The Litlyngton Missal:

Its Patron, Iconography, and Messages

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Thesis Abstract

The Litlyngton Missal, Westminster Abbey Library MS 37, is a lavishly illuminated English service book commissioned by Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton 1383-4 and donated to his Benedictine monastery at Westminster. This thesis examines the life of this medieval ecclesiastical patron and investigates how his missal is an expression not simply of a desire to be commemorated, but is also a reflection of his priorities as a member of Westminster's monastic community. While the study's emphasis is on the missal's iconography, both text and image are contextually examined in order to better appreciate the patron's intended messages of personal devotion to the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the abbey's promotion, and protection of its privileges.

This study scrutinizes the abbey's particular status in relation to the crown and how this is reflected through the missal, most especially through the inclusion of coronation orders and royal exequies. Considering the rubrics and illuminations of these ceremonies through the lens of Westminster Abbey and its abbot elucidates their authorship and clarifies why, atypically, they were included in a service book of this kind.

Analysis of documentation and examination of the book's stages of creation affords a better understanding of the missal's production than has been obtained to date and shows that there is an overarching aesthetic cohesion to the book. The thesis offers a critical reappraisal of the missal's illumination and reveals previously unacknowledged innovation and subtlety. The thesis considers what images occur, where, and how they relate to the text. The findings regarding the imagery are contextualised by comparison with illumination schemes of other English missals of fourteenth and fifteenth century missals and service books.

The thesis discussion begins with a biographical study of Nicholas Litlyngton in chapter one, providing a clear context to the man who commissioned the missal. Chapter two considers Litlyngton specifically in his role as patron of the missal. The focus of chapter three is the production of the missal, focusing on its scribe, the illuminators, and their style. Discussion of the contested matter of number of artists and attribution of work also occurs in this chapter. Chapter four scrutinises the text and images connected to the royal ceremonies and examines the motivation behind their inclusion in the missal. The final chapter considers the manuscript's iconographic programme through a comparative study of other English missals, and interprets the extent of convention or innovation in the Litlyngton Missal's illuminations. Chapter five also examines messages contained in the images and reflects on their significance and purpose.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls* (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1892)
CJR	*Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis1346-1367,* ed. by James Tait (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914)
CUL	Cambridge University Library
ECR	*English Coronation Records,* ed. by Leopold Wickham Legg (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., Ltd., 1901)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
FHWA	John Flete, *The History of Westminster Abbey*, ed. by J. Armitage Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909)
GM	Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385,* 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 5, gen. ed. J. J. G. Alexander (London: Oxford: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1986)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
LDE	Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)
LNQ	*Liber Niger Quaternus*: a cartulary of Westminster Abbey, Westminster Abbey, Muniment Book 1
LGM	Kathleen L .Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490,* 2 vols., A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, 6, gen. ed., J. J. G. Alexander (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1996)
MEW	*The Westminster Missal: Missale Ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis,* ed. by John Wickham Legg (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, for Henry Bradshaw Soc., 1999)
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: online edition, ed. by Lawrence Goldman, published by Oxford University Press
RCM	Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*: *An English Manuscript of the Late XIV Century in the British Museum* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952)
TNA	The National Archives
WAE	Barbara Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977)

WAM   Westminster Abbey Muniment

WAP   Paul Binksi, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven: London: Yale University Press, 1995)

In footnotes, first reference of a published work includes author's name, title of work, and place and year of publication. Subsequent references to the same work include the author's name followed by page number. If an author has more than one publication appearing in this study an abbreviated title is used to differentiate the work being referenced.

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All images of the Litlyngton Missal, *Liber regalis*, and photographs of abbey artefacts and muniments are reproduced through the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey. My thanks to the Oxford institutions, the Bodleian Library, Keble College, Oriel College, and Trinity College for allowing me to photograph and reproduce images from their manuscripts. The same thanks to Cambridge Trinity College and Cambridge University Library. All British Library images are bound by their copyright.

Chapter Three

Chapter Four

Introduction

The Litlyngton Missal, created 1383-1384 under the patronage of Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton for the Benedictine House of Westminster Abbey, is a lavishly decorated large English service book from the later Middle Ages containing an important, and in some respects, unique, complement of texts. The manuscript's value is amplified by its survival from the destructive effects of the Reformation. As missals contain the text used in Catholic masses throughout the year,[1] they were particularly targeted for destruction as a part of the Protestant regime's implementation of the new liturgy. Recorded as being in the vestry at Westminster Abbey in 1388,[2] and then later named in the 1540 inventory at the suppression of its monastery, the 'Masse Booke of Abbott Nicholas Lytlynton's[3] gyffte' is still housed in the abbey today as Westminster Abbey Library MS 37.[4] It appears to have remained in safety there throughout the dangerous periods of both the Reformation and Commonwealth.

Originally bound in a single volume, and later rebound in two volumes under Dean Vincent in 1806,[5] the missal is an imposing book. Containing 341 folios and measuring 525mm by 360mm, it is one of the largest English medieval manuscripts to survive; indeed the book's unusually great size is one of its best known features. There are three other matters for which it is renowned. Firstly, there is a remarkable set of accounts which gives details of the various costs of the production of the missal such as payment for parchment, embroidery, and bosses for the original cover, and the monies paid for scribal work and illumination. These accounts, as well as providing valuable information regarding production costs, are also the source from which it is possible to date the missal's manufacture.[6] Secondly, the book contains royal liturgical texts: a coronation order jointly for a king and his queen, another for a queen alone, and funeral directions on the death of a king. Thirdly, and probably most famously, the Litlyngton Missal contains a full page Italianate Crucifixion opposite the Canon of the Mass (fol. 157*v).[7] Besides the Crucifixion page, the Litlyngton Missal is richly illuminated with sixty-one inhabited and historiated initials, three column-wide miniatures, and hundreds of decorated borders.

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[1] Missals differ in constituent parts but generally contain three main sections: the Temporale (with feasts for the liturgical year), the Mass, and a Sanctorale (yearly cycle of feasts for the saints). See Appendix A for a codicological description of the Litlyngton Missal and its sections.

[2] CCA MS A.10 (Westminster Abbey Vestry Inventory 1388), Tercia pars, cap.viij: 'Unum bonum missale et grande ex dono quondam Nicholai Lytlington abbatis'.

[3] Spelling variations include: Litlington, Litlynton, Lytlington and Lytlyngton.

[4] E. C. Walcott, 'The Inventories of Westminster Abbey at the Dissolution', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 4 (London, 1875), pp. 313-364.

[5] N. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries,* I (Oxford, 1969), p. 411.

[6] WAM 24265* (Abbot's Treasurer's Roll, 1383-4). See 3.1.1 for transcription, translation, and discussion.

[7] The asterisk is part of the folio number and indicates that this is the first folio of the second volume.

The Litlyngton Missal has long been acknowledged as a canonical work of both English medieval manuscript illumination and liturgical text, and some aspects of the book and its history are widely known, yet many facets of its content and history have received little attention.

The Litlyngton Missal has appeared in numerous studies of medieval art and has acted as a frequent point of reference in works on the liturgy and coronation order. However, it has been the subject of surprisingly little detailed study regarding its programme of illumination, the iconographic significance of which has hardly been considered beyond the high profile image of the Crucifixion miniature. Moreover, some of the work that has engaged with the Litlyngton Missal's iconography in a detailed way is, as I hope to show in my thesis, either flawed or selective to the point of being misleading.

The secondary literature concerning the Litlyngton Missal falls into two broad categories: the first is work concerning the liturgy, including the royal ceremonies, while the second comments on iconography and artistic style. As the Litlyngton Missal contains not only a Benedictine calendar and liturgy of Westminster use, but also includes a benedictional section and coronation orders, its texts have been of interest to liturgists for generations. In a fair indication of the high esteem in which it has been held, the very first volume published by the Henry Bradshaw Society (HBS) was John Wickham Legg's edition of the Latin text of the first volume of the Litlyngton Missal.[8] Wickham Legg's second work on the Litlyngton Missal[9] completed the edition of the Latin text and included the coronation order collated with the *Liber regalis* (Westminster), Brooke's *Liber regalis,* and Rawlinson C. 425.[10]

The third, and last, of Wickham Legg's volumes[11] contains a note on the music by W. J. Birkbeck, and transcriptions from other manuscripts 'secumdum usum ecclesiae westmonasteriensis'.[12] The main focus of this last volume is a discursive analysis that considers the Litlyngton Missal in the context of seventy English and Continental missals, sacramentaries, pontificals, and other liturgical works, which between them include fourteen liturgical uses. Thorough notes covering the entire textual content of the Litlyngton Missal detail similarities, differences, and points of interest in relation to the different uses from the books of his comparative study. A comprehensive index of liturgical forms in the Litlyngton Missal then follows.

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[8] *Missale Ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, I, ed. by John Wickham Legg (London, 1891). See note 12.
[9] *Missale Ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, V, ed. by John Wickham Legg (London, 1893)
[10] London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 38 (*Liber regalis*), c.1380-1400; Brooke's *Liber regalis*, private collection (see *MEW*, p. xiii); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C. 425, early fourteenth century.
[11] *Missale Ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, XII, ed. by John Wickham Legg (London, 1897)
[12] The three separate volumes I, V and XII were reprinted and bound together in a new edition: *The Westminster Missal: Missale Ad Usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, ed. by John Wickham Legg (Woodbridge, 1999).This edition is used throughout the thesis and is hereafter *MEW*.

Richard Pfaff acknowledged the importance and scale of Wickham Legg's notes and used them extensively in his own study of English medieval liturgy, although he expressed reservations about Wickham Legg's method of comparison and cautioned against some of its assumptions.[13] Wickham Legg's edition of the text is a valuable resource and was used by liturgist Andrew Hughes in both his study on the organisation of medieval manuscripts used for the Mass[14] and his later study of the Fourth Recension of the coronation order.[15] The text of the Litlyngton Missal coronation order was again collated with the printed edition of the *Liber regalis* undertaken by John Wickham Legg's son, Leopold, in 1901.[16] While the edition and translation are universally accepted as reliable, L. Wickham Legg's remarks on the chronology of the various orders, whilst long accepted as credible by coronation scholars such as Schramm and Wilkinson,[17] have recently been questioned by Paul Binski on re-examination of the relevant manuscripts.[18] Binski's arguments are relevant not only in terms of the Fourth Recension coronation order, but also affect debates regarding the dating of changes to illumination styles, particularly the contested point that Bohemian art had an influence on the Westminster *Liber regalis*.[19]

The historiography relevant to the iconography of the Litlyngton Missal mainly consists of relatively brief discussions in catalogues and surveys. Despite their brevity and tendency to focus on the Crucifixion, these references are in influential works and by their very inclusion indicate the accepted importance of the Litlyngton Missal as an illuminated manuscript of specific date. The matter of similarity to foreign artistic styles found in the Crucifixion illumination has long been recognised. In 1928 Eric Millar believed the Crucifixion to have been of the Flemish tradition and Joan Evans' 1949 survey of English art suggests that the illuminations are by an English painter but with Flemish or Dutch characteristics.[20] In 1954 there was a change in thought when Rickert stated that the 'influence' was Italian and this was reiterated by Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan (1981)[21] and has been subsequently accepted.[22] Famous though the miniature is there has been no

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[13] Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England* (Cambridge: New York, 2009). See pages pp. 141-156 for his appraisal of Wickham Legg's work.

[14] Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: Buffalo: London, 1982), p. 407.

[15] Andrew Hughes, 'The Origins and Descent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. by Janos M. Bak (California, 1990), pp. 197-216.

[16] *ECR*.

[17] Percy Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford, 1937); L. B. Wilkinson, 'Notes on the Coronation Records of the Fourteenth Century', *EHR*, 70 (1955), pp.581-600.

[18] Paul Binski, 'The *Liber Regalis*: Its Date and European Context', in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych*, ed. by Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (London, 1997), pp. 233-246.

[19] Binski, '*Liber Regalis*', pp. 242-5.

[20] Eric Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris, 1928), p. 28; Joan Evans, *English Art 1307-1461* (Oxford, 1949), p. 96.

[21] Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of Manuscript Painting* (New York, 1981), p. 89.

[22] Janet Backhouse, 'The Litlyngton Missal', in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400,* ed. Jonathan Alexander and Paul Binski (London, 1987), p. 518; Lucy Freeman Sandler, *GM,* II, p. 174.

detailed comparison to *trecento* Italian images, neither has the composition been interpreted on its own merits beyond being Italianate in style; different aspects of these issues are addressed in chapters three and five.

The most detailed published account of the Litlyngton Missal's illuminations occurs in Lucy Freeman Sandler's survey, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385* (1986), which provides a valuable overview of the missal's iconography.[23] Sandler addressed the topics of artists, quantity of image, style of figural and border illumination, and identified analogues in other manuscripts. In the opening essay to Volume One of the Survey, Sandler proposed that several manuscripts constituted a 'Litlyngton Group' based on shared artists, artistic style, borders, and the illustration of the Fourth Recension of the English coronation order and accompanying royal funeral exequies.[24] Sandler's account of the book's illuminations and its context is for the most part persuasive, although she omits the nine penwork initials in the coronation order from her inventory of illuminations. I sometimes diverge from her conclusions with regards to attribution of work in the missal.

As the title *Westminster and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* suggests, Binski's focus is his 1995 work is on kingship and the abbey.[25] As such his interest in the Litlyngton Missal is mainly in the coronation order, and particularly in how it relates to the *Liber regalis*: the artwork and chronology of which manuscript he explored in greater detail in his later work.[26] However, Binski's work allows an understanding of the Litlyngton Missal within the context of the art and architecture of the abbey in its myriad media. Using textual sources and art in forms as varied as tombs, seals, tiles, manuscripts, glass, carvings, wall paintings, and panel paintings, Binski ties the abbey's art to his argument that the abbey stands as much for the encapsulation of beliefs and principle as an expression of royal visual culture.

Pamela Tudor-Craig also acknowledged the artistic influences of the location and aimed to interpret certain initials with reference to pre-existing works of art and microarchictecture in Westminster Abbey. 'The Large Letters of the Litlington Missal and Westminster Abbey in 1383-4' (1998), is, to date, the only published work which focuses exclusively on the illuminations.[27]

Douglas East's PhD thesis, 'The Great Westminster Missal of Abbot Nicholas Litlynton, 1383-1384: Its Structure, Form and Purpose' (2007), is the most recent study before my own to focus on the

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[23] *GM*, II, cat. 150, pp. 172-175.
[24] *GM*, I, p. 36-37.
[25] Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400* (New Haven: London, 1995): hereafter *WAP*.
[26] Binski, '*Liber Regalis*'.
[27] Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'The Large letters of the Litlington Missal and Westminster Abbey in 1383-84', in *Illuminating the Book*, ed. by Michelle P. Brown and Scot McKendrick (London, 1998), pp. 102-120.

Litlyngton Missal.[28] It is through East's photography for his thesis that the Westminster Library now has a fuller photographic record of the missal. The photographs include every page with figural illumination, captured on film. East's study, the first of its kind to attempt an overview of the missal as a whole work, has provided a valuable insight into the missal's codicology. East's attention to the quire structure, catchwords, and script is a useful resource for understanding certain aspects of production. East explored both the technicalities of scribal method and gold leaf. In connection to decoration, he investigated associations between levels of illumination in relation to the importance of feast days in the calendar.

However, regarding the iconography, East's thesis falls short of his aim, 'to present a comprehensive examination of these marvellous illustrations'.[29] East's 'examination' is essentially to place the missal's images into category lists (inhabited, historiated, erased, anomalies, and miniatures[30]) and then to describe the basic elements present in each image, but without attempting to divine themes or draw artistic, contextual, or interpretive conclusions.[31] Furthermore, relation of initials to text and their comparison to other manuscript illumination is entirely absent.[32] East's commentary on the initials and miniatures leaves the iconography not only underexplored, but also at times incorrectly or anachronistically described.[33] Thus, a comprehensive exploration of the Litlyngton Missal's illumination, and all of the inherent and lateral themes, still required attention and figures as a major part of my thesis.

Regarding the aims of this present study, the Litlyngton Missal is worthy of close examination not simply because it has been somewhat neglected, but because it is an extraordinary witness to an important moment in English art which took place at what was, and arguably still is, one of England's most important religious institutions. Evolving from an essentially monographic study of the missal and Nicholas Litlyngton and their specific relation to Westminster Abbey come the broader, yet still central, themes of patronage and trends in iconography in fourteenth and fifteenth century English missals. There are many questions to pose including: How can a book be used to transmit information about a patron? What are the norms and exceptions in picture cycles of deluxe English missals? What are the varied purposes of images in missals?

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[28] Douglas East, 'The Great Westminster Missal of Abbot Nicholas Litlynton, 1383-1384: Its Structure, Form and Purpose' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Essex, 2007).
[29] East, p. 4.
[30] East, p.123.
[31] East's section of a 'Detailed description of eleven full pages' (Chapter 5, Part 14: pp. 189-207) remains an enlarged itinerary of what is present on the randomly chosen pages.
[32] East's bibliography holds four illuminated manuscripts other than the Litlyngton Missal, all of which were used briefly in relation to the Crucifixion miniature (chapter seven); the Litlyngton initials and royal miniatures are not discussed in context of English manuscript illumination.
[33] As one example, East described the scene of the Dedication of a Church (fol. 144r) as resembling 'domestic chores', with the aspergillum looking like 'a white plastic brush' (East, p.137).

