primer taught reading skills, some of these noted books may have been employed in teach young boys in an ecclesiastical environment the rudiments of plainchant using the familiar and often heard Office of the Dead.

Andrew Wathey, in his article on the production of books of liturgical polyphony in England, makes the point that the production of books of music, and here specifically polyphony, has been assumed to follow already known trends in book production and circulation. He writes that in various studies on the subject,

...the production of books of polyphony has been assimilated to patterns of production known for other, superficially similar forms of book. Thus the production and dissemination of choirbooks was equated with that of books of Hours, for which extensive retail and export trades were known to exist.<sup>88</sup>

A dichotomy is indicated here between the production of music books, and the production of Books of Hours, which suggests that the manufacture of these two genres of book in fact followed

87 Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Strohm notes that this pattern of distribution is also common with Books of Hours. Reinhard Strohm, "European Politics and the Distribution of Music in the Early Fifteenth-Century," *Early Music History* 1 (1981): 317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup>Andrew Wathey, "The Production of Books of Liturgical Polyphony," in *Book production and publishing in Britain,* 1375-1475, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Albert Pearsall, *Cambridge studies in publishing and printing history* (Cambridge: 1989), 143.

different methods. What happens then, when the Book of Hours itself, albeit in a modest capacity, becomes a conveyer of music?

In contrast to other liturgical books, books of music were rarely purchased from, commissioned from or copied by professional stationers, though such professionals did execute stages of the book making process that did not require any knowledge of musical notation, such as collating and binding.<sup>89</sup> We find the following record of 1467 from the churchwarden accounts for St Michael Cornhill, London, a London bookbinder and stationer being paid for such a service: "To Robert Burton stacyoner for new byndyng & new helyng of a grayell and an antyphoner of the chirche xvi s iiij d; to Robert Burton Stacyoner for new byndyng and new helyng of the new prikked song boke ij s viij d.'<sup>90</sup> Choir books and other noted books used in the celebration of the Mass and Office were most often copied by musician who were members of the community that required the new book.<sup>91</sup> That is, new music books were made from one, or several exemplars as they were required, by and for a given community. The scribe who did the copying would have been familiar with musical notation and thus been better able to preserve the textual and musical integrity of the contents than a scribe who was unable to understand the notation.<sup>92</sup>

Wathey notes that in the fifteenth century, even as polyphony becomes a more standard requirement for the performance of the Mass and thus books of polyphony more necessary, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Burgess and Wathey, "Mapping the Soundscape," 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> C. Paul Christianson, A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans, 1300-1500 (New York: 1989), 77.

<sup>91</sup> Wathey, "The Production of Books of Liturgical Polyphony," 148-149.

<sup>92</sup> In the 1487-1488 churchwarden account for St Mary at Hill, London, there is a note that money has been paid to the clerk of a neighbouring parish for the repair of an antiphoner: "Paide to Thomas fferour, Clarke of Seynte Andrews, for mending of an olde antyphoner, to peace it, to wryte it and to note yt and also to newe bynde yt, vj s viijd." This Thomas seems to have been a fairly proficient bookmaker, who did not merely add the notation, but was also able to 'peece', 'wryte' and 'bynde'. Such skills as seem to have been possessed by Thomas Fferour could have earned him a tidy second income producing and repairing the choirbooks of his own and neighbouring parishes to supplement his wage as a clerk. In the procurement of music books the chantry priest, hired to sing the Office of the Dead who we have seen was a considerable contributor to the musical life of a parish, can again be found providing musical services to their community. Another entry for that same year records payment to the clerk Alexander Worsley who was sent to speak with the chantry priest William Palmer regarding an antiphoner that had been commissioned from him. "Item, delyuered to Alexander worsley, clarke, for to Ride to speke with Sir William Palmer ffor the Antiphoner that he hath to wryte, vj s viij d". Littlehales, ed. *Medieval Records (St. Mary at Hill)*, 131, 133.

usual method of procuring such a volume was by having a singer of the foundation copy out the desired settings.<sup>93</sup> It should be noted however, that this was not always the case. By the end of the fifteenth century polyphonic music, even in fairly modestly endowed parishes, was standard, and the stationers surely would have made an effort to meet the increasing demand for these noted books. This is borne out by the records of the Mystery of London Stationers which record one William Barell, who in 1490 was paid 40s "for writing & noting of certain Masses bynding & repairing of diuers bokis in the saied chapell." Clearly Mr Barell was practised at writing musical notation, which perhaps suggests at least a basic level of music comprehension, as well as underlining the movement of music book production away from the musicians themselves to the book industry.

While the production of more modest liturgical musical books does move into the province of the stationers trade, 95 music books largely remain made-to-order even after the advent of printing. The specialist nature of music copying, and perhaps the value of such books, is suggested by Richard Stokeley, a chantry priest from the London parish church of St Swithun's, who paid for his memorial in 1513 with a noted book, in this instance, an Antiphoner. He specifies that it be "notid and complete to be written in parchment or velome by manys hand, to serve within the queer of the same church..." The resulting book would have been both large and expensive: by 1513, printed books were fairly common, yet Richard specifies that it be written by hand, and on parchment, which suggests that printed music was not yet commonly available, or at least, not of the quality he desired. Printing music posed problems, and what was often used instead was a

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<sup>93</sup> Wathey, "The Production of Books of Liturgical Polyphony," 149-150.

<sup>94</sup> Christianson, A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans, 1300-1500, 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> William Barell was paid 3s 4d in 1491 "for ij bokis of priksong conteynyng diuers Masses bought this yere", indicating that some music books were available from stationers shops. Ibid. .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Darlington, ed. LRS 3, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Certainly, though specimens of printed music had appeared in England as early as the 1470s, the problems inherent in setting music using a movable type process were not satisfactorily resolved until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century by the Venetian printer Ottaviano Petrucci. The process used by Petrucci was still a labour intensive one requiring three impressions: one for staves, one for notes and musical signs, and a last for texts, initials, signatures and page numbers. The system relied on great accuracy on the part of the printers dealing with the registration of the pages. Samuel F. Pogue, "The Earliest Music Printing in France," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 50 (1987): 35; Translation of Pope Leo X letter to Petrucci in William H. Cummings, "Music-Printing," *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 11th session (1884-1885): 103-104.

combination of movable type printing and block printing or even handwriting.<sup>98</sup> It seems that Richard Stokely wasn't impressed with the quality of the printed liturgical music available to him. Or, he may have simply wished to bequeath to his church an object that he could be sure was worthy of his memory - one that would be valuable, high quality and long lived, and in the early years of the sixteenth century this was more likely in a handwritten manuscript.

Books of Hours, in the early years of growing popularity, were commissioned by individuals who could, and would, make specific requests regarding the content and decoration of the new book. Presumably, volumes that were made with musical notation included it at the request of the patron. It seems unlikely that this expensive addition would have come as a standard element of the *borae*, and indeed, there are few extant examples. Early Books of Hours were often combined with Psalters, and were written by monastic scribes. If this was the case, then only a single scribe would have been necessary to complete both text and notation. However, by the fifteenth century, Books of Hours were popular, and stationers had responded to the demand for these books by producing them before they were bespoke, having them at the ready for the casual consumer. Music in these volumes is slightly more mysterious, as the stationer scribes were not usually equipped with the necessary skills for music copying. Perhaps, as with other areas of expertise, the sections of the book requiring musical notation were subcontracted out to other scribes in the network, much in the same manner that initials and illuminations were.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> In the first combination pages were printed with text and blank spaces were left for the music, which would be added in a second printing from wood blocks carved with the relevant bit of musical notation. In these books, the quality of the text and the quality of the music could be at odds, suggesting that two printers were involved in producing such volumes. Alec Hyatt King, "The 500th Anniversary of Music Printing: The Gradual of c. 1473," *The Musical Times* 41 (1973): 1223. In the second instance, the text and staves were printed in the first impression, and the neumes themselves were then later added by hand to the printed staff lines. Several examples remain where the neumes were never added, leaving the book with pages of blank staves. Cummings, "Music-Printing," 101-102.

These Books of Hours became music books, recording and transmitting the music of the liturgy of the dead to an audience that was unaccustomed to having music made available to them, and who were largely unable to read it when it was. In considering how this popular compilation of texts was used by its readership, some reasons for the inclusion of music can be tendered.

The music for the Office of the Dead could be seen to function as a method to link the lay reader with the monastic performer and thus, with a holy and regulated way of life. The music is an accurate reflection of the musical experience of the Office, maintaining its liturgical and musical integrity though copied for an audience. The reader, through the presence of the music on the page, is better able to connect with the experience of the performed Office of the Dead, and with the singers who performed it. In a similar fashion, the music for Office of the Dead in these *horae* can be viewed as reminders to a non music-literate readership, of the shape, sound and contour of an Office with which they were already familiar. The disposition of neumes on the page acted as a visual mnemonic to readers who were accustomed to viewing script in this associative manner. In addition, music was understood as an aural decoration, a jewel in the liturgy of the Church. It was associated with an atmosphere of holiness, awe, and mystery and as such helped to recreate these ideas in the mind of reader when confronted by its visual presence. Finally, musical notation was itself a decorative gesture: it was expensive, it was valuable, and it was rare in the visual experience of many medieval readers.

While many of the books discussed above have been extensively analysed and documented as regards the artistic content, the presence of music has been largely ignored. Descriptive and library catalogues containing synopsizes of the contents of the manuscripts may not mention the occurance of musical notation. Art historians and musicologists, unfortunately, do not tend to communicate well over their disciplinary boundaries, and as a result, this music has been overlooked: the art historian, lacking the skills required to deal with medieval notational styles sets the material

<sup>99</sup> See above, this Chapter, "The Sources".

aside for a musicologist, while the musicologist remains unaware that these unlikely sources contain music at all. Each of the possible reasons for the presence of this music in Books of Hours tendered above contributes to our understanding of a subject not much addressed in the literature, and provide reasons why music, a fairly restricted skill and visual commodity, might have made an appearance in books produced for a general audience.

#### ∞ CONCLUSIONS ∞

#### WIDER INFLUENCE OF THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

This thesis had focused on the images of the Office of the Dead in English prayer books, but of course there are many other ways in which the influence of the Office of the Dead in a culture that emphasised commemoration impacted on the visual world of the parishioner. The texts of the Office of the Dead, for example, would have been familiar not only from the frequent performance of the service on the occasion of a death or mind day, but also from its use on the commemorative 'furniture' such as tombs and brasses that dotted church interiors. Jerome Bertram has found that the principal source of text for brass and incised slabs in Sussex and Oxfordshire was the Book of Hours or Primer. The use of particular phrases from the Book of Job on such memorial would be valued not only for the sense of the words and their appropriateness to the occasion, but also because such phrases became echoes of the Office of the Dead itself, a shorthand for the full performance of this beneficial liturgical event. In addition, the abbreviated biblical texts found in the Office of the Dead are the ones that tended to influence religious iconography seen in slabs and brasses and well as wall painting, rather than the original biblical sources.<sup>2</sup>

The placement of these tombs and brasses, as well as the creation of chantry chapels and altars, could alter the interior of the church, and became foci for services. The chantry priest William Cambridge from the parish church at St Mary at Hill, for example, wanted his tomb to become the regular site of memorial services. In a more thrifty vein, the Catesby family brass in the church of Blisworth, Northamptonshire, was set in the floor in just the location where the bier was set for the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Badham, "Status and Salvation,", 441. See also Bertram, "Meeting Report: First Read the Label," 789-792.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Badham gives the example of Judgement scenes, and the appearance of St Michael who is described as the representative of souls in the Office of the Dead. Badham, "Status and Salvation," 452. On the production of these momuments see Badham and Norris, *Early Incised Slabs and Brasses from the London Marblers*.

funeral service - this would ensure a constant stream of Offices of the Dead being said over the tomb without the expense of providing for a chantry foundation.<sup>3</sup> The construction of chantry chapels or alters dedicated to commemorative service would also change the environment of the parish whether through additional architectural elements or by altering the purposes and patterns of movement in the existing structure.

The fabric of the parish church itself, was in part kept in good repair through the bequests of testators. Some testators, in providing for their own remembrance, also provided for the remembrance of others. We have seen that money was left for lights that would go on to be used by others in the community, but this was not the only item that was purchased for the church. Some testators left money for embroidered vestments or pall cloths that recorded the name of the donor and thus not only contributed to the articles available to others for use in the parish, but also ensured that at every subsequent funeral, they too would be remembered. One such item is the so-called 'Alderman's Pall', a richly embroidered fifteenth century pall used by the aldermen of Sudbury, Suffolk. Another example is the pall donated by Henry and Agnes Fayrey to the Fraternity of St John the Baptist in Dunstable. The pall is embroidered with images of the donors, their names and the names of their family members. Frequently the requirements for the funeral services desired by parishioners, not only meant the receipt of new items, but was also a cause for donations to be made to existing church accourtements, such as saints' altars and lights. These donations toward the upkeep of the visual environment of the church are also commemorative acts. In this way, though

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P.S. Barnwell, "The Use of the Church: Blisworth, Northamptonshire, on the Eve of the Reformation," *Ecclesiology Today* 35 (2005): 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Richard Dixon makes such a bequest in 1438 ("I bequethe to the saide chapell of Siscetre a cloth of silver and I blak cloth of Damask sengill and a gowne of Goldsmythes werk, for to make vestimentes"), as does Lady Peryne Clanbowe in 1422 ("I also bequethe to the chirch of Yasore, fore my lord and hs auncetres, to serue in the chirch, a peire vestiment of blake, wheof the same Chirch that the cope"). Furnivall, *English Wills*, 108, 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "The Alderman's Pall or "Burying Cloth" at Sudbury, Suffolk," East Anglian 9 (1901 - 1902), 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Marks, Williamson et al., Gothic, 455, no. 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Richard Tyrell of Stoke-Dabernon, for example, generously left money in 1431 for the general upkeep of the church building and particularly the rood loft: "And I bequethe for reparacion of the sayd chirch and place, where most nede is, x marc. ...Also for reparacion of the chirch, and specially the rodelofte of Stoke, C s." Furnivall, *English Wills*, 89.

indirectly, the performance of the Office of the Dead helped to maintain the visual wealth of the church.

#### FINAL CONCLUSIONS

From the appearance of the Book of Hours in the thirteenth century, the Office of the Dead was used for commemorative purposes as a means of remembering the faithful, and praying for their safe deliverance from purgatory. While the Office of the Dead could be, and was, read during a funeral, it was also read in times of personal prayer and meditation as a reflection on mortality. It functioned as a post-liminal rite which both incorporated the deceased into his or her new spiritual abode, and reincorporated the bereaved into family and society units that were changed by the loss of a member. This thesis has studied the artistic outputs associated with this important social and religious Office as it appears in the devotional compilations of the time. The approach has been twofold: the first half concentrates on the manuscript illuminations and the second on the use of music in funeral practices, and its appearance in prayerbooks.

The images that appear at this important Office in English manuscripts have long deserved a serious study of their own. Here the images have first been discussed in terms of the themes, subjects and iconography presented, and then set in the wider context of artistic embellishment in funeral rites in medieval England. While the findings here are perhaps unsurprising, the focus on English books makes this a valuable contribution to the literature on death imagery which has hitherto primarily focused on continental books, and assumed a correspondence with the English material. This study reclaims the English images from being lumped together with the more frequently examined French and Flemish volumes, and allows them to be seen and understood on their own terms.

This thesis has shown that the images that appear with the Office of the Dead share aspects of both religious and secular images. In as much as these two can be teased apart in the medieval

period, the religious image is one in which the eschatological perspective is of the utmost importance, telling the viewer, regardless of the specific story, the meta-narrative of salvation. 'Secular' images on the other hand are concerned with the contemporary, portraying the dramatic events of a real or imagined history, or political and cultural events relevant to a contemporary viewer - the stories of bloody battles, great victories, thieves, heroes, beggars and kings. Both of these types could be intended as exempla for a spiritual life or a secular one: and whether as warning or template they were always interpreted and understood within a religious mindset. They could be seen as examples of good administration, battle tactics, or bravery, or interpreted as examples of godly kingship, holy wars and faith. The images were intended as reflections of, and examples to, contemporary society. It has been demonstrated here that the miniatures appearing with the Office of the Dead incorporate both 'religious' and 'secular' aspects. The Office of the Dead images describing the performance of the Office or Requiem Mass reflect the religious as well as secular aspects of the events following death, as well as provide an example to the reader of the death to be desired. The illustrations are not perfectly faithful renderings of the Office, but rather mirror contemporary fashions and practices while simultaneously communicating perceptions of and aspirations for the funeral that express a desire to be well represented in death, in this world through visual pomp, and in the next with prayer.

