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Images of the Vernacular in the Taymouth Hours

Jessica Brantley

Scholars immersed in the textual culture of the western Middle Ages generally think of 'the vernacular' as a linguistic category; the late medieval centuries, after all, were the first great age of literary production in the national languages of Europe. But the concept of the vernacular offers particular value for the study of interactions between word and image, for the term has a common visual application, as well. 'Vernacular architecture', for example, describes indigenous, practical buildings whose local purposes are more important than any classical ancestry or monumental aspirations.¹ I am interested here in both senses of the word as they intersect in one medieval manuscript, for the copious picture cycles that fill the margins of the early fourteenth-century Taymouth Hours (London, British Library ms Yates Thompson 13) are neither monumental nor Latinate. These are 'images of the vernacular' in every imaginable sense. To begin with, they are simply 'vernacular' images, in spite of their rather high quality; they treat subjects more homely, in a style less formal, than the traditional devotional cycles around which a book of hours is typically structured.² More importantly, some of the cycles also represent in an unusually forthright pictorial way the 'vernacularity' inherent in French and English romances: in particular, illustrated episodes from *Bevis of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwick* decorate ff. 8v-17r. The vernacular is not only one of the textual modes employed by the Taymouth Hours, I will argue, but is also in an important sense its pictorial subject.

In order to make this argument, I will investigate the images from *Bevis of Hampton* as the center of vernacular practice in the Taymouth Hours.³ What is most striking about them, in contrast to the other more loosely 'vernacular' imagery with which the manuscript is teeming, is their explicit relation to an identifiable contemporary poem, which of course does not appear in its textual form in this devotional book. These images clearly stand in for the secular romance in some sense, precisely

because their literary analogue is lacking; instead of pictures that illustrate a poem, they are a pictorial manifestation of an object that is only elsewhere manifest verbally. It is therefore important to ask what the images alone can tell us, in addition to asking what relation they bear to the poems from which they are physically dissociated. Linda Brownrigg has usefully read the Taymouth pictures against absent texts.⁴ I read them here in their manuscript context, as well, to investigate the story that these images independently tell. What local effects are produced by setting a visual text next to an unrelated verbal one, these images from romance-narrative alongside the Anglo-Norman prayers that they accompany? Though the images apparently have nothing to do with the devotional material that proximity argues they 'illustrate', their common vernacular form provides, nonetheless, for important connections.

The Vernacular Book of Hours

The idea of the vernacular, both visual and verbal, is at issue almost everywhere in the Taymouth Hours. Although I will be most concerned with the images that represent *Bevis of Hampton*, the wide range of vernacular expression in the manuscript creates an important context for reading and understanding them. Before turning to the *Bevis*-series, it will be useful to give a brief survey of the complex pictorial and verbal contents of the book.

The Taymouth Hours, thought to have been produced c. 1330, contains highly diverse pictorial cycles: not only the traditional miniatures accompanying the hours and offices, but also an unusual number of lengthy picture-narratives in the lower picture-space.⁵ Although I will follow convention in referring to these lower illustrations as *bas de page*, they are not strictly 'marginal'—they reside within the frame of the text-block and were clearly provided for in the planning of the book (see PLATE I, e.g.). These cycles display varying degrees of thematic relevance to the texts and images above them. Mostly devotional, they relate in strongly associative, if not explicit, ways to the religious content of the book: cycles depicting the lives and martyrdoms of saints illustrate the Memoriae, Christ's Passion illustrates the Short Office of the Cross, and the Infancy and Public Life of Christ illustrate the Hours of the Virgin. But the manuscript also presents a great number of chivalric scenes that bear less obvious relevance to its devotional texts. This romance material ranges widely. In an emblematic 'ieu de dames', women hunt various animals along the borders, but without a clear sense of a particular or even a continuous plot (ff. 68r–83v).⁶ Single images imply familiar stories, such as Samson battling a lion (f. 7v), or a

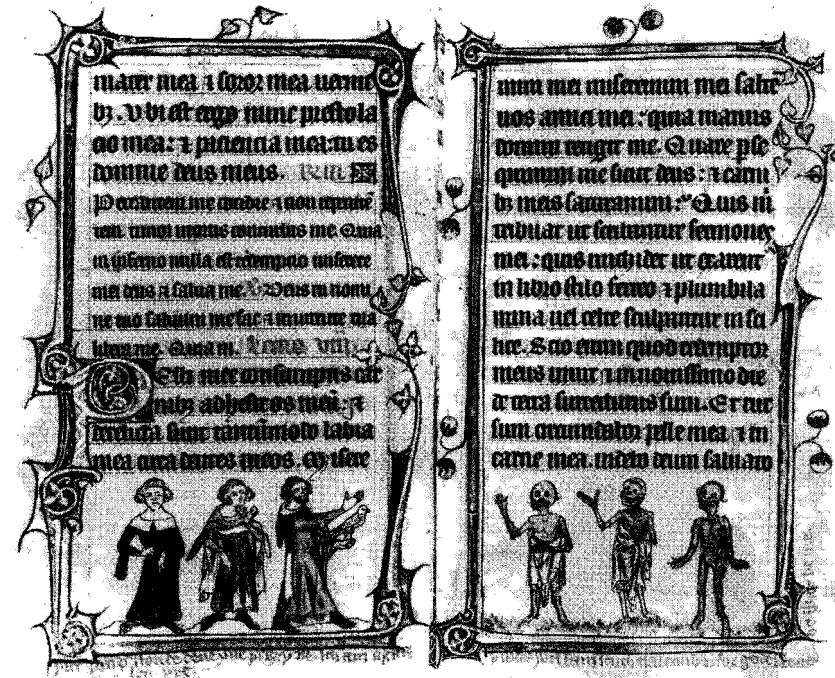


PLATE I. *The Three Living and the Three Dead*. London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), ff. 179v–180r.

virgin's capture of a unicorn (f. 8r). In an intriguing narrative of woman's inconstancy, an old knight is repudiated by his lady (but appreciated by his dog) after he rescues her from the embraces of a wild man, a *wodewose* (ff. 60v–67v). A few contemporary manuscripts contain comparable picture-cycles based on similar, and sometimes identical, romance narratives;⁷ the Smithfield *Decretals* (BL MS Royal 10.E.IV; c. 1330–40) is the most notable analogue, comparable both in date and in subject matter.⁸ But even though the Taymouth Hours is not the only fourteenth-century devotional manuscript—or even the only book of hours—to incorporate secular imagery, the amount and scope of such imagery here is remarkable.

The assorted 'vernacular' imagery in the Taymouth Hours can be loosely unified, though, in its strong relation to verbal narrative. Not every image bears the same relation to actual texts, but all of these pictorial cycles gesture towards literary experience in one way or another. Although no folk-narrative of the *wodewose* is known to exist elsewhere

in a literary form,⁹ in this manuscript the pictures are accompanied by brief explanatory Anglo-Norman captions: 'ci vient le Wodewose et ravist un des damoyseles coillaunt des fleurs', 'ci port il la damoysele en ses bras', etc. (see, e.g., PLATE 9). Such captions are significant in the complex of verbal and visual relations this book presents; for, in the Latinate context of the hours (in this case the Matins of the Hours of the Virgin), they represent one way in which vernacular images are explicitly linked with vernacular text. The invention of captions to accompany the pictures here—when other versions represent the story in images alone—suggests that the creator of the Taymouth Hours followed an impulse to combine image with text whenever possible. And the abundant Anglo-Norman captions in the Taymouth Hours are not limited to this folk-story, or even to the secular realm. The *bas de page* cycle depicting the Last Judgement and Pains of Hell, for example, expresses itself similarly in both visual and vernacular languages; a caption on f. 144r informs viewers 'en tel menere sunt les eretikes penez'. Vernacular captions are thus not allied necessarily here with the secular over the sacred, but with marginal imagery over Latin words;¹⁰ the vernacular language gives voice to the various pictures that run through this book, image and text both ancillary to the Latin hours that are its center.

Further, Anglo-Norman is not the only non-Latin language 'imaged' in the margins of the Taymouth Hours: the book also contains a scrap of English poetry appended to a picture. At the end of the Office of the Dead (ff. 179v–180r; PLATE 1), the Taymouth Hours presents in captions one English version of the poem known as the *Three Living and Three Dead*, joined with the familiar picture of the surprising encounter: 'Ich am agast. me thinketh ise. that 3onder stonde deuelen thre. Y was wel fair. scuch ssaltou be. for godes loue be war be me'.¹¹ There is a difference, of course, between the kinds of captions we have already seen, which provide description for a viewer, or even instructions for an illuminator, and lines like these that give voice to the figures represented.¹² However, these speeches interpret the pictures they accompany in language more practical and less monumental even than the Anglo-Norman captions, and their inclusion extends the vernacular impulses visible already in the text and image combination that makes up the folk-narrative.

