

**SEXUAL WARFARE IN THE MARGINS OF TWO LATE-THIRTEENTH-
CENTURY FRANCO-FLEMISH ARTHURIAN ROMANCE MANUSCRIPTS**

by

Emily R. Shartrand

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

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ABSTRACT

When a woman picks up her distaff, not to spin wool, but instead to mount a horse and use it to joust with a defenseless man, what is the significance? Several such motifs appear in the margins of New Haven, Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Ms. 229 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, français 95. In fact, the marginalia within these two Arthurian romance manuscripts, produced in French Flanders during the final decades of the thirteenth century, are rife with depictions of violence. Through a careful analysis of the entire body of marginal art and the subsequent grouping of these motifs thematically, the male-female distaff jousts are identified as being comprised of elements from each of these identified groups. They operate as useful case studies for understanding the relationship between text, miniatures, and marginalia in these two volumes. Ultimately, this dissertation concludes that such images operate as leitmotifs that guide the reader/viewer through the cumbersome text of the Vulgate Arthur. Moreover, these motifs respond to social and political unrest that characterized late-thirteenth-century French Flanders such as a number of popular uprisings, a rebellion against French royal authority, and the growing Flemish textile industry.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Violence seems to be the *raison d'être* in the margins of two late-thirteenth-century Arthurian romance manuscripts made in French Flanders: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Français 95 (hereafter BnF fr. 95) and New Haven, Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Ms. 229 (hereafter Beinecke Ms. 229).¹ Both large format volumes, each illuminated in its entirety by the same pair of artists operating in the Thérrouanne region, contain numerous miniatures as well as marginal images on almost every third page. Their borders are rife with images of jousts, hunts, wrestling figures, and men fending off monsters that erupt from vines. Even comic moments are punctuated by violence: performers juggle and balance swords, a monkey teacher beats his monkey student in view of the rest of the class, a group of rabbits hunt down human prey, and crossbowmen are caught in the awkward and vulnerable moment of reloading,

¹For the manuscripts, see Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), Part I, Volume II, 550-575; Jean Porcher, ed., *Manuscrits à peintures du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955), no. 57, pl. X (f. 273); Barbara A. Shailor, Robert Gary Babcock, and Lisa Fagin Davis, eds., *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Yale University*, 2 vols. (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1984-2004), I, no. 229; Alison Stones, "The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229: Prolegomena to a Comparative Analysis," in *Word and Image in Arthurian Literature*, ed. Keith Busby (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), 203-283; Elizabeth Moore Willingham, ed., *Essays on the Lancelot of Yale 229* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 79-110; Alison Stones, "L'Estoire del Saint Graal: Les riches aventures des chevaliers de la Table ronde," *Art de l'enluminure*, 68 (Mars/Mai 2019): 4-59. The entirety of BnF fr. 95 can be found on the "Gallica Catalogue," Bibliothèque nationale de France, Accessed July 5th, 2019, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000108b/fl.image>, and the entirety of Beinecke Ms. 229 can be found on "Beinecke Digital Collections," Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Accessed July 5th, 2019, <https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3433279>.

their feet wrenching the bows down and the bolts clenched between their teeth (Fig. 27). Weapons, unsurprisingly, are the most ubiquitous hand-held object depicted in the margins of these two volumes, especially in the hands of men. In contrast, the most frequently rendered object in the hands of women is the distaff and its related implements, such as the spindle.² The distaffs are always shown in the hands of women, but these women are not always using them to spin wool or flax, as expected. One woman carries her distaff like a spear in order to hunt down a fox who has stolen her rooster. Other women use their distaffs to joust with unarmed knights (Fig. 1).

Some of the images that appear in these two manuscripts conform to established visual tropes of male-female interactions or are derived from identifiable stories. There are several instances of men kneeling before women who present them a ring or wreath. On many pages, heads of courtly couples either kissing or gazing into each other's eyes, emerge from the vine-scrolls that constitute the borders. For every image of a courtly couple operating within expected gender roles, there is another in which the players complicate or subvert these expectations. Men and women sometimes appear in the margins without clothing and displaying their genitalia. In one marginal image a woman stabs her kneeling lover in the heart with a crossbow bolt, and another contains a depiction of the mounted Aristotle, a motif deriving from two roughly contemporary Old

² There are approximately 96 swords, 36 arrows, archers, and crossbows, 16 lances, 11 spears, 10 axes, and 3 falchions in the margins. These weapons are all in the hands of men with the exception of a lance held by a mounted woman on Beinecke Ms. 229's folio 100v. In the hands of only women there are 6 distaffs, 4 spindles, and 2 niddy-noddies. The only object commonly found in the hands of both men and women in the margins are musical instruments. There is a total of approximately 28 trumpets, 18 bagpipes, 14 rebecs, 10 hunting horns, 4 harps, 3 tabor and pipes, 2 portative organs, and 9 other general stringed instruments.

French and German poems, which depicts a woman who rides Aristotle like a horse and whips him with a cat-o-nine tails (Fig. 2).³ In addition to these examples of women appropriating weapons to penetrate or attack their opponents, men often find themselves on the wrong end of their own swords and arrows. In some instances, monsters, hybrids, and other forces of disorder violently penetrate the backsides of men with various bloody weapons. In a society where sex was viewed as an act in which one person, traditionally male, does something to another person, traditionally female, this reversal of role with respect to penetration is striking and likely significant.

What, then does it mean that in these manuscripts the instruments of warfare are so often linked with the instruments of sex? Why would romance manuscripts made predominantly for an elite court society contain such obscene and sexually explicit images? Perhaps these violent and sexual marginal images were not meant as literal interpretations but instead may be metaphors for larger societal issues plaguing French Flanders in the late thirteenth century, such as social violence or rebellion. Several chapters of the Vulgate Cycle of Arthurian romances traditionally have been read as commentary on the negative effects of rebellion against central authority. R. Howard Bloch has argued that the final chapter of the cycle, *Le Mort de Roi Artu*, demonstrates the failings of a divided feudal governing system as France itself move towards an era of increased power residing in a central government.⁴ Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 were perhaps produced for the Flemish Count Guy of Dampierre and his family in the

³ The Old French version was written by the Norman poet Henri d'Andeli and the German version by an anonymous poet. Paula Mae Carns, "Compilatio in Ivory: The Composite Casket in the Metropolitan Museum", *Gesta*, 44 (2005), 69-88 at 71.

⁴ R. Howard Bloch, "The Death of King Arthur and the Waning of the Feudal Age," *Orbis Litterarum* XXIX (1974): 291-305.

decades preceding his victory against the French king in the Battle of the Golden Spurs at Courtrai in 1302. Rebellion might have been considered as a necessary response to a failing political system, and this same chapter of the Vulgate cycle as a text that questioned the ability of one king to rule over divided lands.⁵ Rebellion in thirteenth-century Flanders was not limited to conflicts between the nobility and royalty. A number of popular uprisings rocked Flemish urban centers, usually involving disgruntled textile workers.⁶ Women had an increased presence and sense of agency in the textile industry and their livelihoods were also affected by these conflicts.⁷ Ultimately, the imagery, particularly the marginalia, found in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes should be investigated with these political leanings and societal realities in mind.

1.1. The Manuscripts and Their Production

The BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes contain the Arthurian Vulgate cycle. The first volume (BnF fr. 95) begins with the *Estoire del saint Graal*, followed by the *Merlin* and *Suite Vulgate du Merlin*. It additionally contains two non-Arthurian texts, the *Romance of the Seven Sages of Rome* and *The Penitence of Adam*. The second volume (Beinecke Ms. 229) picks up at the final portion of *Lancelot* (the volume containing the previous portions has likely been lost) and finishes with the *Queste del saint Graal* and *La Mort de Roi Artu*.⁸ The two non-Arthurian texts in BnF fr. 95 are likely later, albeit only slightly later, additions to the manuscript, as the codicological evidence supports.

⁵ Lynn T. Ramey, "Images of Rebellion: The Social and Political Context of the Images of Yale 229 *La Mort le Roi Artus*," in *Essays on the Lancelot of Yale 229*, ed. Elizabeth M. Willingham (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 7-13 at 9.

⁶ David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman Group UK Ltd., 1992), 176-184.

⁷ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 183.

⁸ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 550-575.

The final quire of the *Suite Vulgate du Merlin* was expanded from eight to ten folios to finish the tale.⁹ This suggests that the scribe of the *Suite Vulgate* intended for the manuscript to finish on this section. Nonetheless, the illumination and decoration of the added texts were done in the same style and by the same artists as the original portions of the manuscript, although they contain less decoration overall. The scholarly consensus, expressed most recently by Alison Stones and Elizabeth Moore Hunt, is that these two manuscripts were part of the same set, and presumably they once included the first two parts of the *Lancelot*, now lost.¹⁰ Based on the evidence of their size, layout, and decoration, including the number of columns of text, ruling patterns, script, format and style of miniatures, and the style, placement, and prevalence of the marginalia, the case for both books being parts of a set is convincing.¹¹

Structurally, BnF fr. 95 is comprised of three fly leaves, 394 folios, and an additional three end-leaves. Its dimensions are 470 by 330 millimeters. Each folio has two text columns of forty lines that measure 95 by 44 millimeters. The miniatures predominantly comprise of two registers and are the width of the text column.¹²

Beinecke Ms. 229 is similar in composition and dimensions. It has one fly leaf, 363 folios, followed by a single end-leaf. It measures 475 by 343 millimeters with two text columns of thirty-nine to forty lines. Both manuscripts are written in a formal Gothic

⁹ Stones, "The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 204. Confirmed by my own observation of the manuscript's quire structure.

¹⁰ Stones, "The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 204, and Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 79.

¹¹ Alison Stones discusses all of these component parts in regard to their similar features with the exception of the marginal art. Stones, "The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 204.

¹² "Gallica Catalogue," Bibliothèque nationale de France, Accessed June 13th, 2019, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000108b/fl.image>.

textura hand and are ruled with a single vertical ruling and a double horizontal ruling at the top, middle, and bottom of the text field that extends across the margins.¹³ These structural consistencies also suggest that the two volumes were originally intended as a set.

After their initial production and acquisition by their original owner, the two books did not remain together long. More is known of BnF fr. 95's journey, as it appeared in the library of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan by 1407. It eventually made its way to the Sforza library in Pavia and was seized there by Louis XII and brought to Paris in 1499 or 1500, passing from the royal library to the national library, and long accessible to scholars. Beinecke Ms. 229 may also have spent time in Italy, as there is a possible reference to it in a Sforza inventory.¹⁴ The Beinecke manuscript was at one point part of the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips, given the shelf mark Ms. 130.¹⁵ The manuscript appears in sale records after the Second World War, and in 1955 was purchased by the Beinecke Library as the gift of the Yale Library Associates.¹⁶ As a result, while BnF fr. 95 has secondary literature extending back to the 1900s, Beinecke Ms. 229 was less readily accessible, and did not receive scholarly attention until much later, although it has garnered more interest in the last few decades.¹⁷

¹³ See footnote number 14. Stones, "The Illustrations in BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 239.

¹⁴ Stones, "The Illustrations in BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 204-205.

¹⁵ Stones, "The Illustrations in BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 203.

¹⁶ "Beinecke Library Manuscripts Catalogue Record," Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Accessed October 5th, 2016, <http://brbl-net.library.yale.edu/pre1600ms/docs/pre1600.ms229.htm>

¹⁷ For example the 2007 collection of essays that developed out of a 2000 seminar organized by Elizabeth Willingham. Elizabeth M. Willingham, ed., *Essays on the Lancelot of Yale 229* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007).

While the patron of these works remains unknown, most scholars believe that they were probably created for the household of William of Termonde (d. 1312), second son of Guy of Dampierre (d. 1305), Count of Flanders and Marquis of Namur, or for a member of his family.¹⁸ It has additionally been proposed that Guy of Dampierre himself originally commissioned the books.¹⁹ The arms of Count Guy (*or, a lion rampant sable*), his son William (*or a lion sable, a bend gules*), along with those of several neighboring families such as Hainault (*or three chevrons, sable*) and Brabant (*sable, a lion rampant or*) appear in the margins of several folios both BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 3) (Fig. 4) (Fig. 5).²⁰ Regardless, the material evidence suggests that the manuscripts were made for communal or group use.²¹ Both manuscripts are so large in size that they cannot be read comfortably. They are too heavy to hold in one's hands and must either be stood over or placed on a large lectern in order to be engaged with. Therefore, I suggest that these objects should be understood as display pieces and agents of a communal reading experience. They are arresting objects that could have been used to impress guests of the

¹⁸Stones, "The Illustrations in BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 203-283, and Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscript*.

¹⁹ Ramey, "Images of Rebellion," 7.

²⁰ Folios 66r, 187r, and 260v of Beinecke Ms. 229 contain the arms of William of Thermonde and folios 23v, 100v, 126r and 260v the arms of Guy of Dampierre. Beinecke Library Manuscripts Catalogue Record," Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscripts Library, Accessed October 5th, 2016, <http://brbl-net.library.yale.edu/pre1600ms/docs/pre1600.ms229.htm>. Guy of Dampierre's arms can be found an additional two times in the BnF volume on folios 78r and 249v.

²¹ Some useful sources on communal reading in the high medieval period that will be discussed in depth later include Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Joyce Coleman, "Reading the Evidence in Text and Image: How History was Read in Late Medieval France," in *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting 1250-1500*, eds. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010), and Mark Cruse, "Matter and Meaning in Medieval Books: The Romance Manuscript as Sensory Experience," in *The Senses and Society* 5 (2010), 45-56.

Dampierre family, including members of other noble Flemish families. Both men and women, perhaps even from mixed generations, would have interacted with these manuscripts simultaneously. This scenario is made more plausible by analysis of the nature of the manuscripts' extensive decoration.

It has long been believed that the same pair of artists decorated BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, either simultaneously or in rapid succession within the last decades of the thirteenth century. One of these artists has been regarded as more skilled than the other, an interpretation that is questioned in chapter three of this dissertation. There are a total of 119 full-column miniatures in the BnF fr. 95 volume, as well as thirty-four historiated initials and about 274 marginal motifs. The Beinecke Ms. 229 volume contains seventy-seven full-column miniatures and fifty-one smaller miniatures. This volume additionally has about 238 marginal motifs.²² The miniatures of the manuscripts were innovative in design, and in fact they had to be. Mid-thirteenth-century manuscripts containing the Arthurian Vulgate cycle had only minimal illustration, so there were few models that the artists of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 could consult. Both of these manuscripts were produced in response to an increased demand for highly illustrated books. Their image programs operated as a means to facilitate reading and display the wealth of the patron.²³ Flemish nobility in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries were drawn to this cycle of stories in particular, as records reflect that many

²² For a more detailed listing of the miniature decoration and the marginal motifs please see Alison Stone's catalogue entries for BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 in conjunction with the Appendix at the end of this dissertation. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 550-575.

²³ Joan E. McRae and William Nelles, "Text and Context: The Production of Images in Yale Ms. 229", in *Essays on the Lancelot of Yale 229*, ed. Elizabeth M. Willingham (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 29-38 at 29.

noble families in the region commissioned copies of the Arthurian cycle.²⁴ It therefore follows that a body of illustration needed to be created in order to satisfy the interests of these wealthy families.

According to Joan E. McRae and William Nelles, the artists involved in the manuscripts' production demonstrated a keen attention to detail and a notable level of invention, as earlier extant manuscript of the Vulgate cycle were not highly illustrated.²⁵ The scribes left space for images at natural breaks in the narrative, such as moments when the text states, "at this point the tale leaves off speaking of..." or, "now the story says that...". No production marks or instructions can be found in the manuscripts to indicate what images should be placed in these breaks, suggesting that whoever was in charge of their design had knowledge of the text and a strong executive command of the project. As few exemplars for these images existed, the artists had to invent new motifs for these spaces, and comparative illustrations from model books were often updated to better reflect this specific text, possibly based on the artists' own reading and interpretation of the story.²⁶ McRae and Nelles noted a specific example of textual familiarity on the part of the artists on folio 357r of Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 6). The miniature on this folio depicts the following sequence, "To avenge the death of Galegantin le Galois, King Arthur attacks Mordret with his lance."²⁷ This story element was frequently represented in illustrated manuscripts of this text.²⁸ In Beinecke Ms. 229 small details are added to forge a stronger connection between miniature and text. These

²⁴ Ramey, "Images of Rebellion," 7.

²⁵ McRae and Nelles, "Text and Context," 29.

²⁶ McRae and Nelles, "Text and Context," 30.

²⁷ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 571.

²⁸ McRae and Nelles, "Text and Context," 30-31.

include the addition of a crown upon King Arthur's helmet, and the fact that Arthur is shown killing Mordret by stabbing him through the hauberk, as noted in the text.²⁹ The idea that the artists of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 were literate, or at least were well versed in the Vulgate cycle, has intriguing implications regarding the choice and design of the marginalia. It is possible that some or even many motifs appearing in these two manuscripts were included to enhance the reader/viewer's experience of the text by creating a closer link between text and imagery.

While the marginal images in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 are compelling, these elements of the decoration cannot be divorced from either the text or the miniatures and historiated initials they accompany, an issue that will be addressed below. Both of these manuscripts are notable within their genera for their abundance of marginal images, an aspect of their programs that may well have been a calculated choice on the part of the patron. This is due to BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229's connection to several thirteenth-century psalters and books of hours, objects that do traditionally include an abundance of marginal imagery. Some examples include those with related patrons, the Psalter of Guy of Dampierre (Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Ms. 10607) and the Psalter of Margaret the Black (private collection), as well as those by the same artists, the Franciscan Psalter (BnF Ms. lat. 1076) and a Book of Hours (Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 111).

It is worth noting that the scale of the marginal figures is nearly always equal to the scale of figures in the miniatures, and the same level of care is taken in their design and execution. These features suggest the importance of the marginal imagery within the

²⁹ McRae and Nelles, "Text and Context," 31.

manuscripts' overall decorative program. In addition, there are several instances in which the marginal images interact with either the text of the manuscript or with the figures in the miniatures, through gestures or in some cases by physically breaking through the borders. There are two main types of border arrangements that appear within BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, referred to by Miha Zor as type A and type B.³⁰ Type A encompasses all layouts where the vertical border runs along the outer left of the page and the horizontal borders extend from the top and bottom left of the vertical border and then across the text space to the right margin. In comparison, in the type B's layout, the vertical border runs just off center of the page between the two columns of text, touching the right column of text, and the horizontal borders unfurl out of the vertical border towards both the left and right of the page (Fig. 7). Border type A is used when a miniature is placed in the left column of text and border type B when the miniature is placed in the right column of text.³¹ There are also a number of places where smaller half-column miniatures or historiated initials are present with smaller borders extending out from them, on which marginal motifs occasionally rest. These variations in the layouts of the borders influenced the choice and placement of marginal motifs. To fully contend with these books, all the component parts of the page must be addressed together. Due to the fact that the marginalia within BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 has had significantly less scholarly attention, this dissertation focuses primarily on the art in the borders. Yet, the ultimately goal of this study is to raise the marginal art to the

³⁰ Miha Zor, "Border structure in Arthurian manuscripts BNF, fr. 95 as an expression of the Artist's *mente propia*," *Ars & Humanitas*, 8 (2014), 59-72 at 61.

³¹ Zor, "Border structure in Arthurian manuscripts BNF, fr. 95," 61.

miniature cycle's level of analysis, and in specific instances to investigate the interactions between both types of decoration.

1.2. Historiography

My investigation of the BnF and Beinecke volumes will draw from several lines of historiographical inquiry in order to comprehensively understand the marginalia's function in these two manuscripts. To begin, I will review past scholarship on the BnF and Beinecke volumes in order to examine their place within late-thirteenth-century illuminated Arthurian romances. Subsequently, I will study the complex topic of marginal art in the medieval period and how the changing, modern understandings of the term "marginal" have affected scholarship on manuscript marginalia. Next, to fully contend with this topic, I will use current scholarship on medieval concepts of sex, sexuality, and gender in order to shed light on the potential meanings and significance of the sexual images in the margins. I will continue by analyzing previous studies of manuscript marginalia with gendered and sexual imagery in order to build a foundation upon which this dissertation will rest. Finally, I will conclude this section with a discussion of two studies that have used images from secular romance literature in order to make claims concerning the social and political ideologies of their potential owners.

Because BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 are among of the earliest surviving examples of fully illustrated manuscripts of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle, they are key to understanding the artistic tradition that followed. Art historian Alison Stones has devoted much of her career to the study of these illustrated medieval Arthurian texts and is currently developing a digital humanities project that includes a searchable database of

images in manuscripts of the Lancelot-Graal cycle.³² She has written extensively on secular manuscript illumination generally and on the illumination of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 more specifically. Of the illumination in these volumes she has expressed, “The scenes are presented in the form of historiated initials, or, more often, miniatures with two registers, which facilitates the representation of events which follow – a relatively unusual formula in the illustrations of *Lancelot-Graal* manuscripts,” marking the significance of these two volumes in the development of Arthurian imagery.³³ Stones’ scholarship focused principally on the often labeled “primary” image cycles in Arthurian manuscripts and their relationship to the text. In general, she devoted little time to the extensive marginalia which populate the *bas-de-page*.

According to Stones, the imagery in the margins of such Arthurian romances only rarely fulfilled any function essential to the textual narrative and interacted only occasionally with the primary image cycle. She did regard BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 as possible exceptions to this conclusion that warranted further study because they, “have more marginalia within the body of the manuscript than is usual.”³⁴ Most recently, Stones published a study of BnF fr. 95’s *L’Estoire del Saint Graal* in which she stated, “One can sometimes discern a thematic relationship between the marginal motifs and the subjects of the miniatures, but most of the time their meaning is not obvious although it

³² For more information on this project please see The Lancelot-Graal Project, Accessed July 5th, 2019, www.lancelot-project.pitt.edu.

³³ Stones, “L’Estoire del Saint Graal,” 8. “Les scènes sont présentées sous forme d’initiales historiées ou, le plus souvent, en miniatures à deux registres, ce qui facilite la représentation d’événements qui succèdent - formule relativement peu courante dans l’illustrations des manuscrits du *Lancelot-Graal*.” Translation by author.

³⁴ Alison Stones, “‘Mise en page’ in the French *Lancelot-Grail*: The First Hundred and Fifty Years of the Illustrative Tradition,” in *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, ed. Carol R. Dover (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 125-144 at 130.

testifies to a playful, scatological, and inventive spirit.”³⁵ Stones’ observations on marginalia, while correct in some cases, are reductionist in regards to the body of motifs found in the BnF and Beinecke volumes. In 2007 Elisabeth Moore Hunt successfully brought the marginalia of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 into the larger art historical narrative. In her book, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310*, she devoted a chapter to the marginal motifs of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229.³⁶ Moore Hunt’s goal was to interrogate the larger implications and operations of marginalia in these two secular manuscripts and in religious books also made for Guy of Dampierre and William of Thermonde. Her study was schematic in nature and focused on the relationship between marginal motifs within quires. She provided her readers with extensive charts of different marginalia types per quire. With my dissertation I intend to build on Moore Hunt’s work by focusing in a more comprehensive way, and in greater detail, on the relationship between text, miniature, and marginal images. This effort entails categorizing the marginalia of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes so overarching themes can be uncovered.

To engage in any study that includes an analysis of marginalia, one must first understand the effect that modern ideas and definitions of the term “marginal” have had on the scholarship on this imagery. In a 2012 essay titled “Margin,” Kathryn A. Smith noted that it was not until the seventeenth century that the word “margin” first took on the

³⁵ Stones, “L’Estoire del Saint Graal,” 8. “On peut quelquefois discerner un rapport thématique entre les motifs marginaux et les sujets des miniatures, mais la plupart du temps leur signification n’est pas évidente quoiqu’elle témoigne d’un esprit ludique, scatologique et inventif.” Translation by author.

³⁶ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 79-110.

meaning of liminality, and not until the nineteenth that it came to signify a deviation from the norm.³⁷ The most comprehensive historiographic analysis of marginal art and marginalia in French illuminated manuscripts in particular is Laura Kendrick's 2019 essay, "Making Sense of Marginalized Images in Manuscripts and Religious Architecture."³⁸ While the subsequent pages will discuss the most pertinent scholarship for the present study, Kendrick's essay represented a comprehensive look at the topic of marginal art. Most crucially, she tracked changing approaches to understanding marginal art in every era, beginning in the nineteenth century, before which time marginal imagery was seen as literally beneath the study of men.³⁹ Some of the earliest scholars of the marginal such as Emile Mâle and Jules Champfleury, while differing in their approach, saw manuscript marginalia as comically amusing, or they focused on how various motifs turned a normal concept of the world upside down.⁴⁰ As a result of this work the margins of manuscripts we transformed in the minds of many scholars into loci of deviant behavior. By extension, numerous studies have focused on the comic, grotesque, secular, and sexual themes that appear in this field of the page.⁴¹

³⁷ Kathryn A. Smith, "Margin," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 29–44.

³⁸ Laura Kendrick, "Making Sense of Marginalized Images in Manuscripts and Religious Architecture," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, 2nd edition, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2019), 383–406.

³⁹ Kendrick, "Making Sense of Marginalized Images in Manuscripts and Religious Architecture," 383.

⁴⁰ Jules Husson Champfleury, *Histoire de caricature de moyen âge et sous la renaissance* (Paris, 1898). Emile Mâle, *Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century: A Study of Medieval Iconography and its Sources*, trans. H. Bober (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

⁴¹ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), Lucy Freeman Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," in *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 33–44 (London: The Pindar Press, 2008). Originally published as Lucy Freeman Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the

Additionally, social histories of the Middle Ages often used marginalia for their source material. While such social histories of marginal imagery are often colored by the ideas and biases of their historical moments, these studies are important to the development of the literature on marginalia.⁴² For example, the mid-century social historian Bronislaw Geremek integrated the concept of the “marginal man,” or an individual who partially belonged to, but was not fully integrated with two different social groups, with that of “marginality.”⁴³ Geremek’s identification of numerous marginal groups within medieval society, along with the contemporary Russian literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin’s concepts of the carnivalesque and grotesque bodies of medieval marginal art, influenced later writings on manuscript marginalia and marginal sculpture by Michael Camille.⁴⁴ Approaching marginal art from a different perspective, Mary Carruthers has investigated the role of memory in the intellectual and cultural lives of medieval peoples. In her work *The Book of Memory*, she traced memory theory through the ancient and medieval periods with a focus on its training and uses.⁴⁵ In her final

Ormesby Psalter,” in *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip: Art Historian and Detective*, edited by W.W. Clark, C. Eisler, W.S. Heckscher, and B.G. Lane, 154-159 (New York: Abaris Books, 1985), and Madeline H. Caviness, “Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade Mecum* for Her Marriage Bed,” *Speculum* 68 (1993): 333-362, to name a few.

⁴² Studies by scholars such as Wolfgang Kayser, Mikhail Bakhtin, Aron Gurevich, Bronislaw Geremek, Susan Smith, and Mary Carruthers to name a few.

⁴³ Smith, “Margin,” 30-31. Referencing Bronislaw Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell, Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987) and Bronislaw Geremek, “The Marginal Man,” in *Medieval Callings*, ed. Jacques Le Goff, and trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 347-373.

⁴⁴ Smith, “Margin,” 32. Referencing Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: M. I. T. Press, 1968), and Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

⁴⁵ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory and Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 2008).

chapter “Memory and the Book,” Carruthers discussed the practical uses of marginal motifs in triggering the memory of contemporary readers, creating pathways through difficult and lengthy texts.⁴⁶ This insight imbued what were once seen as unimportant and silly images with an unquestionable functionality. Finally, art historian Susan Smith combined social history, literary analysis, and an investigation of medieval secular art including manuscript marginalia in her feminist study *The Power of Women*.⁴⁷ Smith’s power of women *topos*, or the “representational practice of bringing together at least two, but usually more, well-known figures from the Bible, ancient history, or romance to exemplify a cluster of interrelated themes that include the wiles of women, the power of love, and the trials of marriage,” proved the ability to invert normative hierarchies of gender and challenge the church’s authority over its own patriarchal discourse.⁴⁸ Both Carruthers’ and Smith’s studies will be integral to the development of this dissertation.

In terms of art historical studies, scholarship on marginalia is heavily indebted to Lilian Randall’s 1966 catalogue *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, as well as her articles “Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination,” and, “The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare.”⁴⁹ This work demonstrated that marginalia were “susceptible to taxonomy.”⁵⁰ Randall argued against the diminished significance of marginal art in art

⁴⁶ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 274-337.

⁴⁷ Susan L. Smith, *The Power of Women: A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

⁴⁸ Smith, *The Power of Women*, 2-3.

⁴⁹ Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), Lilian M.C. Randall, “Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination,” *The Art Bulletin* 39, no. 2 (June 1957): 97-107, and Lilian M.C. Randall, “The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare,” *Speculum* 37, 3 (July 1962): 358-367.

⁵⁰ Smith, “Margin”, 29.

historical scholarship and stated, “the impression of haphazard spontaneity in marginal illustrations is exaggerated by their juxtaposition with representational elements of long-standing formalistic tradition...It would indeed have been atypical of the medieval mind to have discarded wholly all structure of programmatic design.”⁵¹ As Randall’s work opened up new possibilities for research on marginalia, Lucy Freeman Sandler’s large corpus of work on the subject pioneered methodological approaches to the study of marginal motifs.⁵² In her essay, “A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” Sandler noted three traditional scholarly approaches to marginal illustrations; namely attempts to find matching non-marginal illustrations or literary motifs from which marginalia derived, a focus on “a cultural process which produces parallels” to marginal illustrations in other artistic and literary forms, and an understanding that these sources cannot explain all marginalia and treats their study as “intriguing but irrational.”⁵³ To these approaches Sandler offered a fourth: to focus on the internal structure of a group or series of marginal motifs in order to identify their “formal inter-relationships,” as the “means” by which their, “form make[s] manifest the iconographical context.”⁵⁴ This last strategy will be crucial to understanding how the male-female distaff jousting in Bnf fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 relate to the large corpus of marginal illustrations in these two

⁵¹ Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, 12.

⁵² For more on the innovative aspects of Sandler’s work see Kathryn A. Smith, “Reflections on the Construction of Hybrids in English Gothic Marginal Illustration,” in *Art and the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, ed. Moshe Barasch and Lucy Freeman Sandler (New York: Prentice Hall, 1981), 51-65.

⁵³ Lucy Freeman Sandler, “A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” in *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* (London: The Pindar Press, 2008), 1-2. Originally published as Lucy Freeman Sandler, “A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” *Marsyas: Studies in Art History* 8 (1959): 70-74.

⁵⁴ Sandler, “A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” 2.

volumes, including the imagery of other courtly couples, women spinning with distaffs, and martial motifs with real or perceived penetration. Finally, in her essay “The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present, Future,” Sandler warned against an approach that studies a single motif in many books and ignores the many types of marginal motifs and themes that often appear in each manuscript. She instead encouraged future scholars to consider all possible meanings of marginal illustrations including contradictory or overlapping ones, an approach that I intend to stress in this dissertation.⁵⁵

Michael Camille built upon these studies, particularly in his book *Image on the Edge*. Here he began to ask crucial questions about what the space of manuscript margins signified. These include the following: What was the relationship of marginalia to the images at the “center” of manuscripts, namely the miniatures and the initials of the major illumination? How did the “marginal” spaces in manuscripts relate to other “marginal” spaces in the physical and social world, and how would the medieval viewer understand and contextualize this space?⁵⁶ Camille argued that:

During the Middle Ages the term marginal denoted, above all, the written page. The efflorescence of marginal art in the thirteenth century has to be linked to changing reading patterns, rising literacy and the increasing use of scribal records as forms of social control. Things written or drawn in the margins add an extra dimension, a supplement, that is able to gloss, parody, modernize and problematize the text’s authority while never totally undermining it.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Lucy Freeman Sandler, “The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present, Future,” in *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* (London: The Pindar Press, 2008), 125-126. Originally published as Lucy Freeman Sandler, “The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present, Future,” *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997): 1-49.

⁵⁶ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

⁵⁷ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 10.

According to Kathryn Smith, his book raised awareness of how the margins of medieval manuscripts could function as a locus of social expression. Because he primarily saw the margins as “sites of alienation and exclusion,” however, he and other scholars “read” manuscripts and their imagery from the center outwards, an interpretive strategy that produces “unidirectional readings” of these objects.⁵⁸

Additional studies such as the previously mentioned essay by Kathryn Smith and Jonathan Alexander’s essay, “Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art,” strove to fine-tune the methods used to approach the study of the “margin.” Alexander posited that scholars should view the margins of manuscripts as frames for the page, initiating a reading of those objects from the outside in.⁵⁹ This approach allowed scholars to better understand how these different formal aspects of a manuscript operate together. A good example of this methodology applied to manuscripts is in Meyer Schapiro’s posthumously published collection of lectures from 2005 entitled *The Language of Forms*.⁶⁰ Although he drew from early insular examples, such as the Book of Durrow⁶¹ and the Echternach Gospels⁶², he demonstrated how compositional choices that may seem uncouth or unimportant to the modern viewer were actually crucial to the overall expression of the page and display a high level of artistic intention. For example, in a depiction of the symbol of St. Matthew on folio 21v of the

⁵⁸ Smith, “Margin,” 32.

⁵⁹ Jonathan Alexander, “Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art,” in *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993): 4-5.

⁶⁰ Meyer Schapiro, *The Language of Forms: Lectures on Insular Manuscript Art* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 2005).

⁶¹ Northumbria or Iona, second half of the seventh century. Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 57.

⁶² Northumbria or Echternach, late seventh or early eighth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 9389.

Book of Durrow, Schapiro noted how the rigid symmetry of the figure was broken by the two right-facing feet (Fig. 8). When Schapiro digitally altered the image (Fig. 9) to make the feet conform with the figure's overall symmetry the new image became, "banal, less satisfying, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constructed body."⁶³ This unsatisfying result was due to the accompanying interlace border, which unlike the static and symmetrical figure, is highly dynamic and undulates in the same direction as the right-facing feet. Ultimately, the construction of this interlace frame was so intrinsic to the overall symbol of St. Matthew page that it affected the construction of the above figure. I intended to view the marginal motifs in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 within this framework.

The rebellious women that populate the margins of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes raise compelling questions about gender roles in thirteenth-century Franco-Flemish society and the way that these roles were understood and represented. Scholarship on medieval sexuality is indebted to more general works such as Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality*, in which many insights have their roots, and comprehensive collections on the medieval period such as Vern Bullough and James Brundage's *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*.⁶⁴ More recently, Ruth Mazo Karras produced the first full-length book on medieval sexuality, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe: Doing Unto Others*.⁶⁵ This book, along with Karras and Judith Bennett's *The Oxford*

⁶³ Schapiro, *The Language of Forms*, 13.

⁶⁴ Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990) and Vern Bullough and James Brundage, *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1996).

⁶⁵ Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe; Doing Unto Others* (London: Routledge, 2005, 2012).

Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe and R. Howard Bloch's *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* are the most useful texts for understanding sex and sexuality in medieval Europe.⁶⁶ These works drew on the fragmentary evidence left to us primarily in literary sources. They attempted to create the most complete picture possible of gender and sexuality in late medieval Europe. A successful example of this type of gendered study applied to specific literary motifs is E. Jane Burns' book *Courtly Love Undressed*. In this work Burns reassessed the concept of courtly love through the lens of garments that typified court life in literary accounts of the French High Middle Ages.⁶⁷ Burns felt that a perceptual shift occurred when one understood the social bodies of women in these texts to be constructed of not only flesh, but also the fabric with which they adorned their bodies. As Burns further put it, these "sartorial bodies," were, "social bodies forged from both fabric and flesh in courtly literary texts," and, "they emerge from a reading practice that conceives of clothes as an active force in generating social bodies."⁶⁸ It is my belief that implements taken up by women in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, such as the distaff, deserve the same focused analysis and close association with the bodies of the women they accompany.

There are additionally numerous art historians who have worked on topics that have simultaneously investigated marginal art and the sexual, as my topic proposes to do. Such works include Sandler's essay, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter,"

⁶⁶ Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras, *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). and R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991).

⁶⁷ E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading Through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 1.

⁶⁸ Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 12.

Madeline H. Caviness's article, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," on the marginalia of the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (c. 1324-1328), Paula Gerson's "Margins for Eros," Paul F. Gehl's "Texts and Textures: Dirty Pictures and Other Things in Medieval Manuscripts," Richard A. Leson's "The Psalter-Hours of Ghuiluys de Boisieux," Jonathan Morton's "Friars in Love: Manuscript Illumination as Literary Commentary in Three Fourteenth-Century Manuscripts of the *Roman de la rose*," and Domenic Leo's fourth chapters in *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a "Vows of the Peacock" Manuscript*.⁶⁹ All of these scholars wrote about marginal motifs, often including interactions between men and women, that have an overt or implied sexuality. Several of these motifs have direct parallels within the pages of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229.