The emphasis of my research is on the iconography of the missal, but not as images in isolation. Whilst a detailed exploration of the missal's liturgy is not the focus of this work, the illuminations are considered through their relationship to the text. A part of this study analyses what types of image occur, where, with what iconography, and how, if at all, this may relate to the text both in terms of individual image and wider iconographic pattern. The images are also examined with direct relation to the patron. For a biographical exploration of the missal's patron it was possible to draw on a surprising quantity of primary documentary sources as well as using material from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of more recent studies of the monastic environment of which Litlyngton was abbot, the two diligently researched works by Barbara Harvey were the most directly relevant and endlessly useful. Harvey's focus of estates and everyday monastic living in Westminster Abbey allowed glimpses into the activities of individual abbots and Litlyngton is encountered in both *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* and the later work *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience*.[34]

The missal itself provides a wealth of material to be analysed and interpreted. However, greater sense can only be made of the results coming from such analysis by setting them in a wider context. Throughout the thesis this has been achieved by comparing aspects of the Litlyngton Missal with other manuscripts in order to witness convergence, divergence, and change when following various threads.

So as to understand how the Litlyngton Missal's illustrative scheme fits into the broader scope of missal illumination, I gathered information from comparable illuminated manuscripts in order to construct a comparative study. My sample included the ten most richly illuminated English missals accessible for study, which together span roughly a hundred years (c.1310-c.1415).[35] Covering the periods before and after c. 1385 allows examination of developments in number, location, and subject matter of images. I am aware that there are inevitable, and unavoidable, limitations placed on gaining a complete picture by using what are the depleted remains of a once rich stock. Yet, the information in this study is the most comprehensive drawing together of figurative illumination schemes from missals for this period, and brings forward result patterns which are not negated by the loss of so many English missals in the Reformation. It was possible to study the majority of the ten missals first hand; others were available digitally.

The secure knowledge of the patron's identity, as evinced by documentation and his patronal marks in the manuscript, provides a natural starting place for investigations into the book he commissioned. Accordingly, chapter one is a biographical study of Nicholas Litlyngton, providing a clear context to the man whose presence is palpable within his bespoke book. Examining events in

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[34] *WAE* and *LDE* respectively.

[35] See 5.1.1 where the sources are in approximate chronological order reflective of imprecise dating.

his life and other examples of his patronage gives a greater insight into the manner and motivations of his agency in the missal. Following this thread, chapter two considers Nicholas Litlyngton specifically in his role as patron of the missal. It examines how detailed attention to Litlyngton's heraldry and monogram reveals an understanding of his part in the illumination of the missal and how this reflects his own focus of devotion as well as making clear statements concerning himself as both nobleman and abbot of a prestigious house.

Chapter three investigates the missal's production. The scribe and artists and the practicalities of their work are discussed with reference to the aforementioned abbot's treasurer's accounts. Also addressed is the uncertain matter of the number of hands present in the figurative illuminations and, consequently, the existing attribution of artists' work is reappraised. The chapter also scrutinises and determines the significance of the previously unremarked disruption to the missal's otherwise relatively uniform illumination scheme that occurs in the royal ceremonies. In addition, the chapter assesses the style of the entire missal's illumination, with particular reference to the two main artists, who are afforded more individual appraisal than has formerly occurred. In this way, distinct artistic personalities are established. In order to understand the Litlyngton Missal in its immediate context the missal's association to other manuscripts is traced through shared artists, style, subject matter, or direct copying of individual compositions.

Chapter four looks closely at the text and images connected to the royal ceremonies and examines the motivation behind their inclusion. The presence of royal ceremonies in the Litlyngton Missal sets it apart from surviving missals. The rubrics of the ceremonies are examined from a new standpoint: that of the direct relationship to both Westminster Abbey and the abbot. The iconography in the royal miniatures is then viewed via this new perspective and, as will be argued, an alternative significance to that traditionally extended to the figures is discerned through the contextual reading of word and image. These images and texts are closely tied not only to each other, but also to Westminster as a place; focussing through the lens of the imagery of the Litlyngton Missal, I expand upon Binski's investigation of Westminster Abbey as a royal mausoleum.[36]

The final chapter considers the manuscript's iconographic programme both in view of the arguments made in previous chapters and within the wider context of other English missals. A comparative investigation into number, placement, and subject matter of figurative imagery in English fourteenth and fifteenth century missals allows not only a better understanding of the missal in terms of the genre of illuminated missals, but also an interpretation of the Litlyngton Missal's illustrations with regards to the extent of convention or innovation. In an extension to this

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[36] *WAP*, chapter three.

theme, whereas chapter three deals with the style of the iconography of the Litlyngton Missal, this final chapter examines messages contained within the images and reflects on their significance.

Chapter One
Nicholas Litlyngton: Man and Benefactor

Even had it not been recorded that the Litlyngton Missal was donated to the Benedictine house at Westminster Abbey by the then abbot, Nicholas Litlyngton (1362-1386), it would still have been possible to identify the patron through the use of the monogram and coat of arms that appear at various instances on the pages of the book (figs 1.1 and 1.2).[1] The exterior of the book also proclaims the patron as a coat of arms adorns the fore-edge of the missal. Julian Luxford, in his work on patronage in connection to the Benedictines, gave a salutary warning against heraldry as necessarily pointing to the patron, calling attention to examples 'that testify not to acts of patronage but simply to enthusiasm for the most popular decorative idiom of the age.'[2] Happily, in this instance the patron is identified through documentation and it is interesting to consider the details of him beyond mere identification. The primary sources regarding Litlyngton give a clear impression of certain facets of his character, as revealed through his actions and concerns.

 Awareness of Litlyngton's life and character can lend insight into the missal; understanding his personality, priorities, and specific life events will allow a discerning judgement on the relationship between Litlyngton and his bespoke book. Therefore, this opening chapter explores the biography of Nicholas Litlyngton with the aim of enabling a better understanding of the man who, as patron, shaped the nature of the missal's creation and ornamentation. The discussion is structured according to the various components of his nature and the Latin used in the subtitles outlining these various characteristics is taken from Litlyngton's own epitaphs.[3]

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[1] WAM 24265* (Abbot's Treasurer's Roll, 1383-4); CCA MS A.10 (Westminster Abbey Vestry Inventory 1388), Tercia pars, cap.viij.

[2] Julian Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries 1300-1540: A Patronage History* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 14.

[3] The translations and discussion of both epitaphs are in section 1.3.1. Unless otherwise stated, translations occurring throughout this thesis are my own.

1.1: Beginnings

1.1.1: Historiography

Interest in Litlyngton as a subject of biographical writing reaches at least as far back as the fifteenth century when John Flete, a monk at Westminster 1420-1465, wrote *The History of Westminster Abbey*.[4] Although we find mention of Litlyngton in various chronicles written during his lifetime or soon after his death,[5] Flete's work is the first to devote a biographical entry to him, which he does for each of Westminster's abbots in chronological order.[6] Flete's record of the various abbots fits the structure of the genre of *Gesta Abbatum* recently explored by Martin Heale in his research regarding the abbots of England.[7] The formula followed tends to be a rather superficial paean listing virtues and benefactions that served to both commemorate the subject and guide his successors. Luxford noted the formulaic approach and list-like nature of sources relevant to abbots and their achievements, and examined the hierarchy of donations by superiors where vestments and metalwork may receive equal billing with architecture.[8] Although more narrative than a mere list, Flete's entries on abbots' achievements often fall into this donation list form. Binski calls Flete's work 'late medieval monastic antiquarianism'[9] which highlights the need to approach such sources with caution. However, material included in Flete's work is based on documentation, which he sometimes explicitly refers to, or copies out. Also it should be noted that Flete does not give high praise unreservedly to all of his subjects, which denotes at least some degree of historical integrity.[10] Elements of Flete's entry on Litlyngton are discussed in detail in the various relevant chapter sections, but briefly here, Litlyngton's election

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[4] *FHWA.*

[5] *The Anonimalle Chronicle* 1333-1381, ed. by V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927) ; *CJR*; *The Westminster Chronicle* 1381-1394, ed. by Barbara Harvey, trans. by L.C. Hector (Oxford, 1982); Thomas Walsingham, *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham* 1376-1422*, ed. by James G. Clark, trans. by David Preest (Woodbridge, 2005); *Continuation of the Eulogium* (Rolls Series, 342) as used in *An English Chronicle* 1377-14*, ed. by William Marx (Woodbridge, 2003); J. Robinson, *The Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler, 1381-1394* (London, 1912).

[6] Litlyngton is the last abbot about whom Flete writes despite a declaration to update the history to his own times.

[7] Martin Heale, 'Gesta Abbatum in Late Medieval England', unpublished paper given at the English Monastic Archives conference, University College London, 24 June 2011. I am indebted to Martin Heale for private correspondence regarding research for his forthcoming book, *The Abbot in Late Medieval and Reformation England.*

[8] Julian Luxford, 'Nichil ornatus in domo domini pretemittens: the Professional Patronage of Walter of Monington, Abbot of Glastonbury', in *Patrons and Professionals in the Middle Ages,* Proceedings of the 2010 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. by Paul Binski and Elizabeth A. New (Donington, 2012), pp. 237-260 (p. 241).

[9] *WAP,* p. 123. Conversely, Binski noted Sporley as a 'generally reliable witness' (p. 99), while others think Sporley transcribed Flete's work (see 1.3.1).

[10] E.g. Abbot Simon Bircheston, *FHWA,* pp. 128-131.

as abbot is noted, his achievements in relation to Westminster Abbey are enumerated, his gifts listed, and his death and epitaph recorded. Flete has supplied generations of scholars with information that would otherwise have been lost, most notably Litlyngton's epitaph.

Richard Widmore's *An History of the Church of St Peter* emulated the structure of Flete's work when writing in the mid-eighteenth century, giving information about the phases of building of Westminster Abbey and arranging information chronologically abbot by abbot.[11] He used the records in the muniments room at Westminster Abbey to expand some of the matters mentioned in frustratingly short detail by Flete and referenced the primary sources that he consulted. At six physically small pages, Widmore's account of Nicholas Litlyngton remains the longest biographical work of him until this present chapter.

 After generations of scholars mainly depending heavily on Widmore's commendable work, E. H. Pearce and Harvey both returned to Flete and other primary sources for information. Pearce's painstakingly thorough and useful work is a catalogue of documentation and references to all of the monks of Westminster.[12] In his section relating to Litlyngton he cites Flete, Calendar Rolls, abbey muniments, and chronicles.[13] Harvey's *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*) entry for Litlyngton comes out of a larger study: *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages.*[14] The extensive research into the documents needed for the successful completion of both this work and *Living and Dying in England* 1100-1540*: The Monastic Experience*[15] meant that biographical details regarding Litlyngton were uncovered. The *ODNB* entry discusses Litlyngton's lineage and abbacy, with events in his early life being difficult to source.

Although mainly calling upon the same sources as the scholars who have gone before me, the manner in which this chapter, and to some extent thesis, differs from preceding scholarship is through Nicholas Litlyngton being at the heart of the discussion as a focal point rather than at the edge or as a small part of a greater scheme of work. While others have examined Nicholas Litlyngton within the context of Westminster,[16] richness of sources support a fuller reappraisal

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[11] Richard Widmore, *An History of the Church of St Peter* (London, 1751).

[12] E.H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster: Being a Register of the Convent from the Time of the Confessor to the Dissolution* (Cambridge, 1916)*.*

[13] Westminster Abbey Library's own copy of this book has been updated over the decades with hand-written additions and annotations by various Westminster librarians.

[14] *WAE* and Barbara F. Harvey, 'Litlyngton, Nicholas (*b.* before 1315, *d.* 1386)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16775> [accessed 6 July 2011], hereafter Harvey, *ODNB*.

[15] *LDE.*

[16] Essentially, he has been discussed within the framework of Westminster Abbey, the building, or in historical studies of that place. Examples include: John Neale and Edward Brayley, *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter, Westminster,* 2 vols (London, 1822); J. Robinson, *The Abbot's House at Westminster* (Cambridge, 1911); W.R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey Re-examined* (London, 1925);

with a view to understanding him with additional depth of character as a patron and influential abbot.

1.1.2: *Genus urget*: Lineage

The first time that Nicholas Litlyngton appears in the abbey records is in 1333.[17] As monks entering a Benedictine house had generally reached the age of eighteen it has been reasonably supposed that he was born in 1315 or before.[18] From this time, regular mention of him is made in chapter records, abbey chronicles, and correspondence right up until the time of his death on 29 November 1386 at c. 71 years of age.[19] He became prior in 1350 and abbot in 1362. The conclusion therefore is that his entire adult life was spent in the service, if not exclusively within the abbey enclave, of the Benedictine house of Westminster Abbey.

There are elements of mystery and anecdotal speculation that surround Litlyngton's birth and lineage. In *The History of that Most Victorious Monarch Edward III* (1688), Joshua Barnes refers to an assertion made by Somerset herald and antiquarian Robert Glover (1544-88) that Litlyngton was the illegitimate son of King Edward III.[20] This idea seems to have initiated through what were seen as extraordinary favours being granted by the king to the abbey on Litlyngton's request. A Westminster chronicler [21] and Flete give details of how Litlyngton, while still a monk, obtained two abbey vacancies[22] from the king even after, on one occasion, the monarch had already granted it to his own queen. In 1344 Litlyngton was permitted to buy back this lucrative vacancy 'from the hand of the queen for 500 marks'.[23] As well as the events reported by the

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H.F. Westlake, *The New Guide to Westminster Abbey* (London, 1954); *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey*, ed. by Edward Carpenter (London, 1966); *WAP*.

[17] WAM 5894 is a letter to Litlyngton in the time of Abbot William Curtlyngton, who died in September 1333; Pearce, p.84.

[18] Harvey, *ODNB*.

[19] Pearce, pp. 84-86.

[20] Joshua Barnes, *The History of the Most Victorious Monarch Edward III* (Cambridge, 1688), p. 910. Reference to the original Glover source is made in a note: 'Cod. M.S. Miscell Robert Glover Somerset fol. 135'.

[21] Extracts from the anonymous middle section of the Westminster Chronicle in BL, MS Cotton Cleopatra A XVI are included in *CJR*.

[22] A vacancy is the time of absence of a head of estates; the revenues generated in this time would revert to the monarch. It was usual practice that the sovereign would grant or 'sell' the vacancy.

[23] *CJR*, p. 87: 'vacationem Westmonasterii...mediante fratre Nicholao de Litlyngton . . . redemit de manu reginae quingentis marcis'. Tait questions whether John of Reading is correct in writing that Litlyngton bought it from the hands of the queen on this occasion as this is not corroborated in *FHWA* or the rolls. Tait feels this is a conflation and that the occasion is actually when Litlyngton bought the profits of the vacancy after the death of the next abbot, Bircheston (1349). However, it remains that whether bought

Westminster Chronicler, John of Reading reports an additional royal favour granted to the abbey through Litlyngton. Reading was a monk at Westminster who sang his first mass in 1341-2 therefore, this source provides us with an author who is an exact contemporary of Litlyngton and from the same community.[24] He tells how via the mediation of Brother Nicholas Litlyngton, the king granted an over-arching pardon for the abbey in relation to any past or future escapees from the abbey gatehouse prison. This boon was granted in exchange for prayers rendered up by the brothers for the success of Edward's military endeavours.[25]

Joshua Barnes' motive in mentioning Glover's theory seems to have been to discredit it. He points out that it is a 'single testimony' and, although not mentioning possible birth dates, he suspects that Litlyngton was too old to be Edward's son.[26] However, as the shining title of his work might suggest, Barnes' portrayal of Edward III is rather biased in favour of *That Most Victorious Monarch.* Therefore, it would be natural for him to attempt to dispel an idea that might reflect badly on his regal subject. Yet, as Pearce points out, if Edward III was himself born in 1312, there is as much likelihood of Litlyngton being the king's 'twin-brother' as being his son.[27] Harvey omitted this theory from her *ODNB* entry. More importantly, in the surviving documentation Litlyngton himself never claims to be descended from the king. What the strange episode in misdating and antiquarian sensationalism does bring to the fore is that Litlyngton was evidently successful in his endeavours on behalf of the abbey and appeared to be fully competent in the handling of legal affairs. This is an aspect of his character that will be further explored below.[28]

With regards to lineage, Litlyngton specifically named his parents as being Hugh and Joan when in 1382 he founded an anniversary for them, and himself, to be observed every 26 September at the Great Malvern Priory, a dependent house of Westminster Abbey.[29] Even more revealing is the coat of arms that Litlyngton used in the missal and in various rooms in the Abbot's House and cloisters. The shield is a version of the Despenser family arms of quarterly *argent* and *gules*, in the second and third quarters a frette *or*, over all a bend sable (fig. 1.2a). Litlyngton's are quarterly *argent* and *gules*, in the second and third quarters a frette *or*, over all a bend *azure*

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from the hands of the queen or not, the profits were secured through Litlyngton's intervention and mediation as corroborated in *FHWA*, p.134.

[24] Pearce*,* p. 11.

[25] *CJR,* p. 103. See Appendix B.1 for translation of the whole account.

[26] Barnes, p. 910.

[27] Pearce*,* p. 85.

[28] Section 1.2.1.

[29] WAM 32660: 'hugonis patris & Johhanne matris eius'. The document retains the seal of the Great Malvern Priory.

with three *fleur-de-lis or* (fig. 1.2).[30] Extant records do not show marriage between a Hugh Despenser and a Joan, or a Joan Despenser and a Hugh, that fits the relevant dates. Given the probable year of birth (1315 or slightly before), Earl Hugh Despenser the Elder (1286-1326) and his son Hugh Despenser the Younger (1261-1326) are both eligible contenders for having sired the future abbot of Westminster. If this were so, then Nicholas Litlyngton would have been an illegitimate son, as both men were married at the time of their violent deaths.[31] A sketched family tree and other marginal notes in Westminster Abbey Library's well-annotated copy of Pearce's *Monks of Westminster*, show that at least one abbey librarian has hypothesised on Hugh Despenser the Younger being the father of Nicholas Litlyngton.[32]

Harvey is against the idea of illegitimacy and states that Litlyngton's parents' marriage 'can probably be inferred from the fact that Litlyngton used the Despenser arms without any mark of illegitimacy.'[33] She does not, however, make any reference to the fact that the bend that appears in the Litlyngton Missal is *azure* and has three *fleur-de-lis or* upon it,[34] whereas the main Despenser arms have a bend *sable* without motif. This one unremarked difference could be enough to show the illegitimacy of the bearer of the arms.