Much of the smooth running of medieval society was predicated on the firm understanding of one's social condition, and the politics of identity were played out in the public sphere in a highly visible manner. It has been shown here that the funeral, occurring at a time of social change and personal upheaval, played a role in the maintenance of social identity as expressed through such things as the pomp of the funeral materials, the use of the hearse, and the presence of mourners, and that this aspect of the funeral is also present in the images. Such social distinctions were also emphasised by the presence of heraldic elements in the material trappings of the funeral, and after

<sup>8</sup> Camille, Master of Death: the Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator, 182.

burial, in commemorative structures such as windows, brasses and tombs.<sup>9</sup> These heraldic elements also appear in the pages of the Office of the Dead.<sup>10</sup> The funeral was used as a channel through which grief and sorrow could be appropriately expressed, and through the funeral both the living and the dead might be reassured of their proper place in society.

While there has been an assumption of great iconographic diversity in Office of the Dead images, this study reveals that this is not the case for the English material. While there are some examples that are not illustrated with the funeral scene, this trope, expressed with limited variation, forms the primary theme in English sources. The select images that diverge from this trend are far fewer than are found in continental material, and these draw on biblical texts or figures such as Job. Given the popularity of Job in other English 'death' texts such as the *Pety Job*, and the *Story of Holy Job*, it is surprising to find that he appears so rarely as an illustration for this most common 'death' text in England, while on the continent we find both Job and others, such as Lazarus, more widely represented in illuminated Hours. It is the case that the English books in which such subjects do appear are expensive volumes commissioned by wealthy and often noble patrons: it can be presumed that these patrons, with wider experience of culture exchange, had a greater interest in and access to fashionable continental artists and styles.

The results of this examination of the manuscript images suggest that greater regional differences exist in this set of images than had previously been thought. The wider implications of this study suggest that other such investigations of 'sets' of images accompanying popular

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The use of heraldic elements in all three of these genres is ubiquitous. For some of many examples see the following. On windows see Richard Marks, "Wills and Windows: Documentary Evidence for the Commissioning of Stained Glass Windows in Late Medieval England," in *Glas. Malerai. Forschung: Internationale Studien zu Ehern von Rüdiger Beckman*, ed. Hartmut Scholz, et al. (Berlin: 2004), 245-252. On brasses see Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, 171-173, 231, cat. 98, and 510-511, cat. 697; Norris, *Memorials*, *passim*. For tombs see Fernando Baños, "Imaging the Tomb: Remarks on Funerary Murals of the 13th and 14th Centuries in Castile and Leon," in *Out of the Stream, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Mural Painting*, ed. Luís Urbano Afonsa and Vitor Serrão (Newcastle: 2007), 190, 196; Marks, Williamson et al., *Gothic*, 436-455; and more generally, King, "Contexts of the Cadaver Tomb" and Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and Renaissance*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See BL Egerton 3277, f. 142, and London: BL Yates Thompson 13, Taymouth Hours, c. 1325-1335, f. 151 (cat. 28) (fig. 12). A fragmentary English Hours, London: BL, *Harley MS 6563*, London, c. 1320-1330, is decorated throughout with heraldic elements including the Office of the Dead. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, no. 89.

widespread texts comparable to the Office of the Dead, may similarly reveal hitherto overlooked cultural or national differences. The dissimilarities in visual manifestations of such texts may uncover other important variations in cultural perceptions and understandings that are specific to geographical or political regions.

An important aspect of this study has been to establish the connection between music and art in the Office of the Dead. Musical activities relating to funeral practice in England have been highlighted as an alternative type of artistic embellishment that was considered a complement to the visual elements already discussed. This study demonstrates that music was used to enrich aural experience and increase the solemnity of liturgical performance, and was similarly felt to enrich medieval commemorative practices. The pains taken by parishioners to ensure that their obits were sung rather than recited attests to the perceived value of the sung Office of the Dead. As a result of this emphasis on sung commemorations, it is revealed that such services became vehicles for enhancing the musical life of a parish community through the establishment of chantry priests, or the hiring of choirs or singers for the event. The funds put to service providing prayers for the dead became a method of supporting the musical environment of the parish. Thus, the industry of commemoration, through the desirability and perceived efficacy of intercessory prayer and the Office and the Dead, contributed directly to the musical maintenance and embellishment of the regular divine service and Mass. An analogy can be drawn between the use of music as a commemorative act in regularly performed obits and pictorial tombs or brasses: both of keep alive in memory departed souls who require intercessory prayer by keeping them 'present' in the church space through music or art.

Furthermore, in Chapter Five, certain manuscripts have highlighted another manifestation of this relationship between music and the Office of the Dead: the role of music as a visual aspect of devotional manuscripts. It has been illustrated that written music for the Office of the Dead appeared in some devotional volumes of the Psalters and Hours. This written music functioned in

several ways: the notation could be used as visual reminder of the musical shape of the Office, as well as help create a sense of solemnity of liturgy in mind of the reader who viewed the notes. Importantly, this musical notation was also considered a decorative element that increased the beauty of the volume.

A consistent pattern that has emerged from this investigation of music and the Office of the Dead has been the significance to parishioners of musical commemorations. This thesis has highlighted the integrated nature of the church interior where parishioners were simultaneously perceiving both musical and visual forms of artistic embellishments. The indivisible nature of this experience should encourage more scholars to venture over disciplinary boundaries, and explore the interaction between these two forms of expression. In addition to being of use in the liturgical context of the church, such an avenue of investigation would also be a valuable contribution to the performance of secular ceremonial, such as royal visits, coronations, and diplomatic functions.

The presence of notation in these prayerbooks is a significant finding. It raises many questions about the relationship of the laity to the musical environment around them. Thus far, investigations into sources like these from the point of musicological scholarship has been negligable. Further studies into lay musical literacy, and the dissemination of written music is much needed.

#### AVENUES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis has focused on the artistic embellishments of the Office of the Dead seen in English prayer books, but it has by no means exhausted the subject. We have seen above that the Office of the Dead influenced many areas of visual experience which could be further explored. The subject of this thesis might be taken as a starting point for the exploration of related issues such as the relationship of the Office to tomb placement, iconography and text; the function of music as part of a commemorative environment, how it functioned within dedicated architectural

spaces (like the chantry chapel), and the importance of an invisible art in commemorating the invisible souls of the dead; and of course areas of interaction between visual and aural arts in services for the dead. Neither continental nor printed sources have been considered here, and this too provides a wealth of material that deserves further investigation.

The images examined in this thesis had a variety of functions in a society that was interested in, and devoted to, commemorating dead friends and family. They performed a didactic function that nurtured minds that were trained and sustained in their faith by such pictures. As visual cues, they prompt the reader to remember the dead, and they helped sustain the memory of the dear departed in doing so. They functioned as reminders to the reader of the solemnity and pomp of the funeral service. They conjured up the sound of the performed Office. Read as they were in conjunction with the familiar text of the Office of the Dead, they aided personal reflection and prayer. We have seen that they fit into a larger visual context in which such images appear in stained glass and wall painting, while text and phrases from the Office of the Dead appear on church fittings and sepulchres. The images do not simply illustrate the text of the Office of the Dead, they help the reader to empathise with the meaning of the words by giving them a contemporary interpretation.<sup>11</sup>

The English parishioner of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries knew well how the economics of salvation worked. The prayer offered for the souls of deceased family and friends was the only way they had of helping them move on from a long existence in purgatory to an eternity in Heaven. A drawing in BL Add MS 37049, f. 24v (fig. 26), accompanying a poem on the 'relefyng of saules in purgatory' neatly sums up how this system worked, with a marginal diagram that demonstrates the relationship between the living and the dead. 12 At the bottom of the scene are the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Hamel, "Imaging the Word," 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 37049, The Desert of Religion and Other Poems, English, early fifteenth century.

unfortunate souls languishing in the purifying fires of purgatory. Just above them is an altar at which clerics are saying a Mass, and at the top of the image the walled heavenly city with Christ looking out over the population. The literal-minded artist has articulated the relationship between the dead above and below the living with a pulley system: as the clerics say the Mass, they haul on the pulley rope, which, anchored in the wall of heaven above them, slowly raises a bucket full of souls out of the fires below them toward their heavenly reward. The Office of the Dead held an important place in this system of reclaiming the souls of the dead, and in reminding those who were living of their duty to deceased friends and relatives. It is unsurprising that such an important commemorative

Pe saules þat to purgatory wendes May be relefyd þorow help of frendes.<sup>13</sup>

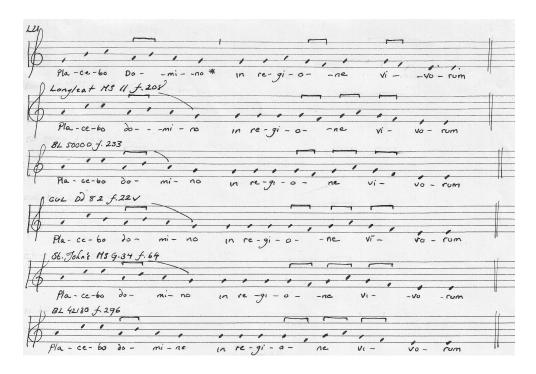
ritual should have had an accompanying visual and musical outpouring.

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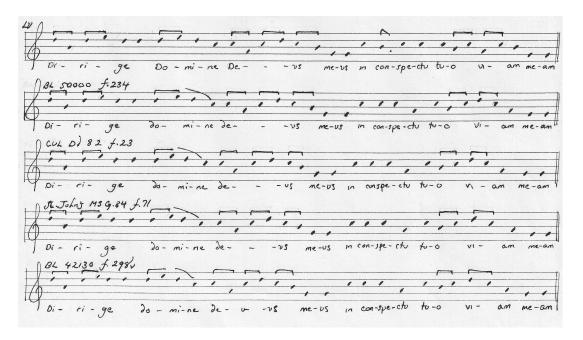
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> London, BL, *Add. MS 37049*, f. 24v.

#### ∞ APPENDICES ∞

#### A: MUSIC TRANSCRIPTIONS



Example 1



Example 2

### B: CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS WITH A NOTED OFFICE OF THE DEAD

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This list contains all of the manuscripts with an Office of the Dead containing musical notation that are discussed in the accompanying text. This list was compiled from my examination of library catalogues and first-hand examination of manuscripts. However, while I have made every effort to locate Hours with noted Offices of the Dead, this does not claim to be a complete list of devotional books with a noted Office of the Dead from this period. The difficulties encountered in the compilation of the list is discussed above, Chapter Six. Where known "Full music setting" is noted: this indicates that the musical sections of the Office of the Dead is written out in full, rather than being abbreviated to the incipits.

#### **Ж** ВАТН

MS 11

 c. 1310-c. 1320

 Psalter

 Library of the Marquis of Bath, Longleat House
 f. 208

Full music setting for the Office of the Dead. See below, Image Catalogue no. 45 for discussion and bibliography for this manuscript.

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Image Catalogue, no. 45.

#### **SCAMBRIDGE**

 MS 2-1957
 c. 1505
 Hours of Elizabeth Shelford Fitzwilliam Museum
 f. 78v

Elizabeth Shelford was Abbess of Shaftesbury from 1505-1528. The Office of the Dead and the Commendation of Souls are both noted.

Wormald and Giles, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge University Press, 1982), vol. II, 516-521.

## 3. MS G. 34 15th century Hours St John's College Library f 63

The incipits only are noted in this manuscript.

James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge, II, no. 201, 234.

# 4. MS O.4.16 c. 1300 Psalter Trinity College Library f. 168

The late thirteenth- early fourteenth-century decorations in this manuscript are attributed by Binski to the same hand as Walters W. 102 (see below Image Catalogue no. 1). There are fifteenth-century additions to this volume including an image of William Clarkson accompanied by an inscription asking for prayers for his family.

James, The Western manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue, vol III, 265-268; Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 356, no. 359.

#### 5. MS Dd. 8.2 c. 1300-1310 Hours University Library f. 21

Full music setting for the Office of the Dead. The Commendation of Souls is also noted. In addition to illustrated initials found in the *P* of *Placebo* and *D* of *Dirige*, small illustrated initials are found throughout the Office of the Dead, mostly containing bishop's heads.

The S of *Subvenite* at the Commendation is a large historiated initial. Here, the traditional imagery found at the start of the Commendation is combined with the iconography found at the opening of the Office of the Dead. In the lower half of the S a coffin, draped with a blue pall patterned with white Xs is being carried on two long poles by four pall bearers. Behind the bearers a priest holds up a small book from which he reads. All the pall bearing figures are dressed in pseudo-antique draped robes, while the cleric wears a light green robe with a red cape.

The top half of the 'S' is a scene depicting a soul carried up to heaven. Here, the soul is shown as a white bird, perhaps a dove, born up in a white cloth with pale green stripes. The cloth is held on either side by an angel, again dressed in 'antique' dress. From above, the hand of God reaches down toward the soul, which begins to take flight towards it. Both scenes are set against a gold ground

bordered with a red area patterned with small white crosses. In the bas-de-page, two figures in tunics and hose fight a duel with swords and shields.

Cambridge University, Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Vol. I, 334 - 336; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, I, pl. 61-63, II, no. 29, 34-35; Ker, Medieval Libraries, 106; Luxford, Art and Architecture in English Benedictine Monasteries, 5, 192-193, 195.

#### **%** LIVERPOOL

6. MS 22 mid 14th century Psalter Liverpool Cathedral f. 148

In the calendar neither the feast of St Thomas nor the word papa are cancelled, so the manuscript was probably not in regular use by the early 16th century.

Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, III, 182.

7. MS 36
late 14th century, early 15th century
Hours
Liverpool Cathedral
f. 58v

The text suggests this volume was made for a woman in the diocese of Norwich.

Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, III, 194-96.

#### **%** LONDON

8. Arundel MS 83 I c. 1310-c. 1320 Howard Psalter - Hours British Library f. 105

Full music setting. This manuscript may have been commissioned for John Fitton (d. 1326), whose arms appear on ff. 47 and 55v.

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Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, no. 51, 58-60; Saunders, English Illumination, I, 89, 96, 101, 103 II, pl. 105-107; Rickert, Painting in Britain, 147, 162, 163; Marks and Morgan, English Manuscript Painting, 20, 83, pl. 22.

9. MS Add. 50000 c. 1265-1270 Oscott Psalter British Library f. 233 (fig. 11)

This manuscript contains a full music setting for the Office of the Dead. See below, Image Catalogue no. 26, for further discussion of the book, and bibliographic information. It has been suggested that the manuscript was commissioned for someone with an interest in the religious community of Burton-upon-Trent.

Image Catalogue, no 26.

10. MS Add. 42130 c. 1325-1335 Luttrell Psalter British Library f. 296

This manuscript contains a full music setting for the Office, though it ends imperfectly. The Office of the Dead is not illustrated, unlike the rest of the manuscript.

Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 455, cat. 575; Brown, The Luttrell Psalter, passim; Camille, Mirror in Parchment, passim; Miller, The Luttrell Psalter, passim; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, no. 10.

11. MS 561, II, II
15th century
Hours
Lambeth Palace Library
f. 164

Office of the Dead begins imperfectly.

James & Jenkins, A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Lambeth Palace, vol. V, 771-772.

12. MS 560 15th century, late Hours Lambeth Palace Library f. 1 A special prayer to Saint Cuthburga suggests the manuscript may be associated with Wimborne. It contains an inscription on the second cover, "Iacob illvminator me fecti".

Frere, Bibliotheca musico-liturgica, II vols, vol 1, 7; James & Jenkins, A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Lambeth Palace, vol. V, 768-771.