In "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," Sandler compared the "uncomplicated" courtly couples in the lower margin of this late-thirteenth-century

⁶⁹ Lucy Freeman Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," in *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, 33-44 (London: The Pindar Press, 2008). Originally published as Lucy Freeman Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," in *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip: Art Historian and Detective*, edited by W.W. Clark, C. Eisler, W.S. Heckscher, and B.G. Lane, 154-159 (New York: Abaris Books, 1985); Madeline H. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade Mecum* for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum* 68 (1993): 333-362; Paula Gerson, "Margins for Eros," *Romance Languages* 5 (1993): 47-53; Paul F. Gehl, "Texts and Textures: Dirty Pictures and Other Things in Medieval Manuscripts," *Corona* 3 (1983): 68-77; Richard A. Leson, "The Psalter-Hours of Ghuiluys de Boisieux," *Arte medievale* (2006/1): 115-130; Jonathan Morton, "Friars in Love: Manuscript Illumination as Literary Commentary in Three Fourteenth-Century Manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25526; Baltimore, Walters, MS W. 143; London, BL, MS Royal 19 B XIII)," in *Text/Image Relations in Late Medieval French and Burgundian Culture (Fourteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)*, ed. Rosalind Brown-Grant and Rebecca Dixon, 25-46 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); and Domenic Leo, *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a "Vows of the Peacock" Manuscript* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS G24) (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

English manuscript with others “couples” that appear to “mock” their courtly tone,⁷⁰ just as the jousting couples in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 appear along with more traditional male-female pairs. Additionally, in “Patron or Matron?,” Caviness looked at militarized male figures in the margins of the Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux (The Cloisters Collection, 54.1.2) that are strikingly similar to those occurring approximately fifty years earlier in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, such as the image of a knight reloading his crossbow, held at an angle so that the bolt extends outward from his crotch.⁷¹ In regards to this and other marginal men, Caviness argued, “An encoding of aggressive phallic forms in visual puns and metaphors, and in the blatantly absurd hybrid grotesques, destabilizes representational codes, eliciting negative responses in the female viewer.”⁷²

Gehl in “Texts and Textures,” described a series of marginal drawings that accompanied the catchwords of a late-fourteenth-century grammatical textbook. For example, a naked man or woman, whose genitalia were later defaced makes a face as a dog jumps up to attack the now missing parts. Surrounding the figure is a scroll that encompasses the catchwords “sed est.” Gehl argued that because “sed est” looked and sounded like the word “saevet” meaning “he attacks” the combination of catchword and image was a pun on the attacking dog.⁷³ Ultimately, “The picture pretends to a meaning the text does not have, and so, though there is no real relationship of word and picture, there appears to be one. The appearance of meaning is the largest part of the joke.”⁷⁴

Gerson in “Margins for Eros,” similarly discussed sexually explicit marginalia that she

⁷⁰ Sandler, “A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter,” 33-36.

⁷¹ Caviness, “Patron or Matron?,” 341-342.

⁷² Caviness, “Patron or Matron?,” 355.

⁷³ Gehl, “Texts and Textures,” 71.

⁷⁴ Gehl, “Texts and Textures,” 71.

believed drew on the accompanying text of the Hours for inspiration.⁷⁵ She noted three different types of relationships that marginalia could have with text. The first are direct and easily recognizable connection between marginal motifs and the text of the manuscript. The second are marginal motifs that are based on *fabliaux* or *exempla*. The third example, like that given in Paul Gehl's essay, are marginal motifs that respond to a single word or short sentence extracted from the text of the manuscript, often playing on its meaning.⁷⁶ All three of these relationships between text and marginalia can be found in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes and will be discussed in this dissertation.

In the final three studies, Richard A. Leson's "The Psalter-Hours of Ghuiluys de Boisleux," Jonathan Morton's "Friars in Love," and Domenic Leo's fourth chapter of *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a "Vows of the Peacock" Manuscript* the authors all maintained that the marginal motifs present in their manuscripts did not exist in a "discrete marginal sphere," but instead expanded upon or glossed themes present in the text, even if an exact meaning was illusive.⁷⁷ For example, the profusion of jousting and other battling figures in the line-endings of the Ghuiluys de Boisleux Psalter-Hours (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M. 730) both bared a relationship to social issues surrounding her family's participation in tournaments as well as real battles during the Crusades, and allowed her as a reader of the psalms to identify with Biblical women who participated in martial activities.⁷⁸ Additionally, as discussed by Morton, a series of

⁷⁵ Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 47.

⁷⁶ Gerson, "Margins for Eros," 49.

⁷⁷ Morton, "Friars in Love," 41, 43. Leson, "The Psalter-Hours of Ghuiluys de Boisleux," 123.

⁷⁸ Leson, "The Psalter-Hours of Ghuiluys de Boisleux," 125-126.

sexualized images of monks and nuns in the margins of a *Roman de la rose* resist a clear interpretation, yet arguably comment on themes that run through the text such as the man who, blinded by lust, surrenders his agency to a woman.⁷⁹ Finally, in his analysis of an unusually high concentration of scatological and obscene images in a ca. 1350 manuscript from Tournai, Leo argued that, “Dismissing marginalia as a minor, decorative element or reducing them to a cog in the evolution of ‘style’ creates a medieval closet of our own making.”⁸⁰ He felt that the text, miniatures, and marginalia in the Glazier Peacock manuscript created a collective polyphony, stressing how each component is integral to the whole.⁸¹ While studies on marginalia and sexuality are not restricted to those discussed here, the above examples give an overview of the current state of the field.

The present study is not the first attempt to draw inferences concerning owner intentions or political leanings based on the miniatures or marginal images from secular romance literature. Two studies that had particular success in connecting viewer reception to manuscript miniature illustrations are Sandra Hindman’s “King Arthur, His Knights, and the French Aristocracy in Picardy,” and Mark Cruse’s *Illuminating the ‘Roman d’Alexandre’: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264: the Manuscript as Monument*.⁸² Hindman, in her article, investigated both unexpected or unique miniature

⁷⁹ Morton, “Friars in Love,” 39. Referencing Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français 25526.

⁸⁰ Leo, *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a “Vows of the Peacock” Manuscript*, 86.

⁸¹ Leo, *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a “Vows of the Peacock” Manuscript*, 86.

⁸² Sandra Hindman, “King Arthur, His Knights, and the French Aristocracy in Picardy,” *Yale French Studies* Special Issue: Context: Style and Values in Medieval Art and Literature (1991): 114-133 and Mark Cruse, *Illuminating the ‘Roman d’Alexandre’: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264: the Manuscript as Monument* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

illuminations, as well as expected images that were conspicuous in their absence.

Ultimately, Hindman was able to determine that distinctive features found in the illumination of the *Yvain* story could be explained by contemporary changes in the feudal system. Namely, as little as one-fifth of the patrimony was reserved for younger sons in Picardy and Artois, meaning that the increased number of young bachelors in the thirteenth century, “created an unstable, violent fringe group within the society.”⁸³ The manuscripts at the center of her study focused on images of such bachelors in the Arthurian tales who behaved appropriately and strategically given their precarious social situations, such as Yvain marrying a widow with a landed fortune.⁸⁴ Mark Cruse conducted a study of a fourteenth-century *Roman d’Alexandre*, which he argued was at the center of a living culture. According to Cruse, “For medieval readers, to read and look at Bodley 264 was to encounter not a silent and static artifact, but a dynamic series of episodes and tableaux summoning the memory of stories, performances, and spaces.”⁸⁵ He felt that Bodley 264 was in part, “a response to late-medieval urbanism in the north of France and the Low Countries,” as well as belonging, “to a long tradition of works that assimilated Alexander, a legendary conqueror of cities, to the medieval wars of the cities of the North,” especially given the manuscript’s production in Tournai which was an important location during the early years of the Hundred Years’ War.⁸⁶ Consequently, both studies demonstrated that it is possible to successfully use a manuscript to investigate social history.

⁸³ Hindman, “King Arthur, His Knights, and the French Aristocracy in Picardy,” 122-123.

⁸⁴ Hindman, “King Arthur, His Knights, and the French Aristocracy in Picardy,” 123.

⁸⁵ Cruse, *Illuminating the ‘Roman d’Alexandre’*, 3.

⁸⁶ Cruse, *Illuminating the ‘Roman d’Alexandre’*, 9.

1.3. Areas of Investigation

This dissertation comprises five chapters. Following this introductory chapter, in the second chapter I systematically approach the entire body of marginalia within the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. To begin, I briefly outline past scholarship on the marginalia of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. Then, I categorize the hundreds of individual and seemingly disparate marginal motifs into a series of major groupings that have similar thematic elements. I analyze each of these thematic groups to determine possible sources and origins for the motifs present. Ultimately, this process allows me to determine how groups of marginal motifs interrelate and develop from one another. It also allows me to identify the overall tenor of the marginal body. In the third chapter I move beyond the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes as objects and connect their production to the larger historical, cultural, and artistic milieu. I review past scholarship on the artists and patrons of the manuscripts, and expand upon those discussions of the historical moment in which the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes were produced. In particular, I investigate how the growing Flemish textile industry, and women's participation in said industry, as well as a series of local conflicts and unrest, may have influenced the choice of subject matter for the marginal art.

The fourth chapter returns to the marginalia of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes with this social and political history in mind. In this chapter I provide a series of case studies in which the marginal motifs selected shape the reader/viewers understanding of the Arthurian tales they border. I argue that a number of marginal motifs can be used in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes to guide the reader/viewers through the cumbersome Vulgate Arthurian text along directed pathways.

In addition, the case studies that I have selected are indicative of the overall thematic thrust of the marginalia. Specifically, they engage with issues of gender and sexuality, both as these subjects became matters of concern in the late-thirteenth-century French Flanders and how they appear throughout the text of the Arthurian cycle. In the concluding chapter I emphasize the unique nature of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. These manuscripts contain a higher volume of marginalia than is usual for Arthurian romances, and the context of their production sets them apart. Despite these facts, there are a handful of Franco-Flemish Arthurian romances that were illuminated between twenty and seventy years after BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 whose artistic programs were influenced by the earlier manuscripts. I briefly investigate the few examples of marginal art within the later volumes in order to demonstrate the enduring interest in populating the borders of Franco-Flemish Arthurian romances with themes of sexuality and conflicts between the genders.

It is my intention to interrogate both manuscripts as complete objects, and to consider the implications of their codicology, design, and illustration in understanding later medieval concepts of gender and sexuality. As a result, it is essential to employ methodologies particular to art history and scholars of the book. This necessarily involves looking at the text of the Lancelot-Grail cycle and the primary miniatures that appear in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. Both of these topics have been studied at length, and in some cases even in reference to medieval ideas about love and sex. Bringing the marginalia into this conversation opens up an additional layer of the book for analysis. The study of images in the margins of manuscripts has long been hindered by the concept of the marginalia as “marginal” – spatially, semantically, and conceptually. It is my

contention instead that these bas-de-page motifs are framing devices for the text and miniatures; frames that are rife with sexualized images of male-female interactions, warfare, the comic, and the grotesque. By expanding our comprehension of these motifs, my research will help to shed light on how marginalia were used in BnF fr. 95 and Beneicke, Ms. 229 to augment the reading and viewing experience.

Chapter 2

IDENTIFYING THE MAJOR MARGINAL GROUP

When approaching a body of marginalia contained in two manuscripts and portrayed in the margins of over 196 pages, finding a single theme that unites the corpus may seem impossible. Likewise, given the extensive number of marginal motifs, it would be incorrect to argue that a single theme exists in the margins of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. Nonetheless, through close examination it is possible to identify thematic elements common to a number of the marginal illustrations. These elements often appear in conjunction with one another in various iterations to form a marginal group. Violence and physical battles are certainly the most pervasive of these themes. Men, women, and animals alike are armed with a variety of weapons and engage in conflicts that mirror the jousts, quests, and wars of King Arthur and his knights found in the text and primary image cycle. Romance, too, runs throughout the margins of both volumes, as it does within the text and primary miniatures, where an abundance of courtly couples can be found, along with a number of scenes of “daily life,” spinning women being the most frequent.

All of these unsurprising, and appropriate, marginal elements are juxtaposed with their counterparts of the *monde renversé* variety. Other marginal images that exhibit more surprising relationships to the text include motifs featuring sexuality and nudity, forbidden romances, self-harm as imaged in men penetrating their own bodies, and women and hybrids taking up arms to stab their male counterparts. The two nearly identical instances of women jousting with distaffs against unarmed knights, and a third, similar instance, combine the thematic elements found throughout the manuscripts’

margins. The jousting couples are violent, like many other motifs in these two volumes. The violence contains an element of mocking humor, and this comedy is expressed repeatedly in the marginal motifs. Self-harm is even alluded to in the jousting knights that make no attempts to defend themselves. Furthermore, these male-female distaff jousts convey perverted romantic and sexual themes through implied penetration, which plays on many of the traditional representations of courtly romance in the manuscripts. And finally, through the weaponized distaff, these motifs comment on traditional women's work and the actions of the spinning women found in both the margins and the primary image cycle.

By analyzing closely each major theme found within the marginal illustrations it is possible to identify a significant marginal group that runs throughout Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95. The identification of a marginal group within a single volume or series of related manuscripts offers the possibility to interpret this group within a specific historical and social context. It helps scholars to demonstrate how, when motifs are combined together, both within a single folio and across quires, specific marginal themes can have a notable impact on the intended reading of the Arthurian tales and their accompanying miniatures. This chapter begins by outlining some of the scholarship completed on the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes, with a particular focus on studies of the marginalia. It then identifies each element of the major marginal group and briefly contextualize those elements. The chapter then demonstrates how the male-female distaff jousts are important case studies for understanding the entire marginal program and are deserving of further investigation in the fourth chapter.

2.1. Previous Scholarship on Marginalia in the BnF Fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229

Volumes

Modern scholars of marginalia have primarily devoted their attention to the *bas-de-page* of religious books, and often those with a known owner, particularly when interested in feminist interpretations. For example, a detailed overview of the marginal illustrations in one the Dampierre group prayer books, the Psalter of Guy of Dampierre⁸⁷, was included by Madeline Caviness in her *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries*. Caviness examined how certain motifs, particularly those appearing in the margins of manuscripts, “played a role in gender construction,” in the later thirteenth and particularly the early fourteenth century.⁸⁸ The fact that many prayer books such as psalters and books of hours appear to have been intended principally for personal use by an individual owner rather than for communal use by a family or group, made them attractive subjects of such analysis.⁸⁹ This, of course, does not negate the possibility that prayer books, even small ones, could be used communally, even just by two individuals. Other religious books, too, were intriguing to consider because the addition of secular, comic, and sexual subjects seemed to modern scholars so out of place in otherwise decorous religious manuscripts. Yet, those manuscripts with multiple intended viewers would have supported a greater variety of possible interpretations, and therefore it is crucial to consider their marginal illustrations and discuss scholarly interpretations.

⁸⁷ Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Ms. 10607.

⁸⁸ Madeline Caviness, “Chapter 3: Hedging in Men and Women: The Margins as Agents of Gender Construction,” *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries*, (Boston: Tufts University, 2001), Accessed June 13th, 2017, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

⁸⁹ Caviness, *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries*, Accessed June 13th, 2017, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

Furthermore, while content of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle is not strictly religious, the marginalia are a part of the original illuminated program but were not employed to illustrate the text, and this is jarring for the modern viewer. The marginal illustrations in Arthurian Vulgate cycles should therefore be considered with the same attention as those in religious texts. The BnF fr. 95 and the Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes are excellent manuscripts with which to undertake this analysis because their plentiful marginal illustrations allow for the identification of an interconnected marginal group and consideration of its possible meaning or meanings.

Despite their production as a connected set of volumes, the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 were not discussed as such until about two decades ago. The most important analysis of the extensive image cycle in both volumes is Stones's 1996 essay, "The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229." Stones noted the lack of attention that Beinecke Ms. 229 received before its publication in Barbara Shailor's 1984 catalogue of manuscripts in the Beinecke Library, in comparison to BnF fr. 95, which was included in major studies from the mid twentieth century of both Arthurian art and later medieval French manuscripts.⁹⁰ After 1984 the focus of scholarly attention seems to have reversed, with increased focus on Beinecke Ms. 229, particularly in the English-language

⁹⁰ These studies include Roger Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (New York: MLA, 1938) and Porcher ed., *Manuscripts à peintures du XIIIe au XVIe siècle*. As noted by Stones in her 1996 article, Stones, "The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 203.

scholarship.⁹¹ Significantly less work has been done on BnF fr. 95 in the last few decades, the most notable exception being a recent article by Irène Fabry-Tehranchi.⁹²

It was not until the publication of Stones's essay that the decoration of the two volumes was discussed together, acknowledging their creation as parts of a single story. Despite the reunion of the volumes by Stones, the marginalia continued to be primarily discussed as independent motifs compared to other examples of marginal art found throughout a variety of manuscripts, following the model of Lilian Randall's study of Gothic marginalia. For example, in Jean Wirth 2008 book *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250-1350)*, both manuscripts are cited frequently, but always to illustrate larger claims about the development of Gothic marginalia rather than considering them as part of the system of illustration within BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229.⁹³ The other scholarly model has been to look at a larger body of the marginal illustrations, but limited to a single section of the Arthurian cycle. This was the approach taken by Fabry-Tehranchi.⁹⁴ Fabry-Tehranchi has identified the major themes that the marginal motifs encompass but narrowed her study to the *Merlin* of BnF fr. 95. Through brief discussions of each grouping of the marginal motifs, she argued that the compositional choices made by the artists when designing a page or entire opening of the manuscript helped to integrate the marginal art with the primary image cycle. Moreover, she found that the dialogue between the margin, primary image, and text of each folio

⁹¹ For example, collections such as Willingham, ed., *Essays on the Lancelot of Yale 229*.

⁹² Irène Fabry-Tehranchi, "L'illustration marginale d'un ouvrage profane: étude du manuscrit Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, français 95, xiii^e siècle (1290)," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* (BUCEMA) 19, no.1 (2015): 1-44.

⁹³ Jean Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250-1350)* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2008).

⁹⁴ Fabry-Tehranchi, "L'illustration marginale."

reinforces certain themes integral to the *Merlin* story, such as violence.⁹⁵ Fabry-Tehranchi expanded upon this study in her book *Texte et images des manuscrits du Merlin et de la Suite Vulgate (XIIIe-XVe siècle)*.⁹⁶ In it she briefly discussed the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes, focusing primarily on the miniatures cycle. It was her belief, based on the miniatures and in particular the frontispieces to each section of the Arthurian tale, that the images in the BnF fr. 95 volume foreground spiritual and religious issues where as those in the Beinecke volume focus on chivalry.⁹⁷ The sole study to consider the marginalia of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes holistically is Moore Hunt's chapter "Re-Reading the BnF-Yale Romance."⁹⁸ As the only detailed look at the marginal illustrations within both manuscripts, it deserves further discussion.

Moore Hunt's book established the groundwork for forming links between the production and reception of marginal images, and she used as her case study the psalters, romances, and other illuminated texts associated with Count Guy of Dampierre.⁹⁹ As she stated in her conclusion, "Demonstrated in several manuscripts, the marginal imagery of the Dampierre group provides a range of examples in which associations are connected to readers, and in the romance attention to the familial, the political, and the moral was underlined in significant ways, especially through marginal figures of women and

⁹⁵ Fabry-Tehranchi, "L'illustration marginale," 27-28.

⁹⁶ Irène Fabry-Tehranchi, *Texte et images des manuscrits du Merlin et de la Suite Vulgate (XIIIe-XVe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

⁹⁷ Fabry-Tehranchi, *Texte et images des manuscrits du Merlin et de la Suite Vulgate*, 207.

⁹⁸ Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁹⁹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 171.

heraldry.”¹⁰⁰ To demonstrate this point, Moore Hunt examined instances of the heraldry and certain motifs focused on women in the margins of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. Moore Hunt argued that any instance where heraldry appeared in the margins helped to highlight the moral value of the text.¹⁰¹ Her interest in marginal representations of women in both volumes similarly centered on the figures’ interaction with the heraldry. For example, on folio 249v of BnF fr. 95 (Fig. 47) a courtly couple sumptuously dressed in gold can be seen in the lower margin (Fig. 50), and two sword-fighting monkeys carry shields with the arms of Flanders in the upper (Fig. 49). The man of the couple kneels before his lady, who holds out a wreath to him. Moore Hunt noted that while the miniature on the folio shows knights at sea (Fig. 48), the text recounts a moment where Merlin tells his confessor Blaise that he is in love, and Blaise fears the lady’s intentions. This episode, which will be discussed more extensively in chapter four, references Merlin’s meeting with the lady Viviane who ultimately uses Merlin’s own magic to trap him in a tower.¹⁰² Moore Hunt suggested that the confluence of the couple and the heraldry in the margins highlighted for the comital readers an otherwise unillustrated tale of female deceit.¹⁰³

Moore Hunt went on to describe the three instances of the male-female distaff jousts that appear in the margins and expertly dismantled Philippe Verdier’s flawed

¹⁰⁰ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 174.

¹⁰¹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 97.

¹⁰² Norris J. Lacy, ed., *Lancelot-Grail. The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), Volume I, 282-283.

¹⁰³ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 101.

analysis of them, given at a conference in 1972. Verdier asserted that the “tilting females” were intended as negative representations of dowager duchesses and countesses who assumed power after the death of their husbands.¹⁰⁴ This interpretation failed to consider the original viewing context for these manuscripts, whose audience included powerful female viewers. Clearly, the potential meaning(s) of these distaff jousts is more nuanced than has been previously understood, and Moore Hunt’s analysis set the stage for their continued research. Her chapter identified the relationship of the male-female distaff jousts to other images of women in the margins, but she does not link these images to the larger body of marginal illustrations in the two manuscripts, beyond her expert analysis of the heraldry. Consequently, recognition of a significant marginal group to be found in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 has yet to be done.

2.2. The Major Marginal Group

The acknowledgement and identification of a group of marginal illustrations presented in this thesis finds a precedent in previous medieval marginalia studies. Lucy Freeman Sandler in her essay “A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” provided a framework for studying such connections in seemingly disparate marginal illustrations and will be used as a *comparanda* for identifying significant groupings of marginalia, here referred to as the “major marginal group”.¹⁰⁵ Of the English Rutland

¹⁰⁴ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 98. Commenting on Phillippe Verdier, “Women in the Marginalia of Manuscripts and Related Works,” in *The Role of Women in the Middle Ages: Papers of the 6th Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at the State University of New York, Binghamton, 1972*, ed. Rosemarie Thee Morewedge (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1975), 121-87.

¹⁰⁵ Lucy Freeman Sandler, “Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter”, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination* (London: The Pindar Press, 2008), 1-32. Originally published as

Psalter (c.1260) she stated, “Certain of the apparently isolated illustrations of the manuscript are actually held together by a chain of relationships in which a number of motifs are manipulated in a complex and shifting manner.”¹⁰⁶ In this way, the artists’ manipulations of a motif create a process of expansion, and one motif can develop out of and form the basis for another series of marginal illustrations.¹⁰⁷ In her article Sandler brought together nine marginal motifs that are all interconnected through their inclusion of similarly gesturing figures and linked compositional choices: for example, a man gesturing at a tree, a man standing on a hillock gesturing at a monkey in a tree, and a centaur standing on a hill shooting an arrow at a creature in a tree (Fig. 10). These marginal compositions additionally have formal connections to images found within the calendar cycle of the psalter.¹⁰⁸ Sandler also noted that one marginal motif “associated with the group may be considered as the most explicit example of a process which underlines all nine pictures.”¹⁰⁹ In this image found on fol. 84r, a gesturing man becomes a grotesque humanoid beast, the small hillock becomes a steep and obstructive mountain (forcing the beast who is stepping forward to hold up his foot with his own hand), and the creature in the tree is now an “ugly pugilist type” sitting in a cave (Fig. 11). This marginal motif offers a visual mockery of the related motifs out of which it developed,

Lucy Freeman Sandler, “A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art* 8 (1959), 70-74.

¹⁰⁶ London, British Library, Additional Ms. 62925. Nigel J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988). From Sandler, “Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” 2.

¹⁰⁷ Sandler, “Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” 11.

¹⁰⁸ Sandler, “Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” 2-3.

¹⁰⁹ Sandler, “Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” 5.

which Sandler argued enhanced the natural comedy of the scene and its grotesque figures.¹¹⁰

Kathryn A. Smith in her 2003 monograph *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England*, concurred with scholars like Sandler that “No single interpretation is adequate to explain the meaning of all types of marginal imagery, much less the imagery occurring in a single manuscript,” but did stress that it is possible to identify the “general tenor” of a manuscript’s marginal decoration and derive some meaning from such insight.¹¹¹ An example of Sandler’s methodology utilized to discuss a body of marginal art in a secular manuscript is Domenic Leo’s fourth chapter of *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a “Vows of the Peacock” Manuscript*.¹¹² In this chapter Leo created a thematic and descriptive index of the body of marginalia and identified a series of iconographic themes consistent throughout the manuscript’s margins.¹¹³ His analyses revealed the largest known concentration of scatological and obscene marginal images in a manuscript. Ultimately, Leo determined that confining his analysis to the marginalia of a single peacock manuscript would better serve his understanding of the body of images therein than considering together the marginalia in all manuscripts of the same text. He identified two major thematic strands of images in the margins that were related through scatological elements; combat and aggression, and eating and bodily functions. He also found these marginal images to be a continuation of earlier northern French and Flemish

¹¹⁰ Sandler, “Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter,” 6.

¹¹¹ Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England* (London: British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2003), 168.

¹¹² Leo, *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a “Vows of the Peacock” Manuscript*, 75-124.

¹¹³ Leo, *Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a “Vows of the Peacock” Manuscript*, 76.

illumination. A similar approach is taken here with the marginal body in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229.

One may discern the following five related categories of motif in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes: violent battles, including jousts and hunts; nude figures, often employed to mock religious and political leaders; penetrated males whose penetration may be actual or implied; male-female interactions of both a stately and sexual nature; and finally spinning women, or what may be more generally described as women working. These marginal motifs make up approximately 300 of the 512 total found in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. Following Sandler's framework, these marginal illustrations each contain elements, iconographic and formal, that link them to other illustrations within their own category. The individual categories are further connected to one another through elements that are common to more than one group. The male-female distaff jousts will be discussed separately and last, as this imagery comprises elements from across every category within the major marginal group identified.

2.2.1. Violent Battles

The Arthurian Vulgate Cycle is rife with stories of jousts, battles, and warfare, subjects which comprise a substantial portion of the text. It is therefore unsurprising that so many of the miniatures and marginal illustrations depict scenes of this nature. The collection of marginal illustrations in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 is the most varied among surviving manuscripts of the text, and includes both traditional representations of knights as well as images of a comic nature. One finds in the margins depictions of mounted jousts and battles similar to those occurring within the primary image cycle, comprising human figures in standard knightly dress. However, identically composed

attacks appear involving humans fighting with monkeys, or with humanoid creatures such as centaurs, as well as examples in which these creatures attack one another; the last type of image appears only in the margins and never in the miniatures. There are at least thirty-five examples of heavily armed knights, mounted battles, and other armed fights including at least one human or humanoid figure in the margins of Beinecke Ms. 229, not including wrestling matches, hunts, or acts of bodily penetration, which will be discussed shortly.¹¹⁴ Even more examples of the battle motif – at least fifty-three – occur in the margins of BnF fr. 95.¹¹⁵

The forms that these battles take vary widely, but they do contain some repeating elements. For example, the violent figures often explode out of the marginal tendrils, either off to the right or left side, as in the case of a mounted knight sword fighting with a centaur also dressed in knightly garb, found in the upper left margin of folio 99v of BnF fr. 95 (Fig. 12). Or the battlers can be seen meeting in the middle, such as the two knight-dragon hybrids that come together to cross lances from the top left and right margin of folio 223r in the same manuscript (Fig. 13). In other instances, mounted knights are positioned within the center margin, facing the viewer, and they fend off attacks from both sides. One example is found on, BnF fr. 95, fol. 89v, where a knight is about to be struck by arrows released by two flanking bowmen (Fig. 14). On Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 272v a similar knight sword fights with two armed monkeys (Fig. 15). Most of these

¹¹⁴ Such scenes occur on folios 3v, 25r, 27v, 31r, 39v, 40v, 66r, 99r, 100v, 126r, 143v, 167r, 169r, 183v, 209r, 223r, 257v, 262r, 267r, 272v, 282v, 294r, 295r, 303r, 308r, 315r, 325r, 326r, 329r, 333r, 337v, 347v, 348r, 357v, 362r.

¹¹⁵ Such scenes occur on folios 13v, 24v, 25v, 30r, 32r, 33v, 42r, 44v, 55r, 66v, 69v, 74r, 78r, 86v, 89v, 99v, 100r, 106v, 108r, 113v, 120r, 123v, 132r, 141r, 149v, 171v, 177v, 199v, 203v, 207v, 209v, 214r, 223r, 230v, 235r, 239r, 242r, 242v, 249v, 261v, 268r, 281v, 291r, 292v, 297r, 309r, 311r, 326r, 330v, 340r, 345r, 355r, 380r.

battling figures utilize the marginal tendrils in some way, either by emerging from them or fighting something contained within them, although occasionally the tendrils act as mere ground lines for the action above them.

On folio 297r of BnF fr. 95 two nearly identical mounted knights charge towards one another along the top margin (Fig. 16). Their lances are poised to strike each other, and they simply gallop along the marginal tendrils below them. Parallels to this marginal image can be found in the primary miniature cycle within the manuscripts. Images of battles, such as those depicting King Arthur's war against Lancelot in the *Mort de Roi Artu*, generally show two armed men fighting one another in the foreground (Fig. 17). Another example appears on folio 320v of Beinecke Ms. 229, in a half-column miniature near the bottom of the left text column. Here two groups of mounted knights face each other in battle. Two knights in the center cross thin lances, and in the left margin a unicorn pierces the border of the miniature with its sharp horn. On the opposite side of the opening on folio 321r there is another half-column miniature, this time in the right text column. Here, too, mounted knights are locked in battle, this time as King Arthur, indicated by his crown, severs the head of his opponent's horse. Both of these smaller miniatures are composed in a similar format. Two groups of knights, one Lancelot's and the other King Arthur's, mirror each other on opposite sides of the picture. Depth is indicated by the overlapping of shields, helmets, and weapons that move upwards to the top border of the miniatures. In the center foreground of both images are a battling pair, in one case jousting and in the other fighting with swords. These pairs are the only figures whose full bodies are visible and which ride horses that are fully articulated. If one were to isolate these two central figures from each miniature and position them in the

margins, they would strongly resemble the battling pairs found there. Furthermore, the inclusion of the marginal unicorn emphasizes the violent bodily penetration that occurs in battle and introduces a sexual element, as unicorns were best hunted by baiting them with virgin women.¹¹⁶

Just as some of these marginal motifs can be connected, at least formally, to the action of the text and primary miniature cycle, parallels too have been made between these images and the Dampierre family as patrons of the manuscripts. This linkage is best demonstrated by Moore Hunt's significant work on the topic of Flemish heraldry in the margins of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95. It should be noted that the majority of these heraldic blazons operate in one of two ways, particularly when they are found as part of marginal battle motifs. First, the heraldry makes reference to connections between the Dampierre family and others in French-controlled Flanders. For example, two centaurs can be found jousting in the lower left margin of folio 78r of BnF fr. 95 (Fig. 18). The centaur on the left holds a shield blazoned with the *or a lion rampant, sable* of the counts of Flanders, whereas the shield held by the centaur on the right depicts the *sable, a lion rampant or* of the Duchy of Brabant. The inclusion of these two shields may be a reference to the ca. 1273 marriage of Guy of Dampierre's daughter Margaret to Duke John I of Brabant.¹¹⁷

The second significant way that these heraldic shields operate is in conjunction with women in the margins. Moore Hunt discussed several instances where, in her

¹¹⁶ Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), 49.

¹¹⁷ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 99.

opinion, this confluence of women and heraldry occurs. Most significantly for the present study is the example in the lower margin of Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 100v which features a variant of the male-female distaff joust (Fig. 19). In this case the woman, still mounted on a horse, jousts with a plain spear against a monk instead of a knight. The monk is also armed with a spear, but it has broken in half and droops comically as the monk looks outward at the reader (Fig. 22). Along the top margin of the same folio two mermen also joust, holding the shields of Holland, *or a lion gules*, and Flanders, *or a lion rampant, sable* (Fig. 21).¹¹⁸ Moore Hunt asserted that when connected to the event of the *Lancelot* occurring on this and surrounding folios, the heraldry combined with the female jouster suggested to the reader/viewer that the actions of women within the text of the Vulgate Arthur should be read negatively.¹¹⁹ Folio 100v is discussed in greater detail in the fourth chapter of this dissertation, and Moore Hunt's observation is developed further.

Imagery of games and sport, particularly hunting and falconry, are also found frequently in the margins of the two manuscripts. While not specifically violent, many of these themes involve the use of weaponry and are composed similarly to several of the battles described above. For example, in the top margin of BnF fr. 95, fol. 152r, a man appears blowing a horn and directing his three dogs to attack a stag which erupts from the margin. On folio 297v a man shoots an arrow across the center-left margin and through the head of a rabbit fleeing on the center-right (Fig. 23). Fabry-Tehranchi found hunting

¹¹⁸ Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), Part I, Volume II, 559.

¹¹⁹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 94.

scenes on “around twenty” folios of BnF fr. 95.¹²⁰ There are at least seventeen examples in Beinecke Ms. 229.¹²¹ These scenes sometimes include additional courtly pastimes involving animals such as hawking, and setting traps to catch birds and other animals. While these scenes have formal connections to marginal images of violent battles, they also find thematic parallels with other images of courtly pursuits. These include, but are not limited to, images of men and women playing instruments and dancing, men training animals, individuals dressed in carnival costumes, and jongleurs both clothed and nude.

Despite the violent nature of the battles examined thus far, many of the motifs in this marginal category additionally contain elements of absurdity. This confluence of violence and comedy is a crucial component of the major marginal group in Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95. Several marginal motifs appear to poke fun at the concept of bravery and knighthood. This mockery can take the form of knights who are losing battles with various beasts, as well as those who pose or struggle with their own weapons in a manner suggestive of martial incompetence as opposed to military victory. In the bottom left margin of folio 315r of Beinecke Ms. 229, a knight fends off an attacking lion with his shield while simultaneously stabbing its shoulder with his sword (Fig. 24). The knight’s face is turned towards the viewer and his eyebrows are pulled downward in an expression that can only be described as fear, worry, or possibly the build-up to weeping.

¹²⁰ She specifically says “vingtaine”. Fabry-Tehranchi, “*L’illustration marginale*,” 10. I counted approximately fourteen, although there are several instances where the definition of a “hunt” may be subjective. Such scenes occur on folios 13v, 22v, 39r, 74r, 149v, 152r, 261v, 297v, 319r, 321r, 327r, 334v, 347v, 355r.

¹²¹ Such scenes occur on folios 1r, 56r, 66v, 94v, 98r, 99r, 106v, 132v, 174v, 183v, 199r, 209r, 257v, 287r, 293r, 295r. I included in this count scenes where animals are hunting humans but not scenes where animals were chasing one another without any humans being present.

One of the more expressive figures within this manuscript, the knight's exaggerated features could be read as comical. Elina Gertsman has suggested that while weeping was open to a variety of interpretations, certain sources, such as the Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's late-thirteenth-century *Women's Secrets*, coded crying as an especially feminine activity.¹²² Lyn Blanchfield has questioned the sincerity of certain medieval descriptions and depiction of weeping, and whether crying could have become a "learned, gestural response," especially for the purposes of confession.¹²³ The knight depicted on folio 315r may be "putting on" a false fear or beginning to cry "crocodile tears" that would have made him appear comically weak to the manuscript's readers/viewers. Directly adjacent to this marginal motif are the heads of a bishop and woman about to kiss or embrace. Romantic couples, both appropriate and inappropriate represent another grouping of marginal type in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. The juxtaposition of these two motifs represents how the various types of marginalia are interconnected and play off one another, because of course a kissing bishop is just as comic and subversive as a cowardly knight.

Another example of knightly cowardice is the common late-thirteenth to early fourteenth-century *monde renversé* motif found on the upper margin of folio 169r in Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 25). Here a mounted knight encounters a large snail sitting on a rock. The knight's horse rears his front legs in fear and the knight holds his lance upright and his shield forward as if ready to back away from the fight. Numerous scholars,

¹²² Elina Gertsman, "Introduction," in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York: Routledge, 2012), xii.

¹²³ Lyn A. Blanchfield, "Prolegomenon," in *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of History*, ed. Elina Gertsman (New York: Routledge, 2012), xxv.

among them Lilian Randall and Michael Camille, have offered interpretations of this motif.¹²⁴ Randall specifically listed the snail and knight in Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 169r, as being the standard form that this motif could take, and explained that the majority of the seventy examples of the motif that she noted were created between 1290 and 1310.¹²⁵ She argued that the image of a knight fleeing from a snail was meant as a reference to ethnic Lombards, due to thirteenth-century literary descriptions of their cowardice as well as their status as usurers and pawnbrokers throughout Northern Europe at the time.¹²⁶ Camille furthered Randall's findings through a discussion of the snail and knight motif in other contexts where, in addition to connotations of cowardice, it may also have had a sexual significance.¹²⁷ Ultimately, he concluded that as a likely visualization of the proverb "to flee a snail," the motif was not text-bound. He stated:

The all-purpose utterance of proverbial expression is protean, as opposed to the fixity of written meaning. Just as the proverb has no single divine authority, but is spoken in response to specific situations, marginal imagery likewise lacks the iconographic stability of a religious narrative or icon.¹²⁸

Like so many other marginal motifs, these snail battles appear to be multivalent. Yet, the theme undoubtedly was intended to mock the cowardice of knights, figures meant to serve as the epitome of strength and bravery.