In his *Complete Guide to Heraldry*, Fox-Davies was most insistent that both legitimate heirs and illegitimate sons were obliged to 'difference' their arms in some way and that 'it is absolutely unsafe to use these marks as signifying or proving legitimate cadency[35] or illegitimacy.'[36] He stated that there is no officially recognised mark of bastardy and the 'only rule was that arms must be sufficiently marked in some way.'[37] He did, however, concede that the bend sinister and bordure were used to denote illegitimacy, however, both tropes could also be used for legitimate cadency. For example, Bishop Henry Despenser, a legitimate grandson of Hugh Despenser the Younger, used the family shield with the difference of a bordure with mitres; this

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[30] The Litlyngton Missal shields have incorporated a play on words in their depiction of the Despenser heraldry. In heraldic terms *argent* means white, but the artists have used silver (*argent* in French) to represent the white. Joshua Barnes noted that the bend is *azure:* Barnes, p. 910.

[31] Hugh Despenser the Elder married Isabelle de Beauchamp; Hugh Despenser the Younger's wife was Eleanor de Clare.

[32] I am indebted to Christine Reynolds, Assistant Librarian at Westminster Abbey Library, for identifying the hand of the margin note-maker as Herbert Francis Westlake, a canon of Westminster much involved with the muniments and library in 1940s and 1950s and author of *The New Guide to Westminster Abbey* (London, 1954) and *Westminster: A Historical Sketch* (London, 1919).

[33] Harvey, *ODNB*.

[34] In Glover's ordinary of arms the description of Litlyngton's shield is referenced under '*Despenser*: Bedfordshire and London': Joseph Edmondson, *A Complete Body of Heraldry: Glover's Ordinary of Arms Augmented and Improved* (London, 1780).

[35] A mark of 'difference' to distinguish family members.

[36] Arthur Charles Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (New York, 2007), p. 509.

[37] Fox-Davies, p. 511.

case clearly shows that a sometimes perceived sign of bastardy was also used to show cadency for a legitimate son. Heraldic inconsistency even extends to one man's use of his own heraldry. Examination of Bishop Henry Despenser's book (BL, Cotton Claudius E VIII) revealed that it holds twenty-one examples of his arms, with six variations involving the number of mitres in the bordure, six or eight, and what appears in the second quarter: a martlet, red cross, black cross, or nothing;[38] his *secretum* has a bordure with eight mitres (fig. 1.3). Such variations on a basic theme are indicative of the variable nature of heraldry.

It is therefore fair to conclude that Nicholas Litlyngton cannot reliably be proclaimed as being born in wedlock due to the absence of a bend sinister or bordure on his arms. Similarly, the differencing mark of the fleur de lis on the bend does not prove that he was born out of wedlock.[39] As Luxford stated, heraldry 'requires judicious reading.'[40]

Less ambiguous than the vagaries of heraldry in ascertaining legitimacy are the dictats of canon law regarding the restriction placed on illegitimate offspring in taking holy orders. According to canon law, somebody of illegitimate birth could not be consecrated to the holy orders without papal dispensation, which was achieved through a petition to the Holy Father. Neither the Calendar of Papal Registers nor the petitions to the pope indicate that request for a dispensation for Nicholas Litlyngton, Littleton or Despenser to take holy orders was made by Westminster or any other religious house or church.[41] Although a fair guide, unfortunately this method of checking papal records of the early fourteenth century is not an infallible way of knowing whether a cleric was legitimate or not. Although papal registers are extant covering the period of Litlyngton's entry into Westminster Abbey (c.1333), no papal petition register survives before 1342 and therefore it is not possible to cross check. An approved and signed petition was enough to prove that a person had received dispensation and while commissioning a duplicate petition was expensive it is a fair assumption that a Despenser family member, with documented

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[38] BL, Cotton Claudius E VIII, *Flores Historiarum*, c.1390-1400 is catalogued by Martindale in *Medieval Art in East Anglia* 1300-1520*,* ed. by P. Lasko and N. J .Morgan (Norwich, 1373), p. 32 and discussed for possible prophetic significance by Lesley Coote, 'The Crusading Bishop: Henry Despenser and his Manuscript' in *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom,* Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. by Nigel Morgan (Donington, 2004), pp.39-51. Henry Despenser's *secretum* is reproduced in p. 205-6 Charles Boutrell and A. C. Fox- Davies, *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, illustrated 11th edn. (Middlesex, 2008).

[39] As a matter of extra complication the Despenser shields used by Litlyngton in the Abbot's Dining Hall at Westminster do employ a bordure, but no *fleur-de-lis.*

[40] Luxford, *Art and Architecture,* p. 15.

[41] W. H. Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 2 - 1305-1342* < http://www.british-history.ac.uk/subject.aspx?subject=2andgid=150> [accessed 5/4/2011]; W. H. Bliss, *Petitions to the Pope - 1342-1419* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/source.aspx?pubid=995> [accessed 5/4/2011].

recourse to independent funds, would have held such a letter; no letter exists either in the above mentioned papal calendars or in Westminster Abbey's records.[42]

Whether legitimate issue or not, further evidence shows that Litlyngton had both official and social relations with the Despenser family which would seem to support the idea that he was probably a family member, or at least affiliated in some way closely enough to use their arms. In 1373, licence was given for Litlyngton to act as attorney for Edward, 1st Baron le Despenser (1336-1375) whilst the latter was in France.[43] In his will this same Edward Despenser bequeathed 'to Nicholas, Abbot of Westminster, a gilt hanaper with the cover and ewer which was of the gift of the Abbot of Glastonbury.'[44] Litlyngton is shown as being of some importance to Edward Despenser as he is the third person to be nominated in an extensive list of recipients, being placed after only the baron's wife and the Abbot of Tewkesbury. As the Baron desired his body to be buried at Tewkesbury close to the tombs of his ancestors it is understandable that Tewkesbury's abbot should be placed before Litlyngton. As a Benedictine monk, Abbot Litlyngton would not have made a will, but WAM 5446 is an account of certain of Litlyngton's goods to be delivered to various persons; this holds no record of bequests to Despenser family members.

Litlyngton also had associations with Edward's younger brother, Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich (b.1341-d.1406, mentioned above in relation to heraldry). Harvey's research into Westminster Abbey's household accounts shows that Henry Despenser dined at Abbot Litlyngton's table three times between October 1371 and July 1372.[45] As Litlyngton used the coat of arms on bosses in the cloister ranges, in the Jerusalem Chamber, and dining hall of the Abbot's House, all constructed during his abbacy,[46] a visiting Despenser would have seen the arms used by the abbot. That these heraldic marks were not removed and there being no record of complaint from the Despenser family regarding their use strongly supports that Litlyngton used the arms through hereditary right or with the family's blessing.

A legal case recorded by an anonymous Westminster Chronicler and included in Tait's *Chronica Johannis de Reading* provides a more curious connection between Litlyngton and the Despenser

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[42] The abbey cartulary, *Liber Niger Quaternus* (hereafter *LNQ* in footnotes) and other Westminster Abbey Muniments record that various expenses and lands were paid for with funds provided by Litlyngton: e.g. WAM 4596, 23698.

[43] WAM 6000: Nephew to Hugh the Younger and therefore potentially Litlyngton's first cousin.

[44] Lincoln Episcopal Register 12 (Buckingham), fol. 165v; kindly provided by Westminster Abbey Library: 'Et auxi nous deuisoms a Nicole Abbe de Weymoustr` vn hanaper endorez oue le couercle et ewer qe fuist de doun labbe de Glastyngbury'. A hanaper is a cup with a foot or stem and can take the form of a lidded chalice.

[45] Harvey, *ODNB*.

[46] Lethaby, p. 145.

family.[47] The chronicle reports that on an intriguing occasion in 1344, the abbey petitioned the king with a complaint against 'dominus Dispensarius'. A more revealing identity, beyond 'Lord Despenser' is not given and from the chronicle it is difficult to gauge how much of a role Litlyngton had in this affair. However, the interest comes in the tension of a legal grievance against a Despenser by an abbey whose brethren included a kinsman or family associate.

In brief, the case tells of the unspecified Lord Despenser using abbey lands at Cors to his own ends and intentionally preventing the monks and abbey servants from collecting timber and firewood. When the matter was brought to the king and queen it was resolved in the abbey's favour.[48] The language used in the chronicle account is indicative of the difficult situation as it both condemns Lord Despenser's actions whilst providing extenuating circumstances as to why it may have occurred. It begins 'And since for a long time Lord Despenser, by wrongful permission or licence of the abbots',[49] which indicates the situation had not evolved through the fault of the lord. Furthermore, when the case was heard in the presence of both the king and the 'knight' (Despenser), the chronicler states that Despenser 'both out of love and fear' ceased his offending.[50] The use of the word 'love' softens the negative portrayal of the knight. However, although the mismanagement of the preceding abbots is presented as the reason for the situation arising, Despenser is not portrayed as an innocent victim of that bad administration; he is described as 'fraudulently using first entertainments and soothing, and afterwards threats and terror as his plan' and as having 'introduced deceitful custom'.[51] Even so, the use of the word 'love' at the very end of the account goes some way to exonerating his past behaviour.

This episode could be more grist to the mill of the conspiracy theorists regarding Litlyngton's sway with the king as his bastard son. And yet, if influence were to have been used in this case it may be more logical to assume that it was from one member of the Despenser family to another. Although as the case did not conclude without the intervention of the king, if any family leverage were used by Litlyngton, it cannot have been of much worth, especially as the abbey cartulary (*Liber Niger Quaternus* a late fifteenth-century copy of a previous cartulary, hereafter *Liber Niger*[52]) reveals that by 1381 the problem was again great enough that 'Nicholas Abbat of

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[47] *CJR,* p. 87.

[48] See Appendix B.2 for translation of the whole account.

[49] *CJR*, p. 87: 'Et quoniam a diu dominus Dispensarius permissione mala seu licentia abbatum'.

[50] *CJR,* p. 88: 'tam amore quam timore cessavit'.

[51] *CJR*, p. 87: 'inducta fallaci consuetudine'.

[52] WAM Book 1. A colophon on fol. 1r informs the reader that the new cartulary was undertaken through the personal expense of Thomas Clifford: 'Thomas dominus Clifforde...ad suos sumptus expensasque'.

Westminster had a conference with Lady Despenser' regarding similar problems involving the woods and chase at Cors.[53]

As a final point regarding Litlyngton's genesis it is worth considering his toponym. The relatively common nature of the place name Littleton or Litlington in England makes it difficult to determine Nicholas Litlyngton's geographical origins with any degree of confidence.[54] Harvey proposed that his toponym may have derived from Littleton in Middlesex; there is a direct link as Westminster Abbey had purchased land from this location during Litlyngton's abbacy.[55] However, it is also plausible that he may have been connected to Littleton in Worcestershire (North, Middle, and South Littleton are different parts of the same parish), which is only twenty-five miles distant from Great Malvern Abbey.[56] As we have seen, Nicholas Litlyngton established an anniversary for his parents at Great Malvern in 1382. However, Litlyngton had also established an obit for his parents at Hurley Priory (1375[57]), which is approximately twenty miles from Littleton, Surrey. Even so, the case is stronger for Littleton in Worcestershire, as both Great Malvern Priory and Littleton (Worcs) are close to Tewkesbury Abbey,[58] the chosen resting place of Edward Despenser (see above) and others of that family. As a final possible connection, the church in Middle Littleton is named for St Nicholas. It is beguiling to see connections which place Nicholas Litlyngton in the west of England, where there are strong connections to the Despenser line, although pronouncement on both Litlyngton's legitimacy and place of birth must remain highly conjectural.

1.2: Character and Qualities

1.2.1: *Facta poscunt:* Mediation and Legal Competence

Although Litlyngton's high birth or good connections may account for access to the ear of certain people of influence, a number of the abbey's successes, as before mentioned, came through the

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[53] *LNQ* (item 367). N.B. Some translations of items from the *LNQ* come from an unpublished work held in Westminster Abbey library, originally compiled by the first Keeper of the Muniments Dr E. J. L. Scott in the early twentieth century, and revised by Sir Charles Strachey, probably in the 1930s. Where I have used these translations they are followed by the item number in brackets. Where transcriptions and translations are my own, references are simply given a folio number from the manuscript.

[54] E.g. Littleton, Cheshire; Littleton, Hampshire; Littleton, Middlesex; Littleton, Surrey, North, Middle, and South Littleton, Worcestershire; Litlington, Cambridgeshire/Hertfordshire; Litlington, East Sussex.

[55] Harvey, *ODNB.*

[56] Roughly twenty-five miles.

[57] WAM 5399, see 2.5.1.

[58] Fourteen and sixteen miles respectively.

genuine skill of Litlyngton as agent. This element of his character is something that has been noted by various chroniclers and seems to have stretched throughout his career from monk to abbot. The previously mentioned Westminster Chronicler refers to Litlyngton as he 'who always procured good things for them' [the brothers].[59] Further, when reporting Litlyngton's election as abbot, his contemporary, John of Reading, tells how 'even when a simple monk he [Litlyngton] always spontaneously procured many good things for the said church and to the monastery was able to lend a helping hand.'[60]

The *Anonimalle Chronicle* (1333-1381), another contemporary work believed to have been written at St Mary's, York, also presents Litlyngton in a positive way, although not as overtly as John of Reading. Regarding a legal situation which involved Abbot Litlyngton attending parliament at Gloucester in 1378 (discussed below) the chronicler states that 'God took great vengeance' on Litlyngton's behalf, thus casting him as a good man.[61]

Writing at Westminster 1420-1465, Flete is open in his praise of Litlyngton, for example saying that he 'boldly fought the actions brought against him', [62] and that he had 'distinguished himself by his defence of ecclesiastical freedom and the privileges of the church of Westminster'.[63] Like John of Reading, Flete also uses the phrase 'while still a simple monk he procured many benefits for the Church.'[64] The phrase is so like John of Reading's commendation of the abbot that it seems likely that Flete had used Reading's text as a source for his own history. Naturally, it would be naive to accept the chroniclers' and Flete's judgement of Litlyngton without qualification. However, even when allowing for the possible hyperbole of literary convention, particularly in Flete, the balance of judgement afforded by other sources show Litlyngton in a positive light.

Having established that Litlyngton was considered by his contemporary and later authors to be a mediator of worth and moral stature, it is fitting to consider the events leading to this favourable reputation. As mentioned, whilst still a monk (c.1333-1350) Litlyngton had secured for the abbey the vacancies created by the deaths of Abbot Henley in 1344 and Abbot Bircheston in 1349.[65] Flete then notes that a third procurement of vacancy profits was secured when Litlyngton

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[59] *CJR,* p. 87: 'mediante frate Nicholao de Litlyngton qui bona semper procuravit eisdem'.

[60] *CJR,* p. 151: 'qui etiam simplex monachus plura bona dictae ecclesiae semper spontaneus procuravit, ad quaeque monasterio necessaria manum pro posse apponens adjiutucem'.

[61] Galbraith*,* p. 124: 'mes labbe ne purroit trover grace en le roy ne en le conseil...Dieu prist graunde vengeance'.

[62] *FHWA*, p. 136: 'qui viriliter resistens injuriis'.

[63] *FHWA*, p. 136-7: 'Optime se habuit pro defensione privilegiorum ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis et libertate ecclesiastica*'.*

[64] *FHWA,* p. 134: 'qui adhuc simplex monachus plura bona ecclesiae procuravit, (compare to n. 55).

[65] *CJR,* p. 109; WAM 27322A; *FHWA,* p. 133.

himself became abbot after Abbot Simon Langham's departure, which was occasioned by the latter's appointment as Bishop of Ely in 1362.[66] Also to be remembered is that in 1346 *fratre Nicholao de Lithington*[67] had gained a royal grant of forgiveness for the Westminster house pardoning the escape of any prisoners who had been in the custody of the abbey gate-house.[68]

Having distinguished himself as a monk, Litlyngton became prior in 1350 when the post became vacant for the third time in two years due to mortalities caused by the Black Death. He served in that position for twelve years, although not much is known of his time as prior. It is in his abbacy that the events that place him as a skilled mediator and political force occur.

One particular occasion culminated in Abbot Litlyngton's appearance in the Gloucester parliament in October 1378 where he pitted himself against the king and the king's champion: John Wycliffe. The Hawley/Shakell affair, detailed below, is recorded in various chronicles including, The *Anonimaille Chronicle,* 1333 to 1381*;* the *Chronica Majora* 1376-1422 by Thomas Walsingham; the *English Chronicle* 1377 to 1471[69] (based on the *Brut*), and the *Continuation of the Eulogium.*[70] Additionally, it is documented in Flete's *History of Westminster,* Westminster Abbey's cartulary (*Liber Niger*)*,* MS Bodley 596,[71] and various entries in the *Calendar of Close Rolls*. Unfortunately, the date of the event means that it does not appear in either the anonymous Westminster Chronicler's work, last entry 1345, or John of Reading's chronicle work, which comes to an abrupt halt in 1367. With the exception of the very brief entry in Bodley 596,[72] each of the chronicle reports, in varying degrees, leans in favour of the abbot.