#### **S** Oxford

13. MS Rawl. G. 127 15th century Psalter Bodleian Library f. 172

This manuscript was written for an English religious house. The Office of the Dead also contains some added prayers for a woman's use (f. 185).

Frere, Bibliotheca musico-liturgica, II vols, vol 1, 51; Madan, A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, vol III, 364.

14. MS 94 c. 1420 Hours St John's College Library f. 57

The manuscript was written and illuminated by John Lacy, a Dominican recluse, called the Anchorite of Newcastle-on-Tyne (f. 16v. 17). Foliate and animal forms are also found on the Office of the Dead pages.

Frere, Bibliotheca musico-liturgica, II vols, vol 1, 157; Alexander and Temple, Illuminated Books in Oxford College Libraries, 42, no. 418; Hanna and Griffiths, A descriptive catalogue of the western medieval manuscripts of St. John's College, 125-130.

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#### **SOUTH BRENT**

15. MS 4 c. 1424 Hours Syon Abbey Library

#### f. 141

The Office begins and ends imperfectly. The calendar contains dedications that indicate the book was for Brigittine use. The Office is Use of Sarum.

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Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, IV, 343-344.

#### **WINCHESTER**

16. Ms 4815th century, earlyHoursWinchester College Libraryf. 68

The manuscript appears to have been donated to the library around 1608.

Ker, Medieval manuscripts, IV, 632-634.

### C: CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS WITH IMAGES AT THE OFFICE OF THE DEAD

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This catalogue is intended to aid the reader of this thesis, and contains all of the Office of the Dead manuscripts with illustrations that are discussed in the accompanying text. It also contains many other English Hours and Psalter-Hours that have an illustrated Office of the Dead, but it does not claim to be complete or exhaustive. The catalogue is arranged alphabetically by the cities that house the manuscript collections. Within each city heading, the entries are arranged chronologically. Those manuscripts for which the current location is unknown, have been listed under "Unknown location".

#### **SALTIMORE**

1. MS W. 102 End of the 13th Century Walters Hours The Walters Art Museum ff. 51, 55, 70 (fig. 1)

There is a historiated initial in the *V* of *Venite* containing two small, full-length figures singing from a book. In the *P* of *Parce michi* there is another historiated initial. This one contains an image of a funeral service. A draped bier rests on two long carrying poles. The poles themselves appear to rest on the frame of the initial *P*. The pall is dark and patterned lightly with diagonal lines. It is not clear whether a coffin is being used, or whether the pall is draped directly over the body of the deceased. Certainly, there are no angles which would suggest a wooden box. Behind the bier are four figures. There are two clerics on the left who read from a book, which the centre left figure holds aloft and gestures towards. In the centre a small boy, perhaps a novice or oblate – he is not tonsured, stands behind the bier looking at it, and gesturing away with his right hand. Behind the boy is another rather curious figure who looks away from the funeral service out of the frame on the right and gestures with both hands as though keeping something at bay or sending someone away.

At the *D* of *Dilexi* there is another historiated initial containing two men kneeling in prayer. They gaze up toward the upper right of the initial where a hand in seen gesturing down at them with fingers held as for a benediction.

Alexander and Binski indicate that the artist of this manuscript worked in the Court style popular at the end of the thirteenth century and mark the appearance of this hand in other English books of the period, notably Bodleian Library MS Auct. D. 3. 2, and Trinity College MS O. 4. 16.

Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 356, no. 359; McCulloch, "The Funeral of Renart the Fox in a Walters Book of Hours", Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, 25-26 (1962-3), 8-27; Randall, "An Elephant in the Litany: Further Thoughts on an English Book of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery (W. 102)", in Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages, 106 - 133; de Ricci, Census, I, no. 169, 784; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385, II, no. 15, 24-26; Wieck, Time Sanctified, no. 111.

#### **SERKELEY, CALIFORNIA**

# MS UCB 150 c. 1470-1480 Heller Hours Bancroft Library, University of California f. 103v, (fig. 2)

There is a full page miniature at the opening of the Office of the Dead. A coffin, draped in a red pall with a gold dotted pattern on it and crossed white ribbons laid over it, is placed in the centre of a small chapel space, pointing toward the altar. To the right and left of the bier are six black-clad mourners, three on either side, each holding a large torch. In the foreground a group of clerics, of perhaps seven figures dressed in black and gold vestments, sing the Office of the Dead from a large noted book resting on a plain wooden lectern. The musical notation in the book is clearly visible to the viewer. Four of the clerics' faces can be seen and are depicted with individuality and attention to detail.

The chapel is decorated with blue and gold draperies, which cover the left wall, as well as adorn the altar at the back of the image. The architecture is articulated with rounded arch windows and diamond paned glass. The ceiling is wooden and painted a bright red. Through an archway on the left of the scene we see the main nave of the church where two clerics are performing the Mass at the altar. This space is decorated with red and gold fabrics, while the ceiling is painted blue, in contrast with the chapel where the funeral is taking place.

The view point in this composition is unusual: the view is up the nave of the chapel space, and the clerics in the foreground of the image partially obscure the coffin, as well as closing off the 'window' through which the viewer sees the scene creating a convincing sense of depth and space.

Scott suggests that the manuscript may have been decorated by the same artist who illustrated the Mostyn Hours (MS 45. 65. 6), and notes similarities with Fitzwilliam MS 56 as well (see below). It was produced in London or East Anglia.

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Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 334-336, no. 126.

#### ₩ BOULOGNE-SUR-MER

MS 93
 Late 14th Century
 Hours and Prayers
 Bibliothèque Municipale
 f. 58

There is a historiated initial at the *D* of *Dilexi* at the start of the Office of the Dead. The initial contains a draped bier. It is supported on two poles running the length of the coffin. The pall is a plain dark colour sheet which is draped over the peaked roof of the coffin lid. Four candles, two each side, surround the bier. Three clerics read or sing the service. Two of the figures, the centre and

right, hold books, that appear to contain musical notation. The two side figures, who wear white, looks toward the central figure dressed in red. The scene is set against a burnished gold ground. The manuscript was probably produced in York.

Backhouse, The Madresfield Hours: A 14th Century Manuscripts in the Library of Earl Beauchamp, 8; Gérard, Catalogue des livre manuscrits et imprimés composant la bibliothèque de la ville de Boulogne-sur-Mer, (1844), 77-9; Rogers, 'The Boulogne Hours: An Addition to York Art' The EDAM Newsletter VI (1984), 36 - 41; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, Cat. 7, 38.

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## **S** BRUSSELS

4. MS IV. 1095 c. 1415-1420 Hours and Prayers Bibliothèque Royale f. 74

There is a historiated initial at the *D* of *Dilexi* at the opening of the Office of the Dead. A group of five clerics stand behind a black draped bier. The pall is embroidered with gold, three-petalled blossoms. Two of the clerics, one in gold, one in blue, sing from a book sitting on a tall lectern. Three further clerics stand behind them, mouths also open as to sing. Around the front and sides of bier are three mourners dressed in black. A figure sits at the head and foot of the coffin, and the last figure sits in the foreground on a small padded stool. Each holds a tall taper. The background of the image is a flat red-brown with gold pen flourishes.

The text is surrounded by bar borders with small diamond frames in each corner containing small busts. The top left contains a tonsured cleric in blue, singing from a small book; top right a cleric in pink garb; bottom left contains an elderly bearded man with a dark pink hooded tunic; and bottom right contains another elderly bearded man in a bright blue habit with his hood up, who gestures to toward the left.

Little is known of the early history of this manuscript. It was probably produced in London, and shows some similarities of style with Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 11. 7.

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Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 154-157, no. 48.

## **SCAMBRIDGE**

MS 1-2005
 c. 1325
 Macclesfield Psalter
 Fitzwilliam Museum
 f. 235v-236

There is a historiated initial in the P of Placebo at the Office of the Dead. The centre space of the P contains a sick man lying in bed under a red and white blanket. A cadaverous, grinning, figure of

Death stands on the bed dressed in a grey, ragged and tattered winding sheet. The Death figure stabs the sick man in the chest with his long spear, causing a spurt of vibrant red blood to run on the man's chest. Just behind the bed, the figure of a woman, presumably the man's wife, stands in an elegant swayed posture with her raised hands clasped together. She looks up in horror at the skeletal figure on the bed.

Other small images surround this large historiated initial: above the *P*, contained in a small roundel to the upper left in the margin is a figure of Christ. He is seated on a long stone bench covered with a red cushion, dressed in a red robe with a purplish-blue mantle which he holds around himself with his right hand as he leans over and reaches down toward the dramatic scene enacted below with his left hand. Below the roundel with Christ, are other small scenes. In roundels, there are two figures talking and a bishop's head, and in the bas-de-page a man falling off his horse.

This manuscript has been stylistically related to several other well-known East-Anglian illuminated manuscripts such as the Douai Psalter (Douai, Bibliotèque Municipale, MS 171) and Gorleston Psalter (BL Add. MS. 49622).

Image available at: <a href="http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/macclesfield/gallery">http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/gallery/macclesfield/gallery</a>

Binski and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations*, no. 78, 187-188; Fitzwilliam Museum, *The Macclesfield psalter:* '--a window into the world of late medieval England.', 30; Michael, "Seeing in: The Macclesfield Psalter", in Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers, 115-138; Panayotova, The Macclesfield Psalter, 72-73, f. 235v, f.237v; Sandler, "In and Around the Text: The Question of Marginality in the Macclesfield Psalter", in Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers, 105-114.

6. MS D. 30 1337- 1345 and late 14th C. Psalter of Simon de Montacute St John's College f. 154v (fig. 3)

There is a historiated initial in the *P* of *Placebo* at the Vespers of the Dead. Four nuns surround a bier which occupies the centre of the composition and takes up the majority of the space. It is draped in a pink-red cloth which is crossed with white ribbons over length and breadth. The pink pall is embroidered with scattered white dots. Four candles surround the draped coffin, two along the front, one at the foot and one on the opposite side. Each candle is held in a tall, heavy silver candlestick. Two of the nuns sit in front of the bier, and the one on the left hold a book from which they both read. The remaining two nuns stand behind the bier, and the nun on the right holds the book from which they both read. The nun on the left crosses her arms over her chest, and has thrown back the hood of her black habit. All figures are set against a gold ground.

The illumination of the book was begun in the first half of the fourteenth century, but some of the later illustrations were not completed until around 1400. The Office of the Dead is one of these later illustrations.

Image available at: <a href="http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special\_collections/manuscripts/medieval\_manuscripts/medman/A/Web%20images/D30f154v.htm">http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special\_collections/manuscripts/medieval\_manuscripts/medman/A/Web%20images/D30f154v.htm</a>

Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 501, cat. 684; Binski and Panayotova. The Cambridge Illuminations, no. 7; Ker, Medieval Libraries, 78; Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, II, 250; Lindley, 'The Image of the Octagon at Ely', Journal of the Archeological Association, 139, 75 - 99; Panayatova, The Cambridge Illuminations: the Conference Papers,

120, 289; Robinson, Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries 737 - 1600, 87, vol I., no. 300, vol II., 144; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts 1285 - 1385, II, 125 - 126, no. 112.

 MS B. 11. 7
 1415-1420
 The Hours of Princess Elizabeth and Sir John Cornwall Trinity College ff. 80, 85v

There is a historiated initial at the *D* of *Dilexi* at the Vespers of the Dead on f. 80. This shows a service for the dead with mourners and bier. The bier is draped with a black pall inscribed with a pattern of gold embroidery reading 'Thesu merci'. Over this are draped long white ribbons in the shape of the cross. The bier is contained within a small, low walled hearse that separates the mourners from the viewer. The low walls of the enclosure are draped in black cloth, but are not decorated with candles. Two mourners in full black mourning dress stand within the enclosure, each holding a tall taper. Both are elderly bearded men, and may be poor men hired to take part in the funeral service for a small fee and dole of bread.

Behind the bier there are a further two mourners, also dressed in black, on the far right of the image. The farthest to the right appears to be a woman. Two clerics in the black over white of the Dominican order stand to the left and right of the bier, flanking the centre group of figures. The centre group is comprised of three clerics singing the service from a book resting on a tall wooden stand. From front to back they wear pink, red, and blue copes. The scene is set against a background of red with delicate gold flourishing, and the floor is a green and yellow diamond tile pattern.

On f. 85 there is another historiated initial; in the V of Verba mea at Lauds of the Dead. The initial contains a scene from the Book of Job from his second testing (Job 2:7-8, 11). Job is seated on a small rise in the ground, naked and covered with sores. His three friends, Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite stand before him in rich clothing. From left to right they wear a soft red cap and blue doublet, a long, shaped, blue hat and pink tunic with blue stockings, and a tall pink headscarf with a long red robe. The grass is detailed with small flowers and the background is patterned with small flowers within a diamond shaped grid.

The book was probably illuminated in London. The miniatures at the Office of the Dead are from the later period of work on this manuscript.

Binski and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illumination*, 196-198, no. 84; James, *The Western manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, vol. 1, 342 - 346; Krochalis, "The Books and Reading of Henry V and his Circle." *Chaucer Review* 23, (1988), 66; Marks, *Image and Devotion*, 171, XVI; Orr, "Illustration as Preface and Postscript in the Hours of the Virgin of Trinity College MS B. 11. 7", *Gesta*, 162-176; Rickert, *Painting in Britian*, 166; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, no 47, ill. 194-196.

8. MS 2-1967
early 15th century
Hours
Fitzwilliam Museum
f. 114

There is a historiated initial *D* at *Dilexi*. The initial contains a scene of a funeral taking place in a church. The bier is placed in the centre of the composition, and is covered with a black pall cloth.

Behind the coffin, three clerics are singing the service from a book on a lectern. The bier is surrounded by five mourners in black mourning garb. Each mourner carries a tall torch.

Wormald and Giles, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, II, 530-533.

9. MS Ee. 1.14 c. 1405, and c. 1440 Hours/Prayers University Library f. 103

The opening of the Office of the Dead on f. 72v in this manuscript is accompanied by decorated initials but no miniatures. The depiction of the funeral service instead occurs in a historiated initial which falls at *Beati* in the *Commendacio animarum*.

The initial contains a scene from the service for the dead. A bier, placed in the centre, is covered with a black pall and crossed by two white ribbons to create a cross on top. Two candles are placed on top of the coffin, at the head and foot. Two additional candles are placed on either side of the bier – all the candles are in matching brass candlesticks. Behind the bier, three clerics perform the Office. One read from a light red bound book, while the others look on. The centre figure appears to be a young boy. At the head and foot of the bier are two mourners or monks. The one on the far right is dressed in a blue cowl and robe, while the one of the left wears grey. It is possible that both of these garments were at one time black, but the colours have altered over time. While this seems fairly probable in the case of the grey clad mourner, but the blue seems more definite and perhaps indicates a wealthy mourner in a cloak. The floor is patterned with diamond shaped tiles, each with a small dot inside them. The tiles are black on a yellowish green.

The image of the funeral on f. 103 was probably added at a later date, c. 1440, while the rest of the miniatures were completed c. 1405. The earlier work shows the influence of the artists Johannes and Herman Scheerre, and was probably complete in a London workshop. The later miniature show an East Anglian influence and may have been completed in or around Bury St. Edmunds.

Binski, and Panayotova. *The Cambridge Illuminations*, no. 82, 193-194; Cambridge University, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of Cambridge University Library*, vol. II, 14 - 15; Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 13, 32, 46, figs. 6, 21, 35; Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 219; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, 77-78, no. 16.

10. MS Add. 3-1979c. 1440HoursFitzwilliam Museumf. 109

A very small historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi*. The initial contains the image of a bier draped with a black pall. Three candlesticks are place around it, one on each end and one on top of the coffin in the centre. Four clerics stand around the bier, two on each side, all wearing white gowns. Three of the figures, the two in front of the bier, and the one on the right behind it, hold open books from which they read. The fourth figure looks toward the coffin. The image is set against a gold ground.

This manuscript was probably produced in an East Anglian workshop, possibly in Bury St. Edmunds, by English artists influenced by Continental styles.