Finally, however, vernacular language is not confined in the Taymouth Hours to captions alone. The book deploys non-Latin text not only in margins, but sometimes within the text-block itself, where vernacular texts bear a more complex relationship to vernacular imagery. The codex opens with a standard Latin calendar, including its

familiar iconography of the signs of the zodiac and labors of the months, but the prayerbook proper begins with Anglo-Norman devotions to be said before and during the mass: prayers at the turning of the priest towards the people, prayers at the elevation of the host, prayers for all the dead, prayers to Christ, to the Virgin, and to St Katherine. Most intriguingly, these are also the folios that present the pictorial quotations from *Bevis of Hampton* and *Guy of Warwick*. More clearly even than the fabliau of the *wodewose*, these images emblemize non-Latinate language, for they are drawn from identifiable romance-texts, and romance itself is a quintessentially vernacular genre.¹³ The devotional matter of the book thus begins at the moment of the Taymouth Hours' strongest—if also most disparate—alignment with the vernacular mode. Literal vernacular texts occupy the center of these pages, and imagined ones occupy the margin. The miscellaneous manuscript page is unified, both devotional text and secular picture, by its exploration of larger issues of vernacularity.

Placing the Taymouth Hours' striking use of vernacular expression in the context of other books of this type remains surprisingly difficult. Although art historians have long admired and studied their often elaborate illuminations, books of hours remain one of the most under-investigated aspects of late medieval reading.¹⁴ Even L.M.J. Delaissé's foundational treatment of the subject is ultimately oriented more towards localizing and dating these books than towards thinking about what their enormous popularity meant for the late-medieval reading public.¹⁵ Many unexamined axioms surround these volumes: the evidence of late-medieval wills implies that they were more often owned by individuals than any other type of book, and the sheer number still remaining—in the tens of thousands—argues that they must represent the most common kind of late-medieval reading.¹⁶ But it is precisely their vast number (in addition to their textual conservatism) that has prevented literary medievalists from taking them fully into consideration. Even such intriguing features as their strong connection with female readers remains more often affirmed than truly investigated.¹⁷ And certainly we remain in a state of near-total ignorance about the distribution and deployment of Latin and vernacular languages in these books.¹⁸

Notwithstanding these many uncertainties, it is not an enormous surprise to find vernacular interests in a fourteenth-century book of hours. Even though it is almost always built around the Latin Hours of the Virgin, the book of hours, as a lay prayerbook, frequently makes use of vernacular representation, as well. Paul Saenger, one of the few after Delaissé to consider the book of hours from a literary standpoint, speaks casually of the 'intricate and often bilingual structure' of these books.¹⁹

Time Sanctified, the large exhibition organized by Roger Wieck primarily from the collection of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, can serve as an intriguing (if perhaps not entirely unbiased) sample through which to investigate quantitatively the distribution of languages in books of hours: one discovers there that of the 119 volumes surveyed, ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, only 43 (36%) were produced entirely in Latin.²⁰ And the entirely Latin book of hours might seem to be a humanist phenomenon more clearly than a churchly one: of those 43, 31 (72%) were made after 1450.²¹ A survey of the manuscript collection of the Huntington Library reinforces these impressions: only twenty-three of its seventy-seven books of hours (30%) include Latin alone. Of these, 16 (70%) were made after 1450.²² A much more extensive study would clearly be necessary to describe conclusively the varieties of languages in books of hours—it is the sort of information that hasn't always interested cataloguers of manuscripts²³—but in this admittedly small sample it appears that the presence of French (including Anglo-Norman) is almost normative. It seems clear that vernacular devotion played a measurably important part in the rise, if not always in the later life, of these prayerbooks.

Since cataloguers infrequently report such linguistic data, the evidence is not currently available that would allow one to say how surprising it is to find three languages represented in one of these manuscripts. Of course, bi- and even trilingualism is a significant feature of late-medieval English linguistic culture; many languages coexisted, dividing or sometimes sharing generic duties.²⁴ Given this, one might reasonably expect to find many examples of trilingualism in this most common genre of medieval book. But the physical conjunction of all three languages in an English book of hours seems at least uncommon, if not entirely unique to BL MS Yates Thompson 13.²⁵ One should not be surprised to find vernacular captions or prayers in a book of hours, but the range of vernacular representation in the Taymouth Hours is particularly broad. For one codex of this devotional kind to imbricate all three languages so thoroughly indicates a more than common interest in the possibilities and implications of such combinations.

Part of the difficulty in organizing information about the distribution of languages in books of hours is the large variety of ways in which vernacular language can appear in these manuscripts. The sort of formal 'oreisoun' we find at the start of the Taymouth Hours is the most likely type to be remarked in catalogue descriptions, but, as we have seen, it is only one example of the kind of vernacular text such a book can contain. Vernacular prayers added to the Latin Hours are different in kind from the vernacular captions that identify images, and one suspects that

many more examples of texts in French or English appear in marginal positions than cataloguers necessarily choose to notice.²⁶ Some celebrated captions have been noted: the Carew-Poyntz Hours, a descendant of the Taymouth Hours, includes vernacular rubrics accompanying its sequence of Miracles of the Virgin,²⁷ and the Rohan Hours, an early fifteenth-century book, provides French captions for each of its pictures.²⁸ Perhaps more important than these later examples, even very early English books of hours often incorporate vernacular rubrics; the thirteenth-century de Brailes Hours, for example, includes next to each picture Anglo-Norman captions probably written by the illustrator (William de Brailes). More than mere instructions for the artist, these rubrics were meant to assist the reader in meditation on the images.²⁹ Even without exhaustive study, it is clear that in these few examples a strong and intriguing connection is suggested between vernacular captions and visual experience.

Indeed, some of the most interesting implications of the vernacular languages in the Taymouth Hours are played out in the manuscript's illustrations. Michael Camille has argued for a widespread connection between vernacular language and gothic imagery in the late-medieval period, claiming 'that the language in which manuscripts are written can affect their mode of illustration and that a crucial component in the development of the style and imagery in English gothic art is its locus in vernacular words rather than the Latin Word'.³⁰ This is a large claim, but one can see the force of it in this particular example. Camille does not include books of hours in his study (which primarily concerns a gothic bible), but consideration of the genre would lend support to his general thesis. The Taymouth Hours, especially, attests in both pictorial and verbal languages to the vernacular interests visible broadly in books of hours, and in late-medieval culture.

This manuscript is certainly not alone among books of hours to display an interest in vernacular texts and vernacular pictures. Books of hours enable lay piety, and they also clearly exist to promote the imagery of devotion. But the Taymouth Hours is remarkable among them because of the way it combines these facts, because of the *visual* prominence this codex gives to its deep vernacular interest. The Taymouth Hours examines 'images of the vernacular' at the intersection of text and picture, through the sheer abundance of its visual offerings combined with the complexity of its textual presentation. In particular, the *Bevis of Hampton* picture-cycle—vernacular images of vernacular texts—exists for practical purposes close to the heart of this book, and it is those purposes, and those pictures, that the balance of this essay will explore.

Bevis of Hampton in the *Taymouth Hours*

Of all Middle English romances, *Bevis of Hampton* is perhaps the most deeply 'vernacular', if by that term we mean indigenous, practical, and popular. The romance had a remarkably active life in image and legend even outside of its widespread and unstable textual tradition.³¹ It was used in many different settings in the centuries after the *Taymouth Hours* was created, transformed to speak usefully to local needs, rather than upholding any abstracted or immutable idea of the text. The hero's connection with the city of Southampton, for example, was celebrated there through images in civic spaces: the city's Arundel Gate takes its name from the romance, and Bevis and Ascopart were once pictured on the Bar Gate.³² Popular romances in general also formed subjects for tapestries, and *Bevis of Hampton* is recorded as the subject of a tapestry belonging to Henry V.³³ Slippage between the tales of Bevis and legends of St George produced a mixed iconography of both heroes in carvings in King's College, Cambridge.³⁴ The fact that these stories had a visual life quite apart from their textual manifestations shows how popular they were, in both the specialized and the more colloquial sense. The well-known stories were standard enough to be recognizable through pictures alone, often without the aid of any identifying text. And yet, the stories were also capacious enough to be appropriated and changed repeatedly by the proximate culture—although Bevis is always recognizably himself, the near influences are telling. The occurrence of this story in the *Taymouth Hours*, then, is only one example among many of the ways in which this particular narrative can be made to serve purposes other than those determined by the romance-text alone.