The chronicles record that in August 1378 Robert Hawley and John Shakell, imprisoned for complex political reasons involving hostages and ransoms,[73] fled to Westminster Abbey for sanctuary, having escaped from the Tower of London. Being a matter of canon law, the right of sanctuary protected supplicants from secular jurisdiction and was intended to guarantee safety

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[66] WAM 5420; *FHWA*, p. 134.

[67] *CJR,* p. 103.

[68] *CJR,* p. 103. The abbey gatehouse functioned as a separate prison.

[69] *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, written before the year 1471* ed. by, John Silvester Davies (London, 1856).

[70] Davies, p. 119. This section is a supplementary addition taken from the *Continuation of the Eulogium*, BL, MS Cotton Galba E VII.

[71] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 596, is a miscellany of manuscripts from different dates. Part A (c.1410) includes short chronicles of England and Westminster. See O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, III (Oxford, 1966-1973), p. 336.

[72] Bodley 596, fol. 38v: 'Anno m ccc lxxviij in crastino sci Laurencij fer(at) iiij at in choro Westm interfectus est Robertus Hawley'.

[73] Preest and Clark*,* p. 70; Widmore*,* p. 104.

within the church enclave, generally for a period of forty days.[74] On this occasion the rights of sanctuary were violated and on 11 August, whilst Mass was being celebrated, the king's men forcibly removed Shakell and re-imprisoned him in the Tower. Even more dramatically, when the king's men attempted to remove Hawley, a fight ensued ending in his violent death in the quire of the abbey with, according to Walsingham's account, menaces being made to the monks who were celebrating mass there.[75]

Walsingham calls this event the 'Pollution of Westminster'[76] and the *Anonimaille* chronicler records that as a result of the desecration no Mass was celebrated in the church until Christmas.[77] Beyond the disruption to religious devotions at Westminster Abbey, the aftermath of the violent events in August was highly political and Litlyngton's handling of the matter reflects positively on his capabilities as leader of his house and reveals no small skill in political manoeuvrings.

Walsingham's *Chronica Majora* account gives dramatic, even melodramatic, detail regarding the act of 'pollution' itself, and also informs us that certain perpetrators (Ralph Ferrers and Alan Buxhill) were excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Conversely, Walsingham gives a rather vague and scanty rendering of the subsequent unfurling of events, in which Litlyngton was to play a major role.[78] Nicholas Litlyngton may not be mentioned by name, nor the details of the outcome discussed, but the author's judgement against the king's party is discernable from the tone of the account, in which he makes an overt connection to the death of Thomas Becket and calls the king's men 'raving bacchanals, neither fearing God nor showing reverence to men.'[79]

The *Anonimaille* is more profitable for details of events after the violation; according to this chronicler, an argument ensued between the king's council and the abbot of Westminster. When Litlyngton condemned the act of desecration and flouting of sanctuary the reply from the king's side was that as the abbey had protected men who were acting against the royal will ('encontre la volunte le roy'), the king and his council intended to withdraw all royal franchises from the

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[74] *Historical Dictionary of Late Medieval England,* ed. by Ronald H. Fritze and William B. Robison (Westport, 2002), p. 486.

[75] Preest and Clark, p. 70. Robinson noted in 'The Unrecognised Westminster Chronicler, 1381-1394' in *The Proceedings of the British Academy* (1907) p. 2., that the St Alban's Chronicler in *Chronicon Angliae* heightens the drama by reporting that a monk of the abbey was killed when trying to protect Hawley.

[76] Preest and Clark, p. 69.

[77] Galbraith, p. 122.

[78] As a modern day addition to this meagre treatment of a key player, whilst acknowledging the presence of the abbot at the Gloucester Parliament, James G. Clark in his editorial notes on the text calls him by the wrong name: John Litlyngton: Preest and Clark, p. 72, n. 4.

[79] Preest and Clark, p. 71.

abbey as well as removing the abbey's temporalities. Indeed, blame was laid at the abbey's door for not having handed the 'said villains' (*ditz vadlettes*) over to the king when requested, particularly, so the king's council argued, as the abbey had no right to receive 'debtors or traitors'.[80] Therefore, Abbot Litlyngton was enjoined to attend the Parliament to state his case.

This issue of the imposition of secular jurisdiction over canon law was among the matters against which Litlyngton spoke before the commons at Gloucester where he maintained that the abbey church could reply to none except to the 'Holy Father, the Pope, or his assigns'.[81] Furthermore, he argued that the church's charters upheld the right of sanctuary and that Shakell should be given back to the abbey from whence he had been dragged. John Wycliffe, 'une graunde clerk a Oxenford'[82] was summoned by the king to speak against the abbey on this matter of debtors and traitors not having the right to sanctuary, a subject upon which, according to the *Anonimaille*, he had often preached before. However, Litlyngton took the initiative to speak before Wycliffe and according to Flete this was when 'he [the abbot] distinguished himself by his defence of the privileges of the Church of Westminster.'[83]

Certainly, thanks to Litlyngton's rather brave actions the abbey did not forfeit its temporalities. What happened regarding Shakell remains unrecorded in the chronicles, although an entry from the *Calendar of Close Rolls* dated 17 September 1379, records an order 'To Alan de Buxhull constable of the Tower of London, or to his lieutenant. Order to set free John Shakelle imprisoned in the Tower at the king's command.'[84]

As a response to Litlyngton's defence of the abbey's privileges *The Anonimaille* records ' le roy et soun counseil furount moult irrouse et graundement greve devers labbe et covent.'[85] To be considered is that King Richard was still only twelve years of age at this time and the government of the realm was mainly in the hands of his uncle, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. Even so, John of Gaunt was in France at the time of the violation and the Continuator of the *Eulogium* also records that relations at this point were strained between the abbot and the king: 'The king

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[80] Galbraith, p. 123.

[81] Galbraith, p. 123: 'et ne purroit estre reconcile par ascun evesqe mes par le seint pere le pape ou par soun assigne'.

[82] Galbraith, p. 123.

[83] *FHWA,* p. 136-7.

[84] *CCR, Richard II 1377-1381*, I, p. 326. Sometime later the council offered a ransom for Shakell's prisoner: Widmore, p. 106; *CCR, Richard II,* I, p. 360.

[85] Galbraith, p.123: 'The king and his council were greatly disquieted and greatly burdened concerning the abbey and the convent.'

sente meny tymeȝ be his writtes to the Abbot of Westmynstre, forto appere befor him, and forto cece of his cursyng'.[86]

There is an interesting addition to this affair where, once again, Litlyngton sets a case before King Richard II and his council. After the defiling of the abbey by the bloody death of Hawley, it was proposed by the king on numerous occasions that the abbey should be re-consecrated: 'that he sholde halowe agayn his chirche'.[87] However, Litlyngton objected to this on the grounds that the abbey had been miraculously consecrated by St Peter himself,[88] and therefore nothing could exceed that act.[89] The Continuator of the *Eulogium* reports this occasion on which Litlyngton stood his ground once more against royal power.[90] As proof of the saint's miracle the abbot calls upon past chronicles and charters held within the abbey, some of which are even copied into the *Eulogium*.[91] There is some difficulty in identifying where the petitioning of the king took place; the chronicles which mention it do not specify whether it happened at the Parliament of Gloucester or on a separate occasion in London.[92]

The Hawley/Shakell episode was of no small importance in England as attested by report of the affair in various chronicles beyond Westminster. Thanks to Flete we can see how remembrance of the occasion was literally set in stone by the abbey. Flete made a transcription of the verse[93] inscribed in the choir, the location of Hawley's death:

M domini C ter septuaginta his dabis octo,

Taurini celebrem plebe colente diem,

hie duodena prius in corpore vulnera gestans,

ense petente caput, Hawle Robertus obit.

Cujus in interitu libertas, cultus, honestas

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[86] Davies, p. 2. The king, dowager queen, and John of Gaunt were excluded from the list of pronounced excommunicates.

[87] Davies, p. 2.

[88] Several accounts of the miracle exist and Flete transcribed four narratives: (1) From an ancient chronicle beginning 'Tempore quo rex Ethelbertus';(2) From the *Life of St Mellitus* (Goscelin d.1099); (3) From the chronicle of Sulcard (monk in the time of Abbot Vitalis 1072-81); (4) From a Chronicle called *Liber Regius*. See *FHWA,* pp. 2-11 for Robinson's discussion of the evolution of the miracle story. The miracle is also discussed in section 2.2.2.

[89] Davies, pp. 2-3.

[90] *Continuation of the Eulogium* (Rolls Series, 342) as used in Marx, p. 3-5.

[91] Davies, pp. 2 -3.

[92] Bodley 596, fol. 35v has a copy of a petition regarding the rights of sanctuary which call upon the abbey's charters, rights, and immunities. It is unclear for which occasion this was produced.

[93] 'ut patet per versus loco chori ibidem quo perermptus fuerat scriptos': *FHWA,* p.137.

Planxit militia immunis ecclesiae. [94]

The year of our Lord 1370 to these add eight,

While the people were celebrating the day of Taurinus,

Here, first bearing twelve wounds in his body,

A sword attacking his head, Robert Hawley died.

Through his untimely death, liberty, religion and virtue

Mourned for the sanctuary of the church from armed men.

It has not been recorded whether these lines were inscribed at the abbot's behest, or when they were written, but it would seem natural for the inscription to have been created as a commemoration within a reasonably short time of the occurrence. Furthermore, Flete records it in the section of his *History* which deals with Litlyngton's abbacy. It would also seem consistent with Litlyngton's unswerving handling of the affair to have instituted such an overt reminder.

The power of the message comes from its having been deliberately created to act as an epitaph more for the rights of sanctuary than for Robert Hawley. [95] In this inscription there is no attempt to eulogise Hawley or to engender ideas of martyrdom around him; the emphasis of the inscription is on the loss of the church's dignity and rights, thus reflecting Litlyngton's appeal to the Commons in Gloucester. No names are mentioned in the text beyond Hawley and yet the condemnation of the perpetrators, whose identity would have been appreciated by readers, is openly apparent even so. The inclusion of the number of wounds highlights the vicious nature of the attack without recourse to melodramatic language. There is potency in the simple, economic use of words framed in the style of factual reportage which authoritatively informs the reader that an act of sacrilege occurred in that place. This bald statement of violation of the church's rights underlines the clear, straightforward message of the same significance conveyed, successfully, by Litlyngton in October 1378 at Gloucester.

Flete's *History* provides further evidence of Litlyngton's adept handling of politically charged legal affairs. He informs us that 'In the time of this Abbot there was built the royal chapel within the royal palace of Westminster under the jurisdiction of the said Abbot'. [96] Flete's description here could be misleading. The chapel cited is St Stephen's, commissioned in Edward I's reign and

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[94] *FHWA,* p. 137.

[95] Hawley's tomb in the south transept is recorded in Widmore, who took it from Camden. The nature of his epitaph is more emotional than the inscription in the choir: Widmore*,* p. 105.

[96] *FHWA*, p. 136: 'Huius etaim abbatis tempore aedificata erat capella regia infra palatium regium westmonasterii infra iurisdictionem abbatis praedicti'.

structurally completed in 1348.[97] Flete is referring to an extended period of litigation which ensued regarding controversy over the recognition that St Stephen's, and its chapter, was under the authority of the abbot of Westminster rather than being an independent royal chapel.[98] Harvey reports that when in the reign of Richard II the dean and canons of St Stephen's Chapel challenged the Abbey's monopoly of jurisdiction in the monastic precinct, including the Palace of Westminster, it was the 'strenuous exertion of Abbot Litlington that won for his monks, if not exactly victory, then at least an honourable compromise.'[99] Flete pays tribute to the personal efforts of Litlyngton in this affair where 'he boldly fought the actions brought against him in the dispute which he long contended in the Roman curia'.[100] Despite the length of litigation, according to Flete, 'through the earnest request of King Richard II[101] and other lords and friends'[102] the matter was brought to a successful and mutually beneficial conclusion and a 'binding compromise'.[103]

These events throughout Litlyngton's career allow us to gain a picture of a very capable man, well-versed in legal matters and obviously skilled in both mediation and the presentation of an argument. Certain situations discussed above are of a decidedly political nature which required a certain delicacy and subtlety of handling: buying a vacancy appropriated by the queen, petitioning against one's own kinsman, and defending the abbey's rights against royal powers. According to the mixed sources from which the information is garnered, the abbey seems aware that it benefitted from Litlyngton's possession of these skills.

1.2.2: *Virtus incitat*: Courage

The cases discussed above reveal not only Litlyngton's legal competence and ability to deal effectively with situations of high politics, but also many of them expose a degree of courage and a palpable protectiveness of his house and its various privileges. While more legalistic in the matter of St Stephen's chapel, in the dramatic instance of the Shakell/Hawley affair, the abbot

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[97] John H. Harvey, 'St Stephen's Chapel and the Origin of the Perpendicular Style', *The Burlington Magazine*, 88 (1946), pp. 192-199 (pp.192-93).

[98] Carpenter, p. 67.

[99] *WAE*, p. 92.

[100] *FHWA*, p. 136: 'qui viriliter resistens injuriis sibi illatis occasione cuius in curia Romana diutius placitavit'.

[101] There is no evidence that the youthful king was personally involved in the dispute until its resolution.

[102] *FHWA*, p. 136: 'tandem adinstantiam regis Richardi secundi et aliorum dominorum et amicorum'.

[103] Litlyngton died in 1386, but *Calendar of Close Roll* entries show that at least as late as 1383 the king sent an order denying that the church had authority over St Stephen's Chapel and that any attempt to assert authority over it was contempt and prejudice against the crown. *CCR, Richard II* (London, 1920), II, p. 259.

showed an element of bravery. This resolve is discernible in not yielding to the demands to render up the sanctuary seekers to armed soldiers. The steadfastness then extends to standing firm against the king's council through the period leading up to the Gloucester Parliament and then onto addressing the Commons before John Wycliffe's case was heard. Although the sources are somewhat vague on exactly what was said on this occasion, they are united in presenting the action as worthy of praise. It seems that Litlyngton was not to be cowed by the nature of his adversary, including religious activists and royalty.

There is also a record of a rather extraordinary episode of courageous spirit of a less political nature by Litlyngton in 1386. This surprising event is recorded in the *Liber Niger* which records that the King of France (Charles VI) made preparations to invade England but was stalled 'by God's mercy' from so doing due to adverse weather conditions.[104] The book further states that Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton, along with two monks (John Canterbury and John Burgh) 'arrayed themselves in full armour, by common assent of the chapter (because it is lawful to fight for one's country) in order that they might hasten with chariots and horsemen to guard the seashore.' The record concludes that Charles' plans came to nought and therefore the expedition was disbanded. Widmore records that John Canterbury's armour, extraordinary for its large size, was taken to London to be sold.[105] Harvey considered the possibility that hauberks, cuirass, and other military items which made up a part of Litlyngton's chattels at his death refer to this occasion.[106]

Abbot Litlyngton was an elderly man of c. 71 and in the last year of his life at the time of this episode, which could make its veracity questionable. Unfortunately, the *Liber Niger* is the only witness to this event. Many of the *Liber Niger*'s records are supported by original documents held in the Muniments Room at the abbey. Whilst this fact does not completely verify the strange chapter note, it does show a level of reliability for the *Liber Niger* as a whole.

In an Anglo-Norman French letter from Litlyngton to the king,[107] dated 9 August and possibly from the same year,[108] the abbot replied to a request from Richard II for the loan of Edward the Confessor's ring. In the letter he sends the relic with two chaplains and excused himself for not being able to take 'le noble relik lanel seint Edward' to the king in person due to 'age et feblesse' (fig. 1.4 and Appendix B.3). It is interesting to consider why an old and infirm man might equip himself and offer his services in battle. If his 'feblesse' was not manifest at the time of

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[104] *LNQ* (item 360).
[105] Widmore, p.107.
[106] Harvey, *ODNB.*
[107] WAM 9474.
[108] Pearce, p. 86.

volunteering, his 'age' was still considerably advanced for battle duties. Perhaps the occasion could be read that even if the flesh were too weak, then the courageous spirit, or at least the political gesturing, was commendably willing.[109]

1.2.3: Nicholaus erat quoque structor : Builder

Beyond what he achieved in his earlier years as a monk, Litlyngton's career as abbot has manifold examples of the use of his skills and wealth to defend, promote, and enrich the abbey in a range of different ways. It is also true that in so doing he often took opportunities to raise his own profile with examples of permanent marks of his patronage for prosperity.

The matter of mixed motivation behind Litlyngton's actions and benefactions is a fascinating issue deserving serious consideration, and it runs as a thread through many of the aspects concerning Litlyngton as man and patron. The theme is discussed in detail in chapter two, with specific reference to Litlyngton as patron of his missal. However, the theme is also relevant here in relation to the abbot's material promotion of the house through the various building projects he undertook, and how this reflects on his character.

Litlyngton was not only the continuator of long-neglected building projects within the abbey church, but was also the instigator of new works of his own conception. Equally, just as he inherited unfinished works, some of his own projects were incomplete at the time of his death. Even so, Litlyngton managed to complete a whole series of works and it is mainly in connection to this that he is included in literature regarding Westminster Abbey.

After the primary founder, Edward the Confessor, Henry III (1216-1272) is the most famed of the English medieval monarchs for his influence on the building of Westminster Abbey. In his veneration for the saintly king, Henry III envisaged an ambitious rebuilding of the abbey church in the Gothic style and work began on this in 1245. The three master masons responsible for supervising the work were Henry of Reyns, John of Gloucester, and Robert of Beverley.[110] The work was undertaken in two major bouts of productivity and by Henry's death not only had the Confessor's shrine been rebuilt, but also the north and south transepts, east end, Chapter House, and five bays of the nave were completed. Work then effectively stopped for almost a century until Litlyngton, working from the original plans, re-commenced the building works using

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[109] It is interesting to consider the possibility of influence from the example set by his clerical kinsman/associate Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, who had a reputation for involving himself in military matters. See Coote, 'The Crusading Bishop'.