Binski and Panayotova. The Cambridge Illuminations, 194; Rogers, 'Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1979: A Bury St Edmunds Book of Hours and the Origins of the Bury Style', in England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium, 229-43; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 233-235, no. 80; Wormald, Catalogue of Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, II, 606 - 610.

# 11. MS 56 c. 1470-1480 Hours Fitzwilliam Museum ff. 70v, 71, 76v.

On f. 70v is a full page miniature facing the opening text of the Office of the Dead. The scene depicts a funeral taking place in an elaborate church interior. The bier is placed in centre of the composition and is covered in a red pall, decorated with gold patterns. There are four candles surrounding the bier, one on each side. Three mourners are present on the left side of the image, standing in the choir stall. On the right of the image a group of clerics read from a lectern. The architecture is well articulated. There are two small historiated initials also associated with the Office on ff. 71 and 76v. Both of these initials contain a mourner with an open book.

Similar compositions to this miniature are found in BL Harley 2915 and Pierpont Morgan MS G. 50 (see below).

James, A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 56; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 328-331, no. 123.

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12. MS 57
c. 1490
Hours
Fitzwilliam Museum
f. 127
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A miniature containing a scene of a funeral. In the centre is a black draped bier with white crossed bands. In front of the coffin is a candle. A mourner stands at the head and foot of the bier, each dressed in black and holding a candle. Behind the coffin is a group of five clerics reading the service from a book. There is an altar in the corner with a blue frontal. The background is red with a delicate gold pattern. An inscription has been added by a female owner of the book which reads, "In all tyme of nesessitye: with your prayers remember me / EDETH BREDYMAN".

This book has a rich combination of English and Flemish decoration. The image discussed above was done in England. The facing page, however, is also richly decorated with scenes from the stories of Dives and Lazarus and Job. These are executed in a style that is Flemish in character.

Duffy, Marking the Hours, 60, 61; James, A descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, 142-149; Panayotova, The Cambridge Illumintations: The Conference Papers, 280-282, 286.

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## **S** CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

# 13. MS Richardson 5 c. 1400 Hours Houghton Library, Harvard University f. 44v (fig. 4)

There is a full page miniature facing the opening of the Office of the Dead. The images is inside a thin rectangular gilded border. The foliate border decoration is sparse and comprised of delicate sprigs with three branches, each having a single cup-shaped flower at the end.

The image depicts a funeral mass with bier and four clerics. The bier, placed centre left, is draped with a black pall that has a large cross in gold embroidered on it, rather than the draped ribbons forming the cross. The black cloth is draped over a red cloth with embroidered gold borders that is just visible at the bottom. The bier is surrounded by four candles, two each side, set in tall silver candlesticks. In front of the bier on the right of the image a priest in a blue cope embroidered in silver/white, sprinkles the bier with an aspergillum. The remaining three priests stand behind the bier and read the service from a service book which rests in a small bookstand. The rightmost cleric, wearing a green cope, raises his hand to hold the pages open. The centre cleric in pink, gestures toward the book, while the leftmost cleric, in a bright red cope, clasps his hands in prayer while looking toward the book.

The background in patterned in a rich gold and red grid, each tile being filled with a small circle and radiating crown shapes. The floor is tiled black and white in a diamond pattern. The composition of the image is simple and execution ordinary, however the attention to textile description is particularly detailed. This is one of only two full page miniatures in the manuscript - the other, of St Jerome, occurs on f. 66v.

Image available at: <a href="http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/17695424?">http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/17695424?</a> n=92&imagesize=1200&jp2Res=.25

de Ricci, Census, 957; Wieck, Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350-1525, in the Houghton Library, 113.

# 14. MS Richardson 34 c. 1470 Hours Houghton Library, Harvard University f. 88v (fig. 5)

This is a full page illumination facing the opening text of the Office of the Dead. The image is contained within a slim gold border with rounded arch top. The scene depicted is of a Requiem Mass taking place in a small chapel. The architectural setting is more finely articulated than many contemporary examples. Here, in the background, we see an arched doorway leading out of the chapel, a blind arcade along the back wall, and a wooden beamed ceiling. The floor is tiled light and dark green.

The coffin is placed on a raised platform in the foreground, slightly off centre, and is draped with two pall cloths. The first dressing is the commonly seen black cloth with white ribbons. Over this is laid a blue cloth patterned with gold stars, and crossed with deep red ribbons embroidered with a delicate gold pattern. Two large brass candlesticks with sturdy tapers are placed at the foot of the bier. It is set in front of a small altar on the upper right of the image. The altar is decorated with a wooden carved altarpiece, and on it is set a brass or gold chalice covered with a paxboard or corporal.

In the left foreground, with backs to the viewer, a crowd of mourners stand wearing full mourning dress. The crowd consists of perhaps seven persons. The nearest two carry prayer books from which they read, and stand in front of a long wooden bench. A cushion is laid on the bench for the most prominent mourner, a woman perhaps as suggested by the voluminous red gown that emerges beneath the mourning cloak. Her position at the head of the line of figures suggests that she is the principle mourner.

The style of dress here depicted differs from other illuminations described. Here, rather than being an engulfing garment of black with a voluminous hood, the attire consists of a black hood with gold edging which falls over the shoulders. This is worn over a black cape with armholes instead of sleeves, also trimmed with gold. The full red gown of the foremost figure is clearly visible beneath the black cloak.

On the far side of the bier, a group of priests and clerics perform the service before a large lectern on which rests a heavy book with gilded pages. The centre figure of the first row of clergy is dressed in white with a red cope bordered with gold. The remaining clergy wear blue copes with gold edging.

The style of execution is influenced by the imported Flemish books flooding onto the market at the end of the fifteenth century.

Image available at: <a href="http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/6135067?">http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/6135067?</a> n=180&imagesize=1200&jp2Res=.25

Faye and Bond, Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, 247; Wieck, Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts 1350-1525 in the Houghton Library, 92, no. 45.

15. MS Widener 2
c. 1470-1480
Hours
Houghton Library, Harvard University
f. 72

A historiated initial *D* of *Dilexi*. The scene depicted is of a funeral taking place in a chapel. A bier is set in the centre of the chapel space and surrounded by figures. The coffin is covered with a pall decorated with a pattern of stripes and dots. White crossed ribbons are laid over the pall. On the right side of the image three mourners in black dress stand along side the bier, each holding a torch. At the foot of the coffin two clerics, dressed in black and gold vestments, sing the service from a books on a tall lectern. The book is clearly noted. The chapel interior is articulated with a flat wooden roofs, and rounded-arch windows with diamond paned glass.

Though smaller and less detailed, the image bears a strong resemblance to that in the Heller Hours, UCB 150 (see above). Probably produced in London.

Alexander, The Splendour of the Word, no. 35; de Ricci, Census, I, 1020; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 339-341, no. 128; Wieck, Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts 1350-1525 in the Houghton Library, no. 46.

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#### **SCOPENHAGEN**

16. MS Thott 547.4 1380-1394 Hours of Mary de Bohun Kongelige Bibliotek f. 43 (figs. 6, 6a, 6b)

There is a large historiated initial at the start of Vespers of the Dead, standing seven lines of text tall. The initial displays a scene of God the Father enthroned between two columns, in a curious architectural setting. He is dressed in richly coloured and patterned garb: blue robe with gold sun patters under a rich red cloak with red and gold patterning. He is flanked on either side by an angel in blue dress. To his left he points to a man, Job, dressed in a red doublet, blue hose and cowl, who holds his hands out in supplication, while on the his right God pushes away a brown devil creature.

The bas-de-page is also filled with figures and three scenes from the life of Job. The first scene is of the death of Job's children while they were banqueting in the home of his eldest son. On the left in a small enclosed space representing the interior of a house, three figures, the sons and daughters of Job, sit down to a meal. On the roofs above the room, demons tug and pull at the tiles. A servant is driven out of the house to give news of the disaster to Job (Job 1:18-19).

The centre scene is a combination of the theft of Job's oxen and camels by the Sabeans, and Chaldeans respectively, with the massacre of his servants, and the burning of his sheep (Job 1:14-17). Three armoured men on horseback with swords and spears drive the cattle, sheep and camels before them, as a servant runs from a descending sword. Beside the attackers horses a brown devil runs alongside.

In the third scene in the love margin we see Job and his wife receiving the terrible news brought by the servants who had escaped the slaughter, fire and collapse of the house. A servant kneels at the feet of Job while his wife stands behind him. Job has rent his clothing and hold aloft a scroll that says, "dominus dedit, dominus ab" – a quotation from the Job's response to the new from the biblical text: "The lord gave, and the Lord has taken away" (Job 1:20-21).

Image available at: <a href="http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/76/eng/43+recto/?var=1">http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/76/eng/43+recto/?var=1</a>

Binski and Alexander, *The Age of Chivalry*, no. 691, p. 504; Krochalis, "The Books and Reading of Henry V and his Circle." *Chaucer Review* 23, (1988), 54; Powell, 'Review' from *the 46th Annual Report of the Deputy Keeper of Publish Records*; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 161-162, no. 140; Sandler, 'A note on the Illuminators of the Bohun Manuscripts', *passim*; Sandler, *The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family*, 11, 121, 126, 152, 153; Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion*, 223.

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#### M DOUAL

17. MS 171 1322 - 1394 Douai Psalter Bibliotèque Municipale f. 211

A historiated initial in the *P* of *Placebo* at the opening of the Office. The manuscript was heavily damaged during the First World War making the images very difficult to distinguish. What remains of the illustration here shows a newly deceased man laid out on a bed and covered with a light blue bed sheet. Above him two angels carry the small figure of the man's soul, standing in handkerchief, up toward heaven, while God reaches an arm down toward the arriving soul in welcome.

As in the Macclesfield Psalter, there are roundels around the main miniatures that also contain small pictures. In the upper left is a young king; in the upper right a young queen, and the lower right an older man with a beard. The fourth figure, at the lower left-hand corner, has been lost due to the damage the manuscript sustained. The bas-de-page contains a man with a sword, on the left, who fights with a large snail, on the right.

The manuscript has been related stylistically to other East Anglian books such as the Gorleston Psalter. Hull suggests in her 1994 thesis on the Douai Psalter that the patron of the book may be the vicar of the Church of St Andrew in Gorleston.

Binski and Panayotova, Cambridge Illuminations, 78; Hull, The Douai Psalter and related manuscripts, PhD Thesis 1994, 156 - 158; Kauffmann, Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700-1550, 212; Panayotova, The Macclesfield Psalter, 72; Panayotova, The Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers, 105, 116-120, 122; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 115-117, no. 105; Saunders, English Illumination, 94, 100, 106.

#### **S** Dublin

18. MS 94 (F. 5. 21) 14th Century Office of the Virgin Trinity College Library f. 114

This half page miniature set above the text shows a funeral service with mourners. The foreground of the image is occupied by a draped, angular bier. A row of candles, set in a candle stand, runs along the side nearest to the viewer. The pall cloth is decorated with a delicate, swirling, foliate pattern. Behind the coffin are five figures, two clerics and three mourners. The clerics are in the centre left. One dressed in white, holds open a book, while the other reads the book, and gestures toward the bier. There is some damage to the image that obscures the hand of this second cleric, but he appears to be holding an object, perhaps an thurible.

One of the mourners, entering the image on the far left, is largely hidden behind the clerics, only his head and elegantly waved hair is visible. The other two mourners are on the right. Both of these figures are women in contemporary secular clothing, with their hair covered by starches white fabric. The smaller of these figures, in the background, looks toward the bier. The larger woman in quite prominent at the right of the composition. She stands in an elegant swayed position, gazing

out of the image and away from the other figures and bier, while clasping her raised hands in a gesture of distress.

The manuscript was probably produced in East Anglia.

Colker, Trinity College Library Dublin Descriptive Catalogue of the Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts, I, 176-180; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 131-132, no. 118; Smith, Art, Identity and Devotion, 257.

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# **S** EDINBURGH

19. MS Adv. 18. 6. 5 1382-1396? Psalter of Eleanor de Bohun National Library of Scotland f. 48 (fig. 7)

There is a historiated initial at the *D* of *Dilexi*. The initial contains a scene of the Office of the Dead. A bier rests on a raised structure that is draped in black cloth. The coffin is draped in a black pall, and covered with a white cross that reaches the length and breadth of the coffin. It is set under an elaborate canopied hearse structure. The canopy is supported by four columns, which double as candlesticks, holding tapers at the top. Three additional smaller candles are supported on the cross beams on each long side between the four corner supports. The canopy is made of black cloth, and shaped with a slope that levels out at the top to a flat plane. Around the plane at the top are an additional six candles, three on each long side. The structure of the canopy is visible in the brown and white beams.

Three mourning figures are seated in front of the bier. The figure on the left turns toward the centre and appears to be holding up a string of beads, perhaps rosary beads. The centre figure faces toward his companion with the beads, and holds up a small bowl or cup. The figure on the right is a woman holding an infant. All three figures are dressed in mourning garb, the two men wearing black hoods, the woman having a white headdress.

Behind the coffin are four additional figures. The bearded man on the far left is also dressed in black and may be another mourner. The remaining three figures can only be seen from the chin up. The centre left figure gazes in toward the centre while the centre right figure holds up a book from which both appear to read. The figure on the far right looks in toward the book as well.

Gibbs, Rarer Gifts than Gold: fourteenth-century art in Scottish collections. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Pollock Country Park, Glasgow, 28 April-26 June, 1988, 33-34, fig. 24; Binski and Panayotova, Cambridge Illuminations, 135; Orr, 'Illustrations as Preface and Postscripts in the Hours of the Virgin of Trinity College MS B. 11. 7' Gesta; Rickert, Painting in Britain, 167-168, 189; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 163-165, no. 142; Sandler, The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family, 144, 158.

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20. MS 39
1420-1440
Hours
University of Edinburgh Library
ff. 70, 75v
(fig. 8)
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There is a historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi* at the opening of the Office appears on f. 70. The image contains a bier arranged diagonally from bottom left to mid right. It is draped in a black pall decorated with a light gold pattern. Over the pall lies a white cross that falls the length and breadth of the coffin. Four candles are place around the coffin one at each end, and one on each side, in tall candlesticks sitting on a red and yellow tiled floor. Five mourners in full black mourning dress and hoods stand around the bier. One stands at the foot clasping his hands together; one sits in front of the coffin with a prayer book open on his or her lap; the remaining three crowd around the head of the coffin. Five clerics stand behind the bier. The front two wear blue copes sprinkled with blue patterning. The central figure raised his hand in blessing, while reading from a book help open by an altar server dressed in white. The remaining two clerics are crowded behind the two priest.

The are some smaller initials throughout the remaining text that are decorated with heads. F. 71v has two, one in the *D* of *De profundis* of a tonsured man holding his hands up in prayer, and another at the *C* of *Confitebor* of a mustachioed and bearded man in a long soft cap. These heads are executed in coloured grisaille techniques.

A historiated initial at *V* of *Verba mea* at Lauds of the Dead, is found on f. 75v. A bearded man in a pink cloak lined with blue kneels facing the left and gestures wide with his hands. He holds a soft red-orange cap to the left. The figure is set against a background of red with gold patterning, the gold detailing creates a halo around the head of the kneeling figure. The man is looking up to the left towards the figure of God the Father who is depicted inside a small circle that forms part of the foliate decoration around the initial. The figure is dressed in blue and set against a blue background with gold patterning. He raises his hand in a gesture of benediction.

The manuscript was probably produced in London.

Borland, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library, 69 - 73; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 235-237, no. 81; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, Hours of Richard III, 91.

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21. MS 308
c. 1460-1470
Hours
University Library
f. 66v
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There is a full page miniature at the Office of the Dead. This is a rare English depiction of a burial scene. In the centre foreground two men lower a corpse into a grave, holding it by the tied ends of the winding sheet at head and foot. The winding sheet has three small crosses embroidered on it: at the head, chest and foot. Behind the men lowering the corpse into the ground are two clerics standing next to the opening in the earth. One of them reads from a book which he holds in one hand, while with the other he makes a gesture of blessing. The second figure looks on while holding a processional cross. The graveyard is enclosed by a low stone wall with a wooden gate at the right. Instead of a natural background, the space outside the churchyard is a delicate gold diamond pattern on a rose coloured ground.