In the *Taymouth Hours*, the *Bevis of Hampton* picture-cycle begins on f. 8v and proceeds over four openings, ending with the image on f. 12r. The episode narrated occurs near the middle of the lengthy romance (ll. 3070–91), when Bevis has successfully stolen his lady-love, Josiane, away from her would-be husband King Ivor. They take refuge in a cave with their retainer Boneface, but as soon as Bevis goes out to hunt for food, lions appear to threaten the remaining two.

Here the pictorial text begins. The first opening (PLATE 2) sets up the contrast between male and female that will structure the series that follows: on the left, Josiane is seated on a rock or small mound, her hands clasped together in prayer. She is approached by both a male and a female lion, but remains untouched by either of them.³⁵ Josiane is a 'kinges douzter, queen and maide both' (3102), and therefore the lions cannot harm her; instead, the female licks her, as a sign of gentleness.³⁶ On the right, in contrast, Boneface has already been attacked by both

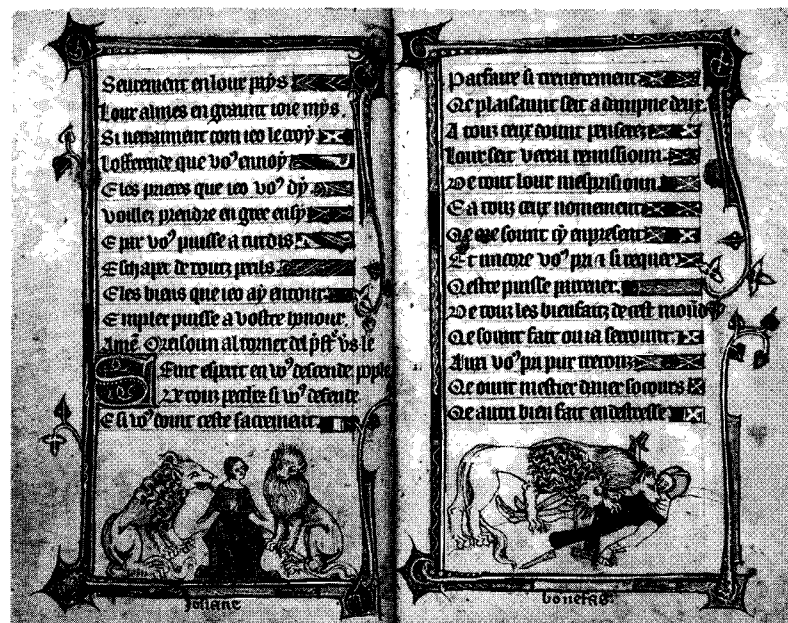


PLATE 2. *Josiane with gentle lions; Boneface killed*. London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), ff. 8v–9r.

lions and killed. He lies dead, his sword broken, lions gnawing at his body. The next pair of images presents a similar division (PLATE 3), but the unfortunate Boneface has been replaced by a courageous Bevis. Josiane, on the left, seems to be restraining both lions, at least one of whom notices the arrival of the hero, on the right. The female, no longer tame, snarls and raises her paw in a hostile gesture that is perhaps derived from heraldic symbols: a lioness rampant. Bevis' answering gesture is best read as simply demonstrative, rather than aggressive. He stands, holding his spear and shield, the space produced by his inaction rather awkwardly filled by a tree. This pair of images offers a moment of stasis, a prelude to a fight, which is duly represented in the next opening.

Here (PLATE 4), in a dynamic image filled with sharp claws, fluid tails, and swirling skirts, Josiane holds the male lion back. Opposite her, Bevis appears engaged in a still strangely static combat; the lioness, having broken from one text-block into the other, has taken the hero's shield in her mouth. The repetition of Bevis' gesture and of the placement of the tree behind him make one wonder if this image is perhaps based upon

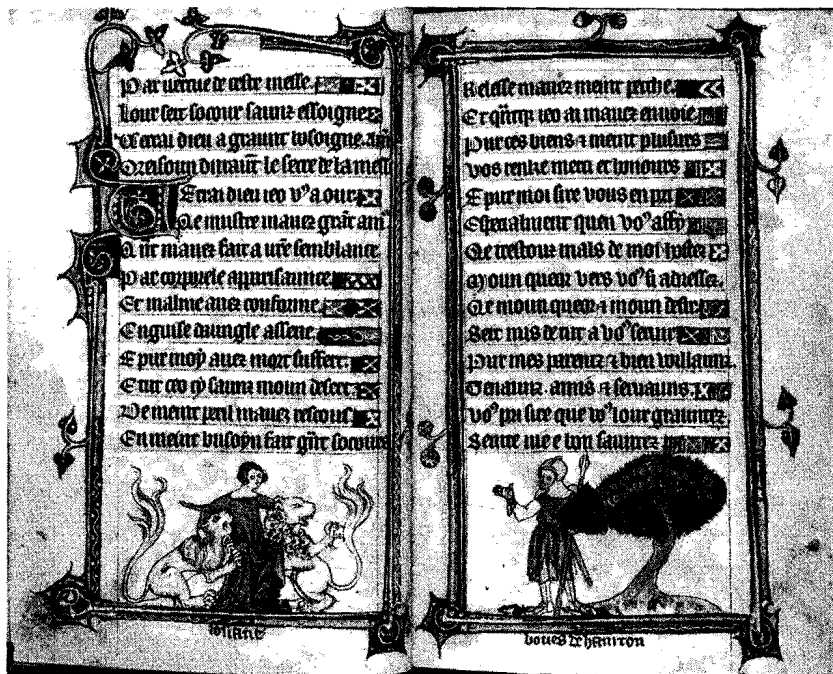


PLATE 3. *Josiane restraining lions; Bevis appears.* London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), ff. 9v-10r.

that of the previous page. For the hero here is scarcely more active than he was there; Josiane battles her lion far more vigorously than he. In the final pair of pictures (PLATE 5), however, the balance of action shifts. Josiane kneels on the left, lifting her hands in prayer, the picture-space left empty by her lack of action now occupied by a tree. All suggestion of movement has been transferred to the right, where Bevis, having successfully dispatched the lion with his sword, attacks the lioness with his spear.

These eight images are not highly accomplished in an aesthetic sense, but they do succeed in communicating a story. They constitute a general and impressionistic narrative that can be understood by a reader of the *Taymouth Hours*, even without any knowledge of their connection to *Bevis of Hampton*. It is words, in fact, that make our identification certain—*tituli*, situated just underneath the text- and picture-block, signal the connection of these pictures to particular verbal constructs outside the bounds of this codex. But the quotation is coherent, and the structure of

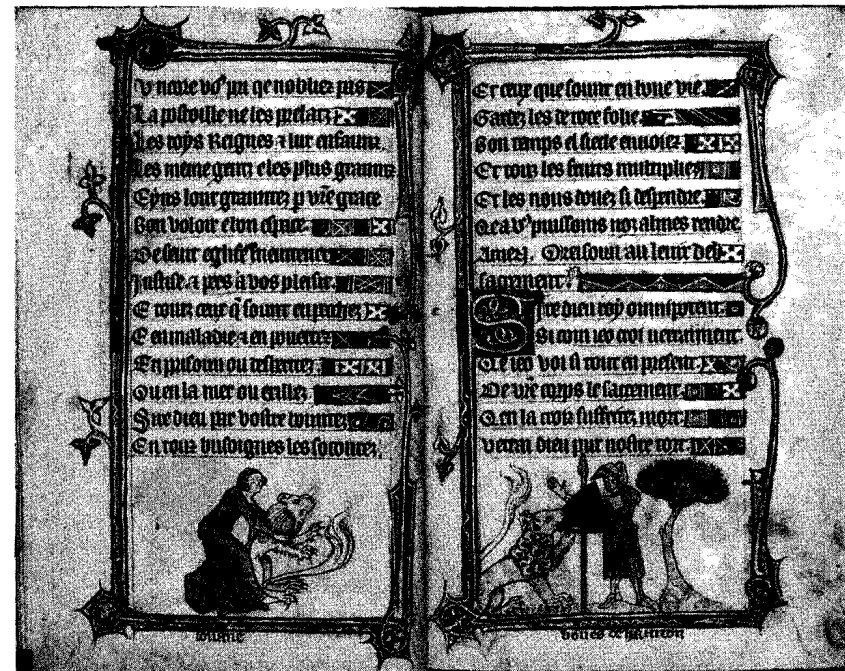


PLATE 4. *Josiane wrestling lion; lion bites Bevis' shield.* London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), ff. 10v-11r.

the picture-narrative remains intelligible on its own. The series is planned as a set of pendant images, each opening presenting a picture of Josiane, Bevis' lady, on the left, and one of the two knights on the right.³⁷ To begin with, her success contrasts starkly with their failure: her nobility and virtue vanquish the lions easily while Boneface is killed outright and Bevis is seriously threatened. But the balance shifts in the course of the story: Josiane's ethical control over the lions lessens as Bevis' physical control increases. Her active restraint of them gives way to his decisive intervention in the final scene.