[110] Regarding this period of building see Lethaby, chapter three and *WAP*, chapter two.

generous donations from his predecessor, Simon Langham, and other monies. Work on the nave continued after Litlyngton's death when Henry Yevele finally completed the work in the reign of Richard II.

Although instrumental in the revival of building Henry III's great gothic plan, Litlyngton's true interests in construction seemed to lie more in the betterment of the monastery's domestic buildings rather than with the church. In 1298 a serious fire in the abbey meant that many domestic buildings required reconstruction as a matter of necessity. Flete informs us:

> In the time of this Abbot, due to his diligence, there were built anew, from the very foundations, all the Abbot's residence next to the Church; half the cloisters, the western and southern parts, the buildings of certain officials, namely, bailiff, infirmarer, sacrist and cellarer; the great malthouse, with the tower there; the water-mill and the dam with its stone walls, and the stone walls of the infirmary garden. All these buildings were honourably built, financed by the Church, and especially by his predecessor Simon Langham.[111]

In Flete's list of works there is no mention of the construction undertaken in the nave of the abbey church, neither is this omission amended by Widmore. The finishing of the rebuilding of the southern and western ranges of the cloisters saw the successful conclusion to a protracted project that had been struggling forward since the fire in 1298.

Regarding Litlyngton's building projects Robinson's *The Abbot's House at Westminster*[112] not only gives a history of that building's development, and Litlyngton's considerable part in it, but also provides transcriptions of documents relevant to its construction, cost, and various changes made after the Reformation. Robinson's investigations also inform us that despite Flete's report that the works were paid for by the Church and Langham's donation, Litlyngton paid for the re-building of the abbot's house from his private funds.[113] Luxford has stated that a fourteenth-century superior needed to 'spend copiously', particularly on the buildings of their monastery, in order to preserve the witness of faith that the material aspect of a religious house presented.[114]

With what we are learning as being characteristic directness and focus, the treasurer's rolls inform us that work on the cloisters was begun in the very year of Litlyngton's election to the abbacy in 1362, and completed in 1365. Robinson tells us that even before his election to abbot,

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[111] *FHWA*, p. 135.

[112] J. Robinson, *The Abbot's House at Westminster* (Cambridge, 1911).

[113] Robinson, *Abbot's House*, p. 9.

[114] Luxford, 'Professional Patronage', p. 237.

'Prior Lytlington had been pressing forward the work of the south and west cloisters.'[115]
Although some of the rolls are missing,[116] from the remaining accounts it is possible to ascertain
that in 1367-8 Litlyngton paid towards the building of a new gate for the abbey, and that from
c.1370-79 money was paid to William Warfeld for the 'novum edificium', this latter being the
abbot's house. As a part of this, the Jerusalem Chamber, the principal room, was added and in
1383-4; a small cloister or covered way was constructed so that this *camera* could be reached
without having to cross the hall.[117]

The Jerusalem Chamber, now belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, still has the
original wooden ceiling, although this was restored in the 1950s.[118] Currently the timbers bear
Nicholas Litlyngton's monogram under a mitre (see fig. 1.5) and a crowned letter 'R' for Richard
II, king at the time of the chamber's building. It is unclear how much of this is based on original
decoration and how much is due to later additions and interpretations. An exception to the
norm is that Litlyngton's monogram, usually crowned with the coronet (fig. 1.1), here transforms
to a mitre motif. This would seem to be the only example where the abbot's monogram bears a
mitre as opposed to a coronet, thus leading to some questioning of its authenticity in design.
Furthermore, anachronistic inclusions of Tudor roses and portcullises also occur.[119] However, it
seems probable, taking into account other examples of the use of patronal marks within his
building projects (discussed below), that the monogram and shield were present in some form in
the Jerusalem Chamber.

As with the monograms in the Litlyngton Missal, the abbot's building works give a patent
example of how he made a specific point of leaving reminders of himself as the instigator and
patron of works in heraldry or monogram. The abbot's hall is a clear manifestation of
Litlyngton's desire to be remembered. The corbels of the roof are formed by eight angels who
hold various shields. Two bear the arms of Westminster Abbey (i.e. those posthumously
designed for Edward the Confessor), another holds the abbot's arms, two carry the Despenser
arms, and a further pair are the Despenser arms differenced by a bordure with six mitres (see fig.
1.6). Interestingly, these shields are more akin to the arms used by Henry Despenser Bishop of

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[115] Robinson, *Unrecognized Westminster Chronicler,* p.16.

[116] 1365-66, 1366-67, and 1369-70.

[117] W. R. Lethaby (p. 143) proposed that Henry Yevele was the architect of the abbot's house, particularly
as its plan interlocks with the west end of the nave, for which Yevele was responsible; there are, however,
no supporting documents for this line of thought. Lethaby indicated problems with Robinson's reasoning
concerning the chronology of building.

[118] My thanks to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey and Dr Tony Trowles for allowing me to
view the interior of the Abbot's House.

[119] The beams hold images of Tudor roses, portcullises, broom, sunbursts, and monograms for Litlyngton
and Richard II.

Norwich in his book and *secretum* (section 1.1.2 above and fig. 1.3); certainly the differencing mark on the Litlyngton shield had changed to the three *fleur-de-lis or* by the time of the Litlyngton Missal in 1383-4.

 The shields have undergone various restorations and repainting. However, certain heraldic elements on the shields are modelled in relief, which points to their being the original design. Examples of the raised areas include the six mitres on the bordured shield, the mitre and crozier that appear on the abbot's arms, and the fret lines on the Despenser shield (figs 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8).These raised elements would have acted as guidelines to later painters.

It is generally assumed that the arms on the corbels (and the later additions on the north wall of the hall) were repainted based on the colours and motifs that had been present before. In *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter, Westminster* (published 1822), John Neale and Edward Brayley record that the arms on the corbels were those of Edward the Confessor, Westminster Abbey and 'Abbot Litlington, with differences', and that all the arms of the hall were 'new painted in the summer of 1821'.[120] A watercolour of the room by R. Ackermann executed in 1816 shows the shields as coloured but it is not possible to discern details (fig. 1.9). College Hall was restored in 1960-61, although no details are given in the architect's report regarding the shields and colours. The hall was most recently decorated in 1972, although the shields were only re-touched at this time as colour was still remaining.[121] Even so, it seems that at some point from the fourteenth to the twentieth century a mistake was made in the repainting of the corbels. The Despenser arms (without bordure) are shown with the second, third, and fourth quarters in fretwork *or* on a ground *gules* as opposed to the second and third quarters balanced by quarters one and four *argent*. Careful examination reveals that the raised lines do not extend into the fourth quarter at all (fig. 1.8). Furthermore, the bordured Despenser arms have *gules* first and fourth quarters instead of *argent.*

Of less problematic authenticity, the windows of the abbot's hall, originally glazed by John Payable[122] and even now retaining some original glass, include the N.L. monogram in quatrefoils designs, where the monogram is once again topped with a coronet. The portrayal of a saint's figure also survives in a quatrefoil and Lethaby reasonably surmised that the three windows of

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[120] Neale and Brayley, II, p.301.

[121] Thanks again to Christine Reynolds in alerting me to this watercolour and her help in providing details of the Westminster Abbey architect's report.

[122] WAM 18859: £8 was paid to John Payable for windows in the hall.

the hall, which contain quatrefoil tracery, all held a design made up from the monograms and saints.[123]

The personal stamp of Abbot Litlyngton is not merely held within the privacy of his own rather fine abbot's house, but is also to be found in the more public areas in which he had a creating hand. The refectory had tiles decorated with the crowned monogram and, in a show of royal loyalty, the bosses at vault rib intersections in the cloisters are recorded as being lions and roses alongside another of the Despenser arms.[124] However, the first vault boss in the cloister reveals rather more of the abbot's character than the usual reminder that the abbot was connected to the noble Despenser family. Although in its present state only the coronet is recognisable (fig. 1.11) Lethaby's sketch, published in 1925,[125] of the circular boss (fig. 1.10) has at its centre N.L. surmounted by a coronet, the whole of which is framed by a circular collar which contains eight indistinct motifs.[126] Running across the top of the curve of the boss is a hunting scene in which a deer is pursued by a hound against a backdrop of carved foliage indicating a wood or forest. Not only does the coronet make known that the abbot is a member of a noble household, but the carving reveals that he has a personal interest in hunting, an activity strongly associated with nobility.[127] Both Lethaby and Robinson tell of how Litlyngton's treasurer's roll records that a collar was bought for a harrier called 'Sturdy' in 1369.[128] More intriguing still, the accounts show that in 1368 a wax falcon was bought to be given as a votive offering for a sick falcon.[129] In his keeping of hounds and hunting birds we catch a glimpse of Litlyngton as the nobleman abbot, comfortable with certain customs of his class, as well as head of a monastic house. Furthermore, this inventive rendering of his monogram reveals that Litlyngton was content to be remembered in this nobleman role.

As a final matter in connection to his building projects, Litlyngton took the opportunity presented by his abbacy to repair three of the demense manor houses which were available for the abbot's use. Flete reports 'Also he rebuilt within three years all of his manor houses which had been destroyed by a great gale so that they were better than before.'[130] Although this might be seen as a wise investment, there is an element of the nobleman's cure of country estates

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[123] Lethaby, p. 145.

[124] Lethaby, p. 145.

[125] Lethaby, p. 145.

[126] Having survived from the fourteenth century, the boss now has almost no recognisable features to it; it is assumed that this is due to damage suffered in the wartime bombing of Westminster Abbey.

[127] There already existed examples of hunting scenes within the monastery in tiles in the Chapter House, which had been paved by 1258: Elizabeth Eames, *Medieval Craftsmen: English Tilers* (London, 1992), p. 42.

[128] Lethaby, p. 145; Robinson, *Abbot's House,* p. 10.

[129] Robinson, Abbot's *House,* p. 10.

[130] *FHWA*, p. 135.

which surrounds Litlyngton's treatment of the properties of Sutton-under-Brailles, Pyrford, and Denham. Harvey suggests that Litlyngton's perception of the role of the manor-houses as 'resting places' is 'betrayed in the cellars that he laid down at the beginning of his abbacy.'[131] Certainly, Litlyngton was not the first, or last, abbot to treat abbey houses as private retreats and places to hunt, nor the only one to make extensive alterations to suit his tastes.

Taken together the sources reveal that Litlyngton was the most active builder-abbot of Westminster of the middle ages. As might be expected from a man who had already shown himself to be protective towards his house's assets and privileges, his own projects for promotion of the abbey through structural improvements and physical glorification did not flourish at the cost of the abbey's financial well-being. In fact, Litlyngton's abbacy saw a return to prosperity for the abbey.

1.2.4: *Prudentia monet*: Money-handling and Estate Building

Litlyngton's time as abbot witnessed him consolidating and extending the better fortunes of the abbey that had begun to take place during the abbacy of Simon Langham (1349-1362) before the latter's departure from Westminster.[132] Westminster Abbey benefitted from the consecutive administration of two able men at a time when strong financial guidance was necessary. In 1349 Abbot Simon Bircheston, whom John of Reading describes as an extravagant abbot,[133] and twenty-six monks died of plague.[134] The abbey, like many landowners of this period, encountered problems with the fall in land values and maintenance of farm estates due to mortality of servants and tenants.[135] Additionally, abbey finances were already stretched due to building reparations. Therefore, soon after his election in 1349, Langham sold from the abbey treasury 'many jewels and ornaments . . . to the true value of £315. 13s. 8d.'[136] to create immediate relief from the accumulated debts, which Flete informs us had risen to 2,200 marks by the death of Bircheston.[137] Harvey recognised the importance of the personal fortunes of these two leaders in terms of the abbey finances and singled out Litlyngton's private funds as

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[131] *WAE*, p. 133: 'two pipes of wine for his house in Westminster, two for Sutton-under-Brailles, three for Pyrford and one for Denham.' Litlyngton also regularly visited his house La Neyte, in modern day Pimlico.

[132] Langham became Bishop of Ely in 1362 and cardinal in 1368.

[133] *CJR*, p. 108: 'Discessit eadem pestilentia frater Symon de Richeherastan, abbas Westmonasterii, qui locum illum aere aliena tam propri superfluitate (quam) fruade familiarium atque parentum vastatione nimis oneratum reliquit.'.

[134] *FHWA*, p. 128.

[135] *WAE*, p. 66.

[136] *LNQ* (item 314).

[137] *FHWA*, p. 131.

beneficial to the abbey: 'Nicholas de Litlington, who was one of the very few well-born abbots ever to preside at Westminster and who continued to command great resources after taking the habit, must have seemed providential to the hard-pressed community'.[138] We have already witnessed the use of Litlyngton's own funds for building projects. Similarly, Langham was generous with the monies he assumed through his office as Treasurer of the Exchequer and his later high promotion in the church after leaving the abbey. Langham's gifts of goods and money to Westminster Abbey both during his lifetime and at his death allowed, in no mean part, Litlyngton to undertake some of the projects for which he was later famed.

However, personal patronage from the private fortunes of Langham and Litlyngton forms only one part of the economic success of these abbots. They were also both able managers with financial foresight. Litlyngton, in particular, was active in acquiring property for the abbey so as to increase its income. Harvey perceived this in her detailed examination of the estates of Westminster Abbey where she related that Flete's list of land-purchases highlights two periods when acquisitions were at their height: the first was from abbots Berkyng to Wenlock (1222-1307) and the second was from Langham's election to the death of Litlyngton. Appendix IV of her study is a compilation of documentary evidence drawn from Westminster Abbey Muniments, *Calendar of Patent Rolls,* Flete, and the *Liber Niger* and records the major purchases of property under the subheadings of individual abbots.[139] Harvey recorded nineteen purchases of land in the abbacy of Litlyngton (twenty-four years) and eight under Langham (thirteen years).[140] These figures do not fully reveal the extent of Litlyngton's involvement. Some of the land bought in Langham's abbacy is recorded as being purchased with influence from the then Prior Litlyngton. Lands in Benfleet (Essex), Knightsbridge, Kensington, Chelsea, Eye (Middlesex), and Westerham (Kent) were all purchased in Abbot Langham's time but with funds provided by Prior Litlyngton. It is equally true that at least two of the purchases of land made in Litlyngton's abbacy were achieved through the use of Langham's bequest.[141]

In addition to his investment in land, Litlyngton seems to have understood the essential nature of record keeping and legal exactitude. The *Liber Niger* alone has numerous examples of his involvement with contracts, indentures, letters, and charters dealing with matters of lease agreement, purchases, fines, property disputes, quitclaims, mortmain, and receiving of gifts. Furthermore, in some cases, the same matter may have multiple documentations which record

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[138] *WAE,* p.66.

[139] *WAE*, Appendix IV, pp. 413-427.

[140] *WAE,* p. 420.

[141] *WAE,* p. 242.

minor changes and permutations.[142] A reading of some of these records shows that although well appraised on legal rights and a fierce defender of the abbey's privileges, Litlyngton does not appear to have been inflexible or lacking common sense and compromises in situations where a continuation of legal wrangling would have become unprofitable. As an example, the *Liber Niger* notes an indenture made between Nicholas Litlyngton and John Dichford on problems concerning certain boundaries, a watercourse, and fishing rights.[143] The *Liber Niger* notes that 'Whereas certain disputes had for some while arisen between Dom. Nicholas (de Litlington) Abbat of Westminster and John Dichford...after diligent contract between the parties, the dispute was settled.' In essence, the abbot granted for himself, and his successors, that John and his heirs should have the watercourse and the right to fish in it for a sum of 8d. a year. With characteristic legal exactness, the contract states that the abbots and their officers shall have the right to fish whenever it may suit them within a certain stretch of the stream. Also, should the rent fall into arrears, then the grant would be withheld until full satisfaction be made. Although Litlyngton is presumably not personally responsible for drawing up contracts by the time of his abbacy, he would have been involved at some level.

Litlyngton's ability to foresee possible problems and extenuating circumstances in legal and financial matters, and thus to try to forestall them by recognising them in legal documents, also reflects in his forward thinking in making future financial provision at the beginning of new ventures. The acquisition of certain lands through Litlyngton's own funds was expressly to provide endowments for founding anniversaries to the memory of his parents and himself.[144] It was usual for an endowment to be made to pay for anniversaries to disburse for prayers, masses, and alms. However, not all abbots provided anniversary payments through such extra provision, but perhaps used the abbey's existing resources in some way. Simon Bircheston (1344-49) used the abbot's portion of rents from the Westminster fair, as indeed had Walter of Wenlock in 1307, whereas both Langham and Litlyngton provided endowments through land-purchase.

Abbot Litlyngton even had the foresight to supply ten marks annually to allow for repairs to a set of fine vessels that he gifted to the abbey refectory in 1378.[145] Even here Litlyngton covers every eventuality as there is a further statement in the document preventing abuse of the maintenance fund. It sets out that should the vessels not survive intact, then the abbot in office at the time could take back the reparations money for his own treasury. Further, he also ensures

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[142] One example is the covenant between 'Abbat Litlyngton and John Sapy, Knight' concerning the Manor of Birlingham. See *LNQ,* fol. 61 where four entries on this issue are recorded.
[143] *LNQ* (item 273).
[144] WAM 1566, 5406-7.
[145] WAM 9471.

that the gifts should not leave the abbey by adding the proviso that the donated vessels should be returned to the treasurer of the said church (Westminster Abbey) and thus be preserved in perpetuity for future abbots.[146]

Some of this attention to detail can probably be accounted for by *pro forma* customs. However, this does not detract from the fact that the abbey records during Litlyngton's abbacy are particularly numerous, which itself reflects diligence and exactitude in matters relating to management. Harvey noted that Litlyngton is one of three abbots to have the fullest abbatial records in the whole history of the monastic community at Westminster.[147] The high number of documents from his abbacy provides us with evidence with which to interpret another facet of his character: namely, as benefactor to the abbey.