There are several related instances where individual knights are depicted in a manner that accents their false bravado or ineptitude. On folio 291r of BnF fr. 95 two knights can be found standing in the far right and far left margins (Fig. 26). They are

¹²⁴ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, and Randall, "The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare."

¹²⁵ Randall, "The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare," 358.

¹²⁶ Randall, "The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare," 365.

¹²⁷ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 35.

¹²⁸ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 36.

turned towards one another and seem to be preparing to fight; yet the position of their bodies makes their conflict comical. The knight on the left holds his sword aloft, but the rest of his body is contorted. He has raised his left leg and points his toe appearing to hold this leg at the calf with his left arm. The knight on the right is posed with his body facing the reader and his head in profile, and he raises left leg almost as if he has just noticed the knight on the other side of the page and reacted by taking a quick step away from him. This knight also reaches across his body for his sword, which he draws out of its sheath. The choice of the artist to depict these two knights at the moment when they begin to move into defensive positions consequently captures them in awkward poses. The representation of movement renders an otherwise serious scene comical, suggesting that knights are not always prepared for battle and must scramble to guard themselves against injury.

Another soldier can be found struggling with his weapon in the lower margin on folio 203v of the same manuscript (Fig. 27). Here the knight holds a crossbow in both hands. His right foot is raised and looped through the end of the crossbow, which he bends over as if reloading it. The fact that this knight has been captured while reloading instead of in a state of preparedness may highlight his vulnerability and make the situation appear humorous. Therese Martin identified several early twelfth-century examples of crouching crossbowmen as capital sculpture in several churches in northern Spain and southern France.¹²⁹ In these examples, such as one found in the church of Saint-Sernin in Toulouse, the men are always shown naked and crouching over a

¹²⁹ Therese Martin, "Crouching Crossbowmen in Early Twelfth-Century Sculpture: A Nasty, Brutish, and Short(-Lived) Iconography," *Gesta* 54, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 143-164.

crossbow that they load with both feet (Fig. 28). This positioning of the crossbow places the shaft directly into the groin and the stock of the bow becomes a phallus. Martin suggested that the “crossbowmen’s open mouth, fixed gaze, prominent hands, and pulling arms can be read as a reference to masturbation as one layer of meaning in this image’s heightened sexual discourse.”¹³⁰ Martin additionally noted that in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the crossbow became the dominant handheld missile weapon, and moreover could be used by anyone, even a woman, with little training.¹³¹

Consequently, Martin argued:

I see the crossbow’s potential to destabilize social structures and political networks over which the Church exercised authority as a key reason that the weapon was verbally denounced and visually discredited in the first decades of the twelfth century.¹³²

Martin felt that later, more varied depictions of crossbowmen could have a positive or negative connotation depending on the context. Yet, what at first seems like a charming scene of a knight struggling to reload a crossbow in BnF fr. 95, folio 203v, becomes arguably phallic in a manuscript whose margins are rife with imagery of men being penetrated by weapons. Madeline Caviness found similar image of a knight reloading his crossbow in the margins of the Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux¹³³ to be phallic as well, in the context of the numerous other sexually suggestive marginal illustrations found in that manuscript (Fig. 29).¹³⁴ The position of his crossbow, which extends directly out from the

¹³⁰ Martin, “Crouching Crossbowmen in Early Twelfth-Century Sculpture,” 144.

¹³¹ Martin, “Crouching Crossbowmen in Early Twelfth-Century Sculpture,” 148.

¹³² Martin, “Crouching Crossbowmen in Early Twelfth-Century Sculpture,” 149.

¹³³ Jean Pucelle, *The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux*, New York, The Cloisters Collection, 1954, 54.1.2. “The Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accessed July 6th, 2019, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470309>

¹³⁴ Caviness, “Patron or Matron?,” 333-362.

knight's groin, sexualizes the image in the same manner that many of the violent battle motifs in these two manuscripts border on suggestive images of males being penetrated.

While these motifs appear to mock the violent situations that they depict, one must question whether they were seen that way by their original audiences. In order to determine if and how a violent image could be funny to its original viewers, one must examine the medieval concept of violence and how it was represented. Richard W. Kaeuper wrote extensively on this topic and has argued that the French and the Franco-Flemish regions saw an increase in violence and public disorder between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.¹³⁵ Kaeuper's analysis drew from primary source material such as historical accounts written in the twelfth century by the Norman monk Orderic Vitalis, Abbot Suger in Paris, and the notary Galbert of Bruges. He then compared the themes found in their works with a vast body of chivalric literature ranging from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.¹³⁶ Kaeuper noted the concern of all three historians for the violence endemic in knightly society, the need for political leaders to act as forces of order and fight the perils of private war and vengeance, and their insistence that violence only be used for noble causes, such as crusades.¹³⁷ Kaeuper stated of chivalric literature; "No simple mirror reflecting society, it is itself an active social force, identifying basic issues, asking probing questions, sometimes suggesting constructive change."¹³⁸ He maintained

¹³⁵ Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹³⁶ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 12-22.

¹³⁷ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 13-18.

¹³⁸ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 22.

that the writers of these epic and chivalric tales voiced fear of the unrestrained violence of knights and other concerns for lack of public order.¹³⁹

Kaeuper determined that within Arthurian texts a successful knight is defined as such by his personal military prowess (*prouesse*), and that statements linking chivalry with prowess in the Vulgate cycle “almost defy sampling.”¹⁴⁰ In effect this creates a fictional world in which violence expressed through feats of arms, jousting, competition between individuals, rivalries, and jealousies happen over and over again to the point of tediousness, and every character should be continuously prepared for further dangers. If violence is the *raison d’être* of the Arthurian romances, then it is perhaps not surprising that it should also permeate the margins of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. Battles in the margins only serve to emphasize the fear inherent in the perpetual possibility of bodily harm. Kaeuper stated that:

R. Howard Bloch’s argument for a general, brooding fear about the social cost of warfare in early chivalric literature can be extended throughout the literature of the entire chivalric era. This persistent countercurrent, however thin and infrequent, suggests either that at some subliminal level the fear of violence gave knights themselves second thoughts, or that some authors were speaking their own minds to the necessary but dangerous warriors.¹⁴¹

Violent images in the margins of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 would have emphasized this countercurrent of fear, but only in some instances. In others, the humor intended by the artists would have instead diffused the concerns of the readers or directed them to laugh at the single-mindedness of the Arthurian knights constantly thrusting

¹³⁹ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 28.

¹⁴⁰ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 136.

¹⁴¹ Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, 168. Referencing R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley, CA: University of Berkeley Press, 1977).

themselves into dangerous situations. Perhaps depicting such an array of soon to be wounded bodies was intentionally didactic. It demonstrated the disastrous results should a knight either engage in unnecessarily violent aggression, or if he was too cowardly to perform his societal duties.

What, then, made some of these marginal motifs comic depictions of violence as opposed to “realistic” ones? Mitchell B. Merback has discussed the “perceptual possibilities” of a body in pain.¹⁴² While his research centered on the spectacle of public execution from the twelfth-century on, it is useful to consider this idea in relation to the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes which were likely viewed by multiple, even simultaneous viewers, and whose margins as loci contain a profusion of characters from all levels of medieval life. Merback asked:

In an age where there was often nothing to alleviate sickness and injury, when death rates were extremely high and when physical suffering was seen and accepted as part of fate, could pain have provided an element of cultural cohesion, in a way that we cannot help but misunderstand from the vantage point of a culture bent on pain’s elimination?¹⁴³

For Merback, this “cultural cohesion” created by the spectacle of pain seen in public executions included collective feelings of empathy, forgiveness, and fear of retribution for committing similar acts to the accused. Witnessing such executions emphasized the humanity of the person experiencing the pain.¹⁴⁴ Some of the marginal motifs found in Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 may have prompted similar responses on the part of their viewers. They certainly demonstrate the vulnerability of the human body. The

¹⁴² Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel: Pain and the Spectacle of Punishment in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 128.

¹⁴³ Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 150.

¹⁴⁴ Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 137.

primary difference between these examples and the images of crucifixions and other public executions that Merback drew from is their comic potential.

For an image to elicit from its viewer a “painful revulsion” it must, according to Merback, juxtapose “atrocious,” or the “corporal violations that were inflicted by some human beings upon others,” with “realism.”¹⁴⁵ It is then fair to say that by the removal of “realism,” an image no longer has the same potential to cause revulsion among its viewers. This is not to say that an image cannot cause fear if it is not rendered with an attention to “naturalism,” which is clearly possible as exhibited by countless religious works composed throughout the medieval period. Instead, I argue that if an image is constructed so that the actions taking place are ridiculous, unbelievable, or a complete fantasy, then despite how graphic, bodily, or scatological they may be, they do not elicit revulsion. The artists of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 consequently intended such images to be comical. The viewers of these comic marginal motifs would have been forced to reconsider their collective response to pain and bodily harm, which was likely an uncomfortable process. The series of marginal motifs that best demonstrate this duality of humor and harm are the images of penetrated males.

2.2.2. Penetrated Males

While violent battles – whether joust or sword fights, mounted or on foot – always imply some form of bodily penetration, these marginal images are visually distinct from a separate series of motifs in the margins of both romance volumes in which penetration, whether actual or imminent, seems to be the primary focus. The image of a mounted knight charging a naked wild man found on Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 348r, which

¹⁴⁵ Merback, *The Thief, the Cross, and the Wheel*, 7.

is composed of several elements that are similar to other marginal motifs offers a useful example (Fig. 30). The added element is a sexualized, implied penetration constructed by the wild man's nakedness and proffered backside as well as the scatological vine tendril that erupts from his anus, or penetrates it, connecting him to the lower margin. This marginal image occurs just below a miniature in which the death of the knight Gavain is depicted. This death at the hands of Gavain's fellow knight Lancelot is the result of a personal vendetta and fight that neither side intended to enter into. Perhaps the juxtaposition of this miniature with the attack on the wild man is suggestive of the destructive power of personal vendettas and conflicts outside the realm of the political.

There are at least five examples of implied sexual penetration in Beinecke Ms. 229 and another four in BnF fr. 95, not including those instances where the penetration occurs between a male-female pair.¹⁴⁶ These acts of penetration occur in three main groups: men or anthropomorphized animal penetrating their own bodies; men penetrating anthropomorphized animals and hybrids, or the reverse in which anthropomorphized animals and hybrids penetrate men; and finally, men of various social backgrounds penetrating other men. Moreover, the majority of the penetrated figures are turned so that their backsides are the point of impact, and they are either naked or without clothing from the torso down.

Some examples of these three marginal types are as follows: On folio 223r of Beinecke Ms. 229 a man with wild hair erupts from the bottom right border (Fig. 31). His body is contorted in such a manner that he is able to penetrate himself in the side with his

¹⁴⁶ Such images occur in Beinecke Ms. 229 on folios 39v, 110v, 220r, 223r, 348r, and in BnF fr. 95 on folios 190v, 214r, 309r, 340v

own sword. Another wild man with a large horn atop his head appears on the upper left margin of folio 190v of BnF fr. 95 (Fig. 32). He is naked and has been impaled in the anus by a bolt loosed by a centaur on the left. The wild man is also poked in the eye socket by a long beaked bird at right. There are two additional marginal images of figures struck by arrow or crossbow bolts, and in these cases, men attack other men. On Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 39v a knight prepares to fire a bolt at a man opposite in the bottom margin (Fig. 33). This man is naked from the waist down and leans over to expose his backside, while also pointing upward at the text above him. This situation is reversed on folio 220r of the same manuscript (Fig. 36). Here a man erupting from the border on the top left of the page has shot a bolt into the anus of a soldier who is naked except for his chainmail hood, sheath of arrows, and bow of his own. There is another knight dressed in only a chainmail hood on the bottom right margin of BnF fr. 95, fol. 309r (Fig. 37). His naked backside faces the reader and he holds a sword aloft, while turning his head towards the masked monkey to his left. The knight grasps one of the monkey's hands in his own, as the monkey penetrates him in the side with a spear. An additional nefarious primate can be found on the upper left margin of folio 214r in the same manuscript with two bloody swords, this time penetrating the anus of a man naked from the waist down and wearing a golden bishop's miter (Fig. 38). All of the marginal motifs depicting penetration can be connected to one another by these repeating iconographic elements.

While these marginal images are clearly comical in nature, they also depict bodily violence, and they occur with such frequency that one may plausibly speculate that they are responses to an actual or perceived tension within the cultural milieu. Ruth Mazo

Karras has explained that unlike in modern thought, in which sex is seen as a mutual act, in the medieval period it was understood instead as an action done to another person. In fact, the French verb *foutre*, which is commonly used to describe the act of sex, has an older translation, which was *to penetrate*.¹⁴⁷ The definition of “natural” or “normative” sex is complex and difficult to define in the medieval period. Nonetheless, Karras argued that gender inversion, or instances in which men played the passive role in sexual interactions, was deemed in the Middle Ages to constitute an abnormal sexual preference. According to the medieval view this was not understood as man’s preference to be with another man, but rather as a desire by the man to be a woman.¹⁴⁸ Madeline Caviness additionally argued that twelfth century marked a shift in medieval concepts of gender, sex, and the differences between men and women. She attributed some of this change to a resurgence of views of the sexes in the works of the Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-332 BCE) which were prominently read, first in French universities and then more widely by the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁹ Caviness noted that medieval audiences’ increased interest in Aristotle’s writings was due to a variety of cultural factors, including increased warfare, for which men were deemed both more adept at and necessary, a change in the system of inheritance that passed on assets to the oldest male child instead of splitting them among all the offspring, and debates among theologians of the role of sexuality within marital unions.¹⁵⁰ Sexual and gender difference, therefore, became more important to parse, as it

¹⁴⁷ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 3

¹⁴⁸ Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe*, 166-167.

¹⁴⁹ Caviness, “Hedging in Men and Women, Accessed June 26th, 2017, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

¹⁵⁰ Caviness, “Hedging in Men and Women, Accessed June 26th, 2017, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

was a crucial element in understanding how one should conduct political, familial, and personal affairs.

Before the High Middle Ages, gender seems to have been understood as constructed and more fluid, based on several ancient models. Aristotle believed that the female fetus had not developed into a perfect man, whereas the Roman physician Galen (ca. 130-210) argued that men and women developed uniform genitalia that either manifested internally or externally.¹⁵¹ Aristotle additionally made a case for, “conscious social control of the sexes through gender construction.”¹⁵² Caviness explained of Aristotle further:

What seems crucial in Aristotle's model of gender construction is the difference between forming the right attitude on the part of the young woman, and teaching the young man the skills that will give him domination. The risk of failure lies in the belief that being female, with all its concomitant dangers, is linked to biological sex regardless of learned attitudes, whereas a male without manliness is not a man, and by definition harmless since he lacks the means to dominate others. In *The Politics*, Aristotle made clear how unequal in virtue he in fact considered "real" men and women to be, since one is a ruler and the other a servant.¹⁵³

It was Caviness's assertion that by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was a desire to establish a scientific two-sex biological system that matched cultural gender constructs. As Caviness stated, “Rigid definitions of gender provided one of the methods by which women were subjugated, and my claim here is that their most familiar and intimate books (referencing books of hours and other personal prayer books) were co-

¹⁵¹ Caviness, “Hedging in Men and Women,” Accessed April 24th, 2019, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

¹⁵² Caviness, “Hedging in Men and Women,” Accessed April 24th, 2019, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

¹⁵³ Caviness, “Hedging in Men and Women,” Accessed April 24th, 2019, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

opted by the processes of gender ideology.”¹⁵⁴ The images in the margins of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 may be seen as responses to similar changes in the cultural understanding of gender and sexuality. Furthermore, they were likely meant to encourage particular reactions and interpretations for both their male and female readers. If, therefore, these marginal images were created as a result of specific tensions within the cultural milieu, and were intended to shape certain readings of the text, then what, ultimately, are they saying?

As noted earlier, the motifs within this group can be connected to one another through formal associations. Additionally, however, all appear to refer to a fear of men being forced into the feminized role of the penetrated body. The instances where men are penetrated by anthropomorphized animals and hybrids demonstrate a loss of masculine power to forces of disorder. Men fighting back against these anthropomorphized animals are consequently fighting to regain this lost sexual power and dominant social status. Intriguingly, accompanying the numerous marginal scenes of violent battles which express undercurrents of fear of bodily harm, there are also images of physical penetration with an added gendered component. In Beinecke Ms. 229 there are two moments in which a marginal image of penetration is juxtaposed with a miniature and moment of the text where women play a prominent role. On the bottom-left of folio 39v recounts the episode from the *Lancelot* where the knight Hector is imprisoned by Tericam (Fig. 34).¹⁵⁵ On the top register of the accompanying miniature Hector speaks

¹⁵⁴ Caviness, “Hedging in Men and Women, Accessed June 26th, 2017, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

¹⁵⁵ Alison Stones refers to the two characters as Hester and Terikan. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 558.

with a weeping lady who tells Hector that Lancelot's cousin, Lionel, has been captured by a knight in all black and was stripped to his underclothes and beaten with thorny branches in front of her. On the lower register Hector and Tericam fight, where Tericam is ultimately victorious.¹⁵⁶ The lower margin depicts a knight who aims a crossbow across the page at a man whose backside is exposed. The half-naked man points to a line of text above him in which Hector asks the lady why she is weeping (Fig. 33).¹⁵⁷

It is possible that the presence of a marginal motif depicting imminent penetration is a reference to the fate of Lionel. He laments that he was, "stripped naked and beaten with sharp thorny branches until I could have bathed in my own blood," which is its own bodily penetration and emasculating defeat.¹⁵⁸ Alternatively, the half-naked man's pointing finger could more directly correspond to the figure of the weeping lady, whose presence in the forest leads Hector to a similar defeat at the hands of Tericam. A more overt association between male penetration in the margins and the actions of women in the text and miniature cycle occurs on folio 220r. A small half-column miniature depicts Percival, stranded on the Isle Estrange encountering the disinherited woman (Fig. 35).¹⁵⁹ This woman tempts Percival with her beauty and he only resists sin at the last moment upon seeing the cross engraved on the pommel of his sword.¹⁶⁰ Directly next to the

¹⁵⁶ Norris J. Lacy, ed., *Lancelot-Grail. The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1995), Volume III, 154-155.

¹⁵⁷ The underdrawing of this figure indicates that the hand was originally drawn pointing as the figure's own backside.

¹⁵⁸ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail. The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, Volume III, 155.

¹⁵⁹ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 564.

¹⁶⁰ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail. The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, Volume IV, 36.

miniature in the left-hand margin is a knight, naked except for a mail coif with an arrow sticking out of his anus (Fig. 36). The arrow was shot by a bearded man below, who still holds his bow aloft. This instance of male bodily penetration in the margin is likely a direct reference to the temptation of Percival in the miniature. Both of these examples suggest that the fear, present within the margins of both BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, of penetration at the hands of wild men, centaurs, and other forces of disorder, may have additionally extended to a fear of women and their power within the Arthurian narrative to disrupt knightly quests.

2.2.3. Nudes

The issue of the vulnerable male figure is also reflected in the representation of nudes in the margins of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes, along with a number of other Franco-Flemish manuscripts, as well as in manuscript marginalia more generally. Overall, depictions of naked men appear more frequently than those of women.¹⁶¹ There are a total of at least ten naked figures on nine pages in the margins of Beinecke Ms. 229 and at least twenty-four on twenty-one pages in the margins of BnF fr. 95.¹⁶² The only definitively nude female between both volumes is topless in service of larger tropes; a bare-breasted mermaid embedded into the central margin of Beinecke Ms.

¹⁶¹ Elisabeth Moore Hunt references Lilian Randall in noting that male nudes were found 270 times in the margins of 61 manuscript as opposed to only 13 appearances of female nudes in 11 manuscripts. Elisabeth Moore Hunt, "The Naked Jongleur in the Margins: Manuscript Contexts for Social Meanings," in *The Meaning of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry Lindquist (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 85.

¹⁶² Such images occur in Beinecke Ms. 229 on folios 29r, 39v, 119r, 126r, 220r, 222v, 295r, 311r, 348r, 363r and in BnF fr. 95 on folios 1r, 4v, 13v, 44v, 52r, 82v, 158v, 173r, 190v, 199v, 209v, 214r, 215v, 226v, 254r, 281v, 309r, 311r, 340r, 348r, 350r. Moore Hunt noted twenty-seven instances of nude figures in this volume, but her definition of what constituted a nude figure is unclear. Moore Hunt, "The Naked Jongleur in the Margins: Manuscript Contexts for Social Meanings," 92.

229, fol. 29r (Fig. 39). The naked men, on the other hand, are either being penetrated, as previously discussed, or appear to operate as explicit forms of social and political commentary. These men include naked jongleurs, kings, and religious officials. Some examples are the bishop previously discussed who appears on BnF fr. 95, fol. 214r with his exposed anus being penetrated (Fig. 38), the king in the upper margin of Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 363r, portrayed hawking entirely naked except for his crown and protective gloves (Fig. 40), and finally the multiple examples of nude performers, such as the trumpeter riding an elephant in the upper-left on BnF fr. 95, fol. 82v (Fig. 41).

These naked men who function as comic representations of actual social types have received scholarly attention to an extent that many of the other marginal motifs in these manuscripts have not. Moore Hunt investigated the role of the naked entertainer found in the margins of several manuscripts produced in the dioceses of Théroutanne, Saint Omer, and Tournai.¹⁶³ Looking specifically at jongleurs in the Psalter of Guy of Dampierre, Moore Hunt argued that the juxtaposition of such fleshy, feminized performers with masculine, moral, and often charitable saint figures emphasized the jongleurs' sexual ambiguity and prompted moralizations on avarice for the reader.¹⁶⁴ Moore Hunt did discuss one folio of BnF fr. 95 in detail, a sequence from the *Merlin* in which King Arthur successfully removes Excalibur from the stone. On folio 158v two "acrobatic nudes" appear, one on the center-top and the other on the center-bottom of the margin (Fig. 42). The lower nude once had prominently exposed genitalia that were covered either soon after creation or at some later date. He is the only example of a man

¹⁶³ Moore Hunt, "The Naked Jongleur in the Margins," 85-102.

¹⁶⁴ Moore Hunt, "The Naked Jongleur in the Margins," 88.

originally so exposed in either volume. Moore Hunt discussed the multivalence of these naked jongleurs, whose hyper-virility, perhaps prompted the erasure of their genitalia. This created a neuter opposite for the figure of King Arthur, who, as he removes Excalibur from the stone, “authenticates his divine succession to a skeptical crowd.”¹⁶⁵ This removal of a phallic penetrating object as symbolic of a divine right to rule is in itself also a suggestively virile act.

Fabry-Tehranchi remarked on this same folio in her analysis of nudity in BnF fr. 95. She described the nude in the upper margin as a child and the one in the lower as an adolescent and then went on to express, “In this case, the nudes are not clearly sexualized, although they are rather male figures. In contrast to the omnipresent representations of armed knights, these nudes, androgynous in nature, question the importance of distinctness and sexual identity in contemporary society”¹⁶⁶ Fabry-Tehranchi did not elaborate on this statement, but it is notable that both authors stressed the sexual ambiguity of these figures, and maintain that this ambiguity would be apparent to the medieval viewer and would likely affect their reading of King Arthur’s political ascension. It is, however, arguable that the image of the acrobat on folio 158v who once had prominent genitalia would not have read as sexually ambiguous even to the original reader/viewers, perhaps prompting this area’s later erasure.

¹⁶⁵ Moore Hunt, “The Naked Jongleur in the Margins,” 92-93.

¹⁶⁶ “Dans ce cas, les nus ne sont pas clairement sexualisés, bien qu’il s’agisse plutôt de figures masculines. En contraste avec les représentations omniprésentes de chevaliers en armes, ces nus, à caractère androgyne, interrogent l’importance des distinctions et des identités sexuelles dans la société contemporaine.” Translation by author. Fabry-Tehranchi, “L’illustration marginale,” 12.

Fabry-Tehranchi further contributed to the analysis of nudity in BnF fr. 95 by offering some examples of religious and political figures who are depicted in the margins without clothing. She argued that these representations were not meant to challenge specific social hierarchies, and instead maintained, “Given the social and cultural proximity of both sexual and ecclesiastical elites, these representations can be appreciated for their humorous and entertaining qualities, including through self-deprecating or warning elements, creating a knowing game with the reader.”¹⁶⁷ This connivance, complicity, or “knowing game” created between the artists and viewers allows the joke of these images to be appreciated by everyone instead of seeming pointed towards any one person or group. Moreover, by not referencing specific individuals, the meaning of these naked authority figures, like the jongleurs, remains multivalent. A full-page analysis of the bishop on BnF fr. 95, fol. 214r or of the king on Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 363r would likely yield a similar range of conclusions to those of Moore Hunt in her study of the jongleurs.

2.2.4. Male-Female Interactions

The next group of marginal motifs found throughout the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes are those depicting interactions between men and women. Sometimes these interactions, while clearly of an amorous nature, do not convey overt obscene sexuality as seen in the motifs of penetrated males. But in other cases, the sexual nature of the interaction is immediately apparent. In general, male-female couples appear as full

¹⁶⁷ “Étant donné la proximité sociale et culturelle des élites à la fois laïques et ecclésiastiques, ces représentations peuvent être appréciées pour leurs qualités humoristiques et divertissantes, y compris à travers des éléments d’autodérision ou d’avertissement, créant un jeu de connivence avec le lecteur.” Translation by author. Fabry-Tehranchi, “L’illustration marginale,” 25.

figures in the margins of at least twelve folios between the two manuscript volumes.¹⁶⁸

There are additionally a number of folios that contain images of kissing heads intertwined in the marginal vine-work. Many of these heads can be identified by their head gear as bishops and sometimes nuns (Fig. 24). Finally, men and women also appear together in larger groups, most often playing instruments and dancing, likely representations of court entertainers. Examples of male female pairings either dancing and playing instruments or as only heads occur on twenty-three folios of Beinecke Ms. 229 and on twelve folios of BnF fr. 95.¹⁶⁹ It is useful to look at a few examples within this marginal group and to compare the formal elements of both those images that seem to depict appropriate, although amorous, interactions, along with those of an expressly inappropriate or forbidden nature.

To begin, there are several male-female couples whose format conforms to the established norms of courtly romance, stemming from writings on the subject from the twelfth century.¹⁷⁰ One example is the knight and lady that appear on Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 187r, the opening to the *Queste del Graal* (Fig. 45). Here a knight kneels before a lady who raises her hand to acknowledge him. Behind the knight is his steed, caparisoned in gold and bearing the arms of William of Thermonde, second son to Guy of Dampierre,

¹⁶⁸ Such images occur in Beinecke Ms. 229 on folios 100v, 110v, 154v, 187r, 253r, 329r and in BnF fr. 95 on folios 24v (two couples) 61v, 209v, 226r, 249v, 254r.

¹⁶⁹ Such images occur in Beinecke Ms. 229 on folios 3v, 14r, 29r, 62v, 66v, 98r, 104v, 132v, 137v, 154v, 167r, 180r, 187r, 199r, 202v, 204r, 257v, 277r, 315r, 326r, 356r, 359r, 360v and in BnF fr. 95 on folios 13v, 30r, 42r, 43r, 52v, 99v, 156v, 166r, 186v, 226v, 262r, 324v.

¹⁷⁰ The most common example being Andreas Capellanus' *De amore et remedia amoris*, highly influenced by Ovid's *Ars amatoria*. Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 3-4.

*or a lion sable, a bend gules.*¹⁷¹ Similarly dressed knights and steeds are found in several other marginal motifs. For example, the mounted knight on Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 25r, carries a lance and a shield strapped to his back (Fig. 46). He is clothed in a chainmail hauberk and his horse is also caparisoned in gold. On folio 348r of the same manuscript a nearly identical knight and horse can be found, only this time armed with a sword and red helmet (Fig. 30). While the knight and horse on folio 25r stand calmly on their own and on Beinecke Ms. 229, 187r they stand before the knight's lady love, those on folio 348r are galloping forward with the knight's sword poised to strike a naked wild man, whose backside is presented for the oncoming penetration. These marginal motifs could represent different men, or they could demonstrate the different responsibilities of knighthood in general, encompassing both battle and chivalry.

The motif of a man kneeling before a lady also reoccurs several times throughout both volumes. On the bottom margin of BnF, fr. 95, fol. 249v a young man dressed in gold kneels and hold his hands up as if pleading or praying (Fig. 50). Before him is a courtly woman with a blue and gold costume and gold hairnet who holds out a golden wreath. A similar couple where the man kneels and the woman holds out a wreath, this time with the two figures positioned closer together on the page, appears on folio 110v of Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 53). Taken alone, these motifs could be read as sincere depictions of amorous interactions. They visualize the moments in which men, be they knights or noble youths, profess romantic intentions or feelings towards their ideal partners. This variety of couple configurations is reminiscent of the dialogues in Andreas Capellanus' *De amore et remedia amoris*, otherwise known as *The Art of Courtly Love* (ca. 1185),

¹⁷¹ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 563.

which includes staged conversations between men and women of various classes and advice for the men on how to proceed with the interaction.¹⁷² The heads of priests and nuns found together throughout both volumes also find precedent in Capellanus' text.¹⁷³ Concerning the love of priests Capellanus advises that one should not, as a rule, engage in love. Nonetheless, if he feels so compelled, due to a priest's greater susceptibility to "temptations of the body" than other men, Andreas advises the priest to seek lovers, "in accordance with the rank or standing of his parents."¹⁷⁴ In contrast, Capellanus vehemently warns against the loving of nuns, "just as though they were a pestilence of the soul."¹⁷⁵ He goes on to tell a story of how he once was nearly ensnared by a nun, due to the particular charm of nuns and their willingness to engage in such inappropriate dalliances.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps the numerous examples of romantically entwined priests and nuns were responses to these ideas about priests' susceptibility and the nuns' willingness to become so involved.

Despite the extensive scholarship on *The Art of Courtly Love* and Capellanus' intentions for the text, it is still not entirely certain if the text should be taken seriously or as a satire. Jennifer G. Wollock pointed out the enigmatic nature of the work, and noted that while it fits comfortably as a "parodic handbook" updating Ovid's *Art of Love* for the twelfth-century reader, its subject matter was so topical that it is unclear if the

¹⁷² Andreas Capellanus, "In What Manner Love May Be Acquired and in How Many Ways", in *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1960), 33-140.

¹⁷³ Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry, 142.

¹⁷⁴ Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry, 142.

¹⁷⁵ Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry, 143.

¹⁷⁶ Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. John Jay Parry, 143-4.

contemporary readers “got the joke.”¹⁷⁷ In the case of marginal motifs comprising of male-female interactions in both the Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 volumes, if the artists were responding to Capellanus’ text, they certainly understood its comic potential. For example, the noble man and woman on folio 249v of BnF fr. 95 can be found again on folio 24v of the same volume (Fig. 55). In their previously discussed appearance, the couple could be read as a sincere or serious rendering of a noble man courting his lady. In contrast, on folio 24v the couple is closer together, the man still kneels, but the lady, instead of holding out a wreath, stabs the man with a crossbow bolt with one hand and holds a small dog with the other. This image ridicules the noble man falling in love. His heart is about to be pierced by the same weapon that penetrated the ass of the knight on 220r of the Beinecke Ms. 229 volume. The dog, often a symbol of loyalty and faithfulness, is comically overemphasized by its precarious position perched on the lady’s palm. The bolt, or arrow, that the lady wields could be a parodic reference to the “love at first sight” arrow of the God of Love who is often depicted on the battlements in allegorical attacks on the Castle of Love found in ivory caskets and mirror backs, firing his arrow into the hearts of knights who storm the walls, or shooting from a tree at couples embracing below.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Jennifer G. Wollock, *Rethinking Chivalry and Courtly Love* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011), 152. Her statement is partially in reference to the views of Larry D. Benson, “Courtly Love and Chivalry in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Fifteenth-Century Studies: Recent Essays*, ed. Robert F. Yeager (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984), 238, 254.

¹⁷⁸ Some examples include the Ivory Marriage Casket, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, (146-1866), French (Paris), c.1330-40, the Mirror Case, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 71.169, French (Paris), c. 1320-30, and the Mirror Case, Paris, Cluny, Musée du Moyen Age, c.1320.

Following Michael Camille, Moore Hunt suggested that the motif on folio 24v represents Frau Minne and her love slave, or *Minnesklaven* (often present in *Minnesang*, or High German love poems from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries).¹⁷⁹ She based this identification on Michael Camille's description in his book *The Medieval Art of Love* of Frau Minne – a female personification of Love derived from German poetry who was often depicted naked and firing an arrow at a man who was then overwhelmed by the beauty of his lady. Given that the couple appears again, and this time where the lady holds out a wreath instead of an arrow, she becomes the beautiful object of the noble man's desire. Together the two iterations of the noble couple tell a mocking tale that alludes to the figures of Frau Minnie and the God of Love as literary personifications that demonstrate how a man must subjugate his heart in order to win the object of his desire. Moreover, Moore Hunt noted that the other half of the lower margin of folio 24v features an image of a lower-class man pushing in a wheelbarrow the head of a woman with a green hairnet, and allusion to the common law punishment for wives who gossip or who are insubordinate to their husbands (Fig. 55). The motifs on this folio represent the two extremes of male-female interactions: the idealized love of the upper classes and the common love of the lower classes. Moreover, the “woman on top” theme of the courtly couple is reversed in the image of the lower-class couple.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, these motifs are the first depictions of women in the BnF fr.95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes reading

¹⁷⁹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 105, and Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), 41.

¹⁸⁰ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 105.

sequentially from the front. This has intriguing and potentially significant implications for how the female sex was intended to be viewed by the manuscripts' audience.

Noble couples such as those on folios 24v and 249v recur multiple times in the two manuscripts and convey a narrative independent of the text of the Arthurian romance. Another example is found in the BnF fr. 95 volume, and is a much-discussed comic example of the "power of women" *topos*, the Mounted Aristotle.¹⁸¹ In the *Lai d'Aristote*, a young Alexander the Great is scolded by his teacher, Aristotle, for allowing a beautiful woman, sometimes called Phyllis, to distract him from his studies. Phyllis is angered by Aristotle's words and decides to play a trick on him. Phyllis goes to Aristotle and offers up her body to him, if first he will allow her to ride him around a central courtyard like a horse. Overwhelmed by sexual desire, Aristotle agrees and Alexander and his court watch and laugh as Aristotle allows himself to be ridden. The theme of the Mounted Aristotle is found in the lower-right margin both folios 61v and 254r (Fig. 61) (Fig. 58). Folio 254r depicts an earlier episode of the *Lai d'Aristote* and folio 61v its climatic moment, suggesting that the artists saw narrative order as insignificant to the purpose of the motifs' inclusion. It should also be noted that the current order of the manuscripts' pages may not reflect the order in which they were illuminated as artists did not necessarily move sequentially in the decoration of each quire. Furthermore, the reader/viewers of the text may have moved forwards and backwards through the text in order to track specific

¹⁸¹ Susan L. Smith, *The Power of Women: A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995).

storylines, resulting in an engagement with the manuscripts that also was not always sequential.¹⁸²

These images of Phyllis and Aristotle are important because they are the earliest extant depictions of the Mounted Aristotle and represent the only manuscript depictions of the story where multiple scenes appear.¹⁸³ The choice of the artists to depict these two moments in the tale, the initial temptation of Aristotle depicted as a scholar at his desk, and the bawdy scene where the lady rides Aristotle like a beast, emphasizes his transformation and the “perilous instability of the body and its desires.”¹⁸⁴ Images of the Mounted Aristotle are particularly impactful, as Susan Smith has noted, because they were never used to specifically illustrate the *Lai d’Aristote* and therefore were not “word bound.”¹⁸⁵ As a result, the Mounted Aristotle could be employed in a manuscript context to lead the contemporary reader to certain interpretations of the tale that the image accompanies. This motif is especially useful as the story itself had several possible moralizations. For example, in the Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) version he concluded that one should avoid being taken in by women. Conversely, the version by Henri d’Andeli (d. 1236) suggested that one should instead embrace women more readily.¹⁸⁶

The Mounted Aristotle is not the only marginal motif in the Arthurian volumes that derives from other romance literature or allegory. There are four examples of scenes from the *Roman de Reynard*, all found in Beinecke Ms. 229. Stories of this wily fox seem

¹⁸² For a breakdown of the artists’ work by quire please see the Appendix at the end of the dissertation.

¹⁸³ Smith, *The Power of Women*, 106 and footnote.

¹⁸⁴ Smith, *The Power of Women*, 105.

¹⁸⁵ Smith, *The Power of Women*, 109.

¹⁸⁶ Smith, *The Power of Women*, 107.

to have been popular in Flanders at the time.¹⁸⁷ There are additionally examples of less specific fictional or allegorical moments, such as the four women representing four vices who come out of the margins on each corner of BnF fr. 95, fol. 134r (Fig. 62). At top left is either Anger or Despair pulling at her hair, at top right Lust gazes at her reflection in a mirror, at bottom left Avarice pours coins into a chest, and finally at bottom right Gluttony drinks from a bowl.¹⁸⁸ While these possible allegorical images, like the illustrations from the *Roman de Reynard*, are not specifically male-female interactions, the manuscripts do include examples of both sexes. An image similar to Gluttony, found in the bottom-right margin of BnF fr. 95, fol. 190v shows a man drinking from a bowl. In the same volume, a man admires himself in a mirror, just like the female version of Lust, in the bottom-right margin of folio 295v (Fig. 63). Fabry-Tehranchi, in her discussion of folio 134r, found no obvious reason to depict these four vices surrounding the meeting of young King Uther Pendragon and Merlin. She went on to suggest that, “one might wonder if these are simply scenes of everyday life, such as drinking or hair styling, rather than coded gestures whose reading is necessarily symbolic.”¹⁸⁹ Despite Fabry-Tehranchi’s doubts, it is possible that the vices do have a symbolic function when paired with a miniature depicting King Uther and Merlin. Both of these men succumb to the temptation of women, Merlin for the lady Viviane and Uther to his baron’s wife Ygraine.