## SFIRLE PLACE, SUSSEX

22. Unnumbered15th centuryHoursCollection of Lord Gagef. 47v

There is a historiated initial *D* of *Dilexi*. A bier is placed in the centre of the composition and surrounded by figures. The coffin is draped in a black pall woven with a swirling pattern. Over the pall the two white ribbons are laid. Each end of the bands are embroidered with a small striped motif and have a tasselled edge. At the crossing of the ribbons a cross is embroidered. At the head and foot of the coffin a candle is set in a tall candlestick. In front of the bier are two mourners each holding a tall taper. Behind the coffin is a group of clerics as well as two mourners. The black-clad mourners are at the back of the right side of the composition, and neither figure has a visible face. The clerics take of the remaining space behind the coffin. In the centre a bishop, wearing embroidered robes, a mitre, and carrying a crosier, is reading the service from a book that is held by the two clerics standing on the far left. A fourth cleric stands behind the bishop. The scene is set against a coloured background with a delicate foliate pattern.

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Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 169, 234, 240, 250, 272.

MATFIELD HOUSE, HERTS.

23. MS CP 343
15th century
Hours
Library of the Marquess of Salisbury
f. 99v

There is a full page miniature on the facing page to the opening of the Office of the Dead. This is a very detailed composition of a funeral vigil taking place in a small chapel on the side of the main church. The coffin rests in the centre of the image, draped in a decorated pall cloth and surrounded by tapers. The pall is embroidered with delicate patterns of lines and dots, as well as with two small coats of arms, which appear clearly on the short end of the bier visible to the viewer. The four candles, all of twisted wax, rest in tall spindle candle pricks, two along each side the length of the bier.

Three clerics stand in the centre-right, behind the draped bier. They are reading or singing from a large book that rests on a lectern in front of them. In front of the coffin are two mourners in full

mourning dress with long tails to the hoods. Both mourners bend their heads toward the book held by the mourner on the left.

The chapel where the scene takes place appears to have a low barrel vaulted ceiling, with visible crossed ribs that suggest the appearance of coffering. There are three round arched windows along the far wall, with draped curtains hung underneath. Through the large arch on the back left of the image we see into the larger church space. Looking through this arch, the altar is prominently framed in the centre, displaying the altar clothes and a small altarpiece that appears to depict the Crucifixion with two other figures. There are three columns visible that indicate the ribbed vaulting of the nave.

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King, The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich, 71.

# **%** LIVERPOOL

## 24. MS F. 3. 14. c. 1360 and 2nd ½ of the 15th century Hours Liverpool University Library p. 180 (fig. 9)

The miniature at the Office of the Dead is from the earlier period of decoration found in the manuscript. The Office is introduced in French and is accompanied by a <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> page miniature embedded in the text. This is the only miniature in the manuscript.

The image displays a funeral service attended by three priests and four mourners. To the left of the image the group of mourners stands led by a woman in sober grey dress and hood. Behind her stand three other attendants none of whom wear mourning. To the right of the image three priests crowd around a tall lectern. The foremost of them, dressed in a gold trimmed cope, reaches out to turn the page of the book resting there. The other two dressed in plain white robes, look on. Behind the figures sits the bier draped in a blue pall with a pattern of gold embroidered crosses. Behind this, above the bier and running parallel to the picture plane is a bracket of wood on which nine candles are picketed. The wooden frame of what might be a hearse here, is decorated with arches and pendants along the bottom and mock castellations along the top. The image is encased in a border of bars and foliate decoration.

Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, 299-300; Penketh, Medieval Manuscripts on Merseyside, 15-16, fig. 15.

#### **%** LONDON

25. MS Egerton 1151 c. 1260-1270 Hours British Library f. 118 (fig. 10)

There is a historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi* at the start of the Vespers of the Dead. Seven people are standing behind a bier, divided into two groups either side of centre. The grouping to the right side is comprised of three persons. The man at the centre front is a cleric, dressed in a white robe and holding a large gold cross mounted on a staff. Behind him stand two men who appear to be dressed as lay people. The man nearer the front of the pair wears a green cloak and gestures toward the bier as he gazes down at it.

The group on the left of the image is comprised of four persons. Again, the man to the fore of this group is a cleric. In this case he is dressed in a white robe over which is fastened a black cope with voluminous hood. He reads from a service book that he holds open in front on him. Behind him stand a group of mourners, two men and one woman. The two men are almost entirely hidden behind the figure of the woman, and are not clearly visible. The woman wears a fashionable headdress, and a red cloak over a green dress, with her hands folded together in a gesture of prayer. The book contains texts recommended for anchoresses, so it is not impossible that this woman is mean to be the owner of the book.

The bier is draped with a rich blue cloth embroidered with an elaborate large central cross and four small crosses surrounding it in a red pigment that has largely worn away leaving only traces. The cloth is draped over two long poles which support the body of the bier. Neither a coffin or body is clearly articulated beneath the covering cloth. There is no underlying body such as that indicated by the folds of the cloth in the Grandisson Psalter.

Upper and right margin decorated with simple bars. Upper bar topped by an antelope-like head. On top of that appears a faun shooting an arrow at a dog with a human head.

Image available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
Size=mid&IllID=7765

Alexander and Binski, *The Age of Chivalry*, 217 cat. 41; Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England*, 700-1550, 162; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 1250-1285, no. 161; Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, 31; Rickert, *Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages*, 103-04; Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, 147 n. 105.

26. MS Add. 50000 c. 1265-1270 Oscott Psalter British Library f. 233 (fig. 11)

At *Placebo* the *P* is historiated. The letter contains three clerics singing over a bier. The two clerics in the centre and right are dressed in white, while the left figure wears a dark colour. The figure on the far right, and the figure on the far left both carry open books before them. The bier takes up the foreground. The pall draped coffin is resting on the poles used to transport the bier from home to churchyard. These poles overlap with the border of the image, the initial *P*. The Office is richly decorated with decorated initials, as well as small marginal drawings and scenes. It also contains musical notation.

Several artists worked on the Psalter and it shows the influence of the Oxford workshops. The work has also been associated with the 'Court school' of illumination.

The whole initial is remarkably similar to the one found in the Grandisson Psalter (BL, Add. MS)

21926).

Alexander and Binski, Age of Chivalry, 352, cat. 352; Backhouse, The Illuminated Manuscript, 42, pl. 32; Kauffmann, Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700-1550, 160, 167, 174, 175, 177, 181, 194, 195; Marks and Morgan, Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200-1500, 67-9, pls. 14-15; Morgan. Early Gothic Manuscripts, II, no. 151, 136-139; Rickert, Painting in Britain, 113-14, pl. 119; Saunders, English Illumination, I, 67-8, II, pl. 70; Turner, 'Two Rediscovered Miniatures of the Oscott Psalter', B.M.Q., xxxiv, 1969-70, 10-19, pls. iv-v.

27. MS Add. 21926 c. 1270-1280 Grandisson Psalter British Library f. 208r

There is a large historiated initial at the *P* of *Placebo*. The image contains three clerics standing behind a bier. The foremost of the three wears a blue cope over a white robe, and carries a book in his left hand and an aspergillium in his right hand which is raised over the bier. The figure behind him also carries a book, and is wearing a red cope. The last of the three is dressed in grey. They are set against a plain gold background. Unusually, the body of the deceased is not in a coffin. Rather, the outline of the corpse is clearly visible beneath the red pall that covers it. Instead of the coffin to support the body, it appears to be laid on a flat board, which is supported by three trellis tables. Two candles in blue candlesticks are placed on the floor in front of the bier.

The tail of the *P* is also decorated. There are two birds which perch on the tail decorations each holding an object. The upper bird holds what appears to be either a sword or a candlestick with set with a taper. The lower bird holds a bell in its beak. Both candle and bell are objects associated with the funeral.

British Museum. Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Library in the years 1854 - 1860, 558; Morgan, Early Gothic Manuscript, 1250-1285, II, no. 165, 162-164.

28. MS Yates Thompson 13 c. 1325-1335 Taymouth Hours British Library f. 151 (fig. 12, 12a-12e)

There is a full-page miniature at the opening of the Office of the Dead, with a single line of text underneath. The image depicts a death bed scene. At the bottom of the composition, in the foreground, a dead man lies on his bed covered in a voluminous blue sheet with his head resting on an orange-red cushion. Behind the bed on the right side of the image, an angel weights the soul of the dead man in a balance. The soul sits in the right bowl of the balance, while a small demon sits in the other. Two larger demons try to interfere with the balance, and the angel pushes them away. On the left side of the composition Mary, as Queen of Heaven, leans over the dead man reaching out her hand toward his soul. Between the figures of the angel and the Virgin a dove dives down toward the dead man. The scene is set against a gold ground.

The scene is set inside a an arched frame that looks like a fortified castle. There are narrow elongated tower structures on the right and left side. Over the arch is a wall with small gothic windows set in it and a blue roof, and a shallow gallery with castellations.

This miniature is followed by a series of marginal illustrations that continue though the Office. The miracles of the Virgin appear on ff. 151v-179, followed by the Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead on ff. 179v-180. Some scene from the life of St Francis occur on ff. 180v-182, followed by an image os St Dominic on f. 182v. St Dominic appears again along with Sts Edward the Confessor, Peter Martyr, Denis, our Lady of Carmel, and Christopher on ff. 189-194.

Image available: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
<a href="mailto:size=mid&IllID=29232">Size=mid&IllID=29232</a>

Illustrations from one hundred manuscripts in the library of Henry Yates Thompson, IV, pl. LI; Harthan, Books of Hours and their Owners, 46-50; Jackson, Marvellous to Behold, 84-5, 128, 130-1; James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (Nos. 51-100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson, 50-74, no. 57; Kauffmann, Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700-1550, 211, 237; Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, I, 34; Rickert, Painting in Britian, 149, 163; Sandler, "A Follower of Jean Pucelle in England" The Art Bulletin 52 (1970): 363-372; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 107-109, no. 98; Smith, Art, Identity and Devotion, 155, 165, 223, 228-230.

29. Egerton MS 3277 c. 1361 – 1373 Bohun Psalter-Hours British Library ff. 142, 145 (fig. 13, 13a, 13b)

A historiated initial at the *D* of *Dilexi* containing four different scenes appears in f. 142. The initial is quite large, being twelve lines of text in height, and sits above the text like a half-page miniature. The initial is divided into four quadrants, each containing a different scene from the events after the Crucifixion.

In the top left, the three women, all dressed in combinations of blue and pink, approach the tomb. On the right, an angel stands in the empty sepulchre. The tomb resembles a contemporary funerary monument, being a large stone sarcophagus, with the lid tipped off, and three elegant arches along the side. Two guards slump, sleeping, under the arches of the tomb, in the place where 'weeper' figures would normally appear. On the bottom left, the two men appear to the women. The men, dressed identically, are on the right, and the women on the left. One of the women reaches into the tomb, to ascertain that it is empty. In the bottom right quadrant the women, entering the scene from the left, tell the disciples what they have seen (Luke 24: 1-2, 4, 9).

In the margin of this page appears the death and burial of a knight. Sandler, in *Gothic Manuscripts*, suggests this might be intended as the death and burial of Edmund Fitzalan, who died in 1326. In a roundel in the upper left margin in a death bed scene with a man laid out under blue blankets on the bed, while four figures crowd around him.

Under this image, still in the left margin, is a burial service with a large, elaborate catafaque. A red draped bier sits under a large two tiered hearse with large numbers of candles surmounting each of the tiers. Under the hearse four men in red hoods look toward the coffin. Beneath the image of the hearse, and contained within a flourished roundel connected to the 'D', is a stone effigy in full armour lying on a sepulchre, with a Fitzalan coat of arms in the background. Three tiny 'weepers', one in each arch of the tomb are located beneath the upper slab. The small figures are coloured brightly unlike the stone tomb above, so in spite of their placement and size, they may be intended as live mourners.

Above the initial two men rummage in a treasure chest. In the bottom left corner is an image of either a horse going into a church as a gift, or a camel trying to pass through a narrow gate.

Another large historiated initial appears at the opening of the Matins of the Dead in the *V* of *Virgine*, on f. 145v. Again the space is divided into four separate scenes. The upper left depicts the *noli me tangere*. Mary Magdalene kneels on the right of the standing Christ, while behind the two figures, just visible, is the empty tomb. The upper right image is of Christ showing his wounds to his disciples as they sit around him. The lower left quarter shows doubting Thomas sticking his hand into Christ's side wound, and the lower right has Christ and the disciples praying as God the Father appears to them in the upper right of the quarter.

The margins also contain images related to contemporary funerals. The images stack on top on one another in the left hand margin. From top to bottom there are two images of a tomb: the upper tomb resembles that seen in the margin of f. 142, with small figures kneeling in the lower arches of the sarcophagus, while the lower tomb a wooden coffin in it, and family coats of arms in place of the figures. These are followed by an open grave with a shrouded corpse laid in it, and an image of two men putting objects into a treasure chest. These two figures seem to be the same characters who appear in the upper margin of f. 142.

The manuscript belongs to the group of manuscripts commissioned for members of the Bohun family. The Bohun arms appear in the lower left corner on f. 145v.

Image available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
<a href="mailto:size=mid&IllID=16064">Size=mid&IllID=16064</a>

Alexander and Binski, The Age of Chivalry, no. 689, 503; Backhouse, The Illuminated Page, no. 108; Binksi and Panayotova, Cambridge Illuminations, 79, 189; Camille, Mirror in Parchment, 126, n.6; James and Millar, The Bohun Manuscripts, passim; Kauffmann, Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700-1550, 171, 214, 215, 224, 231; Rickert, Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages, 149-150, pl. 153; Sandler, "An Early Fourteenth-Century English Breviary at Longleat" JWCI, 39 (1976), 1; Sandler, "A Note on the Illuminators of the Bohun Manuscripts", Speculum 60 (1985): 364 - 372; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, I, fig. 359-362, II, 151-154, no. 135; Sandler, "Bared: The Writing Bear in the British Library Bohun Psalter." Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture, 269-82; Sandler, The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family, 20, 22, 35-38, 51, 54-55, 122, 126, 131.

30. Add. MS 16968 c. 1380-1390 Psalter-Hours British Library ff. 33, 34

On f. 33 there is a historiated initial at the *D* for *Dilexi* at the beginning of the Vespers of the Dead. The letter contains a bier draped in a yellow cloth with a pattern of red dots. This is sitting under a large hearse structure set on a tiled floor. The hearse has a two tiered canopy, each tier surrounded with candles, and coming to a pitched roof. The structure of the hearse breaks out of the frame provided by the shape of the letter. Here, the candles and form of the tiered roofs of the hearse weave around the top of the *D* into the border space around it. The manuscript has been trimmed rather severely, and the top of the hearse and the candles on the second layer have been cut off.

On f. 34 appears a large historiated initial at V of Verba at the beginning of the Matins of the Dead. This initial contains the figure of a king kneeling against a delicately patterned background. He wears a blue cloak with an ermine cape at the top, over a yellow robe, with a crown on his head.

His hands are folded in a attitude of prayer and he gazes up toward the face of Christ who hovers, disembodied, in a gold halo with a rounded star shape behind it.

British Museum, Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1846 - 1847, 333 - 334; Rickert, Painting in Britain, 169, pl. 149b; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 167-169, no. 145; Sandler, The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family, 158.

31. Royal MS 2 B. viii c. 1405 The Princess Joan Psalter British Library f. 144 (fig. 14)

There is a small historiated initial *D* at *Dilexi*, containing three clerics standing behind a bier and singing from a red choir book. The three singers are dressed in red, blue and pink from left to right. The bier is draped with a black cloth with crossed white ribbons laid over it. The figure are set against a red and gold filigree patterned background. The composition bears a strong resemblance to that found in MS 474, 'The Hours of Richard the III'.

The manuscript is not a full Psalter-Hours, as it does not contain any of the texts for the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Office of the Dead is the only part of the traditional Hours texts to be included here. The manuscript was probably produce in London.

Image available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
<a href="mailto:size=mid&IlIID=41013">Size=mid&IlIID=41013</a>

Rickert, "The So-Called Beaufort Hours and York Psalter." *The Burlington Magazine* 104, (1962), 245; Rickert, Painting in Britian, 170; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 74-75, no. 14; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Hours of Richard the III*, 21.