Such a progression reflects faithfully the interests of the romance as it exists in textual versions, for of course the romance of *Bevis of Hampton* survives in both Anglo-Norman³⁸ and Middle English,³⁹ as well as in this pictorial form. In a particularly fortuitous coincidence, *Bevis* seems to have been 'Englished' at precisely the same time that the *Taymouth Hours* was produced—the well-known Auchinleck ms (National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 19.2.1) is roughly contemporary. The episode



PLATE 5. *Josiane at prayer; Bevis kills second lion.* London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), ff. 110-127.

illustrated in the Taymouth Hours is missing, in part, from that manuscript, but I quote it here (following Brownrigg) from Auchinleck supplemented when necessary by Sutherland (BL Egerton MS 2862). Bevis' first concern is that he conquer the lions by himself; consequently, he rejects Josiane's initial offer of help and explains to her:

Dame, forsoth, ywys
I myzt zelp of lytel prys
There y had a lyon quelde
The while a woman a-nother helde! (3113-6)

When she, concerned for his safety, tries to restrain the lion again, he is still more insistent:

Bcuës bad hire go sitte a-doun
And swor be God in Trinite,
Boute zhe lete that lioun be,
A wold hire sle, in that distresse,
Ase fain ase the liounesse. (3165-9)

And Josiane takes the lesson to heart:

Tho zhe ne moste him nouzt helpe fizte,
His scheld zhe brouzte him anon rizte;
& zede hire sitte adoun, saunfaile,
And let him worthe in that bataile. (3170-3)

This, however, is where the pictures depart from the Middle English text. The textual Josiane simply brings the hero his shield and sits herself down, but her pictorial equivalent also kneels in prayer. Turning from active participation to the intercessory power of prayer, the lady continues to help her knight, but now in a more appropriate way.⁴⁰ Physical help is the last thing Bevis wants or will tolerate—spiritual help, then, is what the pictorial Josiane must ultimately offer.

Josiane's prayer has been a site for speculation about which vernacular text furnished the Taymouth artist with his source. Brownrigg cautiously finds the evidence inconclusive.⁴¹ Certain details of the pictorial episode—the clear distinction between lion and lioness, the implication that Josiane intervenes twice in the fight, and the lioness' taking Bevis' shield in her mouth—seem to derive from the Middle English version. Other details seem to derive from the Anglo-Norman—notably the 'rocher' upon which Josiane sits in the early pictures, and the vague suggestion that she prays. As her knight battles for her, the French princess hopes 'Jhesu Crist vus garde, ke de mere fu ne', which is certainly a stronger indication of prayer than the Middle English hero's oath 'be God in Trinite'. But the importance of prayer in the picture-cycle is more pronounced than even the Anglo-Norman text would indicate,⁴² and its more likely inspiration nearer to hand. The vagueness with which these pictures are related to either the Anglo-Norman or the Middle English accounts of *Bevis of Hampton* better points to another conclusion: that the meaning of the series derives only in part from either textual version. I would like to suggest a more obvious, though oblique, inspiration for the preponderance of prayer in this narrative picture-cycle—the very Anglo-Norman prayer that the cycle accompanies. Although Josiane cannot be imagined to be speaking these particular prayers—they are to be said during the mass, not during an encounter with hostile lions—her acts of prayer are parallel, not only to Bevis' prowess, but to the devotional activity of the owner of the book. While representing the *Bevis*-story, the pictures also in a real sense *illustrate* the Taymouth Hours' Anglo-Norman 'oreisouns'.

We do in fact know something, though less than we might like, about the person who might have been saying these prayers. Like so many books of hours, this manuscript contains anonymous images of a layperson

assumed to have been its original owner, in this case a royal woman.⁴³ A crowned woman appears four times in the course of the prayerbook: kneeling before the spectacle of the elevation of the host (f. 7r; PLATE 6), kneeling with a bearded man (f. 18r; PLATE 7), kneeling with a crowned and bearded man (f. 118v; PLATE 8), and kneeling alone as she is presented by the Virgin to Christ (f. 139r). It is significant that all of these owner-portraits (if we are to accept the images as such) show their subject at prayer; the pious attitudes expected of the book's reader are clarified by the repetition of the devotional postures in which she appears. Although she sometimes appears alongside a praying man, the particular emphasis on *feminine* prayer in these images is plain. Perhaps the most compelling visual statement of the power of women's piety is made by the praying king and queen pictured in the *bas de page* on f. 118v, who mimic the image of the Agony in the Garden, shown above. The queen's prayerful attitude repeats Christ's exactly, suggesting that she participates in the clearest kind of *imitatio Christi*.

If one looks closely, one sees the importance of feminine prayer emphasized, not only in the revised *Bevis of Hampton* and in the portraits of the royal woman who first owned the book, but throughout the images that fill the Taymouth Hours. The folk-narrative of the *wode-wose*, too, ends with its unhappy protagonist kneeling in prayer (f. 67v; PLATE 9); again, not a denouement suggested anywhere by the caption-text: 'Cy sen ua li uiel chiualer od sun leurer et guerpist la damoysele seule pur sa denaturesce.' These Anglo-Norman words do not indicate any kind of repentance on the part of the misbehaving lady, but the images offer her a redemptive option. The vernacular pictures in this book of hours, more than any of the texts with which they are associated, suggest that their disparate narratives can be understood to form a coherent exploration of appropriate feminine roles, a topic of undoubted interest to their feminine readership. Identifying such general preoccupations in the manuscript helps to make sense of the *Bevis*-cycle's concern with Josiane—much greater than that of the story in its textual form. She takes by design fully half of the available visual space, though only 28 of 125 lines are devoted to her role in the Middle English version of the lion-taming episode.

One might even imagine that the relatively great ferocity of the female lion—she is shown twice fighting with Bevis, whereas his fight with the male is completely elided—acts as a kind of negative exemplum. Josiane's bad behavior is united with the lioness', after all, in Bevis' threat that he would eagerly kill either one. And the identification of women with lions is made pictorially, as well as textually, if one considers the contents of the Taymouth Hours as a whole, for the



PLATE 6. Crowned woman praying at elevation of host; St. Jerome. London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), f. 7r.



PLATE 7. Crowned woman kneeling with bearded man; Creation-scene. London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), f. 18r.



PLATE 8. Agony in the Garden; crowned couple at prayer. London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), f. 118v.

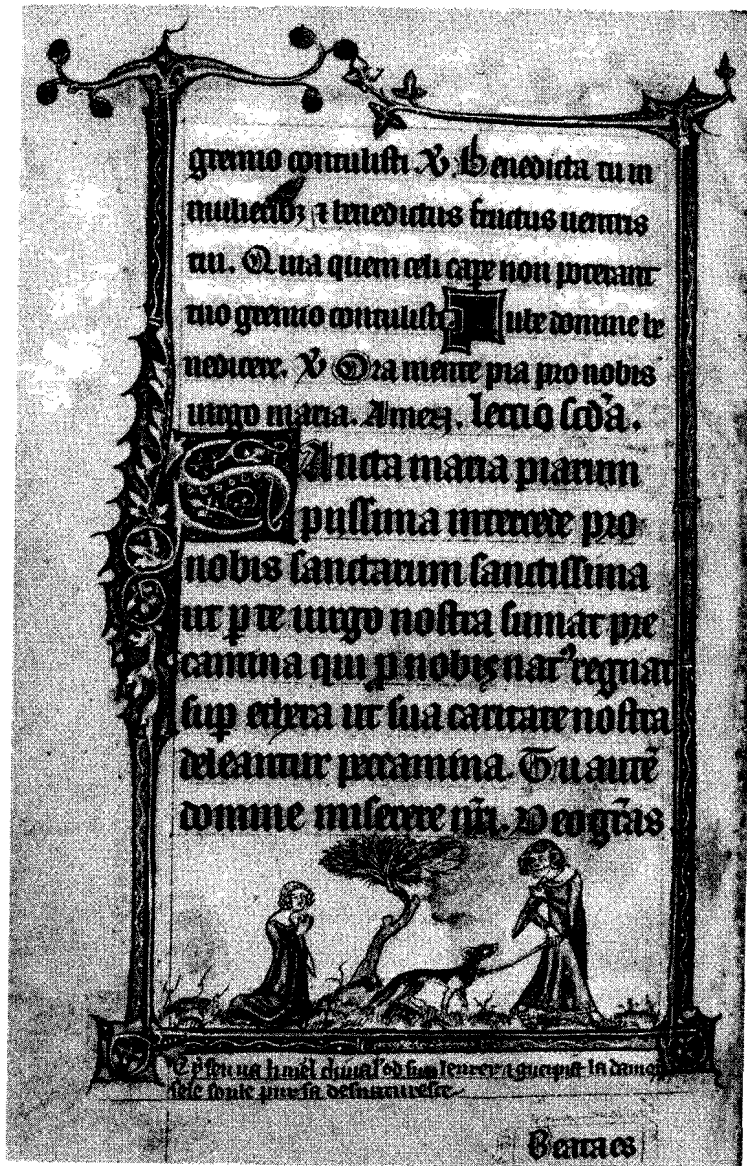


PLATE 9. Knight leaves unfaithful woman for loyal dog. London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), f. 67v.