¹⁸⁷ The Coronation of Renart was composed in Flanders between 1260 and 1280. It was dedicated to Guillaume, the older brother of Guy de Dampierre. Ramey, “Images of Rebellion,” 8.

¹⁸⁸ Fabry-Tehranchi, “L’illustration marginale,” 19.

¹⁸⁹ “l’on pourrait se demander s’il s’agit parfois simplement de scènes de la vie quotidienne comme boire ou se coiffer, plutôt que de gestes codés dont la lecture est nécessairement symbolique.” Translation by author. Fabry-Tehranchi, “L’illustration marginale,” 20.

Both of these extramarital affairs are significant to the narrative as Viviane leads to Merlin's downfall and Uther conceives the future King Arthur with Ygraine.¹⁹⁰ The presence of the vices, in addition to being scenes of "every-day life" may in fact reference the weaknesses of these two men, as well as the danger possibly posed by tempting women. In order to further consider the symbolic nature of such quotidian scenes, the next type of marginal motif present throughout both manuscripts, images of spinning women.

2.2.5. Spinning Women

Between Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 there are five folios with marginal images of women spinning or holding spinning/sewing implements.¹⁹¹ While there are also instances of women in the margins engaged in other activities, such as the woman churning butter in Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 300v (Fig. 64), the only work-related activity that reoccurs frequently throughout the volumes is spinning. This is likely because the act of spinning, weaving, and sewing became synonymous with productive and moral women's work, as represented in both art and literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and had a long precedent extending back into the ancient world. For example, Aristotle's *Politics*, which had become a popular text in Paris during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, encourages women to spin or sew in order to combat the dangers of idleness.¹⁹² Danielle Régnier-Bohler in her survey of thirteenth-century romances pointed

¹⁹⁰ Lacy, ed., *Lancelot-Grail. The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, Volume I, 199-208.

¹⁹¹ These include folios 101v, 141r, 339v of the BnF fr. 95 volume and folios 199r and 253r of the Beinecke Ms. 229 volume.

¹⁹² Caviness, "Hedging in Men and Women," Accessed June 26th, 2017, <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>.

out that, “sewing, spinning, and weaving become the textual frame device for the onset of storytelling”.¹⁹³ Essentially, spinners and spinning implements populate stories of women, setting the scene for what is to come.

Artistic representations of spinning women pre-date this thirteenth-century marginal florescence. In Proverbs 31, the virtuous wife is described as spinning and weaving in order to clothe her family, and didactic versions of this can be found in a number of images.¹⁹⁴ Depictions of the Virgin spinning extend back into the early Christian period. Catherine Gines Taylor explained that much as early Christians grew out of Jewish communities, their concept of female virtue came from the Hebrew term *hayil*. Its definition emphasized, “able activity, valour or courage, commensurate goods and wealth, strength, might, and the power of valiantly trained hosts loyal to God.”¹⁹⁵ Taylor argued, “No other symbol from the late ancient world could equal the spindle and distaff in illustrating the capable attributes of virtue in images of the Mother of God, and no other symbol was as easily accessible within the quotidian routine and material culture of late antique Christian women.”¹⁹⁶ She cited one of the earliest extant representations of the Virgin Mary with spinning implements, the second-century Roman Catacomb of Priscilla which depicts an Annunciation scene in which the Virgin holds a gold colored distaff under her left arm (Fig. 65).¹⁹⁷ Images of the Virgin spinning were not restricted to

¹⁹³ Nancy A. Jones, “The Uses of Embroidery in Jean Renart: Gender, History, Textuality”, in *Jean Renart and the Art of Romance: Essays on Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Nancy Vine Durling (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1997), 17.

¹⁹⁴ Jones, “The Uses of Embroidery in Jean Renart”, 18.

¹⁹⁵ Catherine Gines Taylor, *Late Antique Images of the Virgin Mary Spinning* (Boston: Brill, 2018), 1.

¹⁹⁶ Taylor, *Late Antique Images of the Virgin Mary Spinning*, 1.

¹⁹⁷ Taylor, *Late Antique Images of the Virgin Mary Spinning*, 17-20.

early Christian Rome. A Carolingian ivory Plaque with the Virgin Mary as a Personification of the Church was made between ca. 800 and 825 in Aachen, Germany (Fig. 66).¹⁹⁸ In this plaque the Virgin is enthroned under an archway. She is dressed in militaristic garb and holds two spindles in her left hand and a cross in her right. The Virgin Mary was also a spinner in the Annunciation scene of the late twelfth-century Codex Bruschal of Speyer Cathedral (Fig. 67).¹⁹⁹ On the early thirteenth-century North Porch of Chartres Cathedral women in various stages of working wool appear alongside those reading and praying (Fig. 68).²⁰⁰

After being cast from the Garden of Paradise, Eve too becomes a spinner. The full-page miniature on folio 8r of the Hunterian Psalter, illuminated in England around 1170 CE, depicts Eve as such (Fig. 69).²⁰¹ The top registered of the miniature shows the Expulsion from the Garden, and below is Eve, seated and accompanied by a child in a cradle, spinning on a distaff while Adam tills the soil. There are numerous other, nearly identical, examples of this motif found in manuscripts produced in Northern Europe

¹⁹⁸ Currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection. Accession number 17.190.49. The catalogue notes the "curious juxtaposition" of the spindles, identifying Mary as the Virgin Mother of Christ with her military appearance, suggesting that she be seen as the personification of the Church Triumphant. Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History, Metropolitan Museum of Art, <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/17.190.49/>. Accessed January 24, 2018.

¹⁹⁹ Karlsruhe, Germany, Landesbibliothek, Codex Bruchsal 1, fol. 5r.

²⁰⁰ Jones, "The Uses of Embroidery in Jean Renart," 19-20; These sculpted depictions of women are visual representations of Thomas Aquinas's discussion of the active versus the contemplative life in Question 182 of his *Summa Theologiae*. Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation*, trans. Thomas Gilby (Cambridge, UK: Blackfriars, 1964-1981).

²⁰¹ Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, Ms. Hunter 229 (U.3.2). C.M. Kauffmann, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190*, Vol. 3, ed., Jonathan Alexander (London: Harvey Miller, 1975).

between 1100 and 1300 CE.²⁰² The image of Eve spinning and Adam delving additionally appears twice in the Dampierre family's Arthurian romances, once in the bottom margin of folio 253r in Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 70), and again on 380r of BnF fr. 95, in the miniature that introduces the *Penitence of Adam* text (Fig. 71). It is interesting to note that it is the marginal image, and not the miniature, that most closely resembles the depiction of Adam and Eve in the Hunterian Psalter. Although not seated, Eve in the margin of folio 253r holds her distaff under her left arm and the woven thread in her right hand, with the spindle lying on the ground beside her. Additionally, Adam is shown hunched over, pushing his spade into the ground with his foot. In contrast, the miniature image of Adam and Eve depicts both figures as if they are on display. They are shown side-by-side accompanied by their attributes, the spade and the distaff, and their arms are outstretched in a performative manner. It is as if the margins are the space of these romance volumes where the artists were interested in depicting women, such as Eve, actively engaged in the work of spinning, instead of including the distaff as a mere symbol of female virtue. Moreover, one could speculate that the abundance of spinning women throughout the margins of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 may allude to the spinning or weaving of a tale, perhaps the Arthurian Romances they accompany.

Spinning, in addition to being a marker of women's work, was a tool for female agency. Precedent for courtly women deriving personal power from the act of spinning or sewing can be found within a subgenre of Old French lyric poetry, the *chansons de toile*.

²⁰² Such examples include, but are not limited to, Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, B.P.L 76 A lat. 76A, fol 9r; Munich, Bavarian State Library, Clm. 835, fol. 8v; The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands, 76 F 5, fol. 2v; London, British Library, Cotton Nero C. IV., fol. 2r; New York, Morgan Library, M. 34, fol. 133r.

These songs, all with female narrators, tell the stories of often forcibly enclosed women (often locked in a room by their mother or husband) who lament their absent lovers.²⁰³ *Chansons de toile* were imbedded within longer romance epics in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, most notably Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole*, which contains six.²⁰⁴ The spinning women of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 resemble the near contemporary world of *Guillaume de Dole* more so than the mythical past seen in the Arthurian Vulgate. Renart even inscribed his hybrid text with inserted lyrics, a composition that could be compared to the expertly integrated diversity of manuscript margins, in terms of textile imagery.²⁰⁵ The *chansons* he included appear to have arisen as an accompaniment to women's needlework.²⁰⁶ The difference between these songs and other female-voiced lyric poems such as those of the *trouvère* is twofold. First, in the *chansons de toile* the women pair their passive lament with the active work of weaving, sewing, or embroidering. Second, these poems conclude with the women being reunited with their lovers. While we do not know the genders of the *chansons de toiles*' authors, it is notable that they represent stories narrated by women that often resolve happily.

E. Jane Burns, in *Courtly Love Undressed*, reassessed courtly love through the lens of garments typical of court life that are described in literary accounts. As Burns

²⁰³ Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 96.

²⁰⁴ McCann Boulton and Moureen Barry, "Lyric Insertions and the Reversal of Romance Conventions in Jean Renart's *Roman de la Rose* or *Guillaume de Dole*," in *Jean Renart and the Art of Romance: Essays on Guillaume de Dole*, ed. Nancy Vine Durling (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1997), 85.

²⁰⁵ "car aussi com l'en met la graine/ es dras por avoir los et pris/ einsi a il chans et sons mis/ en cestui *Romans de la Rose*/ qui est une novele chose", Jones, "The Uses of Embroidery in Jean Renart," 13-14.

²⁰⁶ Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot, eds., *Songs of the Troubadours and the Trovères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), 184.

argued, “If *trouvère* lament often records unfulfilled and prolonged male desire, the women who sew in the *chanson de toile* sing of love that works, like needles through cloth, pulling desirous partners into mutual embrace.”²⁰⁷ For example, in one *chanson*, the Beautiful Yolande sews with her mother and slowly asserts her desire to take a lover, eventually changing her mother’s mind on the matter.²⁰⁸ In another similar *chanson*, the heroine sews a robe of silk for her lover, who then appears before her and they embrace.²⁰⁹ Not all of the *chansons* have happy endings. In a third, the Lovely Doette does not sew but instead reads, and thinks about her love who has gone to tourney far away. Later, when she discovers that he has died, Lovely Doette sets aside her fur-lined cloak and ventures out to build an abbey as refuge for all those that know the grief of love.²¹⁰ This *chanson* represents an interesting allusion to the choices for women at the time, and the possibility that religious life would present a compelling alternative to marrying a man one did not love passionately.

Burns argued that the *chansons de toile* demonstrate a tension between women as objects of desire and their attempts to do physical work.²¹¹ This tension suggests that traditionally women could only take on a single role, that of a beautiful object or an

²⁰⁷ “Bele Yolanz en chamber koie/sor ses genouz pailles desploie/Cost un fil d’or, l’autre de soie/Sa male mere la chastoie.” From Michel Zink, *Belle: Essai sur les chansons de toile*, (Paris: Champion, 1978), 96. Discussed in Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 105.

²⁰⁸ Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 100.

²⁰⁹ “Bele Yolanz en ses chambres seoit/D’un boen samiz une robe cosoit/a son ami tramettre la voloit/...Li siens amis entre ses braz la prent/en un biau lit s’asient seulement/Bele Yolanz lo baise estroitement/a tor François enmi lo lit l’estent.” From Zink, *Belle*, 77-8.

²¹⁰ “Bele Doette as fenestres se siet/Lit en un livre mais au cuer ne l’en tient/De son ami Doon li resovient/...Por vostre amor vestirai je la haire/Ne sor mon cors n’avra pelice vaire/...Bele Doette prist s’abaie a faire.” From Rosenberg, Switten, and Le Vot, eds., *Songs of the Troubadours and the Trovères*, 187.

²¹¹ Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 93-95.

active worker. By creating a character that is both things at once, the balance has been upset. Additionally, while sewing, Burns explained, was not coded as a quintessentially male behavior, singing a love song was. In a way, the women of the *chansons de toile* have taken control of this activity and have done so by being active workers.²¹² In a parallel manner, marginal images of women spinning in manuscripts engage this tension between active and passive. They too represent women as objects of desire who are sometimes simultaneously engaged in active work.

For example, a comparison can be made between the image of a woman spinning on folio 141r of BnF fr. 95 (Fig. 74) and another of two women holding spinning implements on folio 101v of BnF fr. 95 (Fig. 77). On the former folio, the woman is depicted with her back facing the viewer.²¹³ She is seated on a small bench and holds a distaff under her left arm and uses her left hand to pinch fibers from it. The spun fibers then pass through her right hand to a spindle placed upon the ground beside her. The lady's netted hair and fine blue costume mark her as a member of the courtly class. This spinning woman could almost be an illustration of a *chanson de toile*, spinning and yearning for her lover. Her work is depicted in perfect detail, which emphasizes her active productivity. Due to her position, facing away from the viewer, she is formally different from two spinning women on the second folio. These women erupt from the bottom-center margin. Both wear rose-colored garments and hairnets. The woman on the

²¹² Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 93-95.

²¹³ The choice on the part of the artist to position this woman with her back to the viewer is a strange one. It could imply that she is reading and responding to the text and miniatures in some way, or that she is so engaged in her own labor or thoughts that our presence as viewers is intrusive. A separate study on this and other faceless figures in marginal art is perhaps warranted.

left holds a spindle in her left hand attached by thread to a niddy-noddy in her right. The woman on the right holds a distaff and spindle, mirroring the seated woman on the first folio, fol. 141r. Unlike the woman on folio 141r, both of these ladies smile and face out towards the viewer; their eyes glance downwards towards the monsters biting their interlace tails. Neither woman is engaged in focused work but instead they hold out their spinning implements, as if aware that they are on display or are addressing the reader-viewer. These ladies initially read as signifiers of approved feminine behavior, spinning elements in hand. Yet, they are not passive objects and the possibility that they are directly addressing the reader-viewer gives them the same sense of agency as the seated spinner who participates in active work and disregards viewer completely.

There are also women in the margins of these volumes that take the female activity of spinning and repurpose its implements, such as the distaff, to engage in traditional male activities. This of course includes mounted combat, the traditional purview of the *chevalier*, as well as penetration, both of which are embodied by the male-female distaff joust motif. In a separate instance in the bottom margin of Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 199r, a woman wields a distaff as a weapon against a mischievous fox (Fig. 80). The fox appears on the right, running off with a rooster clutched in his jaws.²¹⁴ She holds the distaff in her right hand, poised to throw or thrust it at the fox. In her left hand is a spindle; it is as if her spinning was interrupted by the fox's theft. This woman has repurposed her distaff for the defense of her property. She holds it like a spear or lance,

²¹⁴ This is a reference to a scene from Roman de Reynard. An example of the scene can be found on fol. 21r of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 360, an Old French copy of the Roman de Reynard and Isengrin from 1339. "Ms. Douce 360," Bodleian Library, Accessed November 9th, 2018, <https://iiif.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/iiif/mirador/851a2186-b3d0-4147-9a85-d92e6a5e4bda>

and the slightly pointed shape of the fibers spun on it gives the object a penetrative potential. In the margins of these two romance volumes, the distaff appears to have become a tool for women to both assert their value as workers and defend their own interests, even if that means assuming a role not usually afforded to their gender.

Furthermore, the distaff as an object had socio-economic implications. The thirteenth century saw the growth of bourgeois urban centers in Flanders, such as Bruges and Ypres, that produced large quantities of textiles.²¹⁵ Between 1270 and 1281, around the time that Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 were produced, there were a number of uprisings of cloth workers against the local urban elite, and specifically in response to unpopular textile trade deals made by Count Guy of Dampierre and his mother, Countess Margaret II.²¹⁶ There is also evidence that women participated in significant numbers in the cloth trade, and that their positions were subject to some level of protection.²¹⁷ It is arguable that the professions of weaving, spinning, and draping became synonymous with rebellion in late thirteenth-century Flanders, and that women had an economic stake in the success of these uprisings. This idea is discussed further in chapter three.

2.3. Conclusions

Each of the marginal types thus outlined represent the components of the significant marginal group found within Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95. Each of these individual types is expressed through a variety of formal means, making use of these manuscripts' large margins and the pictorial fields created by the vine-like borders.

²¹⁵ David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 182-184.

²¹⁶ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 176-184.

²¹⁷ For example, there was a law in Ypres that if a man from one part of the cloth trade, eg. drapers, married a woman from another part, eg. weavers, then each party was allowed to keep their individual professions. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 183.

Within the categories outlined, the motifs do not carry a single attributable purpose or meaning. Instead the motifs are multivalent and can be applied in different ways to affect interpretations of the accompanying text; their capacity to structure or influence the meaning of the text has been briefly demonstrated in a few cases. It would be impossible, or certainly difficult, to parse out all the potential implications of each and every marginal motif found in these two volumes. Instead, I investigate three case studies and extrapolate their results in order to comment more generally on how the marginal motifs operate in conjunction with the primary image cycle and the text of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle. This type of analysis is possible because there exists a single motif which encapsulates most of the themes found within the individual marginal types: the male-female distaff joust.

Male-female distaff jousts appear on folio 226r of BnF fr. 95 and on folios 100v and 329r of Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 83)(Fig. 22)(Fig. 86). As noted previously, the jousting couples on folios 229r and 329r are nearly identical in construction, whereas the one on folio 100v contains slight variations. All three of the motif consist of a woman and a man on horseback, charging towards one another. It is clear that they participate in the courtly pastime of jousting based on the formal similarities with scenes of jousting depicted in the primary image cycle of both manuscripts. In the first two examples, the women use distaffs in lieu of lances, with the spindles still attached and flapping behind them as they charge. The male knights are clothed in chain-mail hauberks but are otherwise unarmed, and the implication is that their bodily penetration is imminent. In the third example the two figures are not depicted as a knight and a lady but instead as a tonsured monk and a lady. Both are armed, this time with lances, but the monk's is

broken in half and hangs uselessly as he turns towards the viewer with a quizzical expression. These three vignettes simultaneously represent violent battles, male-female interactions, women holding distaffs or spindles, jousting games, mockeries of the knightly and religious classes, and men on the receiving end of actual or imminent penetration by a weapon wielded by a woman.

Images of these male-female battles with the possible sexual component are particularly charged. Unlike other penetration motifs, like those of wild men being shot in the anus, the men are not depicted as comically grotesque monsters. They are instead painted with the traditional trapping of manhood; dressed as knights and on horseback. Additionally, these men are not emasculated by animal antics, but instead by angry, powerful women. By making the women monstrous the men become more sympathetic. They are only on the receiving end of an act of penetration because they find themselves in unusual situations. They have been disarmed in a joust or their weapons are turned against them. They do not want to deviate from sexual norms, instead they resist penetration. Furthermore, it seems that proficiency at sewing can give medieval women power in relationships, both romantic and obscene. Yet, these women here are no longer simply representation of women with some sexual power, but instead violent aggressors that have upset traditional sexual roles. By viewing all of these individual motifs as part of a larger marginal group, they become imbued with significance beyond that of “genre scene” or “comic relief.” Together, they can be understood as a reversal of traditional male-female sexual roles where the distaff as phallus becomes the means of penetration. In a society where sex was viewed as an act in which one person, traditionally male, does something to another person, traditionally female, the reversal of role with respect to

penetration is striking and likely significant. The implication of these marginal motifs is further investigated through case studies in the fourth chapter. First, however, it is necessary to further investigate the production of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95, the family for whom these manuscripts were created for, and the socio-political moment in which they were conceived.

Chapter 3

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF LATE-THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH-FLANDERS

After undertaking a comprehensive study of the marginal program in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes several themes were seen to predominate. Violent battles, nude figures, bodily penetration, courtly couples, and women at work make up nearly 300 of the approximately 512 marginal motifs.²¹⁸ Formally, these marginal elements are often comprised of pairs of figures, charging, gesturing, or firing weapons towards one another. Ultimately, the male-female distaff jousts, which are comprised of elements from each of the five thematic groups, are in need of further study. Before engaging with those case studies, this chapter will take a look at the social and political landscape of late-thirteenth-century French Flanders. It will investigate the circumstances of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229's production and the family for which they were likely made.

3.1. Production of the BnF Fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 Volumes

According to Alison Stones, in her analysis of the *mise en page* of thirteenth- and early-fourteenth-century Lancelot-Grail cycles, it is not possible to trace in a straightforward manner the development of the design of these books. She noted no chronological progression from one layout to another, and no preferred format based on region.²¹⁹ The decoration of these manuscripts generally incorporates historiated initials, miniatures of one to three text columns in width, and some borders populated by

²¹⁸ See the Appendix attached at the end of this dissertation.

²¹⁹ Stones, "'Mise en page' in the French *Lancelot-Grail*," 126-127.

marginalia. Crucially, Stones stated that these marginal illustrations are most often restricted to opening pages and, as noted previously, “seem rarely to fulfill any function intrinsic to the narrative, and appear to reflect designs invented by workshops or individuals for other contexts.”²²⁰ It is only in the case of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 that Stones believed an analysis of the marginal illustrations might lead to further insights.²²¹ Significantly more marginal imagery appears in the borders of these two volumes: in many ways their margins resemble those of thirteenth-and fourteenth-century psalters and books of hours in terms of the volume of rich figural decoration. In manuscripts such as BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, it is easier to connect specific imagery with narrative moments due to proliferation of marginal motifs. Yet, why is there such considerable marginal art in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes?

One way to answer this question is to look at the artists who illuminated these manuscripts, and their patrons. Both Alison Stones and Elizabeth Moore Hunt believed that two artists worked together on BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. Stones additionally suggested that while one artist was more accomplished and had significant involvement in the BnF fr. 95 volume, this artist left the Beinecke Ms. 229 volume mainly in the hands of a second artist. The BnF fr. 95 volume is decorated more lavishly with 119 full-column miniatures, all accompanied by marginalia, as well as thirty-four historiated initials which often feature marginal figures perched on top. The Beinecke volume has “only” seventy-seven full-column miniatures with accompanying marginalia, although it also contains fifty-one smaller miniatures that take up part or half of a column and are

²²⁰ Stones, “‘Mise en page’ in the French *Lancelot-Grail*,” 130.

²²¹ Stones, “‘Mise en page’ in the French *Lancelot-Grail*,” 130.

generally not accompanied by vine scroll borders or marginal art. Much of the Beinecke manuscript's decoration is less skillfully rendered, according to Stones, with the exception of certain scenes from the *Queste* and *Mort Artu*. This evidence supports Stones' and Moore Hunt's findings and could suggest that the second artist reduced the decorative program after the main artist moved on to another project. Alternatively, the modified decorative program from of the Beinecke Ms. 229 volume could indicate not simply a change in artist but also a change in patron, one who did not want to spend quite so much money or otherwise wished the single, larger miniatures to be split into smaller ones. A detailed accounting of the artists' distribution of labor can be found in the Appendix.

When looking carefully at the working styles of the two artists associated with BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, the extent to which the two worked in tandem is striking and deserves further elaboration. Despite the fact that the "main" artist produced the majority of the miniature in the BnF fr. 95 volume, the second artist completed nearly all of the marginal motifs throughout both manuscripts. This is significant to note because the miniatures and marginalia are all attached, either through border decoration or direct contact. Moreover, every border has been illuminated without using a traced pattern and much of the marginal figures are terminals for these borders. With the exception of a few quires in Beinecke Ms. 229, both artists' hands are present on every illuminated page, usually with the first artist completing the miniatures and the second the marginalia. The second artist additionally completed most, but not all, of the smaller half column miniatures and historiated initials, and these are sometimes interspersed throughout a

quire with full-column miniatures by the first artist.²²² In Beinecke Ms. 229 there are several miniatures in which both artists' hand are present, or where Stones was unable to definitively determine which artist completed the miniature because the two's style had become indistinguishable.²²³ This blending of hands is a testament to the two artists' close working relationship and could perhaps speak to their personal connection. It is possible that the two were master and subordinate, as Stones has suggested. I think it is also equally reasonable to speculate that they had a family relationship such as husband and wife, father and son, mother and daughter, brothers, sisters, or any variation therein. Finally, the distribution of labor between miniatures and marginalia, especially in the case of BnF fr. 95, may not be indicative of skill level. Instead, it could simply suggest that one artist's style was more conducive to involved, multi-figured scenes, and the other artist's to two figure interactions, without placing a judgement on which type of composition required greater artistic proficiency.

Around the same time as the Beinecke Ms. 229 volume was produced, the main artist completed the Franciscan Psalter (Paris, BnF lat. 1076), which seems to have taken up more of his time and attention.²²⁴ Moore Hunt linked the Franciscan Psalter stylistically to several other prayer books associated with the diocese of Thérouanne, including a Book of Hours (Bibliothèque de Marseilles, Ms. 111), and a psalter (Arras, Musée Diocesan, Ms. 47).²²⁵ She connected the psalter from Arras to the main artist

²²² For example see quires 20 and 25 of BnF fr. 95. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320* Part I, Volume II, 550-575 at 553.

²²³ See the Appendix in conjunction with Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 550-575.

²²⁴ Stones, "The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 229.

²²⁵ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 69.

based on marginal illustrations comparable to those in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, such as the inclusion of centaurs and images of the “power of women” *topos*.²²⁶ Finally, Stones felt that the Book of Hours represented either a later phase of the main artist’s development, or the work of someone who collaborated closely with him.²²⁷

Moore Hunt named this artistic network, comprising the main and secondary artist of the Arthurian cycle, sometimes working separately or in conjunction with other artists, the “Dampierre group.”²²⁸ This name derives from two additional prayer books, the Psalter of Guy of Dampierre (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 10607), and the Psalter of Margaret the Black (H.P. Kraus, cat. 75, no. 88),²²⁹ whose decoration demonstrated the Dampierre family interest, as patrons of manuscripts, in luxury volumes with richly illuminated margins.²³⁰ Stones also believed that the secondary artist of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 illuminated the Psalter of Guy of Dampierre.²³¹ There are additionally two Cistercian tomes by this artistic group, the Henricus Bible, now in two parts (Bruges, Archief Grootseminarie, Ms. 4/1 and 5/191) (Amsterdam, Openbare Bibliotheek, Ms. 6), and a copy of the *Summa de jure canonico* by Monaldus of Istria (Bruges, Archief Grootseminarie, Ms. 45/144). The Henricus Bible (ca. 1256-75) is

²²⁶ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 69.

²²⁷ Stones, “The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229,” 229.

²²⁸ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 6.

²²⁹ “The Psalter of Margaret ‘the Black’,” The Arcana Collection: Exceptional Illuminated Manuscripts and Incunabula, Part I, Lot 29, 7 July 2010, London, Accessed July 6th, 2019, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/the-psalter-of-margaret-the-black-countess-5334918-details.aspx>

²³⁰ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 6.

²³¹ Stones, “The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229,” 229-30.

thought to be one of the earliest of the Dampierre group manuscripts, and the manuscript of Monaldus's *Summa* was, like the Arthurian cycle, a collaboration of both the main and secondary artists, and was compiled and illuminated sometime before ca.1274.²³² It is therefore arguable that the large number of marginal illustrations in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 may be explained both by the Dampierre family's interest in books with art in the margins, and by the fact that the two artists involved in their production also frequently illuminated prayer books and other religious books, in which marginal imagery was a fashionable addition during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

A precise timeline for the production of the manuscripts of the "Dampierre group" is difficult to establish definitively, as none of the volumes are precisely datable. It seems safe to assume that the Henricus Bible and Monaldus's *Summa* were two of the earliest as they were both completed sometime between ca. 1256-1275. The Psalter of Margaret the Black has been dated to the last quarter of the thirteenth century by Christies, although presumably it would have been completed before her death in 1280.²³³ Elizabeth Moore Hunt suggested that the Psalter of Guy of Dampierre was produced in 1278 in honor of Guy's formal accession to the countship of Flanders.²³⁴ It is likely, therefore, that the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes were the last manuscripts in the group to be

²³² Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 2, 38.

²³³ "The Psalter of Margaret 'the Black'," Accessed July 6th, 2019, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/the-psalter-of-margaret-the-black-countess-5334918-details.aspx>

²³⁴ Elizabeth Moore Hunt, "'Van den grave te makene': The Matter of Heraldry in a Psalter for the Count of Flanders (Royal Library of Belgium MS 10607) and in the Urban Media of Ghent," *Kenyon College Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Volume 4, Issue 4, (2014), 92.

completed, and that they represent longer-term projects produced slowly over the course of this quarter-century. The sheer length of the Vulgate Arthur combined with the extensive image cycle and large format of these manuscripts made their production a lengthy process and may have contributed to the exit of the main artist, modifications in the decorative plan, and the possible change in patron.

Kerstin Carlvant discussed the manuscripts created by the “Dampierre group” illuminators in her book *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders*.²³⁵ She argued that the main illuminator from this group was indebted to the style of earlier manuscripts produced in Bruges, indicating to her that he was trained or profoundly influenced by the Bruges Master.²³⁶ According to Carlvant, the “Dampierre group” while benefiting from these earlier generations of illuminators, were on their own, “exceptionally talented and innovative individuals who stimulated the general development of art.”²³⁷ This was crucial for manuscript production in the region and period as economic issues in the third quarter of the thirteenth century caused the decline of illumination that had previously been centered in Bruges and Ghent.²³⁸ Carlvant specifically cited the inclusion of musicians, bagpipers, dancers, and acrobatic figures that demonstrated the ability of the “Dampierre group” artists to depict realism and expression beyond that found in religious iconography.²³⁹ While her book suggested the

²³⁵ Kerstin Carlvant, *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders: Bruges, Ghent and the Circle of the Counts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

²³⁶ Carlvant, *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders*, 124.

²³⁷ Carlvant, *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders*, 177.

²³⁸ The economic issues plaguing mid to late thirteenth century Flanders discussed in Carlvant’s book will be discussed in depth later in this chapter. Carlvant, *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders*, 12-14.

²³⁹ Carlvant, *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders*, 133.

possibility that several earlier manuscripts from the “Dampierre group” had stronger stylistic connections to Bruges than to Artois, Cambrai, Tournai, or St. Omer than previously believed, Carlvant did concede that there began to be significant manuscript illumination in St. Omer during the final decades of the thirteenth century.²⁴⁰ Carlvant additionally acknowledged that despite focusing on the earlier, religious manuscripts in her discussion, she deferred all discussion of the later, secular manuscripts to Alison Stones. Consequently, it is impossible to determine if the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes were produced in the region of Théroutanne/St. Omer, as suggested by Stones, or instead tied to the manuscript production centers of Bruges or even Ghent, without further study, and it may not be possible to settle the issue of place of production at all. In fact, there is little to suggest that the artists could not have worked in more than one production center over the course of their careers.

While there are similar marginal motifs found between the Arthurian cycles, the prayer books, and the Cistercian manuscripts, the manner in which the margins of these volumes have been decorated is distinctly different. Although the Franciscan Psalter contains marginal images of centaurs, nude figures, and mermaids, Moore Hunt referred to the margins of this manuscript as “tame” in comparison to those of the Arthurian cycle.²⁴¹ The margins of the Franciscan Psalter, along with those of the Arras psalter and the Marseilles book of hours, have fewer developed marginal “scenes” and are more likely to contain single figures that are included within, erupt out of, or stand on top of the initials and borders (Fig. 87), although the atypical page illustration here also contains

²⁴⁰ Carlvant, *Manuscript Painting in Thirteenth-Century Flanders*, 8.

²⁴¹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 71.

the woman riding Aristotle quite comparable in composition to that in BnF fr. 95 down to the whip in her right hand. This type of single-figure, attached marginalia can also be found in the Cistercian tomes, but there the negative space below the borders is also populated in a manner more similar to Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95. This is likely due to the larger size of the Cistercian and Arthurian volumes: there is simply more space on the page to work with.²⁴² The margins of Monaldus's *Summa* are the most similar to those of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95, both in terms of the appearance of the motifs on the page and their content and style. For example, fol. 2r, which according to Stones displays an author portrait by the main artist of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 and marginal illustrations by the secondary one,²⁴³ contains marginal motifs nearly identical to those found in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 88). These include a couple playing music and dancing, a man reloading his crossbow, and two monkeys setting a trap to catch birds. It seems as if the margins of this manuscript acted as fields of artistic development and expression for the two artists involved. Later, when they collaborated again on Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 their prior experience working together combined with the significantly larger space for decoration allowed for a flourishing of their style.

²⁴² Moore Hunt noted that Monaldus's *Summa* is 30.7 x 20.7 cm, making it smaller than the Henricus Bible's 44 cm width and BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229's 49 cm width, yet all three are still much larger than any of the psalters or books of hours. Dimensions of the Cistercian manuscripts taken from Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 40.

²⁴³ Stones, "The Illustration of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 229-30.

3.2. The Dampierre Family as Patrons

The appearance and content of the marginal art found in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes probably was further influenced by the wishes of the Dampierre family as patrons of these manuscripts. Moore Hunt cited Stones' assertion that William of Thermonde was the most likely patron of these manuscripts, given the prevalence of his heraldry in the margins, and the appearance of his arms in the margins of Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 187r, the beginning of the *Queste del Saint Grail*.²⁴⁴ Between the two manuscripts there are over twenty instances of heraldry on decorative shields or pennons, in addition to others emblazoned on knights' tunics or other clothing.²⁴⁵ These arms represent a number of different individuals, yet almost all are members of the Dampierre family or connected to them in some manner. The arms of Flanders are the only heraldic shields to be found in both manuscripts.²⁴⁶ The arms of William of Thermonde (*or a lion sable, a bend gules*) can be found in the margins a total of three times, all in the Beinecke volume (Fig. 3).²⁴⁷ Interestingly, despite Moore Hunt's and Stones' insistence that William of Thermonde is the most likely patron of these two manuscripts his heraldic motifs are not the most prevalent. The arms of his father, Count Guy of Dampierre (*or, a lion rampant sable*) can be found two times in the margins of

²⁴⁴ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 16. Citing Stones, "The Illustrations of BN, fr 95 and Yale 229," 231.

²⁴⁵ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 86.

²⁴⁶ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 86.

²⁴⁷ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 80.

BnF fr. 95 and four times in Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 4).²⁴⁸ In one instance, Count Guy and William's arms can be found together, on fol. 260v of the Beinecke volume (Fig. 3). The arms of Count Guy's oldest son, Robert of Béthune (d.1322) are completely absent.²⁴⁹ Additionally, Moore Hunt noted two instances in the BnF volume, first in the lower margin of folio 149v where a "youthful bachelor" holds a shield with the *or three chevrons, sable* of Hainault and on folio 78r where two centaurs joust, one holding the shield of Flanders and the other the *sable, a lion rampant or* of Brabant (Fig. 5).²⁵⁰ Hainault was under the control of Guy of Dampierre's mother Margaret the Black, who will be discussed presently. Brabant was similarly connected to the Dampierre family through the 1273 marriage of Guy's daughter Margaret to Duke John I of Brabant.²⁵¹ Therefore, to understand the marginalia in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 and determine how specific motifs may affect an understanding of the story, it is useful to view these two volumes as made for a family rather than an individual. William of

²⁴⁸ Elizabeth Moore Hunt mentions four instances of Guy of Dampierre's arms in BnF fr. 95 but I only could confirm two of those. Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 80.

²⁴⁹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 89.

²⁵⁰ Moore Hunt noted, "Because of the sizes of these manuscripts, it is important to keep in mind two important aspects in considering a quire-based analysis [of the heraldry]. First, unlike the psalters that were decorated with marginalia for every psalm, the marginalia in the romances are spread out so that few motifs are used within a given quire consisting of eight folios. Second, only half of the quires in each volume contain bifolia with illustrations on both leaves of the spread...More often, heavily illuminated quires and their neighboring quires contain clusters of marginal motifs relating to one another as well as the principle imagery." She therefore expertly breaks down the heraldry codicologically and relates specific blazons to other marginal motifs that surround them. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is not necessary to repeat her work. Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 86-99, quote at 86-88.

²⁵¹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 99.

Thermonde, if he is the patron as Moore Hunt suggested, was clearly more interested in family affairs than the personal, as demonstrated by the heraldry. Moreover, the two volumes originally could have been commissioned by Guy or Margaret, but with the death of Margaret in 1280 and the multiple imprisonments of Guy in the 1290s by the French king, patronage perhaps shifted to the purview of William. Finally, the two artists who illuminated these volumes developed their marginal motifs over time in a number of manuscripts made for various members of the Dampierre family, as well as for religious houses between Théroutanne and St. Omer, located in territories controlled by the family.