32. MS J.A. 7398 after 1412 Hours of the Duchess of Clarence Estate of Major J.R. Abbey f. 75

There is a half page miniature at the opening of the Vespers of the Dead. The image is contained within a rectangular bar frame, that is lightly patterned with leaves. The composition is arranged horizontally around the bier which occupies the centre position. On the near side of the coffin four mourners in black costume, but without hoods raised, are seated on a long bench. Their backs are to the viewer, and their faces turned to the right as they look toward the officiating priest at the altar. Each of the men holds a long taper. On the far side of the coffin is a groups of clerics who gather around a large lectern on which is resting a large book. These men also look to the altar, their mouths open, perhaps in song. At the right of the composition is the altar, with a priest standing in front of it with his back to the remaining figures in the image. In front of him on the altar is a board with a small text list on it. This may be the bede roll - the record of the deceased in the parish - that was read out by the priest are the Office of the Dead to commemorate those that had gone before.

Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 176-178, no. 56; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, Hours of Richard III, 36-38, 89-90.

33. MS 474 c. 1415 Hours of Richard III Lambeth Palace Library f. 72 (fig. 15)

This image is a historiated initial at *Dilexi* at the start of the Vespers of the Dead. It is six lines of text in height. We are presented with a bier draped with black cloth and two white ribbons draped over to form a cross. A book has been placed on top of the coffin from which three clerics read. Each of the three wears a different colour cope. Behind the three men, a smaller figure is squashed into the frame wearing a white gown, who appears to be a young acolyte. In front of the bier, two mourners sit on a bench dressed in full mourning. There are two candles; one at each end of the bier.

The Office of the Dead is one of only three divisions of the book that have been dignified by a historiated initial. The others are the opening of the Hours of the Virgin (f. 15), and the Penitential Psalms (f. 55, now missing). The manuscript was probably produced in London.

Duffy, Marking the Hours, 33, 81, pl. 61; Marks, et al., Gothic Art for England, no. 44; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 162-164, no. 52; Sutton, and Visser-Fuchs, The Hours of Richard III, passim.

34. Add. MS 42131 c. 1420-1422 Bedford Psalter-Hours British Library f. 46

There is a historiated initial contained in the *D* of *Dilexi* at the beginning of Vespers of the Dead. The image shows a bier in the centre draped with a patterned pall cloth. A group of five clerics cluster behind the bier, four of them reading from a book held open by the fifth. Each of the four readers wears a different colour cope. The acolyte holding the book wears white. In front of the bier are two mourners dressed in full mourning attire with their hoods up hiding their faces. They sit on little bench-like stools and each hold a tall taper. To the left side of the image stand a cluster of perhaps five mourners, also wearing full mourning. Only two of this group have visible faces; one appears to be a young man, and the other and older bearded man. The floor is lightly tiled with a lozenge pattern. The background is patterned with delicate gold pen work in a scroll and leaf pattern.

The manuscript was made for John Plantagenet, some time after his creation as Duke of Bedford but before he became Regent of France, and produced in a Westminster or London workshop.

British Museum, Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1926 - 1930, 202 - 206; Marks et al., Gothic Art for England, no. 73; Marks and Morgan, English Manuscript Painting, 104-106, pl. 33, 34; Rickert, 'Harman the Illuminator', Burlington Magazine (1935), 39 - 40; Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages, 181 - 185, 221; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 166-171, no. 54: Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, Hours of Richard III, 8, 9, 12, 17, 23, 24, 28-38, figs. 4, 8, 15.

35. Add. MS 65100
c. 1420-1422
Hours of Catherine de Valois British Library
f. 193v.

This is a diminutive Book of Hours nearly as fat as it is wide. It is Use of Paris, though written and illuminated in England, probably London. A full page miniatures accompanies the Office on the facing page to the opening of the hours. The tiny image shows an aristocratic funeral with very fine furnishings. Four priests stand on the far left of the scene, in a row facing the altar that sits on the far right. They wear pink or blue copes over white robes. The altar is set into a small chapel space against the back wall, which has several windows visible in it. The altar top is covered with a white cloth, while the sides are draped in pink. In the centre back is a hearse and bier. The bier is draped in a dark blue cloth and sits under a delicate brass hearse that arches over the centre of the bier creating an enclosed space. There are four tall candlesticks used a support for the arches which spring from them just below the candle bowl. Each of the four supports carries a tall burning taper, and a fifth sits at the apex of the arches, where they all meet. In front of the bier, within an enclosed space created by a low black fabric wall, sit two mourners (see also St John's College MS B. 11. 7). Both figures are completely draped in black mourning dress – this makes it somewhat difficult to perceive the low wall that surrounds the two figures.

The whole takes place in a church interior. The peaked roof, topped by a hexagonal cupola are visible at the top of the image. The front wall of the church has been cut away to allow the viewer to seen into the space. Just behind the bier is a richly embroidered black cloth with gold filagree detailing. This seems to be a part of the chapel space, and has perhaps been erected to give more privacy to the mourners in the chapel.

Alexander, 'Painting and Manuscript Illumination for Royal Patrons in the Later Middle Ages', in *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages*, 149, pl. 8; Krochalis, "Books and Reading of Henry V", 60; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscript*, II, 213-215, no. 72; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, *Hours of Richard III*, 18, 23-24, figs. 9, 18.

36. Add. MS 50001
c. 1425
Hours of Elizabeth the Queen British Library
f. 55v

There is a half page miniature embedded in the text at the opening of the Office of the Dead. The image, square in shape, is contained within a border of blue and red bars, and shows the Office of the Dead taking place inside a church. The architectural structure is open on one side to allow the viewer to see the activities taking place in the interior. The nave of the chapel runs diagonally from the bottom left to top right of the image, and has a truncated transept emerging toward the picture plane. The chapel walls are red, the exterior is pink. The floor is tiled in red and green checkers.

Inside, a number of figures surround a raised bier draped with two pall cloths. The bottom cloth is the longer cloth, which reaches the floor and covers the frame the coffin rests upon. It is black with the crossed white ribbons just visible beneath the covering cloth. This top pall is a richly embroidered blue and gold material. At the head and foot of the bier are tall, elaborate brass candlesticks with a hexagonal structure that resembles baptismal fonts, or the architectural detailing. Each is set with a yellow taper. Four mourners in black dress stand around the coffin, two on each

side, holding torches candles. A group of four or five black clad and hooded mourners stands behind the coffin, completely engulfed in the black robes. Just the heads of four more people are visible crowding in at the upper left behind the hooded figures.

At the head of the bier two priests in blue and gold dress read the service facing the altar in front of them. To the left four clerics in white cassocks sing from a book held on a large wooden stand.

Backhouse, Books of Hours, 46, pl. 42; Backhouse, Illuminated Page, 163, no. 140; De Hamel, The British Library Guide to Manuscript Illumination: History and Techniques, 14, fig. 15; Marks and Morgan, The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 26-7, 110, pl. 36; Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages, 174-6, 248 n. 88, fig. 177; Saunders, English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIV th and XV th Centuries, 36, 89, pls. 88-90; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490, II, 171-176, no. 55; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, Hours of Richard III, 17-18. 23, 30, 36-38.

37. Royal MS 2. A. XVIII c. 1430-1440 Beauchamps or Beaufort Hours British Library f. 78

There is a historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi*. The image shows three clerics standing behind a bier. The two priests in front have their hands folded over their chests. All three men wear different coloured copes over white tunics. The man in the centre and behind is dressed in a dark tunic without cope. The bier is draped in black and has the traditional crossed white ribbons. In the centre of the crossing of the ribbons is a small black cross. It is surrounded by four candles, one on each side and all set in tall brass candlesticks. The bier is placed in front of an altar with cloths and side curtains. The scene takes place in an interior - at the back right we see an archway leading to another part of the church. The floor is tiled and each tile has a small circle in the centre of it.

Image available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
Size=mid&IllID=33569

Marks and Morgan, English Manuscript Painting, 101-103, pl. 31, 32; Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, 116-118; Rickert, Painting in Britain, 181-182, 192-193; Rickert, Margaret. "The So-Called Beaufort Hours and York Psalter." Burlington Magazine 104, (1962): 238, 241-246; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscript, II, 127-132, no. 37, Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, Hours of Richard III, 12, 87.

38. Harley MS 2915 c. 1440-1450 Hours British Library f. 55v (fig. 17)

There is a full page miniature on the facing page of the Office of the Dead. The funeral scene is contained in a rectangular frame and surrounded by foliate decoration in grisaille. The scene is set with the viewers perspective looking straight down the nave of the church or chapel space. The bier, draped in a red pall with white crossed ribbons, is set in the centre of the composition. Four candles in tall candlesticks surround the bier, two to each at the head and foot of the coffin. On the right

hand side of the composition are three mourners dressed in enveloping black robes. The centre figure of this group raises a hand as if to wipe away a tear. On the left side of the image is a group of four clerics. The two in the front of the group, next to the bier, read from a book set on a large lectern, while the two behind look on. In the background is the altar. Nothing is set on it, and it is decorated with black draperies embroidered with red Greek crosses. The rib-vaulted architectural setting is well articulated, with four columns, and four windows, one between each column.

This manuscript bears a strong resemblance to MS G. 50 (below). The figure style in both this manuscript and MS G. 50 is very similar to that found in Getty Museum MS 5 which has been associated with the work of the Fastolf Master by J.J.G. Alexander.

Image available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
Size=mid&IllID=21059

Backhouse, Books of Hours, 30-31; Backhouse, The Illuminated Page, 175; Marks et al., Gothic: Art for England, no. 224; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 298, 319.

39. Arundel MS 203 c. 1440-1450 Hours British Library f. 46v

There is a historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi* at the opening of the Office of the Dead. The space contains a small funeral scene with two clerics. The two clerics stand at the left of the image, alongside the bier. In front of one cleric there is a tiny lectern, in bad perspective, placed behind the bier, with a book resting on it. The bier is placed in the centre of the image and is draped with a black pall with crossed white ribbons. The black pall is decorated lightly with dark yellow polka dots. Four candles in tall brass candlesticks surround the bier, one on each side. The floor is tiled with light and dark brown triangular tiles. The chapel interior walls are pale pink.

de Gray Birch and Jenner, Early Drawings and Illuminations, 15; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, I, 40, 72 n. 18, 77, II, 382-83.

40. Harley MS 2869 c. 1440-1460 Hours British Library f. 112 (fig. 16)

There is a small historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi*. A bier, draped in black with white ribbons, is set obliquely across the centre front. Behind the coffin two clerics say the Office. Each figure hold his own book opening in front of him. The scene is set against a patterned red and gold background. The image is similar to those found in the Hours of Richard III, Lambeth Palace MS 474, the Princess Joan Psalter, BL Royal MS 2 B. viii (see above for these manuscripts), and Harley 2887 (below).

This is one of only two historiated initials in the manuscript: the other image is of the Resurrection of Souls (f. 48).

Image available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
Size=mid&IllID=20701

Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, I, p. 77, n. 36.

41. MSL 1902/1695, formerly KRP. C. 9 or Reid 54 c. 1450
The Scottish Hours
National Arts Library, V&A
f. 50v

There is a half page miniature set above the Office text on f. 50v. This image shows seven figures surrounding Lazarus as he climbs out of his tomb. The figures on the left hand side of the image all wear halos. Christ, at the front centre, and the sisters Mary and Martha raise their hands towards Lazarus, while a fourth figure peeks over the heads of the two sisters. On the right side are three onlookers, one of whom raises his sleeve to cover his nose in response to the stench. The background of the composition is occupied by a large, tall church with two round towers either side of the front portal. The top of every spire is crowned by a cross.

The execution of this miniature is rough. The figure style shows the influence of French and Flemish manuscripts, while the borders reflect early fifteenth-century English style.

Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, 383.

42. MS Arundel 302 c. 1450 The Hameldon Hours British Library f. 77v (fig. 18)

There is a full page miniature facing the opening of the Vespers of the Dead, *Placebo*. It is an unusual format, being quite tall for its width and creating an elongated effect. Five figures cluster behind a black draped bier with a white crossed ribbons. Three of the clerics wear blue copes with gold banding over white robes, and the other two wear red copes with green. The centre figure and the figure immediately to his left between them hold open a book, which all the figures are reading from. The centre officiating priest gestures out to the right. The figure to the far left holds an aspergillum for sprinkling the coffin. The foreground of the image is cluttered with candle sticks and tapers that obscure the figure behind them: five candles surround the bier, two on each side and one sitting on top, all set in heavy brass candlesticks.

The scene takes place within a very cramped interior space framed by an elegant pink pointed arch surmounted with pink foliage. The floor of the interior is tiled red and black with a pattern of dots in the centre of each tile.

Image available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
Size=mid&IllID=3179

Catalogue of Manuscripts in The British Museum, New Series: The Arundel Manuscripts, 89; Backhouse, Illumination from Books of Hours, no. 45; de Gray Birch and Jenner, Early Drawings and Illuminations: An Introduction to the Study of Illustrated Manuscripts, 15; Marks et al., Gothic Art for England 1400-1547, 303; Rogers, 'Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1979: A Bury St Edmunds Book of Hours and the Origins of the Bury Style', in England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium, 229-43; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II: no. 92, 258-59.

43. Add. MS 62523 c. 1450-1460 Hours of the Virgin British Library f. 49

There is a half page miniatures set above the opening text of the Office. The image depicts a group of seven clerics singing or saying the Office from a large book set on a lectern. Next to the lectern another large closed book has been placed. The coffin rests in the centre right of the composition, in front of the altar which can be made out in the background. The bier is draped in a black pall decorated with a small pattern of dots. The usual white ribbons are laid over the pall. At the head and foot of the bier are two candles in large candlesticks. Behind the group of clerics is a mass of black-clad mourners. Only two of the number can be distinguished from the group. These two, perhaps women, hold up a book and open book between them to follow the service in. The scene is set in a small interior. The ceiling seems to be barrel vaulted and decorated with a coffered pattern. A row of rounded-arch window is seen along the back wall.

The manuscript was produced in London or Oxford, and is attributed by Scott to the Caesar Master.

Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 277-279, no. 100.

44. Harley MS 2887 c. 1460 Hours of the Earls of Ormond British Library f. 80 (fig. 19, 19a)

There is a historiated initial *D* of *Dilexi* depicting a funeral scene. A bier, draped in black with white crossed ribbons, is set obliquely across the centre front of the composition. A single candle is set at the end of the coffin. At the other end of the coffin are two mourning figures dressed in full black mourning garb. Behind the bier on the left of the images are three clerics. Two of the figures hold open a liturgical book toward the viewer, while the third figure reads, and lifts his hand as though to turn the page. The scene is set against a gold and red patterned background. The image is similar to those found in the Hours of Richard III, Lambeth Palace MS 474, the Princess Joan Psalter, BL Royal MS 2 B. viii, and Harley 2869 (see above).

Image available at: <a href="http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?">http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?</a>
<a href="mailto:size=mid&IllID=20741">Size=mid&IllID=20741</a>

Backhouse, Illumination from Books of Hours, no. 18; Christianson, Memorials of the Book Trade in Medieval London, 44-45; de Gray Birch and Jenner, Early Drawings and Illuminations, 15; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, no. 109; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, Hours of Richard III, 18, 23, 27.

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## **SE** LONGLEAT HOUSE, BATH

45. MS 11
c. 1310 - c. 1320
Psalter
Library Collection of Lord Bath, Longleat House
f. 208
(fig. 22, 22a)

There is a historiated initial in the *P* of *Placebo*. The initial contains a funeral service with two clerics, two mourners and a bier. The draped coffin is in the centre front of the image, and is surrounded a row of candles on a simple candle stand. Behind the coffin, the two clerics stand on the right, one reading from a book while the other gestures toward the bier. On the left of the composition are two mourners who are perhaps women. Both wear very full robes, one blue and one pink, with wimple-like head coverings. The scene is set against a gold ground. This Office of the Dead is accompanied by musical notation.

Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, no. 73; Watson, "The East Anglican (sic) Problem: French Perspectives from an Unpublished Psalter', *Gesta*, 13 (1974), 1-16.