manuscript is populated with lions that indicate connections with Josiane, and also with the female owner of the book. A lion holds the shield of the owner's family arms (f. 151), and, in a significant interplay between central and *bas de page* images, the lion wearing a crown in the creation-scene echoes the praying queen above (f. 18; see PLATE 7).⁴⁴ The royal woman who first read this book is a lion, these pictures tell us, and the lessons learned by lions apply also to her. One of those lessons might be indicated by the image of Sampson (f. 7v), for although he was ultimately undone by the malicious intervention of a woman, this image depicts him victorious in a battle with a lioness.⁴⁵

But although this evidence seems to argue that some roles are inappropriate for women, neither the pictorial series narrating Josiane's adventures nor the association of women with lions makes a purely misogynist point. If lions can represent evil forces, women are sometimes the ones doing battle with them—and not only *via* the spiritual mechanism of prayer. The question of appropriate feminine roles is taken up most profoundly in the *Taymouth Hours* by its varied representations of the Virgin. In the narrative of her life, Mary is shown in some characteristically pious attitudes, such as the coronation-scene in which she bends over her prayerbook (f. 59v); the Mother of God does, of course, model devotional practice. But in a series celebrating Miracles of the Virgin, she is repeatedly shown wrestling devils in a way that can only approve of more literal struggles:⁴⁶ some striking instances are the Virgin's rescue of a soul from the devil ('Cy ure dame tent le deable un alme', f. 155v), and an episode in the Theophilus-story ('Cy tent ure dame la chartre du diable', f. 160r; PLATE 10). In this second image, remarkably similar to Josiane's initial intervention with the lions (see PLATE 4), the Virgin's corporeal battle with the devil works to elide the difference between physical and spiritual efforts.

Moreover, the logic of the visual structure establishes provocative parallels here between fighting lions bodily and praying for their defeat, between Bevis' sorts of combat and Josiane's options.⁴⁷ The trajectory of the *Bevis of Hampton* picture-cycle finally prefers Josiane's prayer to her physical intervention, but the symmetry of each picture-pair makes a kind of equation between wrestling lions physically and asking God for deliverance from them. Although images of prayer itself outweigh other kinds of positive female activity, the manuscript's pictures as a whole argue more for links than for contrasts between the two. From the 'ieu de dames' to the folktale of the *wodewose*, from Josiane's prayer to the Virgin's scourge, the kinds of agency represented by feminine prayer are equated with feminine activity of other kinds. The reader of

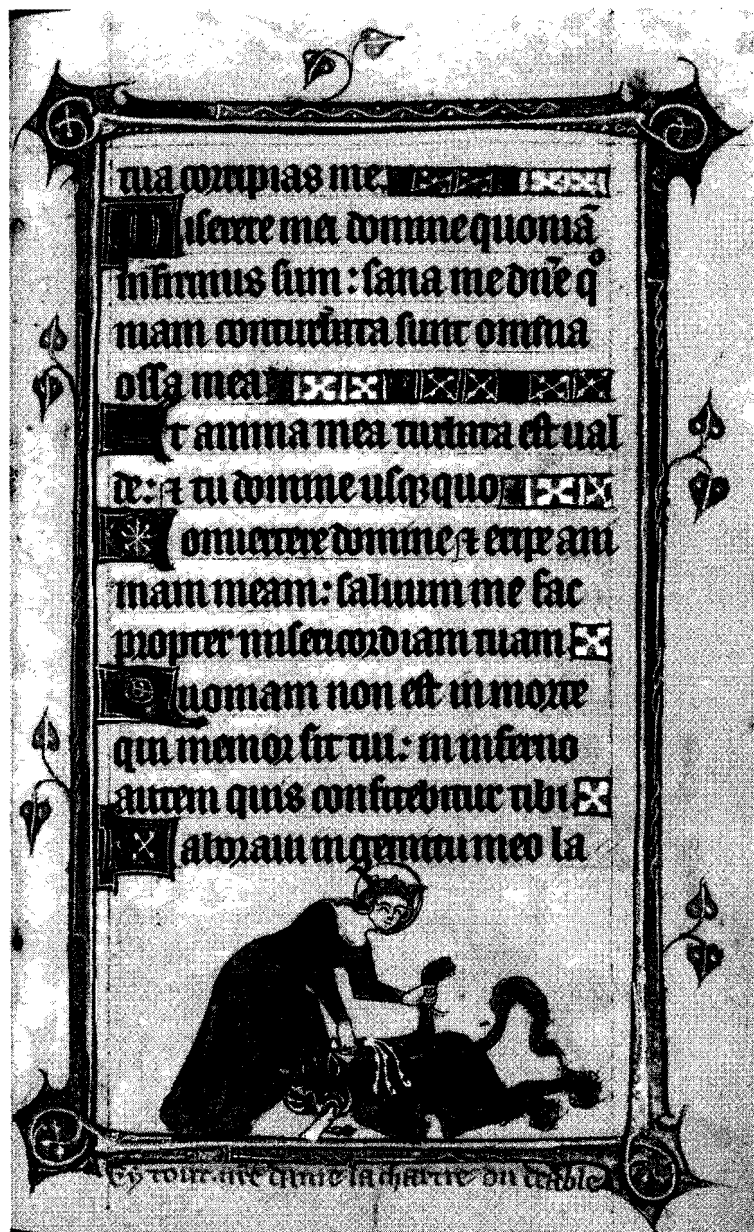


PLATE 10. *The Virgin binds the devil.* London, BL MS Yates Thompson 13 (*Taymouth Hours*), f. 160r.

the Taymouth Hours must have imagined as she sat in mass that she was Josiane battling lions: she asks to be rescued from 'toutz perils'—perils of a romance heroine as well as the more spiritual variety. Through an imaginative leap in which she transforms herself from a misbehaving lion into the Virgin performing a miracle, the woman reading the Taymouth Hours might see the efficacy of her prayer enacted in the illustrative sequences before her.

These sorts of parallels can help us to read the *Bevis of Hampton* picture-story in a different light. Whereas the text of the romance offers only warnings against undue female activity, the eight pictures that tell the story here more helpfully also suggest alternatives. This episode from romance, inserted visually into a prayerbook, advocates prayer as an acceptable and effective response of women to trouble, finally indistinguishable from a knight's physical victory over threatening lions. Although *Bevis of Hampton* itself does not necessarily make this argument, in the hands of this artist and in this context it does.

The picture-narrative based on *Bevis of Hampton* uses images of the vernacular to advocate feminine prayer as appropriate action, but it thereby advocates the power of vernacular language in a very decided way. Josiane is certainly not saying the prayer that stands above her on the page, but as a romance-heroine she is even more certainly not speaking Latin. As the prayers on ff. 7r–18r insert the lay supplicant and her Anglo-Norman vernacular into the Latin mass, so do the images of Josiane and Bevis insert the vernacular world of romance into the Latin hours. But the affiliations of sacred and secular that result are complex and mutual, for the image of Josiane praying also brings an unexpected emphasis on devotion into the textual story of *Bevis of Hampton*. Vernacular language (in the form of secular romance) intrudes into this book of prayer, and in turn Josiane's prayer makes a sacred addition to Bevis' secular world.