Who, then, were the prominent artistic patrons of the Dampierre family in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and what were their artistic interests? As has been established, William of Thermonde's father, Count Guy of Dampierre, and his grandmother, Margaret the Black, both commissioned personal psalters illuminated by the artists of the "Dampierre Group." It is clear when looking at both of these manuscripts that an abundance of marginalia was highly desired. The Sotheby's description of Margaret's psalter from its 2010 sale lists seventy-one distinct marginal motifs within the manuscript, with even more not individually noted (Fig. 89). These motifs include several that can be found on the pages of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, including hybrid soldiers, women admiring themselves in handheld mirrors, kings and clergy, mermaids, disembodied heads, and hunts.²⁵² Moore Hunt in her analysis of the Dampierre psalter listed thirteen instances of heraldic arms, six mermaids, six apes, four foxes, and four devils. She went on to chart in her codicological analysis additional

²⁵² "The Psalter of Margaret 'the Black'," Accessed July 6th, 2019, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/the-psalter-of-margaret-the-black-countess-5334918-details.aspx>

marginalia that include motifs found in the Arthurian volumes, including a female dancer and bagpiper, a fool nesting eggs, naked jongleurs, and a woman attacking a fox with her distaff.²⁵³ Other than this one occurrence of the woman and the fox from the Dampierre psalter, there is no indication that other distaff attacks appear, and male-female interactions and violent battles in general seem to be significantly less prevalent in the psalter than in the Arthurian volumes. This may be due in part to the difference in size between the personal prayer books and the Arthurian romances, as well as how the borders are constructed; often not leaving room for more than a single figure and certainly not allowing for a profusion of multi-figure action scenes. Regardless, it is apparent that members of the Dampierre family were enthusiastic patrons of manuscripts of all types and wanted their books to contain marginalia, as was the fashion of the day.

3.3. Marginalia's Origins in Fabliaux and Other Secular Literature

The themes of the Arthurian romances, which reframed near-contemporary political and social situations and values within a fantasy past, were ripe for the commentary that marginalia provided. In order to understand the implications of violent battles, male-female interactions, and combinations thereof, the origins and influences of these motifs must first be determined. It is always difficult to establish the precise points of genesis for specific marginal motifs. Many derive from fables, as is the case with several illustrations of the Reynard tales found within Beinecke Ms. 229. Others are perhaps visualizations of *fabliaux*. The *fabliaux*, according to R. Howard Bloch, are the ancestors of the modern *drôle* type short story that live on in the comic tradition from

²⁵³ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 48-69.

Boccaccio to Rabelais. He felt they were part of the naturalistic sensualism of the High Middle Ages, and were a celebration of bodily appetites.²⁵⁴ The characters of the *fabliaux* were primarily Northern French and urban, and although we do not know the exact intended audience for such tales, they were likely recited aloud in fairs, markets, village squares, or even in castles or other large homes, which suggests a highly mixed audience.²⁵⁵ Intriguingly, stories that the *fabliaux* do not tell are those of the wealthy courtly families that populated secular epics such as the Arthurian romances.²⁵⁶ The inclusion of the *fabliau* style characters in the marginalia of Bnf fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 married these two different secular literary genres. It simultaneously demonstrated the courtly Dampierre family's interest in "low" culture or possibly even the two artists' desire to construct visualizations of these secular tales. This interest extended to other forms of secular literature as well, such as the *chansons de toile* from Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole* discussed in the first chapter.

Several scholars have made connections between the comedic thrust of marginal illuminations and that of the *fabliaux* and other forms of romance literature. Lucy Freeman Sandler has argued, "The vast pictorial real of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century marginal illustrations contain numerous visual images paralleling the low comedy spirit of the *fabliaux*."²⁵⁷ In her article, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," she noted the associations between a ribald betrothal image in the margins with the *fabliaux*'s treatment of marriage:

²⁵⁴ R. Howard Bloch, "Introduction" from Nathaniel E. Dublin, trans., *The Fabliaux: A New Verse Translation* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2013), xiii-xviii.

²⁵⁵ Bloch, "Introduction," xxi-xxii.

²⁵⁶ Bloch, "Introduction," xxiii.

²⁵⁷ Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," 34.

In fabliaux, courtship and marriage are a joke, a game, and the prize is the seduction of the woman, married or unmarried, the humiliation of an unwanted suitor, or the cuckolding of a husband. Yet these tales are not recounted in a spirit of moral or social criticism. They are good, bawdy fun, manifestations of low comedy, in the words of Joseph Bédier, ‘contes à rire en vers.’²⁵⁸

Michael Camille has further argued that such bawdy tales, and associated marginal art, are inscribed within the *status quo* and therefore prevented from becoming subversive.²⁵⁹

For Camille, marginalia are, “conscious usurpations, perhaps even political statements about diffusing the power of the text through its unravelling, rather than repressed meanings that suddenly flash back onto the surface of things.”²⁶⁰

Camille has further noted the irony that many medieval secular manuscripts often treated religious subjects with more deference than did liturgical books. Commenting on the *Queste del Saint Grail* section of Beinecke Ms. 229, Camille was struck by the artists’ apparent nervousness at associating religious moments with comic sexuality despite the fact that they were only too willing to make such associations during more secular moments of the story. Returning to the knight with an arrow piercing his anus from folio 220r discussed in the last chapter (Fig. 35) (Fig. 36), Camille equated the piercing arrow with love’s piercing look between the figures of Percival and the disinherited woman in the nearby miniature, creating an inverted metaphor of, “the look of love, the dart of the God of Love.”²⁶¹ Later in the *Queste*, when the text describes Galahad receiving a host from the figure of Christ described as having pierced arms and feet, these wounds are not shown, despite the miniature’s otherwise close adherence to the text (Fig. 90). Camille

²⁵⁸ Sandler, “A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter,” 34.

²⁵⁹ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 43.

²⁶⁰ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 42.

²⁶¹ Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 108.

questioned, “Was the illuminator worried about depicting such a sensuous, suffering Christ in a book celebrating the sensuousness of the adulterous courtly body?”²⁶² This nervousness to connect religious imagery in a romance manuscript with the bawdy and sexual stands in stark contrast to examples from contemporary religious manuscripts.

D. W. Robertson, Jr. in *A Preface to Chaucer*, investigated a series of French and Flemish psalters from the twelfth to early fourteenth centuries. The marginalia in these manuscripts were drawn from secular romance themes found in texts such as *Roman de la rose*, a book seen by Robertson as a precursor to the *Canterbury Tales*.²⁶³ For example, in a larger discussion of Chaucer’s *The Knights Tale*, Robertson argued for the close relationship between music and love. He stated that, “In theological terms the melodies of love are the “New Song” of St. Paul’s “New Man” and the “Old Song” of the “Old Man,” who represents the inherited evil habit of the flesh.”²⁶⁴ In the series of psalters and horae, Robertson noticed juxtapositions of these two types of song in the images. For example, in a twelfth-century psalter from Reims there appears an image of David surrounded by musicians, and below an image of a Devil plays the drums as figures dance around him (Fig. 91). In a Flemish horae and a psalter, both from ca. 1300, there are images of a man playing bells (Fig. 92) (Fig. 93). In the psalter’s margins this bellman is accompanied by

²⁶² Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 108.

²⁶³ D. W. Robertson, Jr., *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1962). The manuscripts that Robertson included in the following discussion are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 6 (Flemish, ca. 1300); Cambridge, St. John’s College, Ms. B 18 (Reims, 12th cen.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 5 (Flemish, ca. 1300); the “Ormesby Psalter,” Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 266 (14th cen.), and two Horae, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 62 (French, 14th cen.), and London, British Museum, Ms. Stowe 17 (Flemish ca. 1300).

²⁶⁴ Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer*, 127. Here Robertson is referencing St. Augustine’s sermon *De cantico novo* where the “New Song” is charity and the “Old Song” is cupidity.

a singing bird, and in the margins of the horae a bagpipe man plays to a female grotesque.²⁶⁵ Robertson noted particularly the allusions a bagpipe makes to the “instrument” used by male lovers.²⁶⁶ Robertson believed that in order to understand marginal art of this kind, “we should abandon the gloomy nineteenth-century attitude that forthright humor and philosophical depth are incompatible.”²⁶⁷ The BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes contain marginal illustrations that are strikingly similar to those described by Robertson and Sandler. There appear both courtly couples and musicians with a variety of instruments, including bagpipers.²⁶⁸ As both Sandler and Robertson understood, marginal illustrations could be simultaneously humorous and substantive, and could hold rich meanings without being reduced to simple moralizations. In the following chapter a series of marginal illustrations within the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes are investigated with this in mind.

3.4. Political Influences on the Marginalia of the BnF Fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229

Volumes

In addition to fables, *fabliaux*, and other secular literature, the historical moment is often regarded as a factor in shaping marginal motifs.²⁶⁹ Stones and Moore Hunt have discussed these romances in the context of the Dampierre family and late thirteenth-century Flanders, especially regarding heraldry in the margins. Their work is crucial to

²⁶⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 6, fol. 1 and London, British Museum, Ms. Stowe 17, fol. 68 respectively.

²⁶⁶ Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer*, 128.

²⁶⁷ Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer*, 129.

²⁶⁸ Bagpipers can be found on folios 1r, 64v, 237r, 261r, 262r, 270v, 272v, 295v, 324v, and 330v of BnF fr. 95 and folios 14r, 25r, 75r, 126r, 180r, 202v, 277r, and 308r of Beinecke Ms. 229.

²⁶⁹ Sandler, “Study of Marginal Imagery,” 84.

understanding the marginalia's place within the context of the larger folios and quires. Expanding upon this work, there were a number of political events and social changes during the decade and a half in which Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 were likely produced that are important to understanding the program of marginal imagery, and that have not been discussed in detail. Political conflicts set in motion by the Countess Margaret and her son Guy were possible factors in the proliferation of violent battle motifs in the margins. Moreover, the seventy-year tenure of Margaret and her sister Jeanne's control of Flanders has interesting implications for the inclusion of motifs depicting male-female interactions. Finally, economic and social changes centering on the wool and textile trade in Flanders manifested in marginal images of spinning women and the female distaff jousters.

Margaret the Black (known also as Marguerite, Margaret of Constantinople, or Margaret II, Countess of Flanders) and her psalter provide intriguing evidence concerning the status of ruling women in thirteenth-century Flanders. Margaret was born in 1202, became Countess of Flanders in 1244, and ruled until 1278, when she abdicated control in favor of her son Guy.²⁷⁰ She gained Flanders through a somewhat complex series of familial relationships. In fact there was a long tradition of Flanders being ruled by women, especially in the twelfth century, and the country passed through the female line just as often as it did the male.²⁷¹ Margaret and her older sister Jeanne (b. 1199/1200) were the daughters of Marie of Champagne (c. 1174-1204) and Count Baldwin IX of

²⁷⁰ Karen S. Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 133-134.

²⁷¹ Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," 111.

Flanders (b. 1172), who at his death in 1205 was the emperor in Constantinople, the first Latin emperor after the conquest of 1204 during the Fourth Crusade. As Baldwin and Marie had no living son, Flanders passed first to Jeanne, who was then a child. The French King Philip II Augustus (c. 1165-1223) initially controlled her territories in Flanders; later Jeanne's husband Ferdinand, the third son of the king of Portugal, took over. Ferdinand was soon punished by King Philip for not acting as the loyal puppet count he was expected to be, and in 1214 he was captured at the Battle of Bouvines and imprisoned for thirteen years in France.²⁷² It was at this point that Jeanne gained true autonomy, forging alliances with the prosperous towns such as Ghent, Bruges, Courtrai, and Ypres. These relationships she fostered helped to encourage the cloth trade in Flanders and allowed Flanders to become increasingly financially independent from France. Despite the political problems of the early years of Jeanne's reign as countess, overall her rule has been described as peaceful and prosperous until her death in 1244.²⁷³ Having no children, she was succeeded by her sister Margaret in that year.

This peace stands in stark contrast to the issues faced by Margaret and her son Guy, who began co-rule with his mother in 1251 and died in prison in 1305. These issues included battles to establish succession, economic woes, a trade war with England, and finally rising tensions between Flanders and France. The manuscripts of the "Dampierre Group," including the Psalters of Guy and Margaret as well as Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95, were all created between ca. 1265-1300, during this period of instability in Flanders. It is reasonable to consider the possibility that the inclusion of the marginal

²⁷² Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," 128-130.

²⁷³ Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," 130-132.

motifs in these volumes responded to and were informed by these socio-political events. The Dampierre family, who acted as patrons, and the artists, who may be assumed to have been Flemish locals based on their significant body of work originating in Flanders, even if their exact place of work remains uncertain, were immersed in these conflicts. By focusing in on specific groups of marginal motifs within the manuscripts this connection with the contemporary context becomes clear.

The margins of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes teem with images of violence, especially violence between men and creatures. This space operates as a field for the expression of “us against them” or even perhaps “order versus chaos.” Several of these battling figures also carry shields displaying heraldry. It was Moore Hunt’s assertion that these blazons were placed alongside specific episodes of the Arthurian romances in order to comment upon appropriate comital behaviors. She additionally stressed that the proliferation of shields of Flanders was due to contemporary points of contention about which families had true claim to specific regions.²⁷⁴ In addition to the use of heraldry, the sheer number of violent battles included in the margins and the form of their construction may have been informed by the political conflicts that raged throughout both Margaret’s and Guy’s reigns. The most significant of these were the issues of succession between Margaret’s children from her first and second marriages, and escalating tensions between France and Flanders around the turn of the fourteenth century.

²⁷⁴ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 97.

In 1212 when Margaret was ten years old the then thirty-year-old Bouchard of Avesnes (c. 1182-1244) “convinced” her to marry him. This marriage enraged her sister Jeanne, who successfully fought to annul the union and excommunicate Bouchard.²⁷⁵ Margaret had two sons with Bouchard, John and Baldwin born in 1218 and 1219 respectively, as well as a third, born first, who died in infancy. In 1219 when Jeanne finally captured Bouchard and forced the two to separate, Margaret consented to the annulment in 1221 and subsequently married William of Dampierre (c. 1196-1231) in 1223.²⁷⁶ After Margaret inherited Flanders and Hainault from Jeanne, the sons from both her marriages claimed hereditary rights. In 1246 King Louis IX ruled that Flanders would go to the Dampierre sons and Hainault to the Avesnes sons.²⁷⁷ Both families disputed the ruling.²⁷⁸ David Nicholas in his study of medieval Flanders attributed the subsequent succession wars to Margaret’s incompetence as a ruler.²⁷⁹ While Margaret may have made mistakes in some of her other dealings, Karen Nicholas suggested that as a ten-year-old girl, her naiveté was likely taken advantage of by her first husband. Furthermore, she could not have foreseen that her sister would pass away with no surviving offspring, leaving her control of Hainault and Flanders.²⁸⁰ In a footnote Karen Nicholas additionally argued that for the past century Belgian historians have followed the model of Charles Duvivier (author of *La querelle des d’Avenes et des Dampierre jusqu’à la mort de Jean*

²⁷⁵ Karen Nicholas stated that Margaret married Bouchard in 1223. She in fact married him in 1212 and married her second husband William of Dampierre in 1223. Nicholas, “Countesses as Rulers in Flanders,” 134.

²⁷⁶ David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 157.

²⁷⁷ Nicholas, “Countesses as Rulers in Flanders,” 134.

²⁷⁸ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 157.

²⁷⁹ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 156.

²⁸⁰ Nicholas, “Countesses as Rulers in Flanders,” 134.

d'Avesnes (1257), published in 1894). Duvivier blamed Jeanne for the loss of Flemish lands to King Philip of France, which happened when she was an infant, and for her vindictiveness against Bouchard. In contrast Nicholas suggested that Jeanne's anger was justified, given that Bouchard had essentially abducted her ten-year-old sister.²⁸¹ Nicholas further stated that David Nicholas had "uncritically echoed" the prejudices of Low Country clerics and barons commenting on the actions of Jeanne and Margaret.²⁸² Moore Hunt proposed that the inclusion of Hainault heraldry might suggest a pre-1280 commission date for Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95, as Margaret's death in that year resulted in the Dampierre family's loss of control of that county.²⁸³ It is also possible that even if the volumes were commissioned after 1280, the Dampierre family was making a statement about a territory they felt was rightfully theirs, namely Hainault.

The next issue to plague Margaret and Guy was a trade crisis with England that damaged the Flemish economy and directly affected the textile industry. Flemings bought wool from England, using it to produce various textiles that they would then export, along with French goods from fairs in Champagne.²⁸⁴ Any disruption of this trade fell upon the growing textile industries of Flanders' urban centers such as Bruges, Tournai, Courtrai (Kortrijk), Ghent, as well as Namur (of which Guy was Marquis) and Liège.²⁸⁵

²⁸¹ Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," 224. Referencing Charles Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre jusqu'à la mort de Jean d'Avesnes (1257)* (Brussels, 1894).

²⁸² Nicholas, "Countesses as Rulers in Flanders," 135-136.

²⁸³ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 100.

²⁸⁴ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, pp. 176-177.

²⁸⁵ Randall Fegley, *The Golden Spurs of Kortrijk: How the Knights of France Fell to the Foot Soldiers of Flanders in 1302* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1955, 2002), 17.

Ypres too suffered, as it was the most purely textile-based industrial economy.²⁸⁶ David Nicholas contended, “In 1270 Countess Margaret precipitated a rupture by confiscating English property in Flanders, allegedly to retaliate for non-payment of her money fief. By the time the crisis had ended four years later, Flemish merchants were largely excluded from overseas shipping in England and had been replaced by other suppliers.”²⁸⁷ Another contributing factor was England’s new adherence to twenty-year-old laws requiring all textiles sold at English fairs to follow specific dimensions or be confiscated. The Flemish producers ignored this rule because size variations were how they distinguished their textiles regionally. When merchants reported that their textile were being seized, Margaret retaliated.²⁸⁸

Thus far a discussion of the textile trade in Flanders and its complications has been restricted to its effects on the upper classes, i.e. the counts and countesses and the urban elite. Understanding the effect trade conflicts had on the lower classes, such as drapers (cloth sellers), weavers, fullers (cleansers and thickeners of cloth), and shearers, is more complicated. In December of 1278 Margaret abdicated in favor of Guy and by 1280 he faced major internal rebellions in a number of large cities as well as numerous smaller towns in Germanic Flanders, several of which centered on the textile industry. These larger rebellions included an incident in Tournai where fullers “hindered and disturbed” trade and later weavers from the same city sparked unrest. In Bruges and Ghent the wealthy elite pressed for rebellions against Count Guy, largely in response to issues following the English trade embargo, but in Ypres the situation instead pitted the

²⁸⁶ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 183.

²⁸⁷ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 177.

²⁸⁸ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 177.

local artisan class against the city's rulers and textile magnates.²⁸⁹ This conflict was called by the local Yprois the "Cokerulle," a name with uncertain origins but thought to be a cry the rebels shouted as they ran through the streets.²⁹⁰ It was precipitated by harmful regulations enacted by the city's aldermen that affected the weavers, shearers, fullers, but most especially the drapers, small operators who bought and sold from individual cloth makers but were not part of the city's merchant oligarchy.²⁹¹ A few citizens of Ypres roused the nearby town of Poperinge, which was almost entirely populated by textile artisans who worked for employers in Ypres. They marched on the city and roused the suburbs, killing a few former aldermen, but the uprising only lasted one month, and they never entered the city center. Count Guy's response was rather moderate and by 1294 guildsmen became aldermen of Ypres for the first time.²⁹²

During the last quarter of the thirteenth century members of the textile industry, from the middle and lower-class artisans to the wealthy merchants, became synonymous with dissatisfaction and rebellion. Interestingly, although there are numerous depictions of men locked in violent battles and fights in the margins of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229, none of them are identifiable as textile workers. The one possible exception can be found on folio 282v of Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 94). In the upper margin appears a knight riding on the back of a cock. The knight holds the cock tightly by the neck with his left hand and waves a flail above his head with his right, strongly recalling the Mounted

²⁸⁹ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 181.

²⁹⁰ Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, "Takehan, Cokerulle, and Mutemaque: Naming Collective Action in the Later Medieval Low Countries," in *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, eds. Justine Firnhaber-Baker and Dirk Schoenaers (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), 39.

²⁹¹ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 183.

²⁹² Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 184.

Aristotle motif. To the far right a disembodied head rests on the border, wearing a conical hat stereotypically associated in this period with Judaism. Lynn Ramey suggested that this knight and cock were either a reference to the French king Philip the Fair (ca. 1285-1314), notorious for the persecution of Jews, or alternatively Guy of Dampierre and the Cokerulle.²⁹³ If the motif is a representation of Philip the Fair then it suggests a post-1285 production of the manuscript, after Philip became king. Yet Philip did not expel the Jews from France until 1306, after even the latest date of completion proposed for Beinecke Ms. 229. Instead, I would suggest that the head of the Jew is far enough removed from the knight and cock that they are perhaps two separate motifs. Moreover, the knight's choke-hold on the cock's neck suggests that it is meant to depict the cock's subjugation by the knight instead of the action of spurring it on. This indicates that the correct interpretation of the motif is not a symbol of Philip the Fair's Christianity but instead Count Guy's successful control over the unruly Cokerulle rebellion.

Nonetheless, BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 do not definitively depict any male textile workers. It is instead women who appear with distaffs, marking their occupation. Based solely on their comportment and dress it is difficult to discern if these women are elite or working-class examples of spinners. The woman on folio 141r of BnF fr. 95, with her elaborate hairnet and dress with hints of a brocade at the waist, suggests a member of the courtly class, or a member of the wealthy urban elite (Fig. 74). The status of the two women wielding their distaffs on horseback from folios 329r of Beinecke Ms. 229 and 226r BnF fr 95, is less clear (Fig. 86) (Fig. 83). On folio 329r the woman wears a hairnet

²⁹³ If this image is of Philip the Fair then the cock would symbolize Christianity. Ramey, "Images of Rebellion," 10.

and veil that are blown backwards, and on folio 226r the woman has a knotted hennin that covers her hair and neck. The first woman is plainly dressed and her horse sports only a saddle, whereas the second woman rides a horse caparisoned in gold. Additionally, the second woman's headwear is identical to the woman attacking the fox on folio 199r of Beinecke Ms. 229, who is depicted barefoot. It is also similar to that worn by a female figure in the margin of another Arthurian romance manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 5218, produced in Tournai in 1351.²⁹⁴ Although this manuscript was produced fifty to seventy years later, the female figure found in the lower margin of folio 20r of this manuscript is also depicted with a hood or hennin that wraps around her head and neck (Fig. 95).²⁹⁵ The woman sits barefoot on the back of a donkey. She has a distaff with an attached spindle tucked into a belt around her waist and carries a large sack over her shoulder. Could this woman be representative of the working class, carrying her products to town or market? And does this suggest that one or both of the distaff jousts of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 are also representative of working-class artisans, middle to upper class urban members of the textile industry, or are at least displaying some of the trappings associated with these groups? Moore Hunt suggested that the different headdresses of the women "reflect attention to fashions of the court,"²⁹⁶ which could indicate that they are nobility, or that they represent wealthy urban elites that were also interested in the fashions of the time. These women carry tools of the textile trade.

²⁹⁴ "Gallica catalogue," Accessed April 16th, 2019, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7100017d/f43.item>.

²⁹⁵ This knotted hennin that covers the head and neck is worn by all the spinning women from the early fourteenth-century manuscripts that will be discussed in chapter five.

²⁹⁶ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 98.

Before a discussion of their status and significance, it is crucial to investigate what role women may have had within this industry.

3.5. Women's Role Within the Franco-Flemish Textile Industry

Uncovering the lives of the urban working classes is difficult, especially when one attempts to investigate the lives of the women who work in these professions. The most comprehensive document from the thirteenth-century that sheds light on the status of women as workers is Etienne Boileau's *Livre des Métiers*. By the request of Saint Louis (c. 1214-1270), or Louis IX of France, possibly between ca. 1260 and 1270,²⁹⁷ Boileau as the *Garde de la Prévôté de Paris* gathered together information concerning the organization and traditions of approximately one hundred trades performed in the city of Paris.²⁹⁸ E. Dixon in her article "Craftswomen in the Livre Des Métiers," published in 1895 for *The Economic Journal*, identified those crafts that women both participated in and played an integral role in developing. Women were major contributors to the fields of flax-dressing, silk-handkerchief weaving, and worked as seamstresses, hose-makers, ribbon-makers, and silk-spinners using both large and small spindles. There are several other businesses in which women participated, but primarily in the capacity of wife, widow, or mother of the male proprietors.²⁹⁹ Dixon's interest was in the economic power of these women and she posed to her readers this query: "What is the reason behind the

²⁹⁷ E. Dixon's suggested a date in the 1270s but given Louis IX's death in 1270 it is more likely that the *Livre des Métiers* was commissioned earlier. Sharon Farmer placed the date between 1261 and 1271. Sharon Farmer, "'It Is Not Good That [Wo]man Should Be Alone': Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris," in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800*, eds. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 1999), 83.

²⁹⁸ E. Dixon, "Craftswomen in the Livre Des Métiers," *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 18 (June 1895), 209.

²⁹⁹ E. Dixon, "Craftswomen in the Livre Des Métiers," 218-222.

undoubted fact that there is no trace in the *Livre des Métiers* of the modern view that good industrial training and anything above a bare subsistence wage are unnecessary and superfluous for working women, because their labour is ‘merely a bye-product before marriage’?”³⁰⁰ Dixon’s analysis of the *Livre* served to strengthen her argument for the equal training opportunities and wages for Victorian women, but she was correct in noting that thirteenth-century Parisian women, particularly in textile-related fields, had the ability to form and grow businesses, sometimes independently from men.

Several more recent studies of late medieval working women are of interest, although most utilize primary source material later in date, from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith M. Bennett made a study of late fourteenth to early sixteenth century London silk-women to demonstrate the unfair gender bias of the late medieval guild structure.³⁰¹ These female throwsters (profession that twists silk fibers into thread), weavers, and handworkers served in long apprenticeships and took on lucrative contracts beyond that of a simple cottage industry. However, they were not allowed to be part of the London guild structure, although they did seek and were granted trade protection six times between 1368 and 1504 through petitions presented either to Parliament or the mayor of London.³⁰² Martha C. Howell’s study *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*, discussed female workers in Leiden. Referencing a 1498 tax roll, a 1540 survey, and the *Corrextieboeken* from the years 1435-1541, Howell concluded that ninety-five to ninety-six percent of

³⁰⁰ E. Dixon, “Craftswomen in the Livre Des Métiers,” 227.

³⁰¹ Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith M. Bennett, “Crafts, Guilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale,” *Signs* 14, no. 2, (Winter 1989), 474-501.

³⁰² Maryanne Kowaleski and Judith M. Bennett, “Crafts, Guilds, and Women in the Middle Ages,” 480-481.

women reported in the surveys (which did give preference to regulated industries and therefore primarily represented high-status jobs) worked in some sort of wage labor.³⁰³ Sixty-three percent of those urban women and sixty-eight percent of suburban women performed work in the textile industry including weaving, dying, and selling wool cloth.³⁰⁴

These examples are taken from several hundred years later than the production of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95, but they seem to tell a story consistent with the near contemporary *Livre des Métiers*, namely that women participated in large numbers in the textile trade. It is possible, therefore, that the profusion of marginal motifs of women spinning in the BnFfr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes were responding to women's participation in the industry. Moreover, these motifs may have operated as a form of commentary on women's labor and agency in the workforce.

Some evidence that such work was valued in late thirteenth-century French Flanders can be seen in the September 30, 1280 regulation, issued from Paris by Guy of Dampierre in response to uprisings in Ypres, stating that, among other things, if a draper married a woman from another trade, both were allowed to keep their respective professions.³⁰⁵ Such examples of women actively contributing to the production of textiles raises questions as to the status and power of such women in society. Sharon Farmer in her essay "Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris" reinforced her belief that, although definitive evidence is lacking, there was a substantial

³⁰³ Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 77-83.

³⁰⁴ Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*, 83.

³⁰⁵ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 183.

population of single women in late thirteenth-and early fourteenth-century Parisian society, women who never married and were not part of any formal religious life. She noted that in the *Livre des Métiers* women listed as part of the embroiderers' guild are identified by their father's names and occupations, suggesting their single status.³⁰⁶ Whether these women were single because they were young and soon to be married, or because participation in the textile industry allowed them to remain independent, is less clear. In general, the largest population of single women were domestic servants working in wealthy households, and it is often suggested that such women were young and soon to be married. Farmer complicated this narrative by referencing a sermon given by Dominican Master General Humber of Romans (d. 1277) complaining about women who chose to spend their lives serving the rich instead of managing their own households.³⁰⁷ Farmer argued that because such clerics defined women either by their sexuality (i.e. prostitutes) or through their relationship to a male-controlled household, they ignored the large body of single women who worked in other professions. As a result, concrete evidence for their existence is difficult to discover.³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, she demonstrated the possibility that women were able to have independent careers in late thirteenth-century Paris, even if those careers were a stepping-stone to marriage.

The idea of women doing their own work and contributing to society's labor and economy, even as part of a marital union, was thought by some contemporaries to be incompatible with their interpretations of Genesis. Thomas Aquinas, referencing Augustine, wrote, "It was necessary for women to be made, as scripture says, as a helper

³⁰⁶ Farmer, "Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris," 82-83.

³⁰⁷ Farmer, "Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris," 84.

³⁰⁸ Farmer, "Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris," 91.

to man not, indeed, as a helpmate in other works, as some say, since man can be more efficiently helped by another man in other works; but as a helper in the work of generation.”³⁰⁹ Yet, if childbearing as the sole form of female marital assistance was the ideal, it certainly was not the reality. As discussed previously, even the original couple, Adam and Eve, are consistently depicted as working together in life’s labors. To give some further Franco-Flemish examples, in an image from the prefatory cycle for a Psalter produced in the Abbey of Saint Bertin, Saint-Omer (c.1200), Eve is depicted seated and spinning with a spindle and distaff next to a delving Adam (Fig. 96).³¹⁰ In a Psalter produced in Utrecht (c. 1290) Adam and Eve are again found, this time in a historiated initial accompanying Psalm 80 (Fig. 97).³¹¹ Eve sits on a bench spinning with a spindle and distaff as Adam holds an axe.

One could argue that while these depictions of Eve indicate a wife’s duty to be productive for the benefit of her family, they do not specifically sanction textile work as an appropriate female profession in the contemporary social context. Yet, the realities of a growing urban middle class and market economy meant that for women to be productive members of their own families, they may in fact have needed to contribute in a financially significant way. In analyzing a 1498 tax roll in Leiden, Martha Howell argued that the following generalizations about the urban and suburban female working population could be made: the majority (as much as 90 percent in the suburbs) of high-status working women were married or widowed, and their professions were part of the family business. Single-women, on the other hand, predominately participated in lower

³⁰⁹ Farmer, “Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris,” 86.

³¹⁰ The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands, 76 F 5, fol. 2v.

³¹¹ New York, Morgan Library, M. 34, fol. 133r

status jobs. Fifty percent of them could be classified as “poor” and only ten percent of them were “rich.”³¹² Howell proposed that the correlation between labor status and marital status existed because women helped their husband with work, continued that work with their children after their husbands died, and could even use marriage as an avenue for amassing capital to start their own businesses. Moreover, she stated, “Labor status and marital status were statistically associated with each other, not because there was a direct causal relationship between them, but because women with a trade or with money, talent, ambition, health, or intelligence needed to acquire a trade would also have made the most attractive marriage partners.”³¹³ The growth of the Franco-Flemish economy, with the textile trade at its center, beginning in the late thirteenth century and continuing into the fifteenth, created a market for skilled wives as visualized by a spinning Eve, despite protests that may have occurred on a theological level.

3.6. Conclusions

As the middle and upper class, urban women were gaining status within their marriages and larger society through skilled work, often related to the textile industry, examples of elite females gaining power through the acts of spinning, sewing, weaving, and embroidering can be found as well. The best example of this growing power can be found in the *chansons de toile*, as discussed in the previous chapter, where courtly women used the activity of producing textiles as a space for contemplating or arguing for their preferred versions of love. The distaff-jousting women found in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 were created at a moment of confluence between the growing classes

³¹² Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*, 85-86.

³¹³ Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities*, 86.

of female textile workers, examples of married women, such as Eve, being depicted as a participant in her family's material productivity, and the inclusion of several of the *chansons* in Jean Renart's *Guillaume de Dole*, all for patrons who were the direct descendants of two female countesses. Philippe Verdier felt that these female belligerents were married women hen-pecking their husbands or subordinates and expressly stated, "Such tilting females, coming from the aristocracy or from lower classes, represent argumentative women and, more particularly, married ladies (*baillistres*), dowager duchesses or countesses, who, replacing absent or incapacitated husbands, fought more fiercely against their vassals than did the liege lords."³¹⁴

Moore Hunt rejected this analysis on the basis that a family such as the Dampierres, including powerful female leaders, would not sanction misogynistic depictions of themselves in manuscripts commissioned by and for their family.³¹⁵ Moore Hunt went on to state the following:

the humorous parody of the nobility in three margins of the manuscripts points to the abundant relationships between men and women in the romance, especially in the marginalia. If this romance was shared in a social setting among audience members of different ages and sexes, then the elaboration of the marginal motifs with women plays an active role in the shaping of the romance's reception.³¹⁶

³¹⁴ Philippe Verdier, "Woman in the Marginalia of Gothic Manuscripts," *Role of Woman in the Middle Ages: Papers of the sixth annual conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies State University of New York at Binghamton 6-7 May 1972*, Rosmarie Thee Morewedge, ed. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1975), 136.

³¹⁵ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 98.

³¹⁶ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 99.

I agree with Moore Hunt that the artists of Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95 were unlikely to construct overtly misogynistic representations of women such as Jeanne and Margaret of Flanders, the foremothers of their own patrons. I also agree that these motifs are nuanced enough to support a variety of interpretations that changed based on viewer and context. Yet, Verdier's analysis of the "tilting females" deserves further critique. Other possible interpretations of these distaff jousts must be investigated, considering the context of the motif as it appears on the page with the primary image cycle and text of the Vulgate Arthur, as well as within the significant marginal group running through both manuscripts.

Chapter 4

THE MALE-FEMALE DISTAFF JOUSTS AS CASE STUDIES

It is crucial at this point to look at three case studies where the male-female distaff joust has been employed by the artists to shape the reader/viewer's understanding of the Arthurian tales they border. While these motifs are certainly not the only marginal images to comment on the text of the Vulgate Arthur or to otherwise engage with the larger page which they adorn, the distaff jousts represent compelling case studies for several key reasons. First, the distaff jousts comprise visual elements from each category of the major marginal groups previously established. They are violent battles that include figures charging towards and attacking one another. The jousts include male-female pairs that allude to the many betrothal scenes throughout the margins. They are likely mocking the figures of the knights and emasculating them with the implication of imminent penetration. And, the inclusion of distaffs as weapons reference the many examples of spinning women in the margins who are engaged in active work. In addition, the male-female distaff jousts are often connected visually to the primary image cycle through the inclusion of pointing gestures or by being physically linked by the means of the border decoration. Finally, each joust occurs at a pivotal moment in the Arthurian Vulgate cycle, and their inclusion affects the interpretation of either the proceeding or subsequent narrative. By focusing on these three jousts, the narrative moments they accompany, and the related motifs from the major marginal group found on the surrounding folios, the

reader/viewer is able to follow a guided, directed pathway through the text of the Vulgate Arthur.

Each of these three distaff jousts are at their core images of violence. All three depict mounted jousts at the moment just before impact and the imminent penetration of the male figure by the female. The margins of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes are rife with multiple variations of similar violent battles. These include the many men and knights fighting or jousting with one another or with wild men, centaurs, and other hybrid creatures, fights which often resulted in the real or implied penetration of the man. Additionally, there are several examples of male-female paired couples that depict violence with the woman as the aggressor. These motifs, combined with those of nudity and the empowered, perhaps even rebellious, spinning women, constitute the major marginal group. It is therefore arguable that sex, sexuality, and issues of gender, combined with violence, are the *raisons d'être* for the marginalia in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. I have chosen to define these marginal motifs, of which the male-female distaff jousts are the apogee, as “sexual warfare.” While they are simultaneously violent and sexual scenes, the term “sexual violence” has disparate associations and is traditionally gendered with women on the receiving end. Furthermore, as each individual motif can be understood as a battle, together they constitute warfare. The questions then remain: how and why were “sexual warfare” motifs employed in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes?

4.1. The Function(s) of Marginalia in The Arthurian Vulgate Cycle

The function of the distaff jousts in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes is multifold, but most critically they operate as memory triggers and thematic anchors for

the reader/viewers as they move through the sprawling and complex text of the Vulgate Arthur. There is no definitive author or date of completion for the Vulgate Arthurian cycle. In fact, the books of the Vulgate cycle were written at different times and by different authors, and all compiled from a number of earlier Arthurian stories such as those by Chretien de Troye and Wace's *Roman de Brut*.³¹⁷ According to Richard Thachsler, the authors of the cycle worked by, "evaluating the multiple sources available, identifying the most trustworthy accounts, and putting them all together, so as to create a new piece of work that is coherent, convincing and pleasing" – a method similar, in his view, to writers of medieval histories.³¹⁸ Thachsler believed the many ever changing points of view throughout the cycle gave it the impression of a compilation of testimonies from the various knights of the Round Table. For him, the major distinction between the cycle and historical works was the inclusion of the *Queste del saint Graal*, which transformed the story from a register of events into an eschatological construction with a precise goal.³¹⁹

Yet not all scholars agree on the "core" text of the Vulgate cycle, or even which version came first. The general consensus is that the *Estoire del saint Graal* and the *Merlin* were written last in order to set up the background for the subsequent stories, as Elspeth Kennedy argued in *A Companion to the "Lancelot-Grail" Cycle*.³²⁰ In contrast, Carol J. Chase in the same edited volume suggested that the *Estoire del saint Graal*, as

³¹⁷ Richard Thachsler, "A Question of Time: Romance and History," in *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, ed. Carol Dover (Suffolk, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 25-26.