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## **M** NEW YORK:

46. Spencer MS 2
c. 1304 - 1310
De la Twyere Psalter
New York Public Library
ff. 258, 259

A historiated initial at the *P* of *Placebo*, occurs on f. 258. The oval shape contains a funeral service taking place over the coffin. The bier is positioned horizontally in the foreground with the carrying poles crossing over onto the initial itself. It is surrounded by a simple herse comprised of a ring of candles resting on an iron framework.

Behind the bier are three groups of men. On the left and right, four tonsured men in white, two each side, peek in from the border holding up songsheets from which they are singing. In the centre there are three untonsured men in dark tunics, all of whom look to the left hand side.

On f. 259 there is a historiated initial at *D* of *Dirige* containing Christ in Judgement. A haloed Christ sits in the centre of the composition on a low simple throne, with his feet resting on a set of steps. He draws open a rift in his garment with one hand to reveal his side wound, and raises his other hand in a gesture of benediction. An angels appears at the upper left and right, blowing on long trumpets to sound the Last Day. In the lower half of the composition, again to the left and

right of Christ are four coffins with figures rising out of them with their hands clasped in prayer: to the left a king and a queen, and to the right a bishop and a monk.

In the margins below and to the right of this image the narrative of the Judgement continues with the separation of the saved and the damned. The bas-de-page composition sit on the lower branch of the bar border that frame the page. The blessed and the damned are separated into two halves by a sturdy column. The souls climb out of their coffins, the blessed led by an angel to the left toward a ladder, and the roped together damned tugged to the right by a demon toward the gaping mouth of Hell. The demons and damned souls also tumble down from the outside border of the page. While the Blessed souls are not individualised, among the Damned number both women and men, monks, kings, queens and bishops.

Alexander et al., The Splendor of the Word, n. 42; Kauffmann, Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700-1550, 207, 211; de Ricci, Census, II, 1335; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, no. 36, 41-42.

47. MS G. 50 c. 1316-1331 De Lisle Hours Pierpont Morgan Library f. 113v

There is a large historiated initial at *D* of *Dilexi*. The image contains an acolyte, dressed in white vestments, who accompanies tonsured cleric, wearing a cope. The cleric raises his hands, holding an thurible. He faces two male mourners, who stand on the right side of the composition, one of whom wears a cap. All the figures stand behind the draped bier, which is shown with the top sharply angled toward the viewer. The short pall cloth reveals the trestles that the coffin rests on, and the poles used to transport it to and from the church. Four large tapers are set along the near side of the bier. On the left, just behind the head of the cleric, is a tall processional cross.

Image available at: <a href="http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a></a>
<a href="mailto:v1=23&ti=1,23&CNT=25&HC=29&RelBibID=255863&SEQ=20101118093036&PID=2DtU1Ri2YAT27FBP8tvGuY0of8SSw">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=25&HC=29&RelBibID=255863&SEQ=20101118093036&PID=2DtU1Ri2YAT27FBP8tvGuY0of8SSw">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=25&HC=29&RelBibID=255863&SEQ=20101118093036&PID=2DtU1Ri2YAT27FBP8tvGuY0of8SSw">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=25&HC=29&RelBibID=255863&SEQ=20101118093036&PID=2DtU1Ri2YAT27FBP8tvGuY0of8SSw">v1=25&HC=29&RelBibID=255863&SEQ=20101118093036&PID=2DtU1Ri2YAT27FBP8tvGuY0of8SSw</a>

Binksi and Panayotova, *The Cambridge Illuminations*, 105; Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery in Medieval England*, 700-1550, 208; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, II, no. 77; Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion, passim*.

48. MS M. 700 c. 1325-50 DuBois Hours Pierpont Morgan Library f. 158v

There is a historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi*. In the foreground of the image the bier is set lengthwise across composition. The coffin is covered in a colourful patterned pall, with alternating strips of blue and orange-red. In front of the coffin six candles are set in candle frame. One of the carrying poles is present, but it's pair is missing. Behind the bier are five figures. On the left side of the image are two acolytes holding open a large book. On the right side a mitred bishop, in bright blue and green vestments, turns the page of the book held open for him. Behind the bishop are two

mourners in contemporary secular dress: a woman with a green dress and white headscarf, and a male figure in a red tunic and black stockings. The scene is set against a burnished gold ground.

Image available at: <a href="http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=82&ti=76,82&CNT=25&HC=88&RelBibID=244138&SEQ=20101118093309&PID=2DtUsHP6U3VdwUeXIG-tmKYg1QQZG">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=82&ti=76,82&CNT=25&HC=88&RelBibID=244138&SEQ=20101118093309&PID=2DtUsHP6U3VdwUeXIG-tmKYg1QQZG">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=82&ti=76,82&CNT=25&HC=88&RelBibID=244138&SEQ=20101118093309&PID=2DtUsHP6U3VdwUeXIG-tmKYg1QQZG">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=82&ti=76,82&CNT=25&HC=88&RelBibID=244138&SEQ=20101118093309&PID=2DtUsHP6U3VdwUeXIG-tmKYg1QQZG">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>

Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts: Major Acquisitions of the Pierpont Morgan Library 1924-1974; de Ricci, Census, II, 1484; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 96-98, no. 88; Smith, Art, Identity and Devotion, passim; Wieck, Painted Prayers, no. 5.

49. MS M. 893
c. 1430-1445
Beauchamp or Warwick Psalter-Hours Pierpont Morgan Library
f. 60

This miniature is of the moment after the Requiem Mass. The coffin is placed in front of the small altar, and is draped in a delicately patterned cloth with two crossing bands over the top to create a cross. Another smaller cross has been laid on the top of this. Unusually, there are no candles surrounding the bier. There are four clerics standing behind the bier, one looks toward to lectern and two read from a book held by one of the number. The priest in the black cope faces the coffin and swings the thurible over it. An additional two clerics, also dressed in white, sit on benches in front of the bier at the bottom right of the image reading or singing from their open books. In the front centre, again on benches, sit three men in three different costume. The one of the far left appears to be a monk. The centre and right figures of these three figures are very individual in their dress. Both wear contemporary clothing, and the centre figure has a walking stick with him, while the third figure wears a black hood, perhaps a mourning hood, and lighter coloured gown. Behind the bier on the upper left is a crowd of black clad mourners. Only three faces are visible but these indicate that the group is of older men – two of the visible faces are bearded. The background is a finely patterned with filagree lines. The floor pattern is diamond with lozenge shapes inside.

The decoration of this manuscript has been attributed by Jonathan J. G. Alexander to English illuminator William Abell. The manuscript is thought to have been commissioned by Henry Beauchamp sometime between his succession as earl in 1439 and his death in 1446.

Image available at: <a href="http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
v1=10&ti=1,10&CNT=25&HC=27&RelBibID=254761&SEQ=20101118093429&PID=8Iv03TM
BhlQ\_2pXmOx6TL5YLdMMyD

Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts: Major Acquisitions of the Pierpont Morgan Library 1924-1974, no. 74; Harris "Patrons, Buyers and Owners: The Evidence for Ownership and the Rôle of Book Owners in Book Production and the Book Trade", in Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475, 193, n. 77; Marks and Morgan, English Manuscript Painting, 30, pl. 38, 39; Marks et al., Gothic Art for England, no. 91; Rickert, Painting in Britian, 249; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, no. 88; Sutton and Visser-Fuchs, Hours of Richard III, 18, 23, 27, 30, 36-7, figs. 10, 17, 23; Wieck, Painted Prayers, 124, 126, no. 98.

50. MS G. 9 c. 1440-1450 Berkeley Hours Pierpont Morgan Library f. 100

There is a half page miniature set in an arched frame over the opening of the Office of the Dead. The scene depicts a funeral service. The bier is placed in the centre, perpendicular to the picture plane, and draped with a red pall cloth with white crossed ribbons. Four candles surround the coffin, one placed on each side, and all set in tall brass candlesticks. On the left hand side of the image are four mourners in full length black mourning gear. Only three faces are visible of the four figures. On the right side of the image a group of clerics perform the service. There are five figures clustered around a lectern on which rests a large book. All the figures have their mouths open as they sing. The scene takes place in a chapel interior with pink walls and a wooden barrel vaulted ceiling with green braces. At the far end of the chapel is an altar with nothing set upon it, and decorated with black draperies embroidered with a red Greek cross.

While there are few more figures and the placement of mourners and clerics is reversed, this image bears a strong resemblance to Harley 2915 (above). The similarities are particularly pronounced in the mourning figures, the placement and colour of the bier and pall, and in the similar colour scheme and decoration used to describe the altar. The style of the figures is also similar to the work of the Fastolf Master, as also seen in Getty Musuem MS 5.

Image available at: <a href="http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=13&ti=1,13&CNT=25&HC=18&RelBibID=244650&SEQ=20101118093653&PID=Xc9LqpKyWzGyCOw\_iMfT6W9DvjssB">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=13&ti=1,13&CNT=25&HC=18&RelBibID=244650&SEQ=20101118093653&PID=Xc9LqpKyWzGyCOw\_iMfT6W9DvjssB">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=13&ti=1,13&CNT=25&HC=18&RelBibID=244650&SEQ=20101118093653&PID=Xc9LqpKyWzGyCOw\_iMfT6W9DvjssB">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=13&ti=1,13&CNT=25&HC=18&RelBibID=244650&SEQ=20101118093653&PID=Xc9LqpKyWzGyCOw\_iMfT6W9DvjssB">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>

Faye and Bond, Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, 393; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 296-299, no. 108.

51. MS M. 255 c. 1450 Gage Hours Pierpont Morgan Library f. 67v

There is a half page miniature over the opening text of the Office of the Dead. The funeral scene takes place inside a chapel space. The bier is placed in the centre front of the composition. It is draped in a black pall with white crossed ribbons, neither of which reach the floor. The ribbons are embroidered with small crosses. This black pall is placed over another bright blue cloth does reach the floor. Three twisted candles are set around the bier. Behind the coffin are three clerics reading or singing from a large book, held open by one of the figures. The church interior has purple-pink walls and a wooden vaulted ceiling. A small chapel with an altar can be seen in the background at the right side.

Winchester or Norwich have been proposed as likely sites for the production of this manuscript.

Image available at: <a href="http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=70&ti=51,70&CNT=25&HC=120&RelBibID=274815&SEQ=20101118094120&PID=J9SbQp0rn\_M]9tGKXWAZpQBXqj7Mk">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=70&ti=51,70&CNT=25&HC=120&RelBibID=274815&SEQ=20101118094120&PID=J9SbQp0rn\_M]9tGKXWAZpQBXqj7Mk">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>
<a href="mailto:v1=70&ti=51,70&CNT=25&HC=120&RelBibID=274815&SEQ=20101118094120&PID=J9SbQp0rn\_M]9tGKXWAZpQBXqj7Mk">http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?</a>

## MORWICH \*\*

52. MS 158. 926. 4f c. 1310-c. 1320 Hours Castle Museum f. 105y

There is a historiated initial at the *D* of *Dilexi*, containing an image of the Resurrection of the Dead. In the upper half of the image the haloed head and torso of Christ appear in the sky above dead. He raises his arms and opens his hands to the viewer. In the lower half of the image are four naked individuals rising from their open coffins. Only one of the figures' status is identified - the third man wears a crown. The other two men and woman are undistinguished.

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The borders of this folio are particularly lively, containing a variety of birds and animals, two-faced heads, acrobats and grotesques.

Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, no. 47, 53-55; Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, III, 517-519.

53. MS 228. 961 c. 1450 Hours Castle Museum f. 57v

The Office of the Dead beginning on f. 58, is accompanied by a full page illumination at the facing page. The parchment is heavily damaged, and the image is obscured both by the dark patch, possibly mould or scorching, as well as from the deliberate scratching away of the centre of the composition. What can be discerned of the remains of the miniature painting, suggests it may have depicted a raising of Lazarus. The figures seem to be arranged in a similar composition to that found in the Bohun Hours (MS Auct D. 4. 4) on f. 243 which is also a raising of Lazarus. Alternatively, the defaced image may be a scene of burial in the churchyard. Both Lazarus and burial scenes are uncommon in English *horae*, though both are a common theme in French and Flemish examples.

#### **S** Oxford

54. MS 47 1380- c. 1390 Hours Keble College f. 75v There is a rectangular half page miniature placed at the bottom of the page. A large bier occupies most of the composition, placed slightly off centre to the right. The coffin is draped with two clothes: the longer cloth is a rich red with a pattern of small flowers worked on it. Over this is laid a shorter green cloth with a delicate gold thread border. The usual crossed white ribbons are laid over the green cloth. The bier is surrounded by four candles, one on each side. On the left, there are two clerics in simple white gowns. They together hold open a choir book - some black dots on the visible pages, perhaps an indication of notation. The image is set against a burnished gold ground background.

Parkes, The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford, 215-223; Marks, Image and Devotion, 124-125; Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 169-170, no. 146; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 21, 27, 38, 236, 250.

55. MS Auct. D. 4. 4 c. 1380 Bohun Hours Bodleian Library f. 243, 244, 248

F. 243 has a full page miniature of the Raising of Lazarus, contained within a rectangular frame. The scene shows the open tomb of Lazarus at the bottom left as a grey stone sarcophagus. The lid has been pushed off, and leans against the side of the coffin. Larazus sits up in the tomb still wearing his shroud. His whole body is enveloped by the shroud, and the cloth is still tied on the tops of his head. The sheet is parted around his face, and he looks up toward Christ. In front of the stone tomb, two small bushes are growing. Christ stands in the centre of the image dressed in a blue robe with a red lining. He raises his hand in a gesture of blessing toward Lazarus.

There are three groups of figures in the images surrounding the centre figures of Christ and Lazarus. Behind Lazarus and the sarcophagus, on the left of the image, stand a group of onlookers at the front of which two women feature prominently. These figures, surely Mary and Martha, are dressed as contemporary well born ladies, with fashionable headdresses of gold netting and white bands. Behind the women the group of six onlookers crowds forward to see the miracle. Opposite this group, at the top right, is another grouping of figures. Several of these figures wear 'eastern' headresses. They gesture and point toward Christ while talking amongst themselves. These two groups of figures may be the group of Jews that followed Mary to Lazarus' grave, to comfort her and her sister in their mourning, as in John 11: 31. The division of the comforters into two groups may be a reflection of the passage in John 11:45-46: 'Many therefore of the Jews, who were come to Mary and Martha, and had seen the things that Jesus did, believed in him. But some of them went to the Pharisees, and told them the things that Jesus has done.' Behind Mary and Martha stand those who have believed, while those with distinct head gear and questioning gestures represent those who did not.

At the bottom right of the image is a third group of figures. These ones are all either dressed in blue cloaks with red lining like Christ, or pink cloaks with red under robes. Though they do not number twelve, this group is most likely meant to be the disciples. Several figures in the foreground kneel or sit, making gestures of prayers and amazement toward Christ, while several more stand behind them. Above the scene the a star shines brightly with gold and red rays on a blue cloud. The scene take place against a gold ground.

F. 244 is the opening page of the Office, with a half page miniature with scenes from the life of Job situated at the top of the page, centered over the text. The miniature is contained in a rectangular patterned border. The image is divided into four tiny discrete scenes, each containing an event from the life of Job. A the top left we have the beginning of Job's troubles, with a scene of

the devil asking God's permission to persecute Job. God sits on a throne on the left side, Satan in the form of a beast-like devil approaching from the right. In the centre background a group of angels look on. In the top right scene, we have a view into the house of Job's eldest son, where three figures, his sons, sit at a banquet. Above them, a devil sits on the roof shaking down the tiles (Job 1:19). At the bottom left are the servants and children of Job being slaughtered. At the bottom right the children and flocks of Job being consumed by fire.

There is also a historiated initial on this page, in the *D* of *Dilexi*. This contains the figure of a man who pulls apart the neck of his pink tunic. He looks towards a smaller kneeling figure on the left and speaks. A scroll comes out of his mouth, but the words have unfortunately rubbed away. The scene likely shows the messenger coming to tell Job about the death of his family and flocks and burnt house, and Job rending his tunic in response to the news. The dominant colours are bluegrey, red-orange, pink and white.