This book begins its Anglo-Norman devotions with a picture of them, the royal woman with her prayerbook participating in the mass (see PLATE 7). This first owner-portrait offers a remarkable visual anticipation of and model for Josiane's posture before the tableau of Bevis' final fight with the lions, even to mirroring feminine prayer on the left with masculine activity on the right. Like Josiane's prayer itself, the productive combination of Latinity and the vernacular figured in the *Bevis of Hampton* picture-cycle is reflected in this image. The mass is Latin, but the lady's part in it is vernacular; the combination of the two linguistic modes occupies the visual center of this manuscript page. Here images of the vernacular are not subordinated to the text, but join with Latinity in a place one might expect to find Latin images alone. And it appears,

at first glance, that an image of Latinity is pushed in this instance to the margins. A figure labeled (erroneously) as St Jerome writes in the *bas de page*, a dove inspiring his work. But the text he writes is not the Latin scholarship we might expect; it is in fact the very vernacular prayer that appears above him: 'douz sire [al] commencement . . .' The label turns out to be a scribal error; the *explicit* makes clear that it is Jeremiah—'Jeremi le prophete'—who is thought to be responsible for the composition of these prayers.⁴⁸ The mistaken identification thus imports Latinity powerfully into the margins, further mingling—in this case by *confusing*—Latin and vernacular. At the start of its devotional program, as somewhat differently in the picture-cycle from *Bevis of Hampton*, the Taymouth Hours represents the subject of vernacular texts through the medium of the image.⁴⁹

The *Bevis*-pictures in the Taymouth Hours present an intriguing case-study in the interaction of picture and text, a necessarily preliminary foray into the fruitful questions of vernacular text and image raised by the manuscript as a whole, and by books of hours more generally. This series of images poses a peculiar—but rich—kind of text-image problem. This is text embodied *as* an image, as well as image to be read as text; a picture-cycle that never appears with its textual version instead seems to stand in for, modify, and even replace it. Paired with text of quite another sort, this serial image changes its meaning significantly. The messiness—and inadequacy—of the usual categories in this case is apparent: the distinctions between text and image themselves are almost broken down, just as the distinctions between sacred and secular surely are. Although it is the radical dissociation of picture from word that one first notices in the inclusion of the *Bevis of Hampton* series in this prayerbook, the series of images finally works to conflate the two media. This pictorial narrative in its manuscript context argues for strong connections between the categories of the vernacular and the visual, connections that should modify our understanding of late-medieval reading practices at large.

This may seem a strange claim to make in relation to fourteenth-century England, for Middle English books in the period rarely contain the treasures of manuscript painting we associate with more sumptuous Latinate manuscripts—or, indeed, any pictures at all.⁵⁰ The best-known examples of the illustration of English literary texts are celebrated for their rarity, rather than for their beauty or for their representational ambitions: the illustrations of *Piers Plowman* preserved in Oxford, Bodleian ms Douce 104; the devotional images that fill London, BL ms Additional 37049; the Ellesmere Canterbury pilgrims (San Marino, Library, ms EL 26 C 9).⁵¹ Moreover, these manuscript

illustrations offer primarily emblematic portraits of characters; the *Gawain*-manuscript (London, BL ms Cotton Nero A.x) is very unusual in its attempt to represent pictorially the narrative contents of the vernacular poetry it contains.⁵² In connection with *Bevis of Hampton*, it is perhaps significant that *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is a romance, but few other romance manuscripts include significant narrative illustration.⁵³ The Auchinleck ms, for example, a celebrated romance-collection, illustrates most of its texts with very small emblematic images, such as the one depicting the hero at the start of *Bevis of Hampton*.⁵⁴ The contrast between this perfunctory picture and the complex series of eight images in the Taymouth Hours illustrates quite pointedly the ways in which context can influence illustrative decisions. Not much of a visual tradition surrounds late-medieval English literary texts.⁵⁵

This absence of vernacular illustration might itself be found surprising (if it were not for the familiar lamentations of literary scholars with an interest in images) because English medieval art in general has a decidedly narrative character. At least since Otto Pächt's important work we have acknowledged the prevalence of pictorial narrative in England, above all places.⁵⁶ But narrative picture-cycles appear primarily in books with little or no narrative content—books of hours and psalters—and they often have little to do with the texts they accompany.⁵⁷ Such picture-cycles also, as they are found in Latinate devotional books, tend not to mirror particular texts, instead reworking the stuff of legend. Miracles of the Virgin, and even the passion of Christ, are stories with no one definitive textual source, and so can be thought 'vernacular' in the largest sense. Narrative picture-cycles in English manuscripts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries seem to stand for vernacular texts, but do not often coexist with them.

But these facts should not obscure the importance of such illustrated devotional books for our understanding of late-medieval reading in the vernacular.⁵⁸ The popularity of books of hours, with their emphasis on text-and-image combinations, implies that most medieval reading was of this double kind. This fact alone should influence our reading of unillustrated Middle English texts, and challenge our assumption that vernacular manuscripts are to be understood in a wholly different bibliographic culture from that of their more luxurious Latinate cousins. Illuminated books draw on vernacular culture, and vernacular texts operate in a world of illuminated books, even if they do not often occupy a physical place in them.⁵⁹ The Taymouth Hours offers perhaps the earliest 'images of the vernacular' to be found in England, allowing us to see clearly this unlikely connection between vernacular text and vernacular image. Even if few other examples are quite as pointed as this one, the

pictorial use of *Bevis of Hampton* in a prayerbook demonstrates that the experiences of the vernacular and the visual are far from separate.

The notion of a medieval 'theory of the vernacular' is vexed. One recent anthology takes up the question by assembling a number of prologues to vernacular works, texts that often do, indeed, comment explicitly on the choice of Middle English as a literary language.⁶⁰ But the editors are keenly aware, even in their efforts to theorize late-medieval use of vernacular language, of the necessity of considering each of these instances in its own particular context. They write:

'These discussions are so heavily situated—not only in the text in which they occur but also in the social and ideological issues evoked by those texts and their use of the vernacular—that they require to be read in quantity, in careful relation to their cultural situation and, above all, with a sense of their strategic function, if their theoretical implications are to be teased out of them.'⁶¹

The pictorial quotation of *Bevis of Hampton* in the *Taymouth Hours* might be considered another kind of particular contribution to this theoretical discussion. It must be considered in its own complicated physical and social situation to be understood properly, but it, though perhaps less explicitly than Middle English translators' prologues, comments on the idea of the vernacular. These extraordinary images draw a pictorial connection between books of hours and vernacular reading, as they argue for the value of vernacular devotion.

The chivalric picture-cycles in the trilingual *Taymouth Hours* imply not only a fluid relationship between images and words, male and female, and the sacred and the secular—but also between Latin and romance languages. None of these categories is ever distinct in medieval practice, and the relations here prove especially provocative. In particular, the manuscript's deployment of visual languages illuminates its use of differing verbal modes: the chivalric images in the *Taymouth Hours* reinforce and comment on a kind of 'vernacularity' equally, though differently, present in the devotional texts. The interplay of representational modes in this manuscript suggests an intersection between the visual and the vernacular that demonstrates the interpretive flexibility of late-medieval audiences and the richness of late-medieval reading.

NOTES

- 1 The impulse is strong to think of architecture, especially, in linguistic terms. As H. W. Janson writes in his classic introduction to the study of art history: 'It is tempting to see a parallel between the "unclassical" flexibility of medieval architecture, proliferating in regional styles, and the equally "unclassical" attitude of that time toward language, as evidenced by its barbarized Latin and the rapid growth of regional vernaculars, the ancestors of our modern Western tongues'; see *History of Art*, 5th edn. (New York, 1995), p. 446.
- 2 Lucy Freeman Sandler describes most of the illustrations in the *Taymouth Hours* as 'the work of a vigorous exponent of a vernacular style, robust, earthly, sincerely expressive, and not above caricature. Figures are of normal, not exaggeratedly tall proportions; gestures are vivid, not mannered, colour and modelling are "serviceable", neither subtly nuanced nor "artistically" patterned. Compositions tend to be either awkwardly crowded or embarrassingly empty'; see *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385* Vol. 2 (London, 1986), No. 98, pp. 107-9; at 109.
- 3 I have chosen to focus here on *Bevis of Hampton* rather than *Guy of Warwick* because it seems that the sequence from the latter romance is missing several of its images. For conjectures about missing leaves, see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts (Nos. 51 to 100) in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1902), No. 57, pp. 50-74; at 50.
- 4 The only study to date of the *Bevis of Hampton* images in the *Taymouth Hours* is Linda Brownrigg, 'The *Taymouth Hours* and the Romance of *Beves of Hampton*', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 1 (1989), 222-41. Brownrigg speculates briefly about the purposes served by these pictures in this place, but she comes to conclusions rather different from mine.
- 5 For full descriptions of the manuscript, see James and Sandler. See also John Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (London, 1977), pp. 46-9.
- 6 These scenes are so far removed in subject matter from their proximate texts that Sandra Penketh, in a survey of women's connections with books of hours, cites them as an example of pictures with 'no connection to the textual context whatsoever'. See 'Women and Books of Hours', in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Jane H. M. Taylor and Lesley Smith (London, 1996), pp. 266-81; at 278.
- 7 Cf. the Peterborough Psalter (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale ms 99961-62; c. 1300, before 1318), with marginalia 'possibly based on illustrations of French poems and romances' (Sandler, No. 40). Cf. also the Goreslton Psalter (London, BL ms Add. 49622; c. 1310-20), with chivalric vignettes in the borders (Sandler, No. 50). Other manuscripts that include comparable marginal imagery include the Douai Psalter (Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale ms 171) (Sandler, No. 105), Oxford, Bodleian ms Douce 131 (Sandler, No. 106), and the Luttrell Psalter (London, BL ms Add. 42130) (Sandler, No. 107). Brownrigg also mentions the *Treatise of Walter Milemete* (Oxford, Christ Church ms 92; 1326-7) and the Queen Mary Psalter (London, BL Royal ms 10 E.iv; 1310-20) as imagistic analogues to the *Taymouth Hours* (223).
- 8 Sandler describes the colored drawings that decorate this lawbook as '... executed in the "unstylized" vernacular that also characterizes the marginal cycles of the *Taymouth Hours* ... The marginal iconography tends towards the vernacular, as well. Fantasies, grotesques, hybrids, and the like are comparatively rare. Many of the subjects can be identified as illustrations of literary works, or legends whether sacred