1.2.5: *In vita tibi det*: Abbey Benefactor

Nicholas Litlyngton's material benefaction to the abbey appeared in various modes: funds, lands, and objects. Through his gifts it is possible to further discern already discussed elements of his character. His role as builder overlaps with his persona of benefactor, which in turn intersects with an undoubted desire to be remembered, as evidenced by the use of his shield and monogram in his building projects. Also, as we have seen, Litlyngton's buying of lands for the abbey from personal funds, although undoubtedly to the long term benefit of Westminster and demonstrating good business sense, was usually linked to endowments for anniversaries of remembrance and even a proposed chantry chapel in Westminster Abbey.[148] This dual purpose giving which blessed both the giver and receiver can also be seen in examples of Litlyngton's gifts of physical items to the house.

The Litlyngton Missal is an obvious example of a generous gift given with every intention of both enriching the abbey by its possession whilst simultaneously allowing the benefactor to be known as a generous donor (see chapter two). Other than his Missal, the gift for which Litlyngton is best known is the plate he donated to the abbey in 1378, and here too is a reciprocal giving and receiving.

The giving of plate is recorded through the original donation document (WAM 9471), the *Liber Niger* (f.85b), and Flete, p.135. The original document recording the gift still exists in good condition complete with both the abbot's and abbey's seal (fig. 1.12). The gift consisted of three

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[146] WAM 9471.

[147] *WAE,* p.9: the other abbots are Walter de Wenlock (1283-1307) and William Colchester (1386-1420).

[148] This plan never came to actuality: see 2.5.1.

sections: firstly, forty-eight trenchers, two chargers, twenty-four salt-cellars, weighing one hundred and four pounds, given for daily use in the refectory, and not elsewhere;[149] secondly, twenty-four trenchers, twelve salt-cellars and two chargers, all weighing forty pounds, to be used at 'recreations'.[150] Thirdly, for the use of those abbots who should succeed him, a set of silver-gilt plate consisting of twenty-four dishes, twelve salt-cellars, four chargers of silver, weighing sixty-four pounds; two silver pots for wine, weighing eight pounds; one silver bowl with a gilded ewer costing 100 solidi; twelve silver plates weighing ten pounds; two basins with two silver ewers, weighing ten pounds; and two small silver basins without piscinas, weighing seven pounds. Taken altogether the gifts of the vessels are worth the weight of £243, with the allowance of £6 13s 4d as an upkeep provision.[151] For a sense of scale, the total cost of the deluxe Litlyngton Missal was £34 4s. 7d. As Harvey pointed out, through his gift, Litlyngton donated some of the most valuable additions to the abbey's store of plate and in so doing 'notably augmented the moveable worth of the monastery.'[152]

The generosity of the gift is undoubted, and rendered all the more precious as the abbey had sold much of its plate, along with other treasures, at Langham's accession immediately after the Black Death in 1349. Yet here, as with Litlyngton's benefactions of the missal and his building projects, the wish to be remembered as the giver plays an important part in the giving itself. Recorded in the original donation document are careful details on how the gifts of vessels to the refectory, misericord, and for the abbot's use all bear a crowned N.L. monogram. As well as asserting this fact for each set of plate, the document also specifically points out that the initial N is for Nicholas and L is for Litlyngton.[153] In addition to having his monogram as a constant reminder to a succession of dining monks and abbots, the document also records that for the donation, it was granted that after Litlyngton's death, every day after lunch and dinner, the priest on duty for celebrating mass, or his representative, should say 'May the soul of Abbot Nicholas, and the souls of all the faithful departed, through the mercy of God, rest in peace' and

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[149] For Harvey's explanation of why the vessels should be connected solely to the refectory, see *LDE,* pp. 39-41.

[150] As noted by Pearce (p. 86) and Harvey (*LDE,* p. 39-41) this probably refers to meat meals in the misericord.

[151] I am indebted to both Dr Barbara Harvey and Dr Pamela Nightingale for their correspondence concerning the monetary value of the plate. The weight in pounds does not convert equally to monetary pounds and is affected by such issues as abundance and scarcity of the metals, exchange rates, quality of craftsmanship, and market demand for such objects. Dr Nightingale proposed that this may be the reason why the monetary value was not specified in the document itself.

[152] *WAE,* p. 42-43.

[153] WAM 9471: 'videlicet. N. and L. coronatis. N. scilicet per Niche' and L. per Lytlyngton'.

the convent shall reply, 'Amen'.[154] Daily individual prayers for the soul, extra to those on specific anniversary days, could be judged as ample recompense for Litlyngton's handsome gift of plate to his house.

Flete gives more detail regarding this donation than for any other single matter that he discusses in relation to Litlyngton's abbacy. The language used is so close to the original donation document as to safely assume that Flete was part copying, part paraphrasing it. However, this alone would not account for the length of the entry as other donations and events which also have accompanying documentation are not treated in the same way. As one example, the financial details of the Litlyngton Missal (WAM 24265*) are not expanded upon by Flete, in fact the entry regarding this opulent gift is a mere six words: 'magnum autem missale dedit summo altari'.[155] Therefore, the quantity of lines and attention to detail is an indication not only of the value, but also of the importance that Flete accords to the gift.

Litlyngton was also generous in gifts given for use in the abbey church, aside from the missal. A 1388 inventory of Westminster Abbey vestry, now at Canterbury Cathedral Archives, is an invaluable source for understanding just how much Litlyngton donated to the church and how his giving compares to that of other benefactors.[156] In the 1890 commentary on his edition of this manuscript, John Wickham Legg noted that Litlyngton is the benefactor named the most times: twenty-nine occasions, while Simon Langham is second most named with twenty occasions.[157] An indication of the frequency of Litlyngton's name's appearance in the document is that the scribe reverts to using the monogram 'N.L.' rather than writing out the name in full; this is not done for any other donor. The list gives some details of ornament of the objects and notes which are of the best quality. For example, when talking of almuces: 'Almicia sunt duo de Grys quorum primum optimum est ex dono Nicholai Lytlyngton abbatis.'[158] (There are two grey almuces, the best one of which is a gift from Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton).

The inventory is divided into seven parts, and then sub-divided into chapters. The *prima pars* of the inventory is concerned with vestments and ornaments for the abbot and Litlyngton's donations figure highly and generously here including: an ornamented silver crozier, a pair of

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[154] WAM 9471: 'et pro his vasis supradictis concessura est eidem domino Nicholao per capitulum, quod post obitum suum singulis diebus, ad gratias conventus post prandium et cenam in choro terminatas, dicetur ab ebdomadario missae, vel vicem ejus agente : Anima Nicholai abbatis, et animae omnium fidelium defunctorum, per misericordiam dei requiescant in pace ; et respondebit conventus, Amen,'.
[155] *FHWA*, p. 135.
[156] CCA MS A.10.
[157] J. Wickham Legg, 'On an Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey taken in 1388', *Archeologia,* 52 (1890), 195-286 (p. 14).
[158] CCA MS A.10, *Prima pars, cap.v.*

gloves with monials , buskins, a grey almuce, several rochets, and surplices. Flete mentions a white trimmed mitre worth a hundred marks as well as the crozier, which he gives the value of fifteen pounds.[159] The crozier, or pastoral staff, is described in some detail in the inventory and has two scenes in the curve: the Assumption of Mary on one side and John the Evangelist and Edward the Confessor on the other. An additional embellishment is an angel holding the initials N.L;[160] Litlyngton's arms further appeared on a ceremonial alb he donated.[161]

As with Litlyngton's other benefactions it is possible to see a multiple motivation behind his donations. As an abbot at Westminster, Litlyngton held the right to wear a mitre in processions and to use a pastoral staff. Indeed, based on the details from the sources, on certain occasions at Westminster Abbey, Nicholas Litlyngton could feasibly have appeared vested in garments bearing his arms and holding a crozier with his monogram, while the service would have been conducted using a missal with both his arms and monograms, and a chalice and pax also bearing N.L.[162] Hence, the fine objects recorded as gifts, could perhaps be viewed as luxury accoutrements for his own particular position as abbot and nobleman.

Luxford discussed the difficult period for the Benedictines in the later Middle Ages and how, in many cases, self-promotion was adopted as a protective policy against decline.[163] In agreement with Luxford's observations, the matter of promotion of the status of the house at Westminster is clearly discernible through Litlyngton's actions and is, I will argue, also identifiable in the iconography of the Litlyngton Missal (chapter two). Litlyngton's elevation of the house's status through building works, extension of abbey lands, and donation of items of worth and beauty for the monastery and church is further evidence of his attitude of protection towards the abbey.

Litlyngton's gifts could also be said to reflect the practical side of his nature. Flete records that

> he bequeathed to the chapel of those abbots who should follow him everything
> necessary for the said chapel; that is to say, vestments and other priestly adornments,
> chalices, a thurible, an incense-box, bell, basin and pyx, all silver and gilt, to remain there
> for all time, for divine service.[164]

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[159] *FHWA*, p. 135.

[160] Wickham Legg, *Inventory,* p. 221: 'Baculi autem pastorals sunt quatuor quorum primus est argentens ex dono domini Nicholai Lytlyngton quondam Abbatis operis curiosi continens in curvitate deaurata assumpcionem beate virginis et ymagines Sanctorum Johannis evangeliste et beati regis Edwardi cum uno angelo in minibus tenente caracterem predicti domini Nicholai Lytlyngton. Vidilicet N.L.'

[161] Wickham Legg, *Inventory*, p. 244.

[162] Wickham Legg, *Inventory,*p.232 and 236.

[163] Luxford, *Art and Architecture,* particularly chapter three, 'The Patronage of Superiors'.

[164] *FHWA*, p. 135.

Although the chapel is not specifically named, the sense of Flete's words indicates that these items were for the chapel reserved for abbots, either in the newly constructed house, or as a private chapel within the church. Hence, while presumably reaping the benefit of using the gifts during his own abbacy (the date of the donation is not recorded) Litlyngton left a comprehensively equipped chapel ready for his successors. Flete also tells how Abbot Litlyngton, as well as the Litlyngton Missal, had other service books made and gave them to the chapel for future abbots, and also to the infirmary.[165] Presumably, Litlyngton's donation was fulfilling a practical need as the infirmary was rebuilt during his abbacy after the fire of 1298. Even the donation of the plate to the refectory, misericord, and abbot's house could be said to have a flamboyant practicality to it, as the abbey had sold its existing plate in 1349, although the 'need' for plate is a moot point.

As a final act of benefaction, Pearce records that 1 April 1375 Litlyngton was granted a Papal dispensation to dispose of his moveable property[166] and WAM 5446 documents the distribution of his effects after his death in November 1386. Provisions included payment of 48s. to two students at Gloucester College at Oxford, where Benedictine houses, each individually responsible for supporting its own students, sent their student monks. Litlyngton also bequeathed £4 8s. 10d. towards the building of a chapel at the college priory; the chapel was still unfinished in 1426.[167] Harvey emphasised how private benefactions to the abbey were infrequent, small, and even possibly discouraged by the knowledge that the abbey was in receipt of royal patronage, sporadic and unfulfilled as this often was.[168] Such facts help to delineate the level of generosity shown by Litlyngton and his predecessor Langham, although, as seen, the mutual benefits created by acts of benefaction indicate an almost transactional process rather than simple altruism.

1.2.6: *Si liceat laudare virum*: The Abbot's Critics

In consideration of Litlyngton's qualities we have encountered praise from contemporary and later sources, however, some sources contain instances of criticism; in two cases these are in

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[165] *FHWA*, p. 135.

[166] Kal. Pap. Reg. iv, 203 as cited in Pearce, p. 86.

[167] William Page, 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Gloucester College, Oxford', in *A History of the County of Oxford* (1907), II, pp. 70-71. < http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=40177> [accessed 14 June 2011]. As noted, among the chattels that Abbot William Colchester inherited at his predecessor's death were armour, bows, arrows, and catapults, which may be the effects with which Litlyngton had equipped himself earlier in the year (see 1.2.2).

[168] *WAE,* p. 41-43.

relation to the benefactions of Langham. At his death, Langham bequeathed plate and vestments and money to the abbey, along with all of his books, the total worth of which Edward Carpenter reckons to be c. £7,600.[169] Langham gave £400 to the fabric fund of Westminster Abbey and bequeathed all the debts owed to him at the time of his death, a sum that Harvey calculated as being c. £975.[170]

The first example of criticism against Litlyngton is in the *Liber Niger*.[171] The episode relates to a complaint regarding lead that was 'lent' to Abbot Litlyngton. Robinson judges the reported incident as a 'gossiping story of the cloister.'[172] And yet, as an item found in the Westminster Abbey cartulary, the report presumably references a Chapter note or document as opposed to mere hearsay. Indeed, the already noted reliability of the *Liber Niger* speaks for treating the matter seriously.

According to the *Liber Niger* entry, Litlyngton asked the prior and convent for some lead, which had come from the old part of the church, so that he might use it as a roof for his new buildings, and he promised not to forget the favour when occasion should arise. After Langham's death (1376) money was given to the abbey and placed in the vestry under two keys, one of which was held by the abbot and the other by an unnamed person. Unbeknownst to the convent, this money was taken by the executors (Litlyngton and an unnamed other). When the convent, in turn, needed money they proposed using Langham's legacy, to which the abbot agreed. However, when Prior Richard Merston came with the brethren to take the money, they found no more than a hundred shillings and thus received nothing in return for their lead.[173]

Having already primed us that this episode is cloister gossip, Robinson, in his translation of this episode, is kinder than the original Latin suggests he should be. Robinson translates 'quod cum factum fuisset dicti executores prefati cardinalis statuto quondam die venerunt et acceperunt thesauram predictum nesciente conventu' as 'This treasure was needed and used; but the convent were not aware of it,' A more literal translation of the phrase would be 'Accordingly, when it had been done [the treasure locked in the vestry] the aforesaid executors [Nicholas Litlyngton and the unnamed other key holder] of the aforesaid former cardinal, one day, unknown to the convent, came and took the aforesaid treasure.' The Latin does not include the phrase the 'treasure was needed and used' simply that the executors had come to take the treasure.

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[169] Carpenter, p. 65.

[170] *WAE,* p. 42.

[171] Transcribed in Robinson, *Abbot's House,* p. 21.

[172] This account on fol. 80b is included in Robinson, *Abbot's House*, p. 12.

[173] It seems likely that the other key-holder was John Boxhall, a Westminster monk also named as executor. A transcription of Langham's will is in Widmore, p. 184-191: p. 189 holds the list of executors.

Indeed, the language in the report is against Litlyngton. The *Liber Niger* entry title is 'De plumbo prestito abbati N. L. per conventum et non restaurato': 'Regarding the lead lent to the abbot N. L. by the convent and not restored'. Once again Robinson softens the language by calling this episode 'The story of the lead lent to the abbot'. An example of the report's frank language comes when in the body of the text the *Liber Niger* records that the brethren were 'frustrated and deceived' (frustrati sunt et decepti) in their hopes of receiving money. The word 'decepti' is particularly leading. Thus, although we cannot know that Litlyngton used the money badly or for his own ends, we can know that the prior and convent were not satisfied and felt that their abbot had not reimbursed them for the lead given in good faith of later repayment. The matter is undated in the *Liber Niger*, however, it seems to have taken place between 1376 (Langham's death) and 1378-9, the date of the next item in the cartulary. [174] It is interesting to note that the elaborate gift of the plate was made by Litlyngton to the abbey in May 1378: is it possible that this benefaction had the additional motive of being an act of appeasement?

The second issue of criticism against Litlyngton, connected to Langham's bequests to the abbey, is raised by Widmore in his 1721 *An History of the Church of St Peter, Westminster* in which Widmore makes a legitimate point regarding Litlyngton and his building projects. Firstly Widmore gives credit to Litlyngton's endeavours and states that 'No abbot ever set his mind more upon improving the buildings and bestowing fine furniture on the monastery'.[175] He then goes on to give a comprehensive list all of the building work with which Litlyngton was involved; an impressive list, which seems thoroughly researched and more complete than the one included in Flete, although still not mentioning the nave. However, Widmore then remarks that as Litlyngton was chiefly enabled to carry out these extensive projects by the donation of funds from Langham then 'he should have put some memorial of the cardinal upon the buildings; as he has his own arms, and the initial letters of his name on the keystone of the cloyster arches.'[176] Abbot Litlyngton's generosity and personal giving towards the building projects has already been demonstrated with documentary evidence. However, it is also true that Langham's donations in life and death did provide the capital which allowed the high level of re-building to take place at the abbey under Litlyngton's abbacy; accordingly, Widmore's observation regarding Litlyngton's failure to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to Langham's input could be deemed a well-founded one. However, it is telling that this 'slight' was seemingly not apprehended until the eighteenth century.

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[174] The summary of abbot's treasurer's accounts for 1378- 9, which includes a mention of lead.
[175] Widmore, p. 102.
[176] Widmore, p. 103.