³¹⁸ Thachsler, "A Question of Time: Romance and History," 25.

³¹⁹ Thachsler, "A Question of Time: Romance and History," 26-28.

³²⁰ Elspeth Kennedy, "The Making of the Lancelot-Grail Cycle," in *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, ed. Carol Dover (Suffolk, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 13.

the twin to the *Queste del saint Graal*, could possibly have been written before its counterpart.³²¹ The *Merlin* as it appears in BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 is actually two separate texts, the first a prose version of *Roman de Merlin* and then the *Suite Vulgate du Merlin*, which was added in order to bridge the gap between the events at the end of *Merlin* and the start of *Lancelot*.³²² Fanni Bogdanow stated that the *Lancelot* was, “no doubt written first,” and that the *Queste del saint Graal* and *La Mort de Roi Artu* followed closely behind.³²³ But Kennedy asserted that links running from the *Lancelot* through the *Queste* and *Mort Artu* indicate that a single author wrote all three. Nonetheless, versions of the *Lancelot*, *Queste*, and *Mort Artu* were written and rewritten frequently throughout the thirteenth century.³²⁴ As scribes attempted to, according to Kennedy, “smooth away inconsistencies,” they invariably created new ones. Despite this fact, Kennedy argued, “the strength of this fascinating work lies in the tension between literary forms (in particular, between the allegorical and the non-allegorical), between different levels of truth, and between various voices of authority, a tension built into the very structure of the work.”³²⁵

How, then, did the contemporary readers and viewers of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes comprehend the books before them? And what kept them

³²¹ Carol J. Chase, “The Gateway to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle: *L’Estoire del Saint Graal*,” in *A Companion to the Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, ed. Carol Dover (Suffolk, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 66.

³²² Annie Combs, Carol Dover, trans., “The *Merlin* and its Suite,” in *A Companion to the “Lancelot-Grail” Cycle*, ed. Carol Dover (Suffolk, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 77.

³²³ Fanni Bogdanow, “The Vulgate Cycle and the Post-Vulgate *Roman du Graal*,” in *A Companion to the “Lancelot-Grail” Cycle*, ed. Carol Dover (Suffolk, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 34.

³²⁴ Kennedy, “The Making of the Lancelot-Grail Cycle,” 13-16.

³²⁵ Kennedy, “The Making of the Lancelot-Grail Cycle,” 22.

interested through hundreds of pages of text that E. Jane Burns insisted (quoting the seventeenth-century poet Chapelain), “rambles, gives you a headache, and puts you to sleep”?³²⁶ Carol Dover offered some answers to these questions in her essay regarding the book of *Lancelot*, by far the longest and most convoluted of these long and convoluted stories. She cited the assertion by Eugène Vinaver (c. 1899-1979), founder of the Oxford Arthurian Society, that the author of the text of *Lancelot* first assumed the readers had a good memory and found the exercising of that memory to be a “pleasurable pursuit which carries with it its own reward.”³²⁷ Dover suggested that the *Lancelot* stories would be read over and over again, likely out-loud and in a group setting, which hopefully would have counteracted the repetitive and boring aspects. The tradition of oral performance has long been paired with repetitive language, extending as far back as the Homer tradition. Dover additionally asserted that the *Lancelot* contains a string of memory hooks, or “landmark images” that the audience could use to grasp distant points in the narrative and interrelate them.³²⁸ Dover’s “landmark images” were moments in the text, not artistic depictions themselves. Yet, by illustrating the manuscripts, these already-existing trigger points in the text would have been augmented and expanded upon, and their force in guiding interpretation and response increased.

Mary Carruthers made a case for the use of marginal motifs as memory aids in the medieval period in *The Book of Memory*. She made two key assertions that are of

³²⁶ E. Jane Burns, “Introduction,” *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, ed. Norris J. Lacy, Volume I (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993), XV. Chapelain also refers to the Vulgate Arthur as a “dungheap” where one might find a few diamonds. XVII.

³²⁷ Carol Dover, “The Book of *Lancelot*,” in *A Companion to the “Lancelot-Grail” Cycle*, ed. Carol Dover (Suffolk, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 90-91.

³²⁸ Dover, “The Book of *Lancelot*,” 91-92.

importance to this discussion; first that medieval readers actively engaged in both audible and silent reading (counteracting the belief that reading out-loud fell out of practice after the ancient period), and that marginalia were often employed for mnemonic purposes.³²⁹ According to Carruthers, reading out-loud was, “first a sensory activity when the senses and emotions are engaged, when imagination forms its images and cogitation responds affectively to them, memory and recollection can occur. And *only* when memory is active does reading become an ethical and properly intellectual activity.”³³⁰ The importance of this dual engagement was described by Richard de Fournival, canon of Amiens cathedral circa 1240, in his work *Li bestiaire d’amours*. In the preface he explained the importance of building upon knowledge gleaned from those scholars who came before: “To gain such knowledge, God has given the human soul the ability of memory. Memory has two gates of access, sight and hearing, and a road particular to each of these portals. These roads are called *painture* and *parole*.”³³¹ Carruthers argued that *painture* includes not only images accompanying a text but also the written words of the text itself, as well as mental images that appear in a listener’s mind.³³² All of these elements were a crucial part of the medieval process of absorbing a text and would have occurred simultaneously while readers contended with the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes.

The large size of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes suggests a communal reading experience with the viewers actively engaged in both auditory and mental processes. Joyce Coleman has extensively studied auralness, or a public and oral

³²⁹ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 212, 309-310.

³³⁰ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 231.

³³¹ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 277.

³³² Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 277-278

performance with a dependence on a written text – i.e. reading aloud, in fourteenth-century England and France.³³³ While her research focused on the century after the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes' production, Coleman referenced a type of public reading in a courtly context that was likely in practice during the thirteenth century as well. Aural reading, according to Coleman, was predicated on the audience's awareness of the chosen book independent of its public recitation. It did not preclude, and in fact assumed, that this audience had access to the book for moments of private reading as well.³³⁴ Through the addition of public recitations, court audiences were able to engage in a social event that had the ability to unite them.³³⁵ Moreover, such performances were useful to individuals such as kings and counts for their propagandistic potential.³³⁶

In her analysis of late medieval French reading practices specifically, Coleman cited two purposes for the public reading of romance literature. These included reading small sections of the romance between friends or in social groups as a form of nightly entertainment, or between a young couple.³³⁷ This second type of public romance reading:

Seems to have had an understood function as a means of self-display for attractive young people (generally women). By taking on the role of

³³³ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, 28.

³³⁴ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, 28.

³³⁵ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, 28-29.

³³⁶ Coleman, "Reading the Evidence in Text and Image," 53.

³³⁷ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, 111-112.

reader they invited the admiring gaze of their auditors, while the subject-matter was stimulating without being too serious or too personal.³³⁸

It is possible that the profusion of courtly couples and kissing heads depicted in the margins of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 were commentary on this potential function of the Arthurian romance as a mediator of flirtation. Coleman further noted, “The single feature that seems to characterize these cases of romance-reading is an exploitation of the genre’s episodic nature...Romance seems to go with an atmosphere of relaxation; it offered an interesting narrative relieved of the intensity of the love poem or the truth-claims of history.”³³⁹ Despite Coleman’s claims that romances lacked the intensity of history text, other scholars have demonstrated that the Arthurian romances contained allusions to contemporary politics.³⁴⁰ Therefore, the reading of Arthurian material for more serious, and propagandistic reasons cannot be ruled out. Moreover, the idea that romances were read in pieces, spread out over many evening or flirtatious encounters, assumes an active memory on the part of the readers and listeners. Aural reading in general also assumed that both reader and audience discussed and contemplated the text, either during or after the performance, in order to extract good lessons.³⁴¹

Jonathan Morton has argued that marginalia were often employed as interpretations of the general *idea* of the text. This *idea* could be formed by

³³⁸ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, 111.

³³⁹ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, 112-113.

³⁴⁰ Such studies include, but are not limited to, Ramey, “Images of Rebellion: The Social and Political Context of the Images of Yale 229 *La Mort le Roi Artus*,” and Bloch, “The Death of King Arthur and the Waning of the Feudal Age.”

³⁴¹ Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, 113.

conversations, incomplete and partial readings, and even memory of the written words.³⁴²

Morton stated:

Such a visual gloss, rather than explain the text, demands its own explanation, its own glossing into words, and serves to provoke a reader into attempting to find connections and commentaries between image and text which thus simultaneously offer interpretative keys for each other.³⁴³

Returning to Carruthers, she has suggested that, “Marginal notations, glosses, and images are an integral part of the *painture* of literature, addressing the ocular gateway to memory and meditation,” and in fact went on to assert that, “the margins are where individual memories are most active, most invited to make their marks.”³⁴⁴ The most important aspect of an image, in regards to triggering memory, is its uniqueness and ability to elicit surprise within the reader/viewer. Carruthers stated:

The one thing a manuscript image must produce in order to stimulate memory is an emotion. It must be aesthetic in the ancient sense of the word. It must create a strong response – of what sort is less important – in order to impress the user’s memory and start off a recollective chain.³⁴⁵

The major cycle of miniatures in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes would not always have been effective as triggers of the reader/viewer’s memory. Several sequences of these images are as repetitive as the text they illustrate, with scenes of warfare being especially prevalent and nearly as formulaic as the battles they describe. For example, Stones noted the end of the *Mort Artu* as containing, “numerous tedious battles and single combat scenes depicted with boring repetition.”³⁴⁶ It is within the

³⁴² Morton, “Friars in Love,” 43.

³⁴³ Morton, “Friars in Love,” 43.

³⁴⁴ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 314.

³⁴⁵ Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 337.

³⁴⁶ Stones, “The Illustrations of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229,” 209.

margins that inventive, subversive, and multivalent motifs can be found. These motifs force the reader/viewer's mind to pause and contemplate the scene, making them more likely to commit the corresponding narrative to memory.

In what manner, then, do the marginalia of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 help to facilitate the recollection and comprehension of the sprawling Vulgate Arthur? And what themes did the artists, or their patrons, choose to illuminate with special emphasis? The romances contain messages about Christian morality, good and evil, and the pervasive culture of violence, along with power struggles of all kinds from political conflicts between local leaders and central authority to tensions between the genders. Many scholars have commented on these themes generally and noted the role of marginal imagery in emphasizing or complicating certain ideas within the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes specifically. For example, R. Howard Bloch in his essay on the final chapter of the Arthurian cycle, *La Mort de Roi Artu* commented:

Historically, Arthur's defeat at the hands of the knight from France [Lancelot] reflects the shifting balance of power from English to French hegemony in the first half of the thirteenth century. With the defeat by Lancelot and the loss of his continental holdings the Breton king resembles a weakened John Lackland or Henry III against the rising star of late Capetian rule.³⁴⁷

This reading would not have followed for the patrons of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes as they were engaged in ongoing conflicts with Capetian France at the moment of the manuscripts' production. Lynn T. Ramey in her essay on Beinecke Ms. 229 argued that the marginalia in this copy of *Mort Artu* operated as a commentary on the delicate relationship between lord and vassal in Flanders, as well as the nature of

³⁴⁷ Bloch, "The Death of King Arthur and the Waning of the Feudal Age," 293.

rebellion. This countered the concept first expressed by Michael Camille that the marginal motifs from the *Mort Artu* must function as an ironic condemnation of the royal class.³⁴⁸ For example, Ramey believed that the numerous instances of scuffles between animals in the margins accentuated conflicts between human characters in the text, such as Gavain and Lancelot. These marginal motifs served to highlight the implications of allowing man's base, animal nature to take control. Ultimately, she asserted, "Rather than the margins mocking the center of the tale, the margins provide a second contemporary meaning that transforms light entertainment (Arthur's legend) into serious contemporary – and at times even deadly – social commentary."³⁴⁹

Bloch and Ramey focused their attention on the external politics of the Arthurian romances, but Elizabeth Moore Hunt narrowed this analysis to how the marginalia comments on more internal concerns of honor and family that were of specific interest to the Dampierre patrons. Moreover, she indicated moments of gender-related power struggles that the primary miniature cycle mostly ignores, but with which the marginalia engage extensively. Ultimately, these various avenues of analysis are not contradictory. The external political concerns of the Dampierre family, their internal interests, and notions of female power and agency in late-thirteenth-century French-Flanders are all interconnected. These elements within the text of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 are highlighted through the inclusion of specific marginal motifs at fitting moments. The three instances of the male-female distaff joust motif are good anchor points for a larger discussion of the efficacy of the marginalia in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229

³⁴⁸ Ramey, "Images of Rebellion," 7.

³⁴⁹ Ramey, "Images of Rebellion," 11-12.

volumes because, as established, they are comprised of visual components from each category of the major marginal group.

4.2. Case Studies

4.2.1. The Jousts: BnF Fr. 95, fol. 226r

The first of the three distaff-jousts occurs on folio 226r of the BnF fr. 95 volume, which accompanies the text of the *Suite Vulgate du Merlin*.³⁵⁰ The page contains two columns of text with a two-register miniature appearing in the bottom half of the left-hand column (Fig. 81). The top register of the miniature depicts the Council of the Kings at Leicester (Fig. 82).³⁵¹ There are nine men in total, three standing on the left-hand side of the miniature and six on the right. The two groupings of kings gesture toward one another, indicating a lively discussion. In the register below four knights are hard at work pitching tents along the River Saverne.³⁵² Two of the knights are standing and are pulling the tents up with thin, almost invisible, strings. The other two knights crouch down and secure the tent strings with stakes in the ground. A vine-scroll border begins in the top-right margin of the page as a two-headed beast and extends across the top margin, down the left margin, where it forms the left border of the miniature, and terminates in the bottom-left margin at the female half of the male-female distaff joust (Fig. 83). The border then begins again after the male jouster and continues to the bottom-right margin where an ape leaning on a long stick holds out a red spherical object.

³⁵⁰ Not to be confused with the *Merlin*, a prose version of Robert de Boron's verse *Merlin*, which is also included in BnF fr. 95 (fols. 113v-160r). Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 550-575.

³⁵¹ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 554.

³⁵² Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 554.

The jousting couple charge out of their respective borders and towards one another across a small gap at the bottom-left of the page. The woman, who is on the left, sports a knotted hennin and holds a gold shield and the reins of her horse in her left hand and a distaff in her right. The distaff is pointed towards the mounted knight like a lance with its attached spindle flying up into the air. The knight, wearing mail but otherwise unprotected, clutches the mane of his horse with his left hand and holds up his right in an attempt to deflect the oncoming distaff. Moore Hunt described the woman's horse as a destrier, or warhorse, and the knight's as a palfrey, used for every-day riding, especially by women.³⁵³ If true this would further the reversal of gender roles present in the motif, and may also be why the knight's horse turns his head away from the charging woman, unaccustomed to a violent joust, although the only visible difference between the two horses is the fact that the woman's is caparisoned.

The final detail of note in this composition appears on the mounted knight. He seems to carry a short sword or dagger, the scabbard of which pokes up at an odd angle from underneath his outer dress. This poking-dagger matches closely with two early-fourteenth century marginal examples from an English context. Lucy Freeman Sandler in her article "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter" discussed two courtly couples where the male sports an oddly poking dagger. The first is the titular betrothal scene in the bottom margin of folio 131r of the Ormesby Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce Ms. 366) (Fig. 98). A young man with a protruding dagger offers a betrothal ring to his lady, who holds out her hand to receive it (Fig. 99).³⁵⁴ Sandler remarked that the

³⁵³ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 98.

³⁵⁴ Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," 35.

youth's dagger, "appears shockingly like a part of his anatomy uncovered and revealed," and went on to note, "In fabliaux, the words for weapons and the male sexual organ, and for aggression and sexual assault, are often interchangeable."³⁵⁵ Thomas D. Cooke argued that, "Aggressiveness is also a part of the sexuality of the fabliaux; the penis is a weapon."³⁵⁶ He gave an example from one fabliaux which follows:

De *la point* du vit *la point*; El con le met jusqu'à le coille.³⁵⁷

The same word, "*la point*," is here used both to indicate the man's penis and the violent action of stabbing into the woman. A second strangely bedaggered male described by Sandler can be found on folio 60r of the Luttrell Psalter (London, British Library, Add. Ms. 42130) (Fig. 100). Here a man with a protruding dagger crouches, pleading, at the feet of a woman who holds a distaff above her head, poised to strike the man below her (Fig. 101). Sandler explained, "In this encounter, the 'weak' woman, armed only with a distaff, is clearly the aggressor, while the 'strong' man, his 'weapon' at the ready, is submissive."³⁵⁸

The jousting couple can be plausibly interpreted as an earlier example of the same category of motif. A similar reversal of gender roles occurs and double-entendre of "*la point*," or the prick, is present in the form of the phallic dagger. The phallic dagger points up and away from the oncoming woman, as in the English examples, and does nothing to

³⁵⁵ Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," 37.

³⁵⁶ Thomas D. Cooke, "Pornography, the Comic Spirit, and the Fabliaux," in *The Humor of the Fabliaux: A Collection of Critical Essays*, Thomas D. Cooke and Benjamin L. Honeycutt, eds. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974), 147.

³⁵⁷ "He stuck her with the head of his prick/ and shoved it in her cunt clear up to his balls." Translation by Cooke, "Pornography, the Comic Spirit, and the Fabliaux," 147-148. Emphasis by author.

³⁵⁸ Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," 37.

aid in the knight's defense. Even though this bulge may in fact hint at the presence of a physical weapon, it is not drawn and is pointed the wrong direction, rendering the knight effectively weaponless. The image is also a commentary on the knight's sexual prowess, or lack thereof, and his ability to "win" the joust with his lady. While this particular motif does not depict a betrothal scene, as in the Ormesby Psalter, there are three instances of betrothal motifs in the margins in Beinecke Ms. 229 and BnF fr. 95. One on folio 110v (Fig. 53) of the Beinecke volume accompanies part three of *Lancelot* and those on folios 249v (Fig. 50) and 254r (Fig. 58) of the BnF fr. 95 volume accompany the *Suite Vulgate*. The motif on folio 254r is distinct from the others as it represents Aristotle's temptation by Phyllis and is a parody of the betrothal form as the figure of Phyllis holds out a betrothal wreath to the seated Aristotle, but only with the intent to later humiliate him. An image on folio 24v of the BnF volume that Moore Hunt attributed to the story of Frau Minne piercing her lover in the heart with an arrow, can be found with the text of the *Estoire del saint Graal* (Fig. 55). There is a visual link between the betrothal motifs and those of the distaff-jousts. Both depict male-female couples that are engaged in a power play, and both are metaphorically sexual.

Because the jousting couple on BnF fr. 95, folio 226r appears below the depiction of the Council of Kings at Leicester it would be easy to read these two images as connected, if only because they both are found on the same folio. Yet, this miniature is placed part of the way down the left column and illustrates a narrative moment from the following text. The proceeding text, in contrast, recounts the story of Merlin meeting the lady Viviane. It tells the history of Viviane's birth and then describes the moment when

she promises Merlin her love in exchange for him teaching her his magical secrets.³⁵⁹

This exchange was not illustrated by the artists, who chose instead to move on to the next scene. This reflects the structure of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle, in which several narratives are stitched together, forcing the reader to move back and forth between various story lines. I would suggest that the male-female distaff jousting couple was meant by the artists as an allegorical depiction of the first interaction between Merlin and Viviane, and is not connected with the ensuing story of the Council. The jousting couple's placement in the far corner of the lower-left margin, and on the recto side of folio 226, situates it directly next to the text on the verso side of folio 225 where the story of Merlin and Viviane is found. It serves to illustrate the moment that ultimately leads to Merlin's downfall, as later when Viviane gains her power she turns on Merlin and traps him in a tower of her own magical construction.³⁶⁰ In this story-line Merlin is like the jousting knight. He is defenseless against the lady Viviane because she, like the distaff-wielding woman, has weaponized a symbol of femininity; love and courtship.

4.2.2. The Betrothal Scenes

Courtship is not always alluded to violently in the margins of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. It is crucial to investigate some such courtly couples in the margins in order to better understand the layered meaning of the distaff jousts. Moore Hunt has suggested that several motifs depicting male-female couples can be understood collectively, and argued, "Vignettes of courtly lovers in both manuscripts, sometimes specially bracketed in the borders, frame episodes in which women beguile noblemen,"

³⁵⁹ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume I, 282-283.

³⁶⁰ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume I, 282-283.

(just as Merlin is beguiled by Viviane).³⁶¹ She specifically cited the two betrothal scenes on folios 249v and 254r of the BnF volume, which she noted are both part of the thirty-second quire and are contained within one of the most densely illuminated sections of the manuscript.³⁶² On folio 249v (Fig. 47) the upper margin depicts apes battling one another with swords, the one on the right holding a shield with the arms of Flanders (Fig. 49).³⁶³ The lower margin contains the betrothal scene with a man dressed in gold kneeling and pleading on the left and a woman in gold and blue standing and holding out a wreath on the right (Fig. 50). Moore Hunt connected this motif to a section of the Vulgate text that, like that of the initial meeting of Merlin and Viviane, was not illustrated by the artists. In the right-hand column of text above the miniature on folio 249v, Merlin is speaking to his confessor Blaise. The crucial line states, “And when Merlin came to the part about the young lady whom he loved with his whole heart, Blaise was deeply sorry, for he feared that she might betray him.”³⁶⁴ Moore Hunt argued that the inclusion of the courtly couple in the lower margin is meant to, “illustrate a passage of text in which the trouble wrought by women threatens a male character in an episode outside the miniature.”³⁶⁵

The second betrothal scene in the lower margin of folio 254r (Fig. 56) depicts the first of a two-part episode of the *Lai d'Aristotle*, here showing Aristotle himself seated at a desk (Fig. 58). He interrupts his studies to turn and look at the gold-bedecked lady

³⁶¹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 106.

³⁶² Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 101. The densely illuminated section that Moore Hunt speaks of is within quires 29-36.

³⁶³ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 554.

³⁶⁴ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume I, 308.

³⁶⁵ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 101.

(Phyllis) with flowing hair holding out a wreath to him. While Moore Hunt claimed no clear association between this marginal motif and the text on the page it accompanies, she drew a connection to the second part of this motif, which occurs on folio 61v (Fig. 59) of the BnF volume and which depicts Phyllis riding Aristotle like a horse, complete with bridle, reins, and a cat-o-nine tails whip. This arresting image is part of the ninth quire of the *Estoire*, in the middle of a textual section (approximately quires eight through ten) in which, “the wiles of women are related through the ancient legend of Hippocrates.”³⁶⁶ Just as Aristotle was taken in and made a fool of by Phyllis, Hippocrates is so drawn to a maiden that he too acts foolishly for her love. On folio 66v the miniature in the right-hand column depicts Hippocrates half naked in a barrel hanging from a tower while a crowd looks on, a stunt that he performed for this love (Fig. 102). Ultimately, the author of the Arthurian text is using Hippocrates’s foolishness to relate a moral which in this manuscript appears on folio 69v, “no man is wise enough to resist a woman’s intrigue.”³⁶⁷ Moore Hunt discovered a further instance of the Mounted Aristotle motif by the same artists of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes in the margins of a contemporary Psalter-Hours for use in Thérrouanne (Fig. 87).³⁶⁸ This example of the Mounted Aristotle accompanies Psalm 68 which in part relates, “Oh God, thou knowest

³⁶⁶ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 102.

³⁶⁷ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 102-103. The quotation is Moore Hunt’s translation of Sommer’s *Vulgate Version*, 1: 183, line 2, corresponding to page 106 of *Lancelot-Grail. The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, translated there as “No one can protect himself from woman’s guile.”

³⁶⁸ Arras, Musée Diocésan, Ms. 47, fol. 74r. Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 104-105.

my foolishness, and my offenses are not hidden from thee.”³⁶⁹ It was Moore Hunt’s belief that the Mounted Aristotle motif lent itself to inclusion in manuscript sections, be the text religious or secular, Latin or Old French, in which man’s folly was recounted.³⁷⁰

Moore Hunt further proposed that a final, related, marginal motif accentuates the function of these betrothal images throughout the text. As previously noted, the bottom-right margin of folio 24v of the BnF fr. 95 volume depicts Frau Minnie as a courtly woman holding a dog and piercing a kneeling man in the heart with a crossbow bolt or arrow (Fig. 55). The bottom-left margin of the same folio depicts another couple, in this case a man pushing a woman in a wheelbarrow, “a form of common law punishment for gossiping or insubordinate wives.”³⁷¹ Moore Hunt noted that these marginal motifs are two of the first depictions of women in this volume and accompany sections of the text containing battle scenes with little female involvement. She argued that, “In employing these opposite motifs for women wielding power, the idealized image of courtly love contrasts with the venomous urban bourgeoisie,” and that, “The marginal ladies wearing gilded finery and engaging with noble lovers are used to mimic chivalric behavior or courtly love, especially in its adulterous sense.”³⁷²

While Moore Hunt restricted this particular line of argument to an analysis of the aforementioned couples, I would suggest that the distaff-wielding woman and her knight

³⁶⁹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 105. Referencing Smith, *The Power of Women*.

³⁷⁰ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 105.

³⁷¹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 105.

³⁷² Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 106.

on folio 226r should be included in this analysis. This joust motif is positioned as a precursor to the betrothal scene on folio 249v, as the first accompanies Merlin's initial meeting with Viviane and the second the warning from Blaise to Merlin that Viviane may intend to betray him. Moreover, images of men and women jousting, especially with distaffs, have clear visual parallels to those of courtly couples, as demonstrated by Lucy Freeman Sandler's inclusion of a distaff combat motif in her discussion of betrothal images in the Ormesby Psalter. By widening the body of marginal motifs at the center of this discussion it is possible to expand upon Moore Hunt's argument on the gender dynamics in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes of the Vulgate Arthur. Promising connections can then be made with Moore Hunt's further analysis of heraldry and the internal political and familial concerns of the Dampierres. Ultimately, the inclusion of male-female distaff jousts allows this examination to extend beyond the themes of the text and the interests of the Dampierre family and allow for a wider discussion of female agency and women's work in late-thirteenth-century French Flanders.

4.2.3. The Spinning Women

With the image of the male-female distaff joust, the artists have demonstrated the destructive power that women can enact when given the right weapons and under the right circumstances. In the text of the Arthurian Vulgate and in the miniature program that illustrates it, men are often depicted in states of violent action. Women, on the other hand, are rendered in a passive manner. Often their movements are in the form of hand gestures and facial expressions. Their weapons are not physical objects, but are more often symbolic, as is the case with Viviane. In contrast, the women in the margins of BnF

fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 are, like their male counterparts, militarized. The choice of a distaff as a weapon, an object with long artistic associations with feminine virtue, but also a growing connection to power within the middle-class Flemish economy, is significant. Interestingly, although the beginning of Merlin's downfall in the text is marked in the margins with the inclusion of a woman wielding her distaff in a joust, one of the moments of his rise to power and prominence is also emphasized with the inclusion of a distaff image. On folio 141r (Fig. 72) the miniature in the left-hand column depicts in the top register the coronation of Uther Pendragon after the death of his brother. The lower register depicts Uther and Merlin gesturing to one another (Fig. 73). In the bottom-right margin is a curious yet elegantly rendered image of a woman spinning with a distaff, her back towards the viewers (Fig. 74). This spinning woman is placed at a turning point in the text of the *Merlin*. Not only is there a coronation, but also Merlin asks the newly crowned Uther to proclaim to his people the "signs" and future he has prophesized. This moment is directly followed by Merlin's public show of magic in the creation of Stonehenge, his insistence on the construction of the Round Table and Perilous Seat, and finally, a few folios later, the conception of Arthur.³⁷³ Unlike most of the other figures who face each other or the reader, this woman instead faces the text, as if she were reading it herself. It is as if the marginal woman is using her distaff to spin together the threads of time and set the subsequent narrative in motion.

The notion that spinning symbolized life and the passage of time came from ancient Greek thought. In the Greek literary tradition, the three Apportioners were Clotho, "Spinner," Lachesis, "Allotment," and Atropos, "Unturnable," who spun,

³⁷³ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume I, 195-198.

measured, and cut life's threads.³⁷⁴ Moreover, wool when rubbed with amber would produce a spark, or *pneuma*, understood by the Greeks as spirit, living air, and the breath of life, similar to lightning which came from "wooly clouds," according to Plutarch (c. 46-120).³⁷⁵ Such Greek concepts likely seeped into the early Christian artistic tradition of depicting the Virgin Annunciate spinning, assuring continuity and cultural resonance with pagan iconography.³⁷⁶ Kathryn A. Smith, in a larger analysis of the Beauchamp-Corbet Hours from ca. 1328, labeled a marginal image of a spinning woman as, "a Gothic descendent of the Fate Clotho of classical myth, who spun the thread of life."³⁷⁷ The woman, who can be found on folio 153r within the Office of the Dead (Fig. 121), appears directly to the left of a historiated initial depicting Satan with Job on the dunghill with Job's wife standing nearby. In the lower margin the Corbet shield is flanked by a peacock and a second bird, possibly a peahen. The historiated initial illustrates a sequence from Job in which, penniless, Job places worms instead of coins in Satan's begging bowl. Satan then tricks Job's wife into thinking the worms are gold coins, and she reproaches Job for faking his poverty.³⁷⁸ Ultimately, Smith argued that the spinning woman, combined with the sequence from Job, the presence of the peacock, and the text of the page, "might be interpreted as constituting a pictorial reminder of life's brevity and the fleeting nature of prosperity as well as the importance of repentance."³⁷⁹

³⁷⁴ Taylor, *Late Antique Images of the Virgin Annunciate Spinning*, 28.

³⁷⁵ Taylor, *Late Antique Images of the Virgin Annunciate Spinning*, 29-30.

³⁷⁶ Taylor, *Late Antique Images of the Virgin Annunciate Spinning*, 26.

³⁷⁷ Kathryn A. Smith, "A 'Viewing Community' in Fourteenth-Century England," in *The Social Life of Illumination: Manuscripts, Images, and Communities in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Joyce Coleman, Mark Cruse, and Kathryn A. Smith (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 154. The Beauchamp-Corbet Hours is currently in a private collection.

³⁷⁸ Smith, "A 'Viewing Community' in Fourteenth-Century England," 152-153.

³⁷⁹ Smith, "A 'Viewing Community' in Fourteenth-Century England," 154.

While the spinning woman from the Beauchamp-Corbet Hours acts as a spinner of time and fate, she still accompanies a negative representation of women in the form of Job's wife. Some recent scholarship has problematized the idea that the distaff has solely or predominantly misogynistic associations, unless in the hands of the Virgin Mary or Eve. Focusing on a late-fourteenth to early-fifteenth-century Netherlandish context, Anna Dlabáčová has argued for, "the distaff and the activities of spinning and cloth-making as a metaphor for Christ's Passion, and, as such, as a meditative object and activity," and that, "the distaff should not only be interpreted as a symbol of domestic virtue putting women in a subsidiary position to men, of female inner power, or negatively as a sign of misogyny."³⁸⁰ Through an analysis of two middle Dutch texts detailing how the material aspects of spinning connect to the material aspects of Christ's Passion, Dlabáčová has identified an ongoing late medieval practice of religious and lay women engaging in spiritual contemplation as they spin.³⁸¹ The codification of this contemplative practice into printed manuals was an attempt by men to regulate the spiritual life of women.³⁸² Ultimately:

Despite both religious and lay audiences being familiar with the other (also negative and sexual) connotations, spinning became an act of spiritual performance and renewal, preserving the soul while performing an ordinary set of operations. Perhaps women and even men who did not

³⁸⁰ Anna Dlabáčová, "Spinning with a Passion. The Distaff as an Object for Contemplative Meditation in Netherlandish Religious Culture," *The medieval Low Countries: an annual review* 5, no. 1 (2018): 181, 206-207.

³⁸¹ The two middle Dutch texts include the anonymous *Spinroc* (Distaff) published in 1483 by Johan Veldener and Lucas van der Heij's *Den spinrocken ghegeven voer een nyeuwe jaer* (The Distaff Given for a New Year) published in 1517 by Jan Seversz. Dlabáčová, "Spinning with a Passion," 181.

³⁸² Dlabáčová, "Spinning with a Passion," 196.

participate in cloth production performed the meditations as a purely spiritual exercise.³⁸³

The spinning woman on BnF fr. 95, fol. 141r could be a depiction of this spiritual exercise. With her back to the viewer she is able to contemplate the text of the narrative as well as the activity of spinning without distraction. The material that she pulls from the head of the distaff to the spindle makes present the body of Christ and hangs off the distaff just as his body hung off the cross.³⁸⁴ The wood of the distaff becomes the wood of the cross, imbuing it as an object of power. In the miniature above, men too hold objects of power (Fig. 73). In the top register depicting the coronation of Uther two men carry croziers and, in the bottom register the now King Uther holds a short staff. In the context of the full folio, the distaff, with its association to the true cross, operates as a distinctly female staff of power.

There is another instance of a marginal motif where women depicted with distaffs in the act of spinning accompany a positive narrative moment in the Vulgate Arthur. Folio 101v of BnF fr. 95 relates a story from the *Estoire* (Fig. 75). It follows Perron (or Peter), a Christian who is gravely wounded and falls asleep in his boat, which washes upon the shores of a pagan island. The boat is found by the daughter of the king of the island and, after witnessing the beauty of Perron's half-naked yet weakened body, she insists that a fellow Christian prisoner be brought from her father's dungeon so that he can heal Perron. Eventually Perron convinces the island to convert to Christianity and marries the king's daughter, who is given the baptismal name of Camille.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Dlabáčová, "Spinning with a Passion," 209.

³⁸⁴ "O sister, observe the blessed, heavenly flax, how naked and disfigured it hangs on the distaff of the cross in order to dress your soul." From *Spinroc* (Distaff), The Hague, Royal Library, 150 E 9, fols [a4]^r – [a6]^r. Dlabáčová, "Spinning with a Passion," 185.

³⁸⁵ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume I, 149-154.

The miniature on folio 101v depicts Perron asleep in his boat in the top register and Perron encountering a group of ladies in the bottom register (Fig. 76). At the bottom of the page, growing out of the vertical elements of the frame are two women in pink dresses and fine hairnets (Fig. 77). The one on the right spins wool from a distaff to a spindle and the one on the left transfers the spun product from a spindle to a niddy-noddy, a tool used to wind spun wool or flax into skeins. This motif, appearing in conjunction with the above story, calls to mind the women of the *chansons de toile*. In these songs, the women begin as courtly ladies engaged in acts such as sewing, spinning, and embroidering, and end by orchestrating a scenario in which they can meet their chosen lovers for illicit affairs. In the universe of the Vulgate Arthur, Camille's actions were honorable and led to a proper marriage and the conversion of her people to Christianity. Yet, the text makes multiple mentions of Perron's attractiveness, and Camille specifically comments on how beautiful his exposed body would be if he were not wounded.³⁸⁶ Despite the initial impediments to their union, Camille helps to set forth events that eventually allow her to be with her chosen love. Marginal images of women with distaffs seem, therefore, to operate as depictions of both acceptable and subversive feminine behaviors. Their inclusion in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes mark positive moments within the narrative as well as those of destruction and female treachery. Both instances represent moments in which women are in positions of power and have great impact on the course of the narrative.

³⁸⁶ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume I, 149-154. "Seeing his large, hideous wound, she said to her companions, 'Do you know why this man is so thin and weak? It's because of this wound, which is so dangerous that it's a wonder he's not already dead. In my opinion it would be a great shame if he were to die from it, for he had a beautiful body when he was sound and healthy'."

4.2.4. The Jousts: Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 100v

The second example of a male-female jousting couple occurs on folio 100v of Beinecke Ms. 229 and is constructed somewhat differently than the other two instances of the motif (Fig. 19). The text of this folio marks the end of a crucial sequence from a later part of the *Lancelot* that begins a few folios earlier on 99v. For several seasons Morgan the Fey, sister of King Arthur, has kept Lancelot imprisoned in the hopes that he would come to love her. This imprisonment is integral to the larger Arthurian narrative, as it is here that Morgan witnesses several murals Lancelot painted of his affair with Guinevere. Later when Morgan reveals the murals to Arthur, the disastrous events of *Mort Artu* are set in motion.³⁸⁷ Folio 99v begins with Lancelot's attempts to pluck a rose from outside his window, after which he realizes that he can break the iron bars and escape (Fig. 104). As he rides out he asks the gate guard whose castle he was imprisoned in, at which point he learns the identity of Morgan. After escaping, Lancelot encounters a maiden riding with a dwarf and subsequently a wounded knight on a litter and asks both parties where he might find the knights of King Arthur's court (Fig. 20).³⁸⁸ These four moments are depicted in the miniatures of folio 99v and 100v (Fig. 103)(Fig. 19). Both of these folios also have marginal decoration. Folio 99v depicts two mermaids split between the left and right lower margin, each wearing gold dresses and hairnets and plucking stringed instruments (Fig. 105).³⁸⁹ Folio 100v contains two armored and jousting mermen across

³⁸⁷ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume III, 219-224.

³⁸⁸ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume II, 224-225.

³⁸⁹ Alison Stones identifies them as a three-stringed rebec and another three-stringed instrument with a plectrum. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 559. Although clothed mermaids are less common, there are other Flemish examples that postdate the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. These include a Psalter from Ghent, ca. 1320-1330, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 6, fol. 6r, where a mermaid

the upper margin replete with the shields of Holland and Flanders (Fig. 21).³⁹⁰ Moore Hunt suggested that the appearance of merpeople only in the margins of the *Lancelot* may speak to the title character's unique upbringing by the Lady of the Lake.³⁹¹

The male-female joust motif can be found above the bottom-left border on folio 100v (Fig. 22). Here, unlike in the previously discussed example, the woman is not holding a distaff but instead a lance (perhaps because the motif is accompanying a moment from Lancelot). She is hooded and smiling as her opponent, a monk, charges towards her with a lance that is comically broken in half. The woman holds the shield of Mortaigne (*or, a cross gules*) and the monk that of Court or Wallincourt (*argent, a lion gules*). Mortaigne was one of twenty individuals who travelled with Count Guy of Dampierre around 1280.³⁹² Moore Hunt proposed that this collection of shields emphasized Lancelot's subsequent journey to discover his origins and indicated familial concerns of the Dampierres. The countship had passed down to Count Guy through the matriarchal line, and Flanders and Hainault were partitioned after the death of his mother. John I of Avesnes (b. 1218), Countess Margaret's son from a previous marriage, had even tried to lay claim to Flanders for himself, and the association between Lancelot's

with a red top and green hairnet is depicted in the upper margin strangling a bird and the Psalter of Louis X le Hutin from Tournai, ca. 1315, Tournai, Archives de l'Evêché, no number, fol. 104r, where a mermaid in the lower margin wearing a shirt and hairnet (based on black and white images) plays a vielle next to a dancing siren. Perhaps there is a connection between clothed mermaids and instrument playing, although there are also several contemporary examples of naked mermaids holding instruments. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, 186-187.

³⁹⁰ *Or a lion gules* and *or a lion sable* respectively. Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 559.

³⁹¹ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 93.

³⁹² Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 94-95.

journey and the Dampierres' own struggles is compelling.³⁹³ Moore Hunt suggested that the male-female joust motif commented on the ensuing text where Lancelot meets the injured knight. This knight was accidentally wounded by an arrow said to have been shot by a woman, and therefore the male-female joust, "points to the destructive roles women play in the downfall of noblemen in the narrative."³⁹⁴

Yet, there is another, more convincing thematic connection. This jousting couple is placed just below the left-hand column of text, which concludes the story of Lancelot's escape from Morgan's castle. This sequence is significantly more important to the overall narrative of the *Lancelot* and to the Vulgate Arthur as a whole than that of the injured knight. The text is additionally accentuated with images of merpeople at the beginning and end of the folios it encompasses, already noted as having been particular to important moments of Lancelot's story. Moreover, Morgan the Fey is a crucial female character in the Arthurian romances and her actions seriously affect the larger narrative, unlike those of the unnamed woman and her stray arrow. Morgan represents a powerful female figure who rules over her own castle and peoples and moves forward the storyline through her actions. She imprisons Lancelot out of love, or perhaps more accurately sexual desire, but he refuses to reciprocate her feelings. This renders Lancelot's "weapon" as impotent sexually as the monk's lance is in defending against attack. The appearance of an ideally celibate religious figure such as the monk in the margin could be commenting upon Lancelot's continued refusal to engage in intercourse with anyone except for Guinevere

³⁹³ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 97.

³⁹⁴ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 94.

(unless he is first tricked into the encounter). Finally, just as Viviane's nefarious actions led to the imprisonment of Merlin, Morgan too holds Lancelot captive. Although he escapes, the damage is already done, because it is through Morgan that his affair with Guinevere is revealed and the Arthurian Vulgate brought to its violent conclusion. The inclusion of this second male-female joust in close proximity to the story of Morgan and Lancelot serves to aid the reader's memory of their encounter so that its significance can be recalled two books later.

4.2.5. Further Betrothal Scenes

Other connections made by Moore Hunt between the marginal motifs and the text of *Lancelot* are compelling, especially in regard to a further appearance of a betrothal couple motif that accompanies a subsequent passage. Here the male-female pairing does not indicate a moment of female-instigated destruction but instead Lancelot's quest for his origins.³⁹⁵ For example, folio 110v is the most heavily illuminated page of Beinecke Ms. 229 (Fig. 51).³⁹⁶ There are two miniatures, both with double registers, that depict Lancelot's ride through the Perilous Forest, his encounter with a blood covered tomb guarded by lions, and his eventual discovery that the tomb contains the body of his grandfather King Lancelot, whose head is found in the adjacent fountain (Fig. 52).³⁹⁷ In the lower-right margin directly below the image of Lancelot holding out the severed head of his grandfather is a betrothal scene where a young man dressed in brown kneels as a lady with a blue dress and hairnet places a wreath upon his head (Fig. 53). As Moore

³⁹⁵ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 89-97.

³⁹⁶ As noted by Alison Stones in Stones, "Illustrations of BN, fr. 95 and Yale 229," 210.

³⁹⁷ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 560.

Hunt noted, according to Michael Camille, consummation was implicit after the placing of a wreath on a suitor's head. Thus, this illustration of courtly love could reference the adulterous love Lancelot's grandfather had for his cousin's wife.³⁹⁸ Even setting aside that interpretation, the juxtaposition of this marginal motif with Lancelot's discovery highlights the head as an object imbued with its own significance. The betrothal scene serves to mark a place in the narrative crucial to Lancelot's personal development.

As the final episodes of *Lancelot* end and the text of the *Queste del saint Graal* and *La Mort de Roi Artu* begin, both Alison Stones and Elizabeth Moore Hunt argued that among the Dampierre family, "someone was especially interested in seeing the details of all the military activities played out in pictures, and wanted to see what happened to Arthur and his famous sword in the end, and to see as well how Lancelot fared, and who was left at the end," likely because of the current political conflicts in which Flanders was engaged.³⁹⁹ Moore Hunt specifically commented on the presence of the arms of Count Guy's son, William of Thermonde, on folio 187r of Beinecke Ms. 229, which begins the text of the *Queste* (Fig. 43).⁴⁰⁰ The heraldry, *or a lion sable, a bend gules*, adorns the caparison of the horse depicted in the lower-left margin (Fig. 45).⁴⁰¹ It is interesting to note that this horse accompanies yet another betrothal/courtship scene. A knight has dismounted and kneels before a lady in a blue dress and knotted hennin who gestures towards him. Above this marginal motif, the two-register miniature depicts a

³⁹⁸ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 96. Citing Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love*, 54.

³⁹⁹ Stones, "Illustrations of the *Mort Artu* in Yale 229," as quoted by Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 106.

⁴⁰⁰ Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, 80.

⁴⁰¹ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 563.

lady arriving at Camelot to ask King Arthur and Queen Guinevere's permission to take Lancelot on a journey, shown in the top register, and the same lady leaving with Lancelot, shown on the bottom (Fig. 44).⁴⁰² This woman was sent to collect Lancelot and take him to a nunnery. There he is asked to knight a young man named Galahad.⁴⁰³ Ultimately, Galahad is revealed to be Lancelot's son from his union with Elaine, and the eventual hero of the *Queste*. The inclusion of yet another courtly couple in the margins of the same folio as the textual appearance of a new and pivotal figure in the Arthurian Vulgate speaks to the significance of such motifs as visual markers. Moreover, Galahad was born of a sexual union that his father was tricked into. The presence of a courtly love motif reminds the reader/viewer of these origins. Finally, the initial meeting of a father and son (Lancelot and Galahad) accompanied by the arms of William of Thermonde, son of Guy of Dampierre, was likely an intentional choice, especially if Count Guy associated his family's lineage with that of Lancelot's, as Moore Hunt suspected.

Most of the marginalia found within the *Queste* narrative serve to reinforce specific moral messages or otherwise underline imagery already appearing in the miniature cycle. For example, folio 199r (Fig. 78) of the Beinecke volume depicts the knight Meliant encountering a table and beautiful crown in the upper register of the miniature, and subsequently he takes the crown for his own. In the lower register an unnamed knight wounds Meliant in retribution for stealing the crown (Fig. 79).⁴⁰⁴ The lower margin features a woman with a knotted hennin, armed with a distaff and spindle, chasing after a fox who has a cock in his mouth (Fig. 80). The scene, originating in a

⁴⁰² Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 563.

⁴⁰³ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume IV, 3.

⁴⁰⁴ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 563.

sequence in *Roman de Reynard*, here emphasizes the moral eventually conveyed to the knight Meliant; it is a sin to covet what is not yours.⁴⁰⁵ Similarly, on folio 220r a small, single-register, half-column miniature depicts a lady tempting the knight Percival (Fig. 36),⁴⁰⁶ a trick to which he nearly succumbs.⁴⁰⁷ In the left-hand margin directly next to the miniature a man erupting from a vine tendril shoots an arrow into the exposed backside of a knight above him. This motif cues the reader/viewer as to the sinful act into which the lady is trying to trick Percival. Other marginal motifs illustrate more directly the text of the *Queste*. An example is the image of Eve spinning and Adam delving found in the bottom margin of folio 253r, where text and miniature convey the story of their temptation and the exploits of their sons (Fig. 70).⁴⁰⁸ This subtle change in how the marginalia are employed in the *Queste* narrative reflects the distinct nature of this text among its companions. E. Jane Burns in her introduction to the translation stated, “Of all the Vulgate romances, *Queste del Saint Graal* goes the farthest in attempting to mask the literariness of vernacular romance by imposing upon it a grid of religious interpretation.”⁴⁰⁹ The marginal artwork, too, reflects this difference in literary style.

Thus far I have investigated a series of linked marginal motifs including courtly couples, betrothal scenes, jousts involving male-female pairings, women repurposing the distaff as a weapon, and others employing this object for productive work. The above discussion has reiterated points made by previous scholars such as Lynn T. Ramey and Elizabeth Moore Hunt that these motifs were used throughout the text of the Vulgate

⁴⁰⁵ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume IV, 15-16.

⁴⁰⁶ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 564.

⁴⁰⁷ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume IV, 34-36.

⁴⁰⁸ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 565.

⁴⁰⁹ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume I, xxx.

Arthur as commentary on the wiles of women and to reinforce politically beneficial associations between the Dampierre family and characters from the romances. By expanding upon their work to include a number of related marginal motifs, the above discussion has allowed for a greater understanding of the function of these images in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. To begin, they have been shown to operate as anchor points, or memory triggers, to help the reader/viewer to form connections between crucial narrative moments. This includes moments within the arc of a single character's story, such as the rise of Merlin's power corresponding with the spinning woman on folio 141r of BnF fr. 95 and his subsequent fall, which is accompanied by the male-female distaff joust and the betrothal scene found on folios 226r and 149v respectively. It can also include moments between several characters across long expanses of the different textual sections and reinforce how episodes within the *Estoire* or *Lancelot* will later have an effect on those from the *Queste* and *Mort*. Despite the fact that the texts of the Vulgate Arthur are sprawling, repetitive, and contain many asides extraneous to the overall narrative, the marginal motifs here discussed more frequently populate folios containing pivotal plot points.

While in some cases the presence of women in the margins indicate the negative scheming of women in the text, in others related marginalia seem to applaud a woman's positive actions. For example, the two women with the distaff and niddy-noddy on folio 101v of the BnF volume accompany a sequence where female agency is employed to heal a sick man and convert pagans to Christianity. The joust between the woman and the nun on folio 100v of the Beinecke volume, by contrast, accompanies Morgan's nefarious imprisonment of Lancelot. It could be argued that marginal women acting in a prescribed

manner naturally accompany positive narrative moments, such as is the case with the spinning women, and those who are subversive highlight the actions of wicked women in the text, as with the distaff jousts. This simple dichotomy falls apart when looking at courtly couples and betrothal scenes, which were employed at moments of both positive and negative plot development. It also does not take into consideration those moments of ambiguity – i.e. should the courtly couple at the beginning of the *Queste* narrative on folio 187r of Beinecke Ms. 229 be understood as a comment on the continuation of Lancelot's lineage through the birth and knighting of Galahad, or is it better seen as a reminder of the duplicitous way in which Galahad was conceived? By turning now to a final case study, and the last appearance of the male-female distaff joust, the inherent multivalence of marginal motifs in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes can be better understood.

4.2.6. The Jousts: Beinecke Ms. 229, fol. 329r

This final and in some ways the most provocative instance of the distaff joust motif occurs on folio 329r of the Beinecke Ms. 229 volume (Fig. 84). The page opens on the last chapter of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle, *La Mort de Roi Artu*, as the story reaches a climactic moment. King Arthur is away at war. His son Mordret, in an act of betrayal, pens a false announcement to King Arthur's barons that the king has died and left him in control. The letter, which has been given legitimacy through the affixed seal of the king, goes on to request that Queen Guinevere now become Mordret's wife. Guinevere alone is suspicious of the letter; at first, she delays a response but then eventually she refuses Mordret's suit and locks herself away in the Tower of London.⁴¹⁰ *La Mort de Roi Artu* is

⁴¹⁰ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume IV, 135-138.

the least repetitive book of the Vulgate Arthur and the one that reads the most like a chronicle. It outlines how Lancelot and Queen Guinevere's affair ignites a vendetta between King Arthur and Lancelot's families. The battles that ensue leave King Arthur's rule weak and allow Mordret to enact his treasonous plot. The tale culminates in a battle on Salisbury Plain where King Arthur and Mordret kill one another.⁴¹¹ Beinecke Ms. 229 is an intriguing case study for *La Mort de Roi Artu* and the rest of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle, because rarely have Arthurian Romances been decorated with such extensive programs of marginal art.⁴¹² In the conclusion to her article "The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present, and Future," Lucy Freeman Sandler encouraged scholars of marginal motifs to consider, "every aspect of their meaning, including contradictory and overlapping meanings," as well as, "the page and the book as a whole from the point of view of its physical making."⁴¹³ The multivalent nature of both the Arthurian tales and marginal motifs allows for new conclusions to be drawn when the two appear to operate together, as is the case with folio 329r.

Accompanying the text is a miniature on the top-left of the folio, composed of two registers (Fig. 85). The top register depicts the arrival of the false letter at court as Mordret's paid messenger hands the letter with King Arthur's seal to a seated Guinevere in the presence of the barons of Logres (modern day Britain). The bottom register mirrors the symmetry of the top and depicts the Bishop of Ireland reading the contents of the

⁴¹¹ E. Jane Burns, "Introduction," Volume I, XXXI.

⁴¹² To see a complete list of Arthurian Romance manuscripts with their contents, date and location of production, quantity of illustrations, with links to their current housing libraries please see Alison Stones, "Chronological and Geographical Distribution of the Lancelot-Grail Manuscripts," The Lancelot-Graal Project, Accessed July 6th, 2019, <http://www.lancelot-project.pitt.edu/LG-web/Arthur-LG-ChronGeog.html>.

⁴¹³ Sandler, "The Study of Marginal Imagery," 76-126.

letter. While the top register is calm in tone, the bottom evokes extreme distress.

Guinevere's eyes are wide with shock as her hands pull at her collar. Her two ladies turn towards each other as one grasps the other's arm for support. Their skirts sweep to the right in dramatic diagonals. On the opposite side of the image, the barons gesticulate even more wildly and Mordret faints in mock distress.⁴¹⁴ A careful study of this miniature reveals a final important element. In the top register, one of the barons present at the letter's arrival points upward to a jousting man and woman in the margin, forging an explicit connection between the text, miniature, and marginalia. Despite the manuscript's abundant decoration, this is one of the few instances where a visual connection is made between miniature and margin so overtly. The inclusion of the pointing baron forces the viewer to investigate how the marginal jousting man and woman affects the interpretation of this moment within the *Mort Artu*.

La Mort de Roi Artu has traditionally been read as a commentary on the failings of a divided feudal government. As R. Howard Bloch outlined in his essay, "The Death of King Arthur and the Waning of the Feudal Age," the *Mort Artu* depicts a king unable to choose between state-right and kin-right, between public and private loyalties, and when Arthur's private feelings affect the outcome of Guinevere's trial, it ultimately results in the death of Gavain's brothers Agravain and Gaheriet and turns what was once a family feud into a civil conflict.⁴¹⁵ Bloch stated:

⁴¹⁴ Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320*, Part I, Volume II, 570.

⁴¹⁵ Bloch, "The Death of King Arthur and the Waning of the Feudal Age," 299. Although Agravain wishes the death of Queen Guinevere for her adultery, his brothers Gavain and Gaheriet are horrified and initially support the Queen and Lancelot. Gawain leaves Arthur's service and Gaheriet refuses to guard Guinevere's execution until Arthur forces him to do so. Both Agravain (intentionally) and Gaheriet (accidentally) are killed by

Their deaths initiate the endless cycle of vendetta and war – Gauvain against Lancelot, Arthur against Mordret, Lancelot against the sons of Mordret – that shapes the rest of the novel and leads, in the end, to the usurpation of kingship by Arthur's bastard son. At no point do the public tools and private prerogatives of feudal justice prevent violence of personal grievance from destroying the integrity of the realm.⁴¹⁶

It is Lancelot, a Frenchman with an ability to set aside old scores, who embodies the growth of Capetian centralized power and the newly popular Aristotelian view of sacrificing self-interest for the common social good.⁴¹⁷ Mordret, conversely, is an emblem of the old-world order. As the political link between the barons and Arthur, he is able to operate within the established feudal system and manipulate and bribe his vassals for personal gain⁴¹⁸ Mordret may be the villain of the story, but he is merely exploiting the failing political structure that Arthur has kept in place.

This reading of the text demonstrates how Arthur hastens his own demise by clinging to a political system that was no longer viable. Yet, Count Guy of Dampierre and his family likely would have interpreted certain aspects of the story differently. BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229's large size and extensive, high quality illuminations make them likely display pieces and objects of a communal reading and viewing experience. Unlike many smaller format manuscripts that can be connected to a single original owner, several generations of the Flemish counts and countesses, including both men and women, would have had access to these books from the outset. While this does allow for

Lancelot in his attempt to save Guinevere. This sparks a war of vengeance between Lancelot and Gawain. *Lancelot-Grail*, Volume IV, 122-124.

⁴¹⁶ Bloch, "The Death of King Arthur and the Waning of the Feudal Age," 293.

⁴¹⁷ Bloch's assertion here is based on re-readings of Aristotle that influenced Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* and the concept of "*iustitia particularis*" vs "*iustitia generalis*" and the idea of man's responsibility to his state. Bloch, "The Death of King Arthur and the Waning of the Feudal Age," 302.

⁴¹⁸ Bloch, "The Death of King Arthur and the Waning of the Feudal Age," 295.

a multiplicity of interpretations within the family, there are some interpretations that are more probable given the then-current political climate. Between 1285 and 1314 Count Guy and his son Robert III of Flanders were in almost constant conflict with Philip IV, Philip the Fair, of France. Philip often worked with lesser nobility and urban leaders in the Low-Lands to circumvent Count Guy's control, who like Mordret was the link between the French state and the rest of Flanders.⁴¹⁹ There are two ways that the nobles of Flanders could have reinterpreted the text that complicate R. Howard Bloch's political reading of the tale. First, Count Guy and his family, resentful of the King's attempts to upset their rule, may have looked upon Mordret's actions more favorably than other late thirteenth-century readers of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle. Second, the Dampierres could have still seen Mordret as a negative character, but instead inverted Bloch's interpretation of Lancelot from a figure representative of growing Capetian power to that of a virtuous rebel against a failing king, as they likely saw themselves.

Given the prevailing negative associations surrounding the figure of Mordret, the Dampierre family was probably more apt to have empathized with Guinevere in this moment of the narrative. But it is also possible that they would have associated Guinevere's rebellion against Mordret's with the action of her lover Lancelot against her husband Arthur – that is, as a sort of virtuous rebellion. By resisting Mordret, Guinevere is ignoring the supposed dying wishes of her husband as outlined in the false letter, and therefore subverting her role as dutiful wife. Yet, her actions are justified because of Mordret's deceit, making Guinevere virtuous in her wish not to betray her husband again. Similarly, although Lancelot's war with Arthur goes against the natural relationship of a

⁴¹⁹ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 186-187.

king and his knight, the rebellion was a direct result of Lancelot's attempts to save the life of Guinevere, a noble task because of his love for her. Arguably, Guinevere is subverting the role she was supposed to play within the political system by forming an opinion about the authenticity of the letter and choosing to go against its contents. She is using her own power and agency to protect herself and her husband's kingdom, and in this particular instance this employment of female agency, while subversive, is justified.

When the baron in the top-left register of the miniature points upward to the distaff-wielding lady in the margin, he is encouraging the reader to draw a parallel between this woman and the narrative depicted in the miniature. The motif appears between a frame composed of two griffins erupting from the borders, directly above the miniature (Fig. 86). The woman wields a distaff with its spindle flying up into the air. Her other hand holds a shield and her hair is contained in a hairnet and wrapped in a knotted hennin that, like the spindle, flaps in the breeze. Her male jousting partner is obviously at a disadvantage. Dressed as a knight with a chain mail hauberk, he carries no weapon or shield and consequently raises his hands up in an attempt to block the impending attack. While this knight does not have the same protruding dagger as that of the knight from folio 226r of BnF fr. 95, he does have an odd bit of knotted fabric around his waist that flaps backward in a similar phallic arrangement. How was the reader/viewer supposed to understand this motif in the context of the narrative it accompanies? If male-female distaff jousts were meant to highlight negative female actions, then this particular folio is an odd choice for its placement. Guinevere is using her power for the good of her kingdom, and Mordret, the man she is subverting, is the most famous villain of the Arthurian romances. Visually, the woman from the joust motif

appears on the left-hand side, as does Mordret in both registers of the miniature. If this placement was chosen by the artist to link Mordret with the rebellious jousting woman, then perhaps the marginal motif is meant to reinforce both the sinful sexual desires of Mordret and imply that such false political scheming was the purview of wicked women and not honorable knights of the Round Table. In essence, the inclusion of the marginal jousting motif could serve to make explicit Mordret's treacherous attempts of sexual assault on Guinevere and the integrity of Logres.

The characters of Viviane, Morgan the Fey, and Queen Guinevere are problematic female figures in the Arthurian Vulgate cycle, although Guinevere is somewhat redeemed by the end of the narrative. The juxtaposition of their characters with depictions of women violently engaging knights in mounted combat speaks to their reception. It is likely that the idea of a woman weaponizing her distaff in order to penetrate a defenseless knight would have caused discomfort, particularly amongst a male audience. When this marginal motif occurs following the text of Merlin and Vivian's first encounter it serves as a warning for men; if given too much power women can betray and harm you in the deepest way. In the case of Morgan and Lancelot, it seems to imply that women should not be underestimated. Some have the power to change the trajectory of entire narratives, as Morgan does when she reveals visual proof Lancelot and Guinevere affair to Arthur or the pagan Camille finds the wounded Perron in his boat, leading to the Christianization of her people. When it occurs in conjunction with Guinevere's rebellion against Mordret these same warnings still apply, but with a caveat. Sometimes women can use their power with noble intentions and their subversive actions are justified, and perhaps even

virtuous. Conversely, men can convey falsehoods more befitting the female gender than male knightly honor.

4.3. Conclusions

In this chapter I have moved systematically through the text of the Vulgate Arthur by following the pathway created by a series of related marginal motifs, the most striking of which were the “sexual warfare” of the male-female distaff jousts. By doing so, I have demonstrated how such interrelated marginal motifs could have operated simultaneously as anchor points, memory triggers, and textual glosses. These marginal motifs succeeded in connecting important narrative moments that were spread out across hundreds of pages. They further reminded the reader/viewers of past episodes that may have been read or heard many days and weeks prior if the aural performance of the romance was divided based on its episodic parts. Finally, I have demonstrated the multivalent nature of these marginal images, which allowed for multiple and sometimes conflicting glosses of the text. Their inclusion would have allowed the reader/viewers to participate in lively discussions on the true meaning of certain passages. This would have allowed the performance of these romances to become an intellectually engaging and edifying activity, in addition to an entertaining pastime.

BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 were made for a family of Flemish nobility with a long history of female leadership and with a looming rebellion against the Capetian throne. They were produced in a time when female economic influence was growing through the rise of the textile industry. Given these factors, the distaff as a weapon was the ideal symbol of female power and agency. It would have been interesting therefore, and surprising, if such motifs were to have solely negative meanings. The characters of

Viviane, Morgan, and Guinevere were not only problematic in the text, but also powerful. They have the ability and the agency to make choices that affected the outcome of their own stories. It is conceivable that within the manuscripts made for the Dampierre family, including several women, the association of male-female jousts with important female characters served as more than simply a warning against allowing women power. They could have indicated that women have the ability, just as men do, to wield their power for good or ill. Their actions could range from wicked to virtuous, but regardless women possessed the agency to bring those actions about. The comparisons made between text, miniature, and marginalia in these instances could help to educate women on how to appropriately, or inappropriately, employ their influence. Ultimately, how an individual viewer interpreted an image of a woman wielding a distaff likely depended on their gender, personal sentiments, and political leanings. This allowed for a number of interpretations of the motif and consequently the text and miniatures it accompanied; to some growing feminine power was to be applauded and to others it was to be feared.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

At the start of this dissertation I proposed to investigate BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 as complete objects, taking into consideration the text, miniatures, and marginalia simultaneously. Both volumes were in need of this attention. My work has been heavily indebted to the scholarship of Alison Stones and Elizabeth Moore Hunt. Yet, Stones's interest had always been on the miniature cycles of both manuscripts and Moore Hunt's study devoted a single chapter to the BnF fr. 94 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes as part of a much larger investigation of the marginalia in the "Dampierre Group" manuscripts. Consequently, no comprehensive study of the marginal art in just the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes had even been undertaken. In the proceeding chapters I have attempted to provide just such a study.

Given BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229's extensive body of marginalia, and the sprawling nature of this marginal subject matter, it was crucial to try to determine its overall thematic thrust, if possible. Following the methodology of Lucy Freeman Sandler in essays such as "A Series of Marginal Illustrations in the Rutland Psalter," and, "The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present, Future," I have identified five different marginal categories. The motifs within each category are all interconnected through a number of repeating formal elements and subject matter. Additionally, there are visual connections that link each marginal category to the others through the manuscripts. The five marginal categories consist of violent battles (including jousts and hunts), courtly couples, nudity, penetration, and finally women spinning or otherwise engaged in active work. With each thematic category I attempted to determine some of the sources and

origins of the motifs present. Together these motifs make up the major marginal group, a collective body of motifs that express the overall tenor of the marginalia in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. At the conclusion of the second chapter, I determined that one motifs in particular, the male-female distaff jousts, combined elements from all of the thematic categories. Therefore, they would present compelling case studies for understanding the function of marginal art in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes.

Ultimately, the salience of any motif depends on the individual reader/viewer and the context of the manuscript(s) production. The BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes in particular were produced within a unique context in comparison to other contemporary Arthurian romances. Consequently, an investigation of that political and social context was necessary for understanding the reception of these volumes. To begin, there was a long history of female rule in Flanders with the countess-ships of Jeanne and Margaret. This likely would have affected how the Dampierre family, and the Flemish nobility more generally, would have viewed powerful representations of women in the Arthurian romances. Late thirteenth-century French Flanders also saw a number of political conflicts, both between the Dampierres and the French crown, and between the Flemish nobility and powerful urban centers. It is possible that the political turbulence of these few decades made conflict a topical subject, affecting the high number of violent battles that were included in the margin and miniature illustration of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. Moreover, the late thirteenth century saw the growth of the textile industry. Within this industry, women were active participants and through it were gaining power and agency. This too, had an impact on the illustration of the BnF fr. 95

and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. It was crucial to investigate the above social and political contexts so as to best understand the significance of the male-female distaff jousts.

The fourth chapter of this dissertation began with an investigation of the text of the Arthurian romances and how the addition of marginal art may have aided in the reception and retention of these complicated and sprawling tales. The length and structure of the Arthurian Vulgate cycle made it difficult to read without anchor points and memory triggers. While the text itself contains just such interpretive aids, the marginal motifs present in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes add an additional layer to the comprehension of the stories. Additionally, as these volumes were likely used as part of an aural and community reading and viewing experience, they would have been read in pieces, spread out over many days, assuming an active memory. The addition of marginalia at key narrative moments would have assisted the reader/viewers in remembering the trajectory of the story and helped them to interpret the significance of each scene. The chapter continued by analyzing the text, miniatures, and marginalia on the folios containing the male-female distaff jousts, as well as related betrothal and spinning motifs. This provided examples of how specific marginal motifs aided in the interpretation of the Arthurian stories they accompanied. It became apparent that this series of motifs were included at moments when female characters exercised their power and agency within the Arthurian narrative. Additionally, these motifs provided commentary on female power in a way that resisted a strict positive or negative binary. The multivalent nature of the male-female distaff jousts, along with the likely diversity among the reader/viewers of these romances, allowed for a number of concurrent and perhaps even conflicting interpretations of growing female power.

When I began this dissertation project, I was careful to heed the advice of Lucy Freeman Sandler for the effective study of manuscript marginalia. She warned against any approach that looked at a single marginal motif in many books and tried to derive a meaning. Furthermore, Sandler encouraged scholars to consider all possible meanings for a single marginal motif, including contradictory or overlapping ones.⁴²⁰ While I do not wish to make any universal claims about the function of the male-female distaff joust in the margins of manuscripts beyond the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes, I do want to briefly consider a handful of related marginal motifs found within a group of early-fourteenth-century Arthurian romances also from French Flanders. According to Alison Stones, these manuscripts were all associated with the diocese of Thérouanne, just as the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes were.⁴²¹ She has additionally suggested that the artists of these later manuscripts would have considered the miniature and marginal decoration of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 when creating their own copies.⁴²²

A highly provocative and sexually explicit marginal motif can be found along the upper border of one of these later manuscripts (Fig. 106). A woman erupts from a tendril snaking across the top margin (Fig. 107). She brandishes a distaff like a weapon above her head and grabs onto the foot of a falling man. The surface of her face is worn and perhaps deliberately destroyed. The man, naked with flowing locks of hair, twists backwards towards the woman. His large and carefully rendered genitals are exposed and he penetrates his own backside with a sword. Blood spurts from the wound. The overtly

⁴²⁰ Sandler, "The Study of Marginal Imagery," 125-126.

⁴²¹ Stones, "'Mise en page' in the French *Lancelot-Grail*," 129.

⁴²² Alison Stones made this comment to the author personally.

obscene nature of the motif, as well as its prominent placement on the page, literally falling towards the miniature and into the central column, forces the viewer to confront the function of this couple. Should this motif be seen as a continuation or offshoot of the male-female distaff joust and does it interact with the text and the miniature of the page in a similar manner?

This male-female pair appears in the Bodleian Library's Ms. Douce 215, also known as the "Rochefoucauld Grail".⁴²³ The Bodleian only possesses forty-five folios of the originally larger manuscript that contained the Arthurian Vulgate cycle. Sotheby's sold the bulk of the original book in 2010 to a private collector, in whose possession it remains, and the final pieces can be found at Manchester's John Rylands Library, Ms. French 1.⁴²⁴ The Bodleian and John Rylands Library folios are the only digitized pages of the "Rochefoucauld Grail", with the exception of excerpted miniatures from the primary image cycle that were released by Sotheby's before the 2010 sale (Fig. 109).⁴²⁵ Dated between ca. 1300 to 1325, this manuscript was produced in Flanders or Artois by the same group of artist-scribes who are identified as having written and illuminated two

⁴²³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 215. Comprising part of the book of *Lancelot*. "Ms. Douce 215," Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries, Accessed July 6th, 2019, https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_4574. Dated to ca. 1315, Flanders or Artois. Stones, "'Mise en page' in the French *Lancelot-Grail*," 136.

⁴²⁴ Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ms. French 1. Comprising part of the book of *Lancelot*. Dated by Manchester as ca. 1300. "Ms. French 1," Manchester Library Search, Accessed July 6th, 2019, https://www.librarysearch.manchester.ac.uk/discovery/search?search_scope=MyInst_and_CI&pcAvailability=false&sortby=rank&vid=44MAN_INST:MU_NUI&mode=basic&userQuery=Ms.%20french%201&submit=Search&query=any,contains,Ms.%20french%201&filter=

⁴²⁵ "Sotheby's to Offer the Rochefoucauld Grail: Witness of the Legend of King Arthur," Art Daily, Accessed July 6th, 2019, <http://artdaily.com/news/42497/Sotheby-s-to-Offer-the-Rochefoucauld-Grail--Witness-of-the-Legend-of-King-Arthur>

other Vulgate cycle manuscripts in French-Flanders, now the British Library, Additional Ms. 10292-4 and Royal Ms. 14 E III.⁴²⁶

In each of these three manuscripts, marginal images are found on the highly illuminated pages of major text divisions, which was much more standard for the decoration of an Arthurian Vulgate cycle than the abundance of marginalia found in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. Despite containing significantly less marginal art, all three of these later, fourteenth-century, manuscripts contain motifs that could be seen as variations of the male-female distaff joust. In fact, by looking at the six available illuminated pages within these three manuscripts, both stylistic and iconographic patterns within the marginal motifs can be noted. Among the marginalia several themes are found repeated throughout the corpus. Some of these themes are unsurprising after an investigation of BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. Humans, monkeys, and hybrids run rampant, playing music, dancing, and hunting various animals (Fig. 113) (Fig. 117) (Fig. 120). Couples embrace and participate in respectable courtly pursuits, such as hawking (Fig. 112). Knights joust, process on horseback, and battle with swords (Fig. 115) (Fig. 117). There is even an example of a nude male figure who is being penetrated in the backside by the beak of a rooster (Fig. 119).

⁴²⁶ “The Rochefoucauld Grail, in French,” Sotheby’s Catalogue Entry, Accessed July 6th, 2019, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/western-manuscripts-and-miniatures-110241/lot.33.html>. London, British Library, Additional Ms. 10292-4 and Royal Ms. 14 E III. Dated to ca. 1315 and the first quarter of the fourteenth century respectively. “Detailed Record for Additional 10292,” Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, Accessed July 6th, 2019, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8572> and “Detailed Record for Royal 14 E III,” Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, Accessed July 6th, 2019, <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7793&CollID=16&NStart=140503>

On folio 3r of Royal Ms. 14 E III, the entire top border is taken up by a dragon-woman hybrid that is engaged in a sword fight with a mounted knight (Fig. 115). The woman appears to block the knight's attack not with a shield, as one would expect, but instead with a basket, perhaps containing her sewing (Fig. 116).⁴²⁷ To the right of this motif a concerned looking woman stands with her hands clasped to her chest and a distaff resting in the crook of her elbow. An almost identical woman also can be found in the bottom margin of folio 76r in Additional Ms. 10292, this time watching a monkey run off with a baby (Fig. 113) (Fig. 114). There is a third instance of a spinning figure in the "Rochefoucauld Grail" as evidenced by Sotheby's original press release (Fig. 110), the first page of which depicts the illuminated elements of an unidentified folio where in the bottom margin a cat couple hawks, and sitting on the left hand is a striped cat in a wig holding a distaff, a motif that visually counters Christ's staff in the adjacent Harrowing of Hell scene (Fig. 111). This is reminiscent of the woman and distaff on folio 141r of BnF fr. 95 who is juxtaposed with a miniature containing male staffs of power; the bishops croziers and the staff of King Uther.

These new distaff and male-female battle motifs portray women somewhat differently than in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. To begin, the women are more monstrous, hybrid creatures. On folio 1r of the "Rochefoucauld Grail" the woman erupts from the border, giving the impression that she has a scaled tail. On folio 3r of Royal Ms. 14 E III the woman in fact does possess hooves, wings, and a tail, giving

⁴²⁷ Anna Dlabáčová has noted that in Lucas van der Heij's *Den spinrocken ghegeven voer een nyeuwe jaer* (The Distaff Given for a New Year) published in 1517 by Jan Seversz there is an allusion to a spiritual sewing basket as an allegory for the figure of Mary. Dlabáčová, "Spinning with a Passion," 191.

her the look of a fantastical creature such as a griffin or dragon. In both images the women have head wraps that flap dramatically behind them and their faces are contorted in dramatic howls or evil sneers. By making the women monstrous the men become more sympathetic. The marginal man depicted in the “Rochefoucauld Grail” is perhaps the most startling example. He is painted with a classically beautiful body, wavy hair, and endowed with a large and prominently displayed penis, all of which accentuates his attractiveness and manhood. While his lady-attacker wields a weapon, this is not the object that actively penetrates him. He has instead chosen to stab himself with his own sword, therefore becoming both the penetrator and the penetrated. By stabbing himself before he can be stabbed with the distaff, the man has perhaps engaged in a final attempt to regain sexual power. This motif demonstrates a profound fear that women might be able to gain dominance in sexual interactions. It does so in a manner that is much more violent, bodily, and obscene than in any of the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volume examples.

Folio 1r of the “Rochefoucauld Grail” introduces the fifth part of the Lancelot cycle, which commences with the tale of the knight Agravain. A miniature appears at the top left of the page and the side and bottom borders are filled with fairly standard scenes of hunting, the playing of music, and dancing. Both the text and the opening miniature depict a scene where Agravain comes upon a tent on a hill that inside houses a bier. The text describes, “Beside the bier sat a knight weeping bitterly; his face was bandaged in four places because of four wounds he had received, and next to him was a seated woman

who had wept so much that she could no longer say a word.”⁴²⁸ The action described in the text is fairly literally rendered in the miniature with Agravain mounted outside the tent, which is missing its front wall so that the viewer can see the bier inside, with the knight and his lady seated and in obvious distress.