- or secular, and many reflect an acute observation of daily life on several social levels. Again the choice of marginal themes shows parallels to the *Taymouth Hours* (e.g., the Three Living and the Three Dead, the wildman, the sports of ladies, the Miracles of the Virgin) although not all the individual subjects are identical' (111).
- 9 Outside of the *Taymouth Hours*, this story is exclusively pictorial. For other representations of it in the visual arts, see R. S. Loomis, 'A Phantom Tale of Female Ingratitude,' *Modern Philology*, 14 (1917), 751-55.
 - 10 Latin words do appear as a component of the *bas de page* images of saints and apostles that fill ff. 34v-46r: each apostle carries a scroll containing a phrase from the creed, and each prophet carries a scroll with a corresponding Biblical prophecy. These words are a part of the visual and conceptual substance of the images, however, fulfilling a slightly different function from the vernacular captions that externally identify and explain pictorial subjects.
 - 11 *IMEV* 1270. An almost exact analogue is found in the De Lisle Psalter (BL MS Arundel 83). The text there included is only slightly different: 'Ich am avert. Lo whet ich se. Me thinketh it beth deueles thre. Ich wes wel fair. Such scheltou be. For godes loue be wer be me'. In the psalter, the picture and its English caption illustrate a more literary Anglo-Norman poem on the same theme, *Le dit des trois morts et trois vifs*, which follows. For further history of the motif in manuscript- and wall-painting, see Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle in the British Library* (London, 1983), pp. 44-5.
 - 12 Some of the Anglo-Norman captions in the book function in this way, as well: sinners on f. 139r cry 'Alas alas tristes dolenz allas alas' as they are dragged to their infernal punishment, and a devil on f. 141v rides a woman as if on horseback, shouting 'Auaunt leccheur auant.'
 - 13 The word itself meant 'a work written in French or a related vernacular language' long before it denoted any generic specificity (s.v. *MED* romance, n.). For a thorough exploration of this semantic shift, see Paul Strohm, 'The Origin and Meaning of Middle English *Romance*,' *Genre*, 10 (1977), 1-28. In the words of Derek Pearsall, 'popular romance . . . may be seen as the primary extant literary manifestation of the newly enfranchised vernacular' ('The Development of Middle English Romance', rptd. in D. Brewer, ed., *Studies in Medieval English Romances: Some New Approaches* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 11-35; at 12).
 - 14 General treatments of books of hours are numerous, ranging from relatively popular treatments, such as Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985), to the monumental catalogue of V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 3 Vols. (Paris, 1927). See also Christopher de Hamel, 'Books for Everybody,' in *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1994), pp. 168-99; and Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1997). Studies and facsimiles of particular books of hours are also quite common. To cite just one example, the many beautiful hours of Jean, Duke of Berry are widely known through facsimiles; see, e.g., *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, pref. Millard Meiss (London, 1969). But scholarly discussions of books of hours are not much advanced beyond the field as Leroquais observed it in 1927: 'Cette littérature est à la fois très riche et très pauvre: très riche en ce qui concerne la partie décorative des manuscrits, très pauvre en ce qui regarde le texte lui-même' (I, i).
 - 15 L.M.J. Delaissé, 'The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book', in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M. C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore, 1974) pp. 203-25.

- 16 Christopher de Hamel guesses at this number, and goes on to describe books of hours as immensely important: 'There was probably a Book of Hours in almost every substantial fifteenth-century household, especially in France, the Netherlands (north and south), and England. For many medieval families it was probably the only book they ever owned, and for countless of our ancestors it was probably the only book they had ever seen'; see 'Books of Hours: "Imaging" the Word', in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly Van Kampen (London, 1998), pp. 137-43; at 137.
- 17 The editors of *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence* face up squarely to this problem: 'Even truisms such as "most books of hours were made for female owners" would be hard to substantiate, if one needed quantitative evidence' ('Introduction', 17).
- 18 See, for example, Delaissé's observation: 'There is yet another important characteristic in the detailed content of Books of Hours, namely the numerous minute variants that we are at present unable to assimilate and understand, but which those who handle Books of Hours cannot help observing. For instance, the language—calendars or rubrics may be in Latin or in the vernacular' (207). Twenty-five years later, we have still done little more than notice these variants.
- 19 See 'Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages', *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 9 (1985): 239-69; at 241.
- 20 Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988).
- 21 Papal attempts in the sixteenth-century to mandate an all-Latin book of hours were not entirely successful (Saenger 267), but such pressures might have produced more Latinate books than had previously existed.
- 22 These numbers were derived from information provided in C. W. Dutschke, et al., *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, 2 vols. (San Marino, CA, 1989).
- 23 For statistics concerning books of hours to have much meaning, one would have to consult the thousands of such manuscripts in European collections. Unfortunately, early catalogues of the British Library collections are unhelpful on these questions, and even Leroquais, in his substantive work on books of hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale, does not seem to provide this sort of information consistently.
- 24 For the frequent use of a variety of languages in other kinds of writings—scientific, medical, legal—see, e.g., W. Rothwell, 'The Trilingual England of Geoffrey Chaucer', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 16 (1994), 45-67; and Linda Ehrsam Voigts, 'What's the Word? Bilingualism in Late-Medieval England', *Speculum*, 71 (1996) 813-26.
- 25 The limited testimony of *Time Sanctified* suggests that this aspect of the *Taymouth Hours* is extremely rare, for none of the books of hours surveyed is trilingual; none, in fact, contains any English at all. And, again, the manuscripts of the Huntington Library show similar patterns: none of its seventy-seven books of hours is trilingual. Forty-five contain both French and Latin, and four contain both English and Latin, but none contains all three languages. The De Lisle Psalter, as previously noted, contains Latin, French, and English.
- 26 Leroquais provides a revealing explanation of his handling of evidence of the formal prayers added to the texts of books of hours: 'Ces prières sont nombreuses. Dans les notices de manuscrits, j'ai le plus souvent négligé celles qui proviennent des livres liturgiques proprement dits. Et cependant, malgré cette élimination, le nombre des formules en langue latine dépasse cinq cents. Les prières en langue vulgaire sont moins fréquentes, j'en ai toutefois compté plus de deux cents' (xxix). In addition, eleven of Leroquais' books of hours are entirely in French.