In point of fact, Litlyngton's relationship with Langham seems to have very good. Litlyngton was prior during Langham's abbacy and the documents of that period show a concurrence of opinion between the two men. For example, Langham granted the 'unusual and very great favour'[177] of allowing Litlyngton an anniversary whilst still only a prior, in recognition of the improvements to abbey estates from his own funds.[178] Further, that they worked in complementary fashion is emphasised by the similar mode of leadership that the two employed regarding the business affairs of Westminster Abbey. Also, once Langham had left the abbey, examples of correspondence exist between them that reveal the abbot was in the cardinal's confidence. The letters are of an unofficial nature, often concerning finances and building works at the abbey. One dated 15 April (1374) has the salutation 'Reverend father and our very dear friend'. Whilst on the back it is addressed 'To the venerable father in Christ, the lord abbot of Westminster, our very dear friend'.[179] Finally, Litlyngton was named executor of Langham's will.[180]

Somewhat revealing of Litlyngton's relationship with Langham are the abbot's actions after Langham had died. The cardinal's body, as instructed in his will, was buried in the Carthusian church of St Mary Magdalene in Avignon, which he had founded. However, after three years his body was brought over to Westminster and 'buried with great honour in a beautifully decorated tomb of alabaster'.[181] The level of Litlyngton's involvement in this matter is unknown, but as a long time colleague and correspondent, head of the house and executor of Langham's will it is not unreasonable to suppose that he was involved to some degree.[182] The master mason, Henry Yevele, was responsible for the construction of the tomb, which cost nearly £100, signalling that Litlyngton accorded his respect to his predecessor, and a great benefactor of the abbey.

The final matter to be discussed in terms of criticisms of Litlyngton's qualities returns us to where the discussion of him began: his lineage. Obviously the matter of nobility is not a negative feature in itself, but it is examined in terms of how it might have been seen as detrimental to his role as abbot. Both Carpenter and Harvey addressed this matter with Carpenter explicitly proposing that Litlyngton had received the post of abbot as a direct result of his nobility.[183]

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[177] Widmore, p. 102.

[178] WAM 5406-7; *LNQ,* f. 77.

[179] J. Robinson, 'Simon Langham', *Church Quarterly Review* (1908), 357-63.

[180] Transcription of Langham's will in Widmore, p. 189.

[181] *FHWA*, p. 132. Widmore noted that in 1751 the tomb had Langham's 'effigies upon it, and the arms of the kings of England, of Westminster Abbey, of the sees of Canterbury and Ely about it, and is still remaining in good condition.', p. 100.

[182] Pearce, p. 94, noted that the entry 'Acquittance to the Abbot and Convent from Henry Yevele and Stephen Lote, citizens and masons, for £20 in part payment of the cost of making the Cardinal's tomb 26 Nov. 1394 (Mun. 6318)'.

[183] Carpenter, p. 64.

However, as Harvey succinctly noted, 'high birth did not speed his progress through the monastic *cursus honorum'*.[184] Harvey's point is persuasive: despite having served the monastery well as a monk, Litlyngton became prior only when the position fell vacant for the third time in two years, having been overlooked on two previous occasions. Other factors that aided his appointment more than his lineage are the depletion of monks due to the Black Death and also that his election took place probably more quickly than expected as Abbot Langham left the abbey due to promotion. Had Langham remained as abbot until his death, Litlyngton's election to the abbacy would have taken place in 1372, by which time he would have been roughly 60 years of age: hardly a meteoric rise eased by rank.

Harvey suggested that Litlyngton's patrician roots may have been the very reason why he was twice passed over for priorship in 1349; records show that aristocratic recruits were rare at Westminster.[185] Harvey argued that the convent may have been 'wary of the pride of family' that might later have accounted for the abbot's ubiquitous use of monogram and heraldry in his building projects and gifts to the abbey. The fear of an aristocrat being a nominal abbot whilst living a nobleman's life may also have been a factor which mitigated against his appointment. However, whilst elements of his high beginnings can easily be traced throughout his career, habits, and patronal markings, the post of abbot was obviously not a sinecure and Litlyngton appears to have been present at the convent more than the majority of his predecessors and his immediate successor.[186]

1.3: Endings

1.3.1: *Nunc Nicholaus Mortes:* Epitaph

Litlyngton died 29 November 1386 at the manor house La Neyte in modern-day Pimlico.[187] His tomb, now lost, was in the chapel of St Blaise at Westminster Abbey, the southern section of what is now Poet's Corner. Flete describes Litlyngton as being interred under a level marble slab, which was becomingly ornate.[188] Flete noted the epitaph, the earliest known record of the text,

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[184] Harvey, *ODNB*.

[185] *LDE*, p. 5, n. 20.

[186] Harvey, *ODNB*.

[187] Widmore, p.107.

[188] 'sub plano lapide marmoreo decenter ornato'; *FHWA,* p. 137.

which was no longer extant by Widmore's time, although he believed 'the grave-stone seems to be still remaining.'[189]

Although it cannot be known to what degree, if at all, Nicholas Litlyngton was instrumental in the writing of his own epitaph, it is nevertheless a valuable text. If he was involved in its composition, and this is not unlikely to the point of openly dismissing the idea, it is instructive in understanding his self-perception. On the other hand, if the verse was composed independently of him, then it is equally as important as the first known written source which reflects upon the life of the man at the centre of this study. In such a way, it is enlightening in revealing what his fellow monks at Westminster either felt he should be remembered for, or at least how they thought he would like to be remembered.

Thus far, the epitaph, beyond being recorded in Flete, Dugdale, and Widmore, has been undiscussed by scholars. Dugdale includes it in his *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-1673), which he attributes to being taken from a fourteenth century source, Richard Sporley, a monk at Westminster from c.1340-1390. In all probability, and according to both Widmore and Robinson, Sporley's work was simply a transcription of Flete's *History* and the authorship was mistakenly ascribed to him.[190]

In the various publications of the epitaph there is some inconsistency regarding the wording of the second line. Armitage Robinson's version has *alba* (dawn), Dugdale omits the word completely, and Widmore uses *abba* (abbot, father). Translation A is made from Robinson's edition of Flete whilst Translation B gives the alternative from the Latin proposed in Widmore.[191]

Si liceat laudare virum post fata, perhenni

Aere tuos sonet, alba pious ut versus honores,

Facta, genus, mores, pietas, prundentia, virtus,

Poscunt, urget, avent, suadet, monet, incitat, atque.

Os, ratione , manus, aures, vaga lumina, gressus

Subtrahis a viccis, morum gravitate modestus.

Constantur pro jure Dei bellans tua virtus

Contulit exemplar aliis pastoribus igens.

Sentiat alma parens Litlyngton nunc Nicholaus

Mortes quod in vita tibi det devotus amavit.

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[189] Widmore, p.107.

[190] Widmore, p. 4; *FHWA*, p. vii and pp. 30-31.

[191] Widmore and Robinson claimed to have worked directly from manuscripts. Robinson worked predominantly from the incomplete original of Flete held at Trinity College Dublin, Widmore, Westminster Abbey librarian, consulted the Westminster manuscript from which a further two copies were made.

Fit fatata dies penultima mense Novembri

C. ter, et x. Ter, et l.m.sex hujus necis annus.

Translation A:

If it is allowed to praise a man after death,

Let the dawn sound pious honours in everlasting brass.

Your deeds, lineage, morals, duty, prudence, courage

Demand, presses, rejoice, persuades, teaches, incites.

You withdraw your mouth, hands, ears, wandering eyes, feet

From sin by reason through dignified modesty.

Constantly fighting for the duty of God your virtue

Offers a great model to other clerics.

Perceive, nourishing mother, that devoted Nicholas Litlyngton now

Shall give to you through death that which he loved in life.

The penultimate day of the month of November was the fateful day,

Three hundreds, and three tens, and one thousand and fifty-six this was the year of his death.

Translation B:

If it is allowed to praise a man after death in everlasting brass,

Let this verse sound your pious honours O Abbot.

This version would make sense if we could assume that either the epitaph or, more likely, a figure of Litlyngton had been executed in brass on the tomb slab.

Written in dactylic hexameter, the tone is noticeably poetic and employs an interesting literary technique, which probably gives an indication of the verse being set out on the stone in a block with the line breaks as shown in Flete. The list of virtues on line three corresponds to a list of verbs in line four. Each noun sits directly over the verb with which it is in agreement; a subtlety which would be lost if the epitaph were not set out as a verse. Another literary technique is the use of the trope of body parts (line 5) as a vehicle for praise. This not only describes Litlyngton's whole being as being involved in his virtuous actions, but also makes a contrasting allusion to the body when animate and the body inanimate laid beneath the marble slab.

Reading the epitaph with the knowledge of Litlyngton's characteristics and qualities means particular words and phrases render up more meaning than they otherwise would and for this reason I have used them in my subtitles for this chapter. In the list of virtues (line three) *genus*

and *virtus* (lineage and courage) carry significance. Litlyngton's lineage was evidently a matter of some pride to him, as conveyed through his noted use of the Despenser arms and his crowned monogram. Courage used here is a reminder of the various occasions in which he stood firm for the abbey's rights against the powers of King and Parliament. Line seven refers to the act of fighting (*bellens*) for the duty of God; this may be a further reference to his championing of monastic rights. However, by using the term *bellens*, fighting as opposed to striving, for example, there is a direct connection to the noun of war (*bellum*). This could be construed as a connection to Litlyngton's intention to arm himself and fight the French; an intention that had been made earlier in the very same year. Line six holds a reference to Litlyngton's dignified modesty. Although there are limitations to recreating a character from the past through various primary sources, it is probably fair to say that the evidence encountered points away from Nicholas Litlyngton being an overtly modest man.

There is much in the nature of the text which is standard in its emphasis on praise, as might be expected in an epitaph. After all, tombstones never have been a forum for a frank discussion of the deceased. However, there is an element of sophistication in Litlyngton's epitaph that is totally lacking in those of the other abbots recorded by Flete, with the one exception of Thomas Henley's.[192] The epitaph of his immediate predecessor, Langham, reads as a businesslike listing of the official positions he held with merely one line of expression of grief.[193] And yet Langham's tomb was far more elaborate than Litlyngton's. Unfortunately, Flete does not give details of the decoration on the tomb, but it is intriguing to speculate whether it included examples of Litlyngton's heraldic marks.

Interestingly, a second epitaph, not mentioned in Flete, is included by Dugdale and Widmore. Dugdale cited it as coming from Weever 'in the nameless MS in Sir Robert Cotton's library.'[194] It seems probable that it was inscribed around the edges of the slab, whilst the main epitaph verse was possibly set out on a board adjacent, as with Langham's tomb.[195]

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[192] *FHWA,* p. 126.

[193]' Simon de Langham entombed beneath these stones/ Was monk, prior and Abbot of this Church/ The see falling vacant, he was elected bishop of London/ Honoured at Ely but afterwards great primate/ of the whole kingdom and minister of the king/ For he was his treasurer and chancellor/ And then priest-cardinal in Rome/Afterwards he was made bishop of Praeneste/And was sent hither as a papal Nuncio/The world grieves, O Father/whom we are now unable to recall/ He collapsed in death on the feast of the Magdalene/ In the year of Christ 1376/May God absolve him from all evil deeds/ And through the merits of His Mother grant him heavenly joys'. (Latin text in *FHWA*, pp. 132-133).

[194] John Weever (1576-1632) was an antiquarian recorder of epitaphs whose original recording of the Latin inscription and a few brief biographical details of Litlyngton is in *Antient Funeral Monuments of Great-Britain, Ireland and the Islands Adjacent* (London, 1631), p. 487.

[195] Widmore, p. 101.

In this house Nicholas was leader and also builder

And for himself then a seat and house he built in heaven

Once thousand, three hundred eighty-six was the year

When that abbot died filled with divine spirit

The fifth day shall be his rest in the end of November

The rewards of rest shall be given to him by God's piety.[196]

Most obvious here is the mention of building. Abbot Litlyngton's effect on the fabric of Westminster Abbey was such a large part of his achievements that reference to the fact is conspicuous by its absence in the main epitaph. It is therefore fitting that it should be mentioned specifically elsewhere on his tomb. It is even more fitting that having constructed the physical abbot's house within the abbey grounds this fact is acknowledged and explicitly mirrored in the text as a deed worthy enough to also secure spiritual accommodation in heaven.

1.3.2: Conclusion

What becomes clear from an assessment of this appraisal of Nicholas Litlyngton's character and qualities is that from the fourteenth century to the present day, commentators and scholars concur that he acquitted himself well, despite what opinions they might hold regarding his lineage and behaviour. Records show that standing upon the shoulders of Simon Langham's beginnings, Litlyngton completed the reversal of the dark period of poor finances and lowered number of brethren that the abbey had endured before and during the Black Death. Not only did he use his private funds to achieve the return of the abbey to financial health, but the numbers of monks also increased to almost the level before the decimation of the fraternity caused by the plague years.[197] His determination to complete the abbey renovations, as witnessed by the immediate beginning of projects from his very first year as abbot, means that his impression upon the physical structure of the abbey is present even now. Litlyngton's drive and own funds were highly instrumental in the accomplishment of building even if the level of results was realistically steered by Langham's generous patronage.

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[196] 'Hacce domo ducator Nicholaus erat quoque structor/Et sibi tunc cello sedem construxit et aedem/M. Semel c. Ter erat annus sex octuagenus/ Cum perit iste abbas divino flamine plenus/Quinta dies sit ei requies in fine Novembris/Detur ei pietate Dei merces requiei. Amen.' William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A New Edition By John Caley, Henry Ellis and the Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel,* 9 vols (London, 1817), IX, p.275.

[197] The number before the Black Death was around fifty; during Litlyngton's abbacy numbers evened out at mid-forties.

However, not all of Litlyngton's achievements are based on the foundations laid by Langham. Not only should Litlyngton be given full credit for his own abilities as an able man of business, law, and diplomacy, but his protection and promotion of the abbey through difficult political situations was due, on at least one occasion, not only to astuteness, but to personal courage in the face of adversity.

The greatest difficulty in character judgement comes when dealing with Litlyngton as abbey benefactor. His generosity is documented and undoubted, and whilst it would be unfair, and too simplistic, to adjudge all his gifts as stemming from ulterior motives, there does seem to have been an opportunism running alongside some of his donations. The convent as a community undoubtedly benefitted from the new buildings at Westminster, but so, most conspicuously with the new abbot's house, did he. Even the most extravagant, and essentially thoughtful, gift of plate was for the benefit of all contemporary and future brothers and abbots, but given with a proviso that meant that each day the whole convent would say a personal prayer for his soul.

Litlyngton took the opportunity to emblazon his gifts with marks of his nobility, demonstrating that despite our uncertainty regarding the exact nature of his relationship to the Despenser family, Litlyngton was emphatic in identifying himself both with the heraldry and, arguably, through it. Beyond pride in his lineage, Litlyngton displayed multiple motivations in his frequent use of patronal marks: declaration of sponsorship and benefaction, desire to be commemorated, and seeking prayers for his soul. These and additional reasons are discussed in specific relation to his patronage of the Litlyngton Missal in the next chapter. However, one clear message that can be read into his use of monograms and heraldry is that Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton had every intention of being remembered.

Chapter Two
Nicholas Litlyngton as Patron of the Litlyngton Missal

2.1: The Patron's Presence

As with his building works and other gifts, Litlyngton's patronage of the Litlyngton Missal is explicitly revealed through his heraldry and monogram. Such marks are recurring methods by which a patron in the medieval period might be identified as instigator or sponsor of a work, and yet they can also carry other messages. This chapter focuses on a deeper examination of the use of Litlyngton's devices in order to assess motivations of larger significance behind their inclusion and to understand their clear purpose in specific locations. My intention is also to examine the extent to which Litlyngton's intervention as patron can be divined; assessing the patron's participation is the key to a better understanding of his purpose regarding the missal's illuminations. Without understanding the level of the patron's agency there is the risk of attaching import to something that could be coincidence or the artistic whim of the illuminators. This chapter also considers other ways in which the patron may be represented in his eponymous book and what implications this has on our understanding of Nicholas Litlyngton as patron of the missal.

2.1.1: Marking the Missal: Number

The employment of Litlyngton's personal marks in the missal has been noted by scholars who have been struck by the frequency of their occurrence[1] and also how they have been 'sprinkled liberally throughout the book'.[2] However, the perception of frequency is an interesting point as although there are forty-nine instances of the mark, twenty-one shields and twenty-eight monograms, they all occur on just eleven pages of a book which consists of 682 pages (Table 2.1).[3] As a matter of perspective, in total, sixty-three of the 682 pages contain figurative illumination with either illuminated initials or miniatures. Instances of figures and heraldry in the

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[1] 'frequent occurrence', Sandler, *GM,* II, p. 173; 'plentiful visual evidence of his involvement on the pages of his book', Janet Backhouse, *The Sherborne Missal* (London, 1999), p. 9; 'frequently displayed', Harvey, *ODNB*.

[2] Pfaff, p. 228, n. 95.

[3] Not nine, as recorded in Richard Marks and Nigel Morgan, *The Golden Age of Manuscript Painting* (New York, 1981), p. 89.

borders never occur where there is no illuminated initial or miniature on the page. Thus, 17% of the illuminated pages with figurative imagery have Litlyngton's mark on it (1.6% of the total book). It is striking then that there is no presence of the patron on 83% of the pages on which there is major illumination of some kind.