The placement of the marginal couple along the top border, literally falling into the miniature below, forces the viewer to confront these two couples together. The woman in the miniature has almost no personal agency. Her only purpose is to grieve so deeply that she silences herself. In contrast, the marginal woman is excessively active and vocal. These images seem to operate as a call and response between courtly love and obscene love, visualizing the two possible extremes of the male-female power dynamic. They could represent a reaction to a male realization that as women gain power men themselves lose some, and this marginal couple visualizes the horror of what that changing dynamic can look like.

If this interpretation is correct than the male-female distaff battle from the “Rochefoucauld Grail” operates very differently from the distaff joust motifs in the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes. In order to fully contend with the meaning(s) and function(s) of this and other marginal motifs from the early-fourteenth-century volumes they would need to be subjected to the same intense study as present here with BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229. This, at present, has yet to be done. All of the marginal motifs discussed above are similar in composition and subject matter, and were used to decorate the pages of Arthurian romances produced in the same region as French-Flanders.

⁴²⁸ Lacy, *Lancelot-Grail: The Old French Arthurian Vulgate and Post-Vulgate in Translation*, Volume. III, 113.

Despite these facts, the difference of twenty-five to fifty years and a new set of artists and patrons seems to have changed and added to the possible meanings of male-female distaff jousts and battles.

In the BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 volumes, the presence of the male-female distaff joust motifs is now better understood. The distaff is an object of power within the margins. It is found alongside moment of the text where women are forwarding the narrative in both positive and negative ways. It is as if the women are using their distaffs to spin the story and weave the strands of time. Moreover, the joust motifs are commenting on the ideas of female agency and power present within the text of the Arthurian romances. They are visualizations of the tension that is created as women gain or exert their power over men. By expressing this tension in the form of violent battles between men and women the compositions become images of “sexual warfare” played out across pages that are rife with images of violence. How the reader/viewer would have understood this body of marginalia likely depended on a number of personal factors. Regardless, the comparisons made between the text, miniatures, and marginalia on each page would have given the reader/viewer the interpretive tools they needed to understand their version of the Arthurian tales, and extract lessons from them.

FIGURES

ALL IMAGES REMOVED DUE TO COPYRIGHT

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Appendix

THE DISTRIBUTION OF MARGINAL DECORATION IN THE BNF FR. 95 AND BEINECKE MS. 229 VOLUMES

This appendix is meant to be viewed in conjunction with Alison Stones' catalogue entries on BnF fr. 95 and Beinecke Ms. 229 which can be found at *Gothic Manuscripts 1260-1320* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2013), Part I, Volume II, 550-575. Any discrepancies between this appendix and Stones' work are noted below. Stones' catalogue gives extensive descriptions of the miniature cycle, which is not repeated here, but she only lists some over the over 512 marginal motifs. This appendix lists every marginal motif in the manuscripts and organizes them based on the volume in which they appear, subdivided by quire, then folio number, and then margin (top, left, right, bottom). It also indicates which type of decorative border the marginal motifs stand on or extend out of. "Miniature Artist" refers to the artist who completed either the full-column, half-column, or historiated initial on the folio. Where two artists are listed, they either worked together or their where two miniatures on the folio (see Stones' catalogue for more details). "Border Artist" refers to the artist who completed all the marginal motifs and the borders they are attached to. In places where the "Border Artist" is listed as "N/A" there only appears some small border decoration extending out from a half-column miniature or historiated initial with no marginal motifs present. This makes it impossible to determine the hand of the artist or suggests that the border was completed by the same artist who created the miniature.

* Stones mistakenly stated quire AA

** Stones mistakenly stated 217v

*** Stones mistakenly stated quire EE

Manuscript	Quire	Folio Number	Miniature Artist	Border Artist	Border	Top Margin	Left Margin	Right Margin	Bottom Margin
BnF fr. 95	A	1r	2	2	Type A	Two angels playing instruments	Angel playing instrument	bagpiper	Naked man with wild hair holding sword and scabbard bitten in backside by dragon terminal; dog chasing a rabbit
	A	4v	1	2	Type A	Hawk; headless naked man bitten in backside by dragon terminal			
	A	6r	1	1	Type A				Two rams head terminals
	B	10r	1	?	Type B				
	B	12v	1	2	Type B	Angels playing trumpets; left with banner <i>argent</i> or <i>or</i> , <i>a chevron sable</i>			Four interlaced dragon terminals biting one another
	B	13v	1	2	Type A	Hybrid male terminal with <i>cale</i> defends himself with sword and buckler against naked man with club; terminal arms with axe			Youth has shot dog with arrow; male and female terminal heads kissing
	C	18r	1	2	Type A	Hybrid creature with dog or lion head			Hybrid creature with head of man
	C	22v	1	1 or 2	Type A		Hybrid man terminal shoots arrow at bird		
	C	24r	1	2	Type B	Dog with walking stick and bird			Hybrid men, one playing rebec and one plying harp

	C	24v	1	2	Type B	Mounted knight/soldier terminal with sword, shield, and banner <i>or a chevron sable</i> ; Dog chasing a stag			Bird; Man in <i>cale</i> pushing woman in a wheelbarrow; Man kneeling before woman with a crossbow bolt and dog
	D	25v	1	2	Type A				Hybrid man terminal with pointed hat holds a sword and cuts his own elongated neck
	D	30r	1	2	Type A	Dragon winged hybrid terminals with heads of man and woman kissing			Hybrid man terminal with Jewish hat holding axe
	D	32r	1	2	Type B	Two men terminals shoot arrows at two knights/soldiers terminals wielding swords			
	E	33v	1	2	Type A	Two hybrid men terminals wield swords and buckler			Hooded man with walking stick carrying basket; animal head terminal with academic hat
	E	39r	1	2	Type A	Hybrid creature with dog head and hybrid creature with a face on his backside wields axe			Man shoots arrow at a stag; terminal heads of man with <i>cale</i> and woman with hairnet
	E	40v	1	2	Type B				Rooster; heads of animal (bear?) and man combined on a single terminal
	F	42r	1	2	Type B	Dragon hybrid terminals with head of man and woman intertwined			Two men battling with swords and bucklers; hybrid bird terminals
	F	43r	1	2	Type B	Two centaur terminals playing hard and gittern; two dragon terminals with male heads			Hybrid stork terminals with gold balls in beaks
	F	44v	1	1 or 2	Type A	Naked wild man (or lion headed man) with sword and scabbard being bitten in back by dragon terminal			

	G	49v	2	2	Miniature Border	Hybrid dragon creature			
	G	52r	1	2	Type A	Centaur terminal with sword and buckler attacks kneeling man terminal with buckler			
	G	52v	1	2	Type A	Male and female hybrid terminals playing trumpets with banners and ringing bells			Charging unicorn
	G	55r	1	2	Type B	Two men with <i>cale</i> wielding bucklers and swords attach dragon terminals			Dog in border
	H	59r	1	2	Type B	Hybrid bird creature and dog; two sets of male and female terminal heads			Two terminal centaurs ringing bells; two male terminal heads with large flat hats
	H	61v	1	1 or 2	Type A	Hooded centaur playing an instrument; three men playing a game with balls			Phyllis riding Aristotle
	H	64v	1	2	Type B	Dragon terminals biting two doctor terminals holding up an ointment jar and urine flask; dog			Monkey with walking stick carrying three baby monkeys in basket on back; peg legged man with pointed hat and hood playing bagpipe
	I	66v	1	2	Type B	Two terminal men playing rebec; two terminal male heads; frontal hare			Monkey beating fellow monkey with a club
	I	69v	1	2	Type B	Two soldier/knight terminals playing trumpets			
	J	74r	1 or 2	1 or 2	Type A	Man with two swords battling two dragon terminals who bite his hair and feet			Soldier shoots arrow at bird with ball in its mouth
	J	76v	1 or 2	1 or 2	Type B				Bird hybrid terminals wearing pointed hats

	J	78r	1 or 2	1 or 2	Type A				Two centaur terminals joust carrying shields, left <i>or a lion sable</i> , right <i>sable a lion or</i> (Flanders/Hainaut and Brabant)
	K	82v	1 or 2	1 or 2	Type A	Naked youth trumpeting and riding an elephant terminal			Naked wild man (or man with wild hair) terminal with two swords attacking two dragon terminals
	K	86v	1	1 or 2	Type A	Soldier/knight centaur terminal fighting with lion terminal; four animal head terminals with balls in their mouth			Soldier/knight terminal stabs himself with a sword and hold shield
	L	89v	1	2	Type B	Two soldier/knight terminals shoot arrows at mounted front facing knight with shield and banner			
	L	94v	1	2	Type B				
	M	99v	1	2	Type A	Centaur soldier/knight terminal with sword and buckler battles mounted knight terminal with falchion; dragon terminal			Woman terminal wearing hairnet plays harp
	M	100r	1	2	Type B	Two soldier/knight terminals fight with swords and are being bitten by dragon terminals			
	M	101v	1	2	Type B				Two women terminals wearing hairnets one spinning from a spindle to a niddy-noddy and the other spinning from a spindle to a cloth covered distaff; dragon terminals
	N	106v	1	2	Type A	Red/blue devil terminal playing gittern; man terminal in pointed hood playing harp with baby (or baby animal) on back			Man terminal with red horns on head holding axe (unfinished)

	N	108r	1	2	Type A	Two centaur terminals wearing helmets fight, both with shields and one with a sword; two animal head terminals			Man holding or throwing a large rock
	N	108v	1	2	Type B	Two ram terminals charge towards one another			
	O	113v	1	2	Type A	Soldier/knight centaur terminal with sword being bitten by a dragon terminal; stag hybrid terminal			Man shot an arrow at hybrid man terminal wearing an academic hat
	O	120r	1	2	Type B	Two soldier/knight terminals fight dragon terminals with swords and shields			Monkey crouched in interlace border
	P	123v	1	2	Type B	Soldier/knight terminals with swords and shields <i>or a chief azure fretty argent [white] and azure fretty argent [white] a chief or</i> ; male and female terminal heads			
	P	125v	1	2	Type A	Lion terminal bites another rebec playing lion terminal			
	Q	132r	1	2	Type B				Two soldier/knights with shields and animal head inside interlace border
	Q	134r	1	2	Type B	Two women terminals, one pulling hair and one looking in mirror; two dragon terminals			Two women terminals, one pouring coins in a chest and one drinking from a bowl

	R	138v	1	2	Type A	Tonsured centaur terminal reading a musical manuscript; male and female terminal heads			Rabbit; male terminal with sword and scabbard stabs himself
	R	141r	1	2	Type A	Centaur terminal wearing flat hat fights dragon terminal with sword; entwined dragon head terminals			Woman sits with back facing viewers and spins from distaff to spindle; dragon terminal
	S	149v	1	2	Type A	Centaur terminal with sword fights man terminal with sword wearing <i>cale</i> , being bitten by dragon terminal; stag terminal			Man with lance and shield <i>chevronny or [yellow] and sable</i> stalks leaping dog
	S	152r	1	2	Type A	Man wearing <i>cale</i> blows horn and points to three dogs chasing a stag terminal			Bird; man plays drum for tumbling bear
	T	153v	2	2	Miniature Border	Centaur with sword holds severed animal head			
	T	156v	1	2	Type B	Two sets of male and female dragon terminal hybrids kissing			Rabbit holding banner <i>or a cross sable</i>
	T	157v	2	2	Miniature Border		dragon head biting edge of miniature		
	T	158v	1	2	Type B	Nude youth in center border pulling together male and female headed hybrid terminals; two male hooded hybrid terminals			Acrobatic nude man with genitalia erased in interlace border
	T	159v	1	2	Type B	Two stork terminals drinking from bowls			Two sets of dragon terminals biting one another
	U	162v	1	2	Type B	Animal face in border interlace			

	U	166r	1	2	Type B				Male headed dragon terminal wearing <i>cale</i> looking at female headed dragon terminal wearing hairnet
	U	167r	1	2	Type A				Male headed dragon terminal, bald with long beard
	V	171v	1	2	Type A	Male dragon terminal hybrid shoots arrow at centaur terminal with sword and buckler			
	V	173r	1	2	Type A	Male terminal with two jugs pour liquid into a bowl that naked male terminal with wild hair is drinking from			
	V	173v	1	2	Type B				Four goat head terminals
	W	177v	1	2	Type B	Two centaur terminals with swords attach a two headed male/dragon terminal hybrid			
	W	181r	2	2	Miniature Border		Dragon terminal extends out from historiated initial		
	X	186v	1	2	Type B				Male and female headed dragon terminals
	X	190v	1	2	Type A	Hooded centaur terminal shot arrow into backside of naked man with wild hair and horn on head with stork poking his eye			Male terminal with beard and pointed hood drinking from bowl
	X	191v	1	?	Type A				
	Y	195v	1	2	Type B				Two men lifting/carry large rocks; lion in interlace border with open mouth or an object in his mouth
	Y	196v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				

	Y	198v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	Y	199v	2	2	Type A	Two soldier/knight centaur terminals jousting, shields <i>or 3 besants azure and or a saltire azure</i> ; man with hawk			Man wearing <i>cale</i> and holding two swords attacking naked man with red horned devil's mask
	Z	201r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	Z	203v	1	2	Type A				Soldier/knight reloading a crossbow with his foot
	Z	205r	1	2	Type A	Two centaur terminals blowing trumpets			Woman walking on her hands
	Z	207r	2	2	Miniature Border		Lion with long tail sitting on end of miniature		
	Z	207v	1	2	Type A				Soldier/knight centaur with sword being bitten by dragon terminal; dragon terminal biting itself
	Z	208r	2	2	Miniature Border		Animal head below miniature		
	Z*	208v	2	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid below miniature		
	AA	209v	1	2	Type A	Hybrid colored devil with pitchfork rides naked man			Man pushes woman in a wheelbarrow
	AA	210r	2	2	Miniature Border		Tonsured hybrid with bat wings below miniature		
	AA	214r	1	2	Type A	Monkey hybrid stabbing bottomless man wearing bishop's miter in backside with two bloody swords			Man juggles plates on sticks
	AA	215v	1	2	Type B	Hooded bottomless man with prominent genitalia being bitten by two dragon terminals			Dog in border interlace

	BB	217r	2?	2	Miniature Border		Dragon hybrid next to miniature		
	BB	218r*	1	2	Type B				
	BB	219r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	BB	221r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	BB	223r	1	2	Type A	Two soldier/knight terminals jousting			hybrid man/dragon terminal wearing pointed hood
	CC	226r	1	2	Type A	Two animal heads			Mounted soldier/knight and woman jousting, woman holding distaff; monkey with stick holding red ball
	CC	226v	1	2	Type A	Hybrid creature with red face carries off naked woman pulling her hair	Angel terminal holding stick entwined in border		Male and female headed entwined dragon terminals
	CC	230v	1	2	Type B	Two addorsed centaur soldier/knights with helmets, swords, and shields battle naked men with swords and sticks			
	DD	235r	1	2	Type A	Soldier/knight centaur terminal with sword and shield fights griffin terminal			Rabbit
	DD	237r	1	2	Type A	Monkey bagpiper and monkey trumpeter both carrying basket of baby monkeys on back			Male terminal juggling swords
	DD	238v	1	2	Type B	Two facing monkeys with shields and banners, <i>gules</i> and <i>or chevronny sable</i>			Male terminals playing rebec, and pipe and tabor
	DD	239r	1 and 2	2	Type B	Two soldier/knight terminals with swords fight dragon terminals			

	DD	239v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	DD ***	240r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	EE	242r	1	2	Type B				Man in pointed hat stabs lion with sword and hold shield; hawk/stork hybrid
	EE	242v	1	2	Type B	Two hybrid terminals with animal's heads with tusks wield axes			Two centaurs with shields and lances joust
	FF	249v	1	2	Type B	Two monkeys with shields <i>or a bordure sable charged with besants or and an escutcheon sable and or a lion sable</i> fight dragon terminals			Woman holds out garland to kneeling man
	FF	250r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	FF	251r	1	2	Type B	Dog and rabbit			
	FF	254r	1	2	Type A	Man wearing <i>cale</i> with no bottoms plays pipe and tabor, stork hybrid pokes man in bottom; dog and rabbit			Woman holds wreath out to scholar seated at desk (Aristotle and Phyllis?)
	FF	255r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	GG	259v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	GG	261r	1	2	Type A	Centaur terminal playing trumpet; hybrid creature; two faced man terminal playing trumpets			Bird; man playing bagpipes; man in stag costume; stag headed terminal
	GG	261v	1	2	Type A	Two men fighting over dice game			Hybrid creature; man with hawk
	GG	262r	1	2	Type B	Hybrid man/bird creature; hawk			Woman walking on her hands; man playing bagpipe
	HH	267v	1	2	Type B	Two women terminals pulling their hair			

	HH	268r	1	2	Type B	Monkey eating; centaur terminal with sword and shield <i>gironny or and azure</i>			Archer aims at soldier/knight that holds up tall tabernacle
	HH	268v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	HH	269r	1	2	Type B	Two monkeys fighting			Man/bird hybrid
	HH	270v	1	2	Type B				Stork hybrid; dog in interlace border; man bagpiping
	HH	272r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	HH	272v	2	2	Miniature Border	Bagpiping hybrid coming out of top end of miniature			
	II	273r	1	2	Type B	Front facing rabbit; 4 dragon terminals biting each other			
	II	277r	1	2	Type B			Man standing on one leg holding portative organ	
	II	279v	1	2	Type B	Dog in interlace border			
	II	280v	2	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid lion creature holding banner <i>sable a lion or</i>		
	JJ	281r	2	2	Miniature Border		Horned hybrid attached to miniature		
	JJ	281v	1	2	Type A	Naked man with wild hair and sword fighting two dragon hybrids			
	KK	291r	1	2	Type B	Two centaur hybrids fight with swords and shields <i>or fretty azure and or</i>			Two soldier/knights, one wielding sword and other drawing sword and wearing circular cusped ailettes

	KK	292v	1	2	Type A	Soldier/knight with sword and buckler fighting lion and dragon terminals			Man with wild hair riding lion
	KK	295v	1	2	Type A	Centaur terminal playing bagpipe; man with hurt leg walks with a stick			Hybrid creature; man/dragon hybrid terminal combs hair and looks at himself in the mirror
	LL	297r	1	2	Type B	Two mounted knights joust; shield in foliage border			Cripple walks on stools; hybrid creature; bird terminals with balls in their beaks
	LL	300v	2	2	Miniature Border		King hybrid with scepter attached to miniature		
	LL	301v	1	N/A	Miniature Border				
	LL	302r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	LL	303v	1	2	Type A	Two hybrid creatures			Dog and rabbit
	M M	307v	1	2	Type B				
	M M	309r	1 and 2	2	Type A	Hawk/centaur hybrid terminal with stick beats naked man terminal			Lion/bird hybrid; stork; devil creature with red face with lance stabs naked soldier/knight with sword
	M M	311r	1	2	Type A	Naked man with wild hair playing trumpet rides a stag terminal			Man shoots arrow at hybrid man terminal with beard and red horns
	NN	313r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	NN	314v	1	2	Type A	Centaur terminal wearing scholars hat holds flask			Hybrid man creature wearing a bishop's miter
	NN	318r	1	2	Type A				Hybrid bird creature; male terminal juggling three swords
	NN	319r	1	2	Type A	Centaur terminal shoots arrow at bird			Man walks on stilts; hybrid king/bird creature

	OO	321r	1	2	Type A	Man shoots arrow at dragon terminal; bird terminal with long beak			Bird; man traps duck with long stick
	OO	323v	1	2	Type B	Bird			Two storks peck at interlace border
	OO	324v	1	2	Type B	Hybrid creature			Dragon terminals; hybrid creatures; man with gridiron (portcullis gate?) bagpiping and woman dancing
	OO	326r	1	2	Type B	Man with falchion attacks dragon terminal			Bird; naked man and man in undershirt carried on shoulders of two other men wrestling
	OO	327r	1	2	Type A	Lion terminal		Man with hat has shot bird below him	Hybrid creature; cripple creature walks with stick
	PP	330v	1	2	Type B	Soldier/knight centaur terminal fights monkey terminal			Two men terminals bagpiping
	PP	334v	1	2	Type A	Bald centaur terminal trumpets			Hybrid creature; two men trap bird with string and decoy
	QQ	338v	1	2	Type B	Bird			Monkey eating
	QQ	339r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	QQ	339v	1	2	Type B	Female terminals, one spinning onto a niddy-noddy the other spinning with a distaff			Two stork hybrids in scholar's hats
	QQ	340r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	QQ	340v	1	2	Type A	Bird; two angel terminals one playing cithata and other rebec			Naked man in mail coif holding banner and shield <i>or a bordure sable</i>
	QQ	343r	1	2	Type B	Man in pointed hat lays eggs in nest; centaur terminal plays two trumpets			Cripple monkey eating and walk with stick

	QQ	343v	1	2	Type B	Dragon terminals			Two monkey terminals with bishop's miters holding music and singing
	RR	345r	1	2	Type A	Male and female centaur terminals embracing; rabbit			Mounted monkey with whip drags bound monkey behind horse with rope
	RR	345v	1	2	Type B				Male and female terminal heads kissing
	RR	347v	1	2	Type A	Hybrid; Centaur terminal holding curved knife and bird			Monkey shoots arrow at lion
	RR	348r	1	2	Type B	Dragon terminals; naked man with back facing viewers inserting a finger into his anus			
	RR	350r	1 and 2	2	Type A	Dragon terminals			Androgynous naked human pulling hair being bitten by dragon terminal
	RR	351r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	RR	351v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	RR	354r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	SS	355r	1	2	Type A	Soldier/knight centaur with sword attacks hybrid creature; dog chasing stag; tree			Hybrid creature; monkey teacher beats monkey student, other monkey students sit nearby with book and wax tablet
	TT	380r	1	2	Type A				Soldier/knight centaur terminal with sword attacks monkey terminal; bird
Beinecke Ms. 229	A	1r	2	2	Type A	Hooded man blowing hunting horn, dog chasing stag; man shooting arrow at bird	Hybrid male terminal playing stringed instrument; squirrel		Rabbit plucks stringed instrument; monkey washing seated man holding bowl; man fights stork with club and shield

	A	3v	2	2	Type A	Man and male terminal with swords and bucklers attach a hybrid woman/dragon terminal wearing veil			Man wearing <i>cale</i> holds out pair of wings to bird flying above
	B	11v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	B	14r	2	2	Type B	Woman terminal playing rebec and male terminal playing pipe and tabor; monkey bagpiping			Two men playing trumpets; bishop terminal
	B	15v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	C	18r	2	2	Miniature Border	Three women looking out over walls of castle with tower			
	C	23v	2	2	Miniature Border		Man playing trumpet with banner <i>or a lion sable</i> (Flanders); hybrid creature		
	C	24r	2	2	Miniature Border		Bearded head hybrid with funnel-shaped (papal?) hat and holding crosier in hoof; stork pokes snail with beak		
	D	25r	2	2	Type B	Bishop/dragon hybrid terminal with crosier; bird			Man swallowing sword; mounted knight with spear carrying a severed head in the saddle bag by his knee
	D	27v	1	2	Type A	Two male terminals with swords, one splitting the other's head			Fable: fox and stork with head and neck in butter churn
	D	29r	2	2	Type B	Woman terminal dancing, male terminal playing a stringed instrument; Bare breasted mermaid holding a fish			Bird

	D	31r	2	2	Type B	Man with a falchion and shield fighting a lion; two birds	Man playing rebec wearing flat hat		Dragon terminal; man wearing hood and bottomless laying eggs in nest
	E	39v	1	2	Type B	Two monkey/male hybrid terminals with two swords each fight two hooded human/dragon terminals			Soldier/knight shot arrow in the backside of a man with no bottoms pointing to a line of text above him
	E	40v	1	2	Type B	Two male terminals, one with a sword and one with an axe attach male terminal with wild hair			Monkey with a hat squatting and reading a book; rooster
	F	43r	2	2	Miniature Border	Dog chasing rabbit			
	F	48r	2	2	Miniature Border		Peacock		
	G	50r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	G	52r	2	2	Miniature Border	Male headed terminal with pointed hat			
	G	56r	2	2	Type A	Two male terminals trumpeting			Man shoots arrow at sitting goat
	H	62v	2	2	Type A	Woman terminal playing portative organ, male terminal in vair-lined hat and mantle with vair collar playing rebec			
	I	66r	1 and 2	2	Type B	Male terminal with spear and shield <i>a lion sable a bend gules</i> stabs lion			Hooded hunter blows horn, two dogs chase after boar; man/bird hybrid in interlace border
	I	66v	2	2	Type A	Man shoots arrow at stag	Male/female headed dragon terminals kissing; man with walking stick carries two moneys on back in basket		

	J	75r	1 and 2	2	Type B	Dragon terminal; hybrid man creature trumpeting; hybrid creature		Rabbit front facing with tabernacle on head	Hooded man bagpiping, woman dancing
	K	83r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	K	85v	1 and 2	2	Type B	Woman terminal holding baby, donkey			Man reloading crossbow, bolt in mouth; dragon terminal; centaur shooting arrow
	K	88r	2	2	Miniature Border	Hybrid creature			
	L	92v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	L	94v	2	2	Type A	Two birds	Two dragon terminals		Two rabbits hunting centaur, one with horn and the other carrying a man on a stick
	M	98r	2	2	Type B	Male and female hybrid terminals; dragon terminals			Man shooting arrow at rabbit
	M	99r	1 and 2	2	Type A	Hooded male terminal spears dragon terminal			Mounted man blows horn, dog chases boar
	M	99v	2	2	Type B	Two dragon terminals sharing a head			Two mermaids wearing hairnets, one playing rebec and other plucking a stringed instrument
	M	100v	1 and 2	2	Type B	Two soldier/knight/mermen joust bearing shields <i>or a lion gules</i> (Holland) and <i>or a lion sable</i> (Flanders)			Mounted joust between veiled woman and cleric in white habit and black cloak, his lance is broken, both with shields <i>or a cross gules</i> and <i>argent a lion gules</i>
	M	104v	1 and 2	2	Type A	Bishop sitting backward on donkey preaching to man wearing <i>cale</i>			Male and female terminals kissing, man holding hawk
	N	106v	2	2	Type A	Bird in cage, two monkeys catching birds, one sitting on basket holding string and other catches two birds on string and post			Female headed terminal

	N	109r	2	2	Miniature Border				Dog stalking rabbit
	N	110v	2	2	Type A	Dragon terminal bites man in backside as man stabs it with sword			Rabbit; monkey in scholars hat sitting, holding flask, places hand on stork; betrothal scene man kneels before woman who hands him a wreath
	N	112r	2	2	Miniature Border		Bird		
	O	113r	2	2	Miniature Border				Striped cat creature with mouse (?)
	O	115r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	O	119r	2	2	Type B	Man sitting and looking at bird and covering face with hand; man's face in border			Naked men, one on lion and one on goat, trumpeting
	P	120v	2	2	Miniature Border		Horse (perhaps the knights in the neighboring historiated initial?)		
	P	123r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	P	126r	2	2	Type B	Dragon terminal			Two dragon terminals; mounted monkeys jousting, shields <i>or a lion sable</i> (Flanders) and <i>or a cross sable</i> ; topless merman bagpiping
	Q	128r	2	2	Miniature Border				Bird (female peacock?)
	Q	132v	2	2	Type B	Bird; man blowing horn, lion running			Man reloading crossbow, bolt in mouth; two male headed terminals look at woman/stork hybrid wearing hairnet
	Q	133v	2	2	Type B	Three bishop terminals, one holding a crosier			Fox climbing on rabbit reading a book
	Q	135r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				

	R	137v	2	2	Type B	Woman dancing and man dancing and playing instrument			Lion chasing goat (?)
	R	139r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	R	140v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	R	141v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	R	143v	2	2	Type A	Male terminal with shield spearing another male terminal with axe			Peacock
	S	147r	2	2	Miniature Border				Monkey trumpeting at a second monkey's backside
	S	148v	2	2	Miniature Border		Male face in border		
	T	153v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	T	154v	2	2	Type A	Male and female headed dragon terminals intertwined			Man holding flask out to veiled woman
	T	156v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	U	160r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	U	164r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	U	164v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	U	165r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	U	167r	2	2	Type A	Male/dragon hybrid terminal talking to a male headed terminal with beard			Bearded centaur with spear and shield <i>gules</i> [orange] <i>a lion argent</i> [white]
	V	168r	1	N/A	Miniature Border				
	V	169r	2	2	Type B	Man/dragon hybrid terminal; lion headed terminal; mounted knight with spear, shield, and rearing horse confronting snail on rock			Dog, tree, and three rabbits

	V	174v	2?	2	Type B	Man with spear and horn slung across chest following a dog with a rabbit in its mouth			Hawk eating smaller bird; two dragon terminals biting each other
	V	175r	2?	2	Type A	Man terminal has shot arrow into dragon terminal			Man holding goblet in his mouth and balancing spear on his foot
	W	177v	1	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid creature		
	W	178r	1	2	Miniature Border				Two dragon terminals and stork
	W	180r	1?	2	Type B	Bishop headed dragon terminal			Cripple man walking with sticks; woman dancing on the back of hooded bagpiper
	W	181r	1?	N/A	Miniature Border				
	W	183v	1?	2	Type A	Boar (?)			Three men watch as fourth man catches bird with stick trap and curved weapon
	X	184v	1?	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid creature		
	X	187r	2	2	Type A	Male and female terminals playing rebecs, woman dancing			Horse caparisoned in <i>or a lion sable a bend gules</i> , knight kneeling before lady
	Y	194v	2	2	Type A				Angel terminal playing rebec and angel/dragon hybrid terminal playing triangle
	Y	197v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	Y	199r	2	2	Type B	Monk headed terminal, hooded male terminal, male face in border interlace			Fox running off with rooster, woman stalking fox with distaff and spindle
	Z	201r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	Z	202v	2	2	Type A	Male terminal bagpiping and woman terminal dancing			

	Z	204r	2	2	Type A	Male and female headed terminals kissing; monkey in tree; seated man holding bare foot			Male/dragon hybrid terminal wearing flat black hat
	AA	209r	1	2	Type A	Mounted king with spear blowing horn and chasing two dogs hunting a stag		Man with winged headdress playing a harp	Two men fighting with swords and bucklers
	AA	213v	1	2	Miniature Border	Man/dragon hybrid terminal			
	AA	214v	1	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid creature		
	AA	215r	1	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid creature		Bird
	BB	217v	1	2	Miniature Border		Two hybrid creatures		
	BB	220r	1	2	Miniature Border		Male terminal shot arrow into backside of bottomless soldier/ knight in chainmail hood holding bow and quiver		
	BB	222v	1	2	Type B	Dragon terminal wearing flat hat			Bottomless hooded man with walking stick
	BB	223r	1	2	Type A	Man/dragon hybrid terminal with sword and buckler attacks centaur terminal archer			Hybrid male terminal with wild hair stabbing himself with a sword
	CC	225r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	CC	231r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	DD	233r	1	2	Type B				Male/dragon hybrid terminal
	DD	235r	1	2	Miniature Border		Female headed terminal		
	DD	238r	1 and 2	2	Type B	Dragon hybrid wearing hood; stork			Squirrel and bird holding cracker(?)

	EE	241v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	EE	242v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	FF	248r	1	2	Miniature Border		Dragon terminal; man hold up tabernacle		
	FF	248v	1	2	Type B	Bird			Dragon terminals
	FF	250r	1	2	Miniature Border		Unicorn		Stag
	FF	250v	1	N/A	Miniature Border				
	FF	253r	1	2	Type B	Four dragon terminals biting each other			Eve spinning and Adam delving by a tree
	FF	255r	1	2	Miniature Border		Dragon terminal		
	GG	257v	1	2	Type A	Archer with two dogs hunt stag; horned centaur terminal blows horn; male and female headed hybrids kiss			Cripple soldier/knight with walking stick and sword
	GG	258v	1	2	Miniature Border		Bird hybrid creature		
	GG	260v	1	2	Miniature Border	Three headed centaur terminal blows two trumpets with banners <i>a lion sable charged with a bend gules</i> and <i>a lion sable charged</i>			
	GG	262r	1	2	Type B				Two men with swords and bucklers face off
	GG	262v	1	N/A	Type B				
	HH	264v	1	2	Miniature Border		Centaur terminal		Hybrid creature with male head wearing a scholar's hat
	HH	267r	1	2	Type B	Creature with basket and arrow			Centaur terminal with pitchfork stabs dragon terminal; two dogs fighting
	HH	267v	1	2	Type A	Two angels receive soul of King Mordrain from miniature; centaur terminal with wild hair shoots arrow at rabbit			

	HH	269v	1	2	Miniature Border				Hybrid creature
	II	272v	1	2	Type B	Front facing mounted knight with helmet, sword, and shield being attacked by two monkey terminals, one with sword and one with axe			Man on rearing horse carrying whip
	II	276r	1	N/A	Miniature Border				
	II	277r	1	2	Type B				Man bagpiping and woman dancing
	JJ	282v	1	2	Type B	Soldier/knight riding a cock holding whip; male headed terminal with Jewish hat			Two lion/dragon hybrid terminals
	JJ	287r	1	2	Type B	Man shoots arrow at rabbit terminal; dragon terminal with axe holds man in mouth			Dog chasing rabbit holding rabbit hanging on a stick
	KK	289r	1	2	Miniature Border				Bird; two centaur terminals trumpeting
	KK	290v	1	2	Type A	Two centaur terminals carrying two men on their shoulders, men are wrestling			
	KK	293r	1	2	Type A		Dragon terminal	Man with pointed hat shot arrow into neck of stag-headed terminal	Four men play a game with balls
	KK	294r	1	2	Type A	Two monkeys fight with lances and shields both <i>or a bordure engrailed sable</i> , centaur terminal with long neck and bishop head tries to cut off own head with sword			

	KK	295r	1	2	Type A	Naked king with shield and spear in mouth of dragon terminal; man with sword and buckler stabs one dragon terminal, is bitten by another			Two monkeys catch bird with string and stick trap; headless naked male terminal holding sword falls into border
	LL	297v	1	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid creature		
	LL	298v	1	2	Type B	two dragon terminals			Monkey with basket and arrow; hybrid creature
	LL	300v	1	2	Type A	Man with wild hair fighting lion			Woman churning butter
	LL	303r	1	2	Miniature Border	Centaur terminal wearing pointed hat, blowing horn and holding sword			
	MM	307r	1	2	Miniature Border	Centaur with wild hair playing rebec			
	MM	308r	1	2	Type A	Two birds; male terminal bagpiping			Soldier/knight standing on two dragon terminals holding up miniature
	MM	311r	1	2	Type A	Centaur terminal pouring liquid from a vase into a bowl that a naked male terminal with wild hair is drinking from			Cripple man with walking sticks; bishop terminal with crosier
	NN	313r	2?	N/A	Miniature Border				
	NN	315r	2?	2	Type B				Soldier/knight with shield stabbing lion with a sword; bishop and veiled woman head kissing in interlace border; male headed hybrid terminal
	NN	318r	2?	N/A	Miniature Border				
	OO	320v	1	2	Miniature Border		Unicorn stabbing horn into miniature		
	OO	321r	1	N/A	Miniature Border				

	OO	325r	1 and 2	2	Type A	Two rams running at each other	Centaur terminal with two swords attacks an archer		Two monkeys reading books, third monkey beats one of the reading monkeys
	OO	326r	2	2	Type B	Two pairs of male and female headed dragon terminals kissing, man in scholar's hat and woman in hairnet, bishop and woman in veil			Hybrid creature; dog; soldier/knight holding sword and lifting leg
	PP	329r	2	2	Type A	Mounted woman and soldier/knight jousting, woman with distaff, knight without a weapon			
	PP	332r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	PP	333r	2	2	Type A	Two centaur terminals fight with swords and bucklers			Two men wrestling; hybrid dragon/stag terminal
	QQ	337v	2	2	Miniature Border		Soldier/knight terminal		
	QQ	339r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	QQ	341v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	RR	345r	1	2	Miniature Border	Bird hybrid terminal with ball in mouth			
	RR	346r	2?	2	Type B				
	RR	347r	2	2	Type A	Two soldier/knight terminals fight with swords and shields			Hooded man dancing
	RR	348r	2	2	Type A	Bald man with axe and no bottoms attacks hybrid snake creature			Mounted knight terminal with sword and shield charges naked male terminal with wild hair fleeing
	RR	350r	2	2	Type B				
	SS	352v	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	SS	353v	2	2	Miniature Border		Male/stork hybrid shoots arrow		

	SS	356r	2?	2	Type A				Male and female heads in interlace border; bald centaur terminal holds up miniature
	SS	356v	2?	N/A	Miniature Border				
	SS	357r	2	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid creature in scholar's hat		
	SS	357v	2	2	Type A	Dragon terminal			Man with sword and buckler fights lion
	SS	359r	2	2	Type A	King and queen headed dragon terminals			
	SS	359v	2	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid creature		
	TT	360v	2	2	Type B	Two sets of male and female dragon terminal hybrids kissing, woman with hairnet, man with scholar's hat, king and queen			
	TT	361r	2	N/A	Miniature Border				
	TT	361v	2	2	Miniature Border		Hybrid man with wild hair pouring liquid from vase to bowl and drinking from bowl		
	TT	362r	2	2	Type A	Lion/dragon hybrid terminal fighting dragon terminal with sword			Soldier/knight keeling with spear and shield pointed at hybrid soldier/bird
	TT	363r	2	1	Miniature Border	Naked king with hawk			