- 27 See Sandler, *Survey* No. 130.
- 28 See *The Rohan Master: A Book of Hours (BN MS lat. 9471)*, Intro. Millard Meiss (New York, 1973).
- 29 See Claire Donovan, *The de Brailles Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London, 1991), pp. 38–40. Donovan's book is rare, and welcome, in its attempt to use the structure of one book of hours to think broadly about the development of the genre.
- 30 Michael Camille, 'Visualising in the Vernacular: A New Cycle of Early Fourteenth-Century Bible Illumination', *Burlington Magazine*, 130 (1988), 97–106; at 97.
- 31 Charles W. Dunn, writing in the *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, characterizes the text as extremely fluid: 'all extant versions vary freely in wording and even in incidents' (*Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*. Vol. I. 'Romances.' (New Haven, 1967), 25). See also the discussion in Jennifer Fellows, 'Editing Middle English Romances,' in *Romance in Medieval England*, ed. Maldwyn Mills, Jennifer Fellows, and Carol M. Meale (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 5–16.
- 32 For a thorough discussion, see Jennifer Fellows, 'Sir Bevis of Hampton in Popular Tradition', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society*, 42 (1986), 139–45.
- 33 The existence of this tapestry is reported in an inventory in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* 1423, IV: 214–41. Because the inventory records the opening phrase of the "estorie" on each tapestry, one must imagine that this object, now lost, included some text to identify the pictorial narrative it undoubtedly represented. It is thus not quite analogous to the pictorial quotation in the Teymouth Hours. Cited in Eleanor P. Hammond, 'Two Tapestry poems by Lydgate: *The Life of St. George* and the *Falls of Seven Princes*', *Englische Studien*, 43 (1910): 12–26; at 22. See also A. S. G. Edwards, 'Middle English Inscriptional Verse Texts', in *Texts and Their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, ed. John Scattergood and Julia Boffey (Dublin, 1997), pp. 26–43.
- 34 See Jennifer Fellows, 'On the Iconography of a Carving in King's College Chapel, Cambridge', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976), 262. If indeed this carving reflects the influence of *Bevis of Hampton*, it represents a complete dissociation of image from text. For a thorough discussion of connections between Bevis and St. George, see also Jennifer Fellows, 'St George as Romance Hero', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 19 (1993), 27–54.
- 35 If we assume strict correspondences with the Middle English version of the romance, in which it is the lioness who gnaws on Bevis' shield, we are led to the uncomfortable conclusion—countermending modern ideas of leonine gender difference—that it is the female lion who wears the curly mane. Whatever the case, it is clear is that this artist means to differentiate the lions by sex.
- 36 The motif of wild animals converted to domesticity by human goodness is familiar from saints' lives. Cf. the *vita* of St Thecla, who was protected by the lioness that was supposed to eat her. Illustrations of Thecla in Vincent of Beauvais' *Miroir historiale* (Bk 10, Ch. 48) show the saint seated between two lions—see, e.g., BN MS f. fr. 313, f. 77v; see also BL MS Lansdowne 1179, f. 62v. St Christina, similarly, was licked by serpents sent to attack her. My thanks to Catherine Sanok for calling my attention to these hagiographic parallels.
- 37 It is unfortunate, given this careful balance across each opening, that Brownrigg reproduces the recto images as verso images, and vice versa.
- 38 Albert Stimming, ed. *Der anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone*, Bibliotheca Normannica 7 (Halle, 1899). See also Judith Weiss, 'The date of the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumtone*', *Medium Aevum*, 55 (1986) 237–41.

- 39 *IMEV* 1993. E. Kolbing, ed. *The Romance of Sir Beves of Hamtoun*, EETS e.s. 46, 48, 55 (London, 1885–94). See also Jennifer Fellows, 'Sir Beves of Hampton: Study and Edition,' 5 Vols. Unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1979.
- 40 Printed versions of the romance later rewrite the encounter so that it fits more comfortably within courtly expectations. In these accounts, Josiane helps Bevis neither by physical intervention nor by spiritual intercession, but by inspiration.

Beuis loked vp to Iosyan,
 And suche comfort toke he than
 That the to lyons gryme and lothe,
 At one stroke he slewe them both. (2125–8)

Quoted in Jennifer Fellows, 'Bevis redivivus: the printed editions of *Sir Bevis of Hampton*,' in *Romance Reading on the Book: Essays on Medieval Narrative presented to Maldwyn Mills*, ed. Jennifer Fellows, Rosalind Field, Gillian Rogers, and Judith Weiss (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 251–68; at 256.

- 41 She writes: 'It is clear that the *bas de page* scenes in the Teymouth Hours illustrating the romance of *Beves of Hampton* derive from both the English and the French versions of the story' (226).
- 42 Without this evidence of Josiane's prayer, Brownrigg's reading of Anglo-Norman influence on these pictures in fact becomes far less convincing. Her other strong piece of evidence—namely the 'rocher' upon which the heroine sits—could be explained by a set of art historical rather than literary influences (see, e.g., London, BL MS Lansdowne 1179, f. 62v). It seems to me at least possible that this picture-narrative is derived from the Middle English text alone.
- 43 Scholars have hazarded various guesses as to the identity of this royal woman. John Harthan, for example, thinks she was 'very probably Joan, daughter of Edward II of England and consort of David II of Scotland' (48). Female ownership of books of hours—a medieval commonplace—is charmingly reflected in the manuscript's more recent history. An inscription on its flyleaf records that Henry Yates Thompson gave it to his wife on her birthday in 1917 'to mitigate her grief at the news that [he] intended to sell [his] collection of 100 illuminated mss.'
- 44 It is tempting to imagine that the one lion wearing a crown is the lioness, since in the larger image the human woman is the only one crowned. Based on the artist's practice in the *Bevis of Hampton* series, however, the crowned lion, with his straight mane, would seem to be the male.
- 45 Again the sex of this lion is debatable. But reading her as a lioness allows for a pointed rewriting of the Delilah-story, in which Samson, of course, is overcome.
- 46 Lions are associated with the devil, of course, in passages such as Peter 5:8: 'Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour.'
- 47 In this, the lesson of the images is somewhat different from the ones that scholars have discerned elsewhere in books of hours—cf. Madeline Caviness, 'Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for her Marriage Bed', *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 333–62. The feminine reader of the Teymouth Hours is not so much warned against bad behavior as she is instructed in correct behavior.
- 48 Brownrigg makes this observation, p. 236.
- 49 See Penketh on the connection elsewhere of owner portraits to vernacular prayers, e.g. Oxford, Bodleian MS Buchanan e 3, f. 74r.
- 50 Kathleen Scott makes the point that, *pace* conventional scholarly opinion, decoration (including borders) was a 'relatively common' feature of late-medieval English

- bookmaking. But her rough count tallies only one decorated book in forty, and she includes in her survey English books in all languages. See 'Design, decoration, and illustration', in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 31-64; at 31.
- 51 These manuscripts contain the Middle English poetry of greatest interest to modern readers; the works of Gower and, especially, Lydgate were more commonly illustrated. See Lesley Lawton, 'The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, with Special Reference to Lydgate's *Troy-Book*', in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study*, ed. Derek Pearsall (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 41-69.
- 52 The pictures were most likely inserted after the manuscript was planned and the poetry written, which makes their attempt to represent narrative all the more interesting. For a recent discussion of the manuscript, see A.S.G. Edwards, 'The Manuscript: British Library ms Cotton Nero A.x', in *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet*, ed. Derek Brewer and Jonathan Gibson (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 197-219. For a comprehensive—but short—list of English works illustrated by narrative scenes, see Scott, 'Design, decoration, and illustration', p. 46.
- 53 See, however, the so-called 'Alexander and Dindimus fragment' in Bodleian Library Bodley 264, Part II (ff. 209r-15v); Kathleen Scott, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles: Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390-1490* (London, 1996), No. 13, pp. 68-73. Carol Meale adds New York, Pierpont Morgan Library ms M 876 (*Generides*); and London, BL ms Harley 326 (*The Three Kings' Sons*) to this list; see Carol Meale, '“gode men/Wiues maydnes and alle men”: Romance and its Audiences', in *Readings in Medieval English Romance*, ed. Carol Meale (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 209-25.
- 54 *The Auchinleck MS: National Library of Scotland Advocates' MS. 19.2.1*, Intro. Derek Pearsall and I. C. Cunningham (London, 1977).
- 55 The situation is somewhat different, of course, concerning the illustration of French and Anglo-Norman texts. The *Taymouth Hours* contains Anglo-Norman, of course, but also demonstrates enough interest in Middle English to warrant consideration in the company of English books. (See above, n. 42.)
- 56 Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 1962). Lucy Sandler claims that the fourteenth-century saw the high point of pictorial narration in English art. Of Egerton 3277, for example, she writes: 'The manuscript represents the culmination of the pictorial narrative in English 14th-century illumination; in the illustration of standard texts, the 15th century saw a retreat from such pictorial abundance in favour of representation of individual rather than serial narrative themes' (p. 40).
- 57 Christopher de Hamel points to this 'odd observation' as his most important point about the genre: 'The miniatures in a Book of Hours do not illustrate the text at all' ('Imaging the Word' 139).
- 58 Delaisé makes the very intriguing suggestion that some literary manuscripts resemble books of hours in their visual presentation. He cites Waddeston Manor ms 12 (a book of hours), f. 71 as the inspiration for ms Waddeston Manor ms 11 (*La Bouquechardièrre*, Jean de Coucy), f. 153. Both manuscripts were made in Rouen, 1465-70.
- 59 The general resistance of vernacular texts in English to narrative illustration has generally been explained along economic lines. Books in English were not highly valued, the reasoning goes, and so little effort or money was expended in beautifying or decorating them. But the beautiful 'illustration' of vernacular texts in devotional books implies that the answer is not so simple.

- 60 *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, and Ruth Evans (University Park, PA, 1999).
- 61 *Idea*, 316.