Table 2.1: Placement and Number of Nicholas Litlyngton's Marks

	Folio	Feast	Shields	Monograms
1	9r	Blessing of Salt and Water	4	1
2	21r	Feast of St Stephen	0	4
3	111v	Pentecost	4	0
4	122v	Octave of Pentecost	1 (initial)	0
5	157*v	Crucifixion full page miniature	1	1
6	225v	Feast of St Edward the Confessor	0	4
7	249v	Feast of SS Peter and Paul	0	4
8	263v	Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary	6	8
9	277v	Translation of St Edward the Confessor	4	0
10	286v	Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary	0	5
11	289r	Feast of an Apostle	1	1
		TOTAL	21	28

What then accounts for the perception that there is a 'frequent occurrence' of the designs when the figures show that 83% of the pages holding major illumination and 98.4% of the total pages have no hint of Nicholas Litlyngton's presence?

Comparison with other like books from a similar period allows a judgement regarding whether the patron making his presence known on eleven pages was an abnormally large amount. The Sherborne Missal[4] is nearest in date, size, and quantity of leaves to the Litlyngton Missal than any other surviving English service book. Made c. 1400 it is less than one centimetre taller and

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[4] BL, MS Add 74236 (Sherborne Missal), c.1400.

has just six more leaves. Certainly, Robert Brunyng, the patron of the Sherborne Missal, appears far more often than Nicholas Litlyngton. Although to date the exact number has not been released, his likeness is reported, by the British Library, as appearing 'about a hundred times' in portrait form throughout the book.[5] He also possibly has a rebus, the robin, which is a play on words with his Christian name. Although considerably smaller, Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.11 missal (c.1430) has a similar number of leaves (362) and is also finely illuminated. Although having only twenty illuminated pages, every one holds the heraldry of the patrons, thus putting their presence at 100% in connection to the illuminations.[6] The Wollaton Antiphonal (c.1430) is even larger than the Sherborne Missal at 390mm high, and is also highly and finely illuminated.[7] The heraldic marks of the patron and related family are numerous: twenty-four devices of varying complexity, belonging to seven families connected to the patrons, appear throughout the 421 leaves of the antiphonal.[8] There are various examples of manifold inclusion of marks of patronage in books from before the Litlyngton Missal in privately owned books, (e.g. BL, MS Add 42130 (Luttrell Psalter), second quarter of the fourteenth century) and, more commonly, afterwards (e.g. BL, MS Add 18850 (the Bedford Hours), c. 1423).[9] Of course, there are also examples of service books with far fewer or no examples of patronal presence, although these books tend to be less splendid and therefore not truly comparable to the Litlyngton Missal. Accordingly, it can be understood that Nicholas Litlyngton's marks are not out of the norm in terms of number, and could even be considered relatively moderate compared to some.

In part, the way that modern observation of the missal takes place could be an influencing factor in perceiving Litlyngton's marks to be more numerous than they are. Essential reasons involving practicalities of access and preservation of the excellent condition of the missal mean that viewers must necessarily do so in intense, concentrated sessions. Furthermore, perhaps depending on the focus of the study, large sections that contain only text and minor border illumination might be omitted from scrutiny. In fact, it is all too easy to become inured to the wonderful borders with knots and twisting foliage in a manuscript of this size when there is no accompaniment of historiated initials or miniatures. Thus it could be argued that in the present day the illuminations are viewed out of the context in which it would have been more normal to see them. After all, the Litlyngton Missal encapsulates mass celebration for an entire year in one

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[5] <http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/sherborne/accessible/introduction.html> [accessed 3/2/2012].

[6] Three shields appear in the lower margin of each illuminated page; the Crucifixion page is missing.

[7] Nottingham, University Library MS 250 (Wollaton Antiphonal), c.1430.

[8] Alixe Bovey, 'The Wollaton Antiphonal: Kinship and Commemoration', in *The Wollaton Medieval Manuscripts,* ed. by Ralph Hanna and Thurlac Turville-Petre (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 35-37.

[9] French origin.

book. However, it is also fair to say that from its completion onwards, it is likely that visiting nobles and dignitaries would have been shown the missal as a prize piece and would therefore have seen the tome in the same potted manner that most viewers do today.

Such thoughts lead us to consider whether the missal was ever intended for practical use. We know from Flete that the book was donated for use at the high altar and it is almost certain that it was too precious, and possibly too unwieldy, to have been used frequently as is also testified by its very good condition.[10] Furthermore, the previously mentioned 1388 inventory notes a number of other more ordinary missals along with the Litlyngton Missal. Hughes believed that there was a 'trend' in the later middle ages to include as much information as possible in one larger book, originally in order to reduce the need to consult a series of separate books.[11] It is certainly true that the Litlyngton Missal includes services that were presumably never intended to be used at Westminster's high altar. Pfaff observed that the final ten folios of the Litlyngton contain forms for the profession of women, which would not have occurred at Westminster.[12] Is it therefore possible that the Litlyngton Missal was a book intended for reference as well as for liturgical use? Certainly this might explain why sections more commonly found in pontificals, such as the benedictional and royal ceremonies, are included.

In summation, despite its comprehensive contents, it seems more than probable that the missal was only ever intended for use on special occasions. Therefore, it becomes more profitable to look not so much at the quantity of Abbot Litlyngton's devices, but at where they are to be found and to reappraise whether they have been 'sprinkled liberally'.

2.1.2: Marking the Missal: Place

Initially, the feasts decorated with Litlyngton's marks (see Table 2.1[13]) seem somewhat arbitrarily chosen. Particularly noticeable is that many of the major Christian feast days do not include iconography of patronal presence. For example, Nativity, Easter, and Trinity were among the highest holy days and yet there are no patronal marks on those pages. Indeed, Easter (fol. 95v) does not even have extra figural border illuminations to pay reverence to this supremely sacred day. Despite some overlaps, neither does the list of feasts bearing Litlyngton's marks concur with those feasts which Abbot Ware's thirteenth-century customary of Westminster Abbey lists as

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[10] *FHWA,* p. 135.

[11] Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts,* p.120.

[12] Pfaff, p.228, n. 96.

[13] With two exceptions, all the devices are found in the page borders. The variations are that the Octave of Pentecost has Litlyngton's arms in an initial and arms are painted onto the fore edge of the closed book.

the house's eight greatest: Christmas, Edward the Confessor, Easter, Pentecost, Holy Trinity, Assumption of the Virgin, Translation of Edward the Confessor, and All Saints.[14]

However, there are connecting strands to be discerned within the seemingly disparate collection of occasions. The more standard expectation of finding the patron's presence on the most important feast days of the liturgical year is, I will argue, replaced with finding a more sophisticated and personally related pattern of placement for the abbot's designs.

2.2: Nicholas Litlyngton and the Saints of Westminster

2.2.1: Edward the Confessor

Litlyngton's pride in, and promotion of, Westminster Abbey that was evident in the biographical discussion of him in chapter one, seems also to have influenced where he chose to have his presence represented in the missal. Folios 225v and 277v (the sixth and ninth examples on Table 2.1) are both connected to the veneration of the feast days of St Edward the Confessor, whose connection to the house of Westminster was pivotal to the house's development and status. He is recognised as being of such consequence that the abbey arms are those that were posthumously given to the Confessor.[15]

Although not the original founder of the Benedictine monastery at Thorney Island, later renamed 'West Minster', it was through Edward's kingly favour and patronage that the abbey took steps to prominence. The abbey and church originally founded in c.960 were re-endowed and greatly enlarged by Edward, and his new building was dedicated 28 December 1065. The dying king was too ill to attend the consecration ceremony himself but was buried close to the high altar after his death, 5 January 1066. Arguably, the true value of Edward the Confessor to Westminster Abbey really occurred after his death with his later canonisation.

Edward's canonisation in 1161 further extended the already positive influence on the abbey that had occurred when he had been merely mortal. His sainthood enhanced the reputation and, to a certain extent, wealth of Westminster Abbey. The abbey now had the complete and undisputed remains of a recognised saint, whose cult had been unofficially and discreetly venerated since

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[14] *Customary of St Augustine's Canterbury and St Peter's Westminster,* 2 vols, ed. by Edward Maunde Thompson (London, 1902), II, p.77.

[15] E. Delmar, 'Observations on the Origin of the Arms of Edward the Confessor', *The Burlington Magazine,* 95 (1953), 358-363.

Edward's death a hundred years earlier.[16] What is more, the coronation regalia and vestments that Edward the Confessor had bequeathed to the abbey had now transmuted into saintly relics rather than valuable gifts. According to Binski, through the connection to royalty the kingdom 'was acquiring a mythology in the life and character of St Edward.'[17]

Reports of miracles connected to Edward the Confessor and a new shrine built in 1269 meant that the abbey became a pilgrimage site and Flete records that 'Our earliest indulgence from a pope is that of Innocent IV (1243-54), which grants a year and forty days for the festival of St Edward.'[18] However, according to Carpenter, offerings at the Confessor's shrine in 1354 amounted to £30, a poor comparison to the yearly offerings at St Thomas Becket's shrine at Canterbury, which averaged £300-400 in the fourteenth century.[19] Harvey stated that the lack of private benefactors at Westminster reflected the failure of the Confessor's shrine to achieve the status as a major centre of pilgrimage,[20] whereas Binski questioned to what extent the saint's shrine was ever envisaged as a popular pilgrimage destination.[21] Even if the saint at Westminster did not call to the public imagination as Becket did at Canterbury, Edward the Confessor inspired the devotion of different royalty, most notably Henry III, who named his son for the saint. Henry's diligence to the cult illustrates perfectly the value of the saint in the abbey's fortunes. In deference to his saintly predecessor, Henry III initiated the complete rebuilding of the abbey church, including a new Lady Chapel and an aptly magnificent shrine for the confessor saint.[22] Henry was also the first of the monarchs and their consorts to be buried close to the shrine, with those who came after him forming a horseshoe of royal tombs around the saint.[23] The role of royal mausoleum also brought respect to the house and strengthened the connection to royalty still further (see chapter four).[24]

 The evaluation of the significance of St Edward to the abbey demonstrates that it befits the abbot of the house to align himself to the saintly king whose actions and reputation before and after death were a major contributor to the wealth and prominence of the abbey, both directly

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[16] Barlow discussed how Westminster established Edward's sanctity between 1138-60: *The Life of King Edward: Who Rests at Westminster*, attributed to a monk of St Bertin, ed. and trans. by Frank Barlow (London: New York, 1962), p.112 and p.127.

[17] *WAP,* p.5.
[18] *FHWA,* p. 21.
[19] Carpenter, p. 62.
[20] *WAE,* p. 43.
[21] *WAP,* p. 90.
[22] *WAP,* p. 142.
[23] John Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 233.
[24] *WAP,* chapter three.

and indirectly. By choosing these feast days as occasions on which he should place his personal emblems Litlyngton is, in essence, promoting the house itself through highlighting Edward's feast days.

The first of the two feasts, 'In Natali scancti Edwardi Regis et confessoris officium,' fol. 225v, appears in the calendar in gold and blue striped writing on 5 January to be celebrated with 'viii cape.' The Litlyngton Missal's calendar has a hierarchy of feasts with five divisions, the highest of which is those marked as celebrated 'in cappis' or 'cape', referring to vestments worn.[25] The number of copes varies from two to eight and Wickham Legg proposed that the numbers 'seem to be the number of monks who sang the inviatory to *Venite* at matins.' He based this on the 'custom book' (BL, MS Otho C XI, c.1266, fol. 18v).[26] Colours are also used to denote hierarchy, from gold and blue together, to gold, blue, red, or black. However, and as noted by East, there are inconsistencies in the hierarchy of colours used in relation to the status of the feasts as denoted by the number of copes and lections.[27]

Edward's feast on fol. 225v consists of a single gold bar frame with central dividing bar, decorated with pairs of pinks and daisy heads, twisting foliage of various types including vine, heart, and pairs of bi-coloured red and blue ciliate lanceolate leaves. The palette of the whole page is blue, gold, and red, with green used solely for the daisy ball flowers. The four corners hold heraldic shields bearing the arms of two of England's sainted kings, Edmund and Edward the Confessor. There are two shields for each king, with matching shields diametrically opposite. Litlyngton's monogram appears at mid-way point above each column of writing. The gold initials are crowned with a gold coronet on a blue background; the whole is encircled in a red garter with gold clasp.

The historiated initial (fig. 2.1) is placed in the left text column, a G in a gold square frame six lines high. The confessor sits on a marble, architectural throne with a sceptre in his left hand and a ring in his half-raised right, towards which he directs our eyes by looking at it himself. He is crowned, haloed, and attired in a kingly fashion with a blue robe lined with ermine. His buskins are gold and his hose are red. The background is tooled gold leaf, as nearly all of the initials in the missal are.

The iconography captures in a few economic symbols the most famous of the miracles attached to the saint. Legend recounts that Edward was asked by a beggarly old man for alms when

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[25] From highest to lowest the hierarchy runs: feasts in copes, twelve lessons, three lessons, and commemorations.
[26] *MEW*, 1406, n. 1.
[27] East, p. 74.

passing by a church in Essex.[28] The king, having no money with him, gave a precious ring from his own finger. Some years later, two pilgrims travelling in the Holy Land found themselves in dire difficulty and were helped by an old man who, when the pilgrims told him that they were from England, revealed to them that he was St John the Evangelist. John requested that the travellers should take the ring to Edward and inform the king that in six months he, Edward, would join the saint in heaven. The miracle is important in its own terms, and the idea that a king of England, with such tight connections to Westminster, had been visited by St John the Evangelist, whose divinely inspired words appear in the Bible, was of deep significance, and expanded the sanctity of Edward the Confessor.

The second feast of this Westminster saint on fol. 277v celebrates his translation on 13 October in both 1163 and 1269. This feast appears in gold writing in the missal's calendar. Although the calendar writing is gold only, instead of higher order of both gold and blue, the feast is again celebrated in eight copes and the border of the folio is even more ornate and sophisticated than the other (fig. 2.2). Litlyngton's shields sit at the four corners of the wide inhabited border. Four full length figures of the king, crowned and haloed, appear two each in the vertical borders. The borders teem with blue, red, pink, and gold foliage held within the wide band. The foliage is interspersed with blue lion heads and interlaced fretted knots of blue and gold and pink strands. The whole effect is one of great richness, which befits the celebration of the abbey's personal patron saint.

The initial G, six lines high, portrays the sainted king recumbent in the shrine built for him in 1269 by Henry III (fig. 2.3). The picture is painted on three planes: the lowest section is of grey marble with two steps and seven arches or niches; this represents the base of the actual tomb and the arched places for prayer that it contains (fig. 2.4). The next plane has a gold base upon which the saint reposes. The saint's robes are rendered in gold with the folds and delineations in black. The face is flesh coloured and his ermine tippet and white glove stand out from the gold leaf which makes up the top two thirds of the initial. Edward's face and crown are framed by a large fully circular halo; this is a perfect disc upon which his head and lower neck are pillowed, he holds a thin red sceptre. The third plane shows the lifted lid of the shrine. This raised gold feretory has nine niches in the vertical facing side and a triangular patterned decorated pitched roof with red marks flecked over it. Similar red marks also appear on the crown of the Confessor and probably represent jewels. Both ends of the pitched roof hold a cross and there are crockets along the spine and slopes of the roof.

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[28] Slightly differing versions of the legend exist. See Barlow, *Life,* Appendix D.

The image effectively conveys the essence of the 1269 tomb by use of the three planes and pictorial references to the main architectural features. The real tomb had three parts: a stone base, with praying niches, made of Purbeck marble and decorated with Cosmati work completed by Italian craftsman, Peter the Roman; a gold feretory which held the saint's coffin; and above the whole structure, a canopy which could be lifted and lowered.[29]

Certainly the image conveys the importance of the shrine itself as is fitting on the feast day of the saint's translation, thus the cult of the Confessor and the idea of pilgrimage are brought to prominence as much as the saint himself. Although the shrine is one of the defining works of art in the abbey Tudor-Craig does not include it in her article which draws connections between the artwork of the missal and contemporary or earlier art in the abbey itself.[30]

The composition of the initial shows an intelligent conceptualisation of the saint as well as the shrine. On this translation day, rather than depicting the shrine alone, the image also contains a representation of the saint untouched by the ravages of death. Through this, the artist makes reference to the miraculous nature of the saint's undecayed body at the time of his translations: evidence of saintliness and recorded in itself as a miracle.[31] Similarly, the saint seen thus might be a portrayal of Edward on the day of his translation after movement but before the tomb was sealed, thus affording an opportunity to see the saint pictorially in a way that was impossible in reality. Above all, the image lifts up for praise the magnificent shrine, which lay physically and metaphorically at the heart of the abbey church and advances the honour of the cult of St Edward the Confessor. That the feast of Edward the Confessor's translation is more highly decorated than his main feast day is surely reflective of the abbey's central role in that event. Litlyngton's choice in associating himself with this feast is an expression of his own loyalty to the house at Westminster.[32]

2.2.2: St Peter

Just as Edward the Confessor was championed by Litlyngton in his Missal, so too was the apostle saint from whom the abbey church took its name: St Peter. Folio 249v is dedicated to the feast

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[29] Stephen Lamia, 'The Cross and the Crown, the Tomb and the Shrine: Decoration and Accommodation for England's Premier Saints', in *Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishment on Tombs or Shrines of Saints*, ed. by Stephen Lamia and Elizabeth Valdez del Àlamo (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 39-56 (p. 48).

[30] Tudor-Craig, pp. 102-120.

[31] *The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor by Blessed Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx*, trans. by Jerome Bertram (Exeter, 1997), pp. 108-09.

[32] An extra incentive, though probably providential coincidence, is that Edward the Confessor was Edward Despenser's name saint (see section 1.2).

of SS Peter and Paul and has four NL monograms, two each in the upper and lower borders (fig. 2.5). The six-line initial N holds a representation of both Peter and Paul, who share the same martyrdom feast day, standing together on a stippled gold background. Peter's grey hair is tonsured and he has a rounded, short beard, he holds a red book and the keys to Heaven and