The next miniature falls at the *Verba Mea* on f. 248v. It is also arranged like f. 244: a half page rectangular miniature, divided into four scenes. At the top left God is giving the devil permission to attack Job's person, as a group of angels stand witness. In the top right Job lies sprawled across the dunghill, while the devil stands on his back and appears to be clawing at Job's neck. The image at the bottom left shows Job on the dunghill lifting his hand to a woman, probably his wife. She also lifts her hand to meet his, and is perhaps handing him some bread. At the bottom right Job sits on the dunghill surrounded by his the three friends.

This pages also has a historiated initial, in the V of Verba Mea. Here, God and Job speak to one another. God gestures toward Job, who holds his hands folded for prayer. God the Father wears a red robe with blue cloak, while Job wears pink. All the scenes are set against a gold ground.

Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 157-159, no. 138; Sandler, The Lichtenthal Psalter and the Manuscript Patronage of the Bohun Family, 11, 59, 61, 62, 66, 70, 73, 74, 121, 125-126, 137, 138, 152, 153, 156; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 105; Binski and Panayotova, The Cambridge Illuminations, 79; Smith, Art, Identity and Devotion, 81, 149, 223.

56. MS Rawl. liturg. d. 1 c. 1420 Hours Bodleian Library f. 59

There is a historiated initial *D* of *Dilexi*. A coffin sits in the centre of the composition, draped with a black pall, over which are laid crossed white bans embroidered with patterns. There is a candle set at the head and foot of the bier. Behind the coffin four clerics say the service. The three larger figures in the centre read from a book that is being held open by the two figures on the outside. A smaller figure stands behind the main group.

Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, III, 76, no. 869; Rickert, *Painting in Britain*, 248; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 72, 77, 95, 163, 169, 177.

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**%** PHILADELPHIA

57. MS 1945-65-6

c. 1470 Mostyn Hours Philadelphia Museum of Art: The Philip Collins Collection f 158v

There is a full page illustration with wide borders facing the opening of Vigils of the Dead. The image is contained within a border with a rounded arch top. Depicted is a funeral service taking place in a church interior. The bier is draped with a pall patterned with small flowerets; over the pall are the long white strips laid to form a cross. Six mourners in mourning dress stand around the bier, three to each side, each holding a torch. At the bottom left of the image a crowd of clerics wearing richly embroidered vestments surround a large book on a lectern. It is clear that the clerics are singing the mass, as the open book quite clear displays a page of musical notation to them and the viewer. At the top right of the image is an altar table and altarpiece. The interior of the church is well articulated with round columns, vaulted ceilings and diamond paned windows. Through a small arched space in the background one can see further into the interior of the church – this is perhaps another chapel space as another little altar is just visible.

Christie, Mansen and Woods, *The Mostyn Hall Library*, 23 - 24, cat. 1974 Pt III, lot 1477, f. 101; 33-34; Sandler, *Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385*, no. 5; Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 131, fig. 122; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 329-330, 335, 339-340; Zigrosser, "The Philip S. Collins Collection of Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts." *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 58, (1968).

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#### M PRIVATE COLLECTION

58. Sotheby's Sale, 29th Nov. 1960, Lot 110. c. 1280-1290 Percy Psalter-York Hours London, Private Collection f. 19v

There is a historiated initial *P* at *Placebo*. The initial shows Christ in Majesty. He is seated on a arc and wrapped in a voluminous robe. He raises his arms and displays his hands, palms facing the viewer, his chest is bare, and his feet are revealed beneath the robe to show the five wounds. The margin spaces around the text continue the theme of judgement. Just beneath the *P*, the faithful are depicted praising the redeemer. The figures crowd toward the base of a stone wall and raise their faces and hands, folded in prayer, toward Christ. In the bas-de-page space we see the resurrection of the dead taking place. From the far right and far left an angel sounds a long trumpet. Between these two angelic figures, the dead sit up in their boat-shaped coffins, still wrapped in their shrouds, and raise their hands folded as for prayer.

The manuscript was made for York use. The image bears resemblance to that in the de la Twyere Psalter (see above), also a book made for York diocese.

Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 21-22, no. 11b.

59. Sotheby's Sale, 1st Dec. 1970, Lot 2869. 1385-1400

Belknap Hours Formerly Major J. R. Abbey, now in Germany f. 96

There is a large historiated initial *D* of *Dilexi*. This image contains only one figure, a priest dressed in a white robe holding a book awkwardly in front of him. He stands to the left of a large coffin with a flat top rather than the common peaked roof. The bier is dressed with a plain light coloured pall. One candle has been set on each side of the coffin, and a smaller candle rests on top of the coffin. Sandler notes similarities with Keble College MS 47, and Edinburgh Adv. 18. 6. 5.

Catalogue of the Celebrated Library of the Late Major J. R. Abbey, London, 1970, 30-32; Sandler, Gothic Manuscript 1285-1385, no 154, 177.

# 🛰 SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

60. MS HM 1346
Beginning of the 14th century
Hours
Huntington Library
f. 119
(fig. 20, 20a)

A historiated initial at *D* of *Dilexi* containing a funeral service. To the fore is a draped bier supported on trestles, with the carrying poles that run the length of the bier visible. The coffin is draped with a blue and pink striped pall. It is surrounded by four candles supported on a simple hearse structure of wooden pickets. painted red. Behind the bier a priest in a blue cope reads the service assisted by a cleric in a white robe. They hold between them a book. To the right of the bier a woman in a red dress with blue cloak is seated on a bench. She wears a white and brown headdress and has her hands raised in a gesture of prayer.

The form of the hearse is seen here similar to that seen in the Liverpool manuscript, MS F. 3. 14, discussed above. In addition the composition bears many similarities to that found in the De Bois Hours (M. 700) in the Pierpont Morgan Library, also discussed above.

Dutsche, Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library, II, 580-582; de Ricci, Census, 108.

## 61. MS HM 19913 c. 1410-20 Millar Hours Huntington Library f. 65 (fig. 21, 21a)

This is a half page miniature set above the opening text of the Office. The square shaped image is contained within red and green bar borders. The scene shows the funeral service taking place. The bier is set parallel with the picture plane and is draped in a blue pall patterned with yellow-gold flowers. There are four black clad mourners: two standing along each long side of the coffin and

carrying tall torches. Candles are also placed at the head and foot of the bier. Three priests, dressed in black and gold vestments, say the service. One reads from a book at the altar while the other two sing from a large book resting on a wooden stand just behind him. All the priests are dressed in black copes patterned with gold. The floor is patterned in yellow and black checks, and the scene is set against a gold and red patterned background.

Dutsche, Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library, II, 597-598; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 157-158, no. 49.

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## SWAFFHAM, NORFOLK

62. MS 1 15th century Hours Swaffham Parish Church f. 129r

There is a full page miniature depicting a burial and graveside service. In the foreground two clerics lower a shroud-swathed corpse into an open grave. Behind the grave are two groups on the far right and left of the image. Entering from the left are two clerics, the first in a white cope and carrying a torch. At the right a small group of four mourners in full black garb are clustered. Behind the figures is a small church with a tower and no transepts. The quality of execution in this manuscript is fairly poor.

Ker, Medieval Manucsripts, IV, 485-487.

#### **M** UNKNOWN LOCATION

63. Sotheby's Sale, 19th May, 1958, Lot 77 15th century, early Hours of the Virgin unfoliated

There is a historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi*. The initial contains a funeral scene with two clerics. The coffin is on the right side of the composition, covered with a black pall, and two plain white crossed bands. The clerics, on the left, say the service from a book resting on a lectern behind the coffin. Both figures are tonsured, and raise one hand toward the bier. The scene is set against a patterned background.

64. Sotheby's Sale, 6th Dec. 1983, Lot 62.
c. 1425-35
Psalter
f. 288v

A historiated initial at *D* of *Dilexi*. Here we have depicted a coffin and three clerics. The coffin is placed in the front and takes up most of the space in the composition. It has a flat top and is laid with a dark pall decorated with clusters of dots. The usual white ribbons are laid over this. Four candles are set around the bier one on each side. Behind the bier are the large heads of the three clerics. None of the bodies are visible beyond the neck and suggestion of shoulders.

The composition is not well executed. Curiously, all three men and the coffin are placed at an angle so that they seem to be tipping over, and should slide out of the right side of the image. This may be an attempt at perspective. however, the angle chosen cannot be easily accounted for in this manner.

Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 118, 225.

65. London Sothebys Sale, 23rd June, 1998, Lot 67c. 1430-1450Saxby Hours and Psalterf. 74r

There is a historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi*. This small initial contains a large number of figures for its size. At the front of the composition is the bier, dressed with a long pall embroidered with fleur-de-lis. Over the pall are laid the white ribbons forming a cross. Two tall candlesticks sit in front of the coffin with tapers. Behind the bier the composition is divided by two cramped groups of figures; to the left the clergy, and to the right the mourners. The clerics here represent the choir more literally than usually seen. They are packed tightly in three rows showing little but the heads or the crowns of heads and stand behind a large wooden lectern set with a choir book. The mourners on the other side of the image are similarly crushed together. Three of distinct figures can be made out in the group of black, but the others blend into a block. Each of the three visible figures holds open their own books and are following along.

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Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, 238, 249.

**Y**ORK

66. MS Add. 2: After 1415 Bolton Hours York Minster Library f. 129

There is a historiated initial at *D* of *Dilexi* at the beginning of the Vespers of the Dead. The initial contains a bier draped with a pink pall patterned with red dots. Set on top of the coffin is a large candle which breaks the frame of the initial *D* so that the flame is outside it. There are three figures in the composition. All that can be seen of the two clerics behind the bier are two largish, flat-topped heads – both tonsured. In front of the bier a very diminutive cleric in a blue cope carries a candle.

The quality of the illumination here is not high. The scale of the three figures does not match. The figure in the front is dwarfed by the bier, while the two mean behind are huge in comparison with it, and therefore, only their heads fit into the image.

Duffy, Marking the Hours, 14, 18-21; Ker and Piper, Medieval Manuscripts, IV, 786 - 791; Marks, Image and Devotion, 105-106; Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, II, 119-121, no. 33.

67. MS XVI K.6 c. 1420 Pavement Hours York Minster Library f. 52v.

There is a historiated initial in the *D* of *Dilexi* at the start of the Vespers of the Dead. Two clerics stand behind a bier each holding a book from which they appear to read or sing. The cleric on the left wears a white robe over blue and the man on the left wear a white robe over green. The bier is draped with a black pall that is embroidered with a white cross. Two small candles are placed on top of the coffin at the head and foot. The candles are much smaller than many that appear in these images; they look like normal candles as opposed to the huge tapers or torches that often appear.

Grounds, "Evolution of a Manuscript: The Pavement Hours", in *Design and Distribution in Late Medieval Manuscripts*, 118 - 138; Ker, and Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts*, IV, 727-30: Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 120, 153, 250.

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## **W** VATICAN CITY:

68. MS Pal. Lat. 537 c. 1350 and in 15th Century Hours Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana f. 168

A historiated initial at *D* of *Dilexi* at the opening of the *Placebo*. The image shows a dying man lying on his deathbed under a red blanket embroidered with clusters of three white dots. His eyes are closed and mouth is open, to indicate his 'giving up the ghost', and he makes an elegant gesture upward toward the small figure of his soul. Above him, his soul is being carried up to heaven in a white napkin by two angels who lean out of billowing cloud on either side of the image. Above them Christ, framed in a rich blue cloud, raises his right hand in benediction, while holding a globe in his left. The image is set against a flat gold ground.

Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 129-130 no. 116; Kauffmann, Biblical Imagery in Medieval England, 700-1550, 210; Metzger, Das Stundenbuch Rom, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS. Pal. lat. 537: und verwandte Handschriften, passim; Panayotova, The Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers, 290; Rickert, Painting in Britian, 166f, pl. 148a.

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#### **W** VENICE

69. MS Lat. I. 77 c. 1270 - 1280 Psalter Biblioteca Marciana f. 179

There is a historiated initial *P* at *Placebo* at the opening of the Office of the Dead. The initial contains the image of a scribe seated at a table in a large wooden chair. In front of him on the tilted lectern table used for scribal work his book is resting. He holds a pen and a knife for writing and erasing. Above the scribe is a white bird, perhaps a dove, that seems to be speaking to the scribe. The bird hovers above the man's head touching it's beak to his forehead. The figure and bird are set against a dark coloured background.

The descender of the *P* is long and straight, with a hooked tail. On this tail a large hunched bird is sitting. It holds in its mouth a branch from which are hanging two bells. The shape of the P and the presence of the bird are both reminiscent of the Grandission Psalter (see above).

Morgan, "Patrons and their Devotions in the Historiated Initials and Full-Page Miniatures." in *The Illuminated Psalter: Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, 312-313; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, 2, no. 166, 164-166, fig. 329; Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion*, 260, 289.

## CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS:

#### SUPPLEMENT

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The manuscripts contained in this section have an Office of the Dead image recorded in the catalogue entries. These have not been verified via examination of the images. The written descriptions given here are based on the written descriptions in the literature.

#### **M** ABERDEEN

70. MS 276 15th Century Hours University Library f. 167

A funeral service. Three clerics singing from a book over a coffin, with a blue pall. Three mourners are also present.

M.R. James, A catalogue of the medieval MSS in the University Library Aberdeen (Cambridge University Press, 1932), 100-102.

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#### **SET BLACKBURN**

71. MS Hart 21018 15th century Hours Public Library f. 49

Funeral service. The funeral image not mentioned in Ker.

Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, I, 57, 72, 77, II, 95, 105, 163, 169, 177, 352; Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, 105.

72. MS Hart 21040 mid 15th century Hours Public Library f. 73

Shroud in a tomb. This image is not mentioned in Ker.

Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, I, 57, 72, 77, II, 95, 105, 163, 169, 177, 352.; Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, II, 109-111.

#### **SET UNITED L**

73. MS 14
early 15th century
Hours
Public Library

Public Library

f. 61

A historiated initial containing a bier. Perhaps made for Isabel Ruddok who did 1434 in Bristol.

Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, II, 209-210.

#### **S** Brussels

74. MS IV. 231 15th century Hours Bibliotèque Royale

Funeral service.

Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, I, 72, 77, II, 163.

#### **SCAMBRIDGE**

75. MS Ii. 6. 2 early 15th century Hay Hours University Library f. 84

A full page miniature at the Office of the Dead. The funeral service is conducted by two priests, one in red, one in black. Both sing from a noted sheet. The coffin is in the foreground covered by a grey pall with white and red embellishments.

A catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, III, 497-498.

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#### M DOWNSIDE ABBEY

76. MS 26544 mid 14th century Psalter-Hours Abbey Library f. 225

Ker notes that the Office of the Dead has a historiated initial but provided no indication of what the initial contains.

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Ker, Medieval Manuscripts, II, 433-434; Watkin, Downside REview LVIII (1940), 438-444.

#### **SEDINBURGH**

77. MS 303 15th century Hours Edinburgh University Library f. 112

A Raising of Lazarus. The book was written in England, but may have used a Flemish exemplar.

Ker Medieval Manuscripts, II, 593-595.

### **%** LONDON

78. unnumbered late 13th century Mostyn Psalter-Hours Private Collection f. 151

Monk in white chanting at the bier of the deceased.

Sandler, Gothic Manuscripts, II, 16-17, no. 5.

## MEW JERSEY

#### 79. MS Scheide 127

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15th century Hours Princeton University Library

#### Funeral service.

Scott, Later Gothic Manuscripts, I, 57, 72, II, 163.

### **S** STONYHURST COLLEGE

#### 80. MS 35

15th century

Hours

Stoneyhurst College Library

#### Funeral service.

Ker, Medieval Manuscript IV, 408-409

#### 81. MS 57

15th century

Hours

Stoneyhurst College Library

f. 106

Ker indicates a full page miniature inserted before the Office of the Dead on f. 107 but provides no description.

Ker, Medieval Manuscript IV, 442-445

#### 82. MS 79

14th century

Hours

Stoneyhurst College Library

f. 46

A historiated initial containing a burial service.

Ker, Medieval Manuscript IV, 476-477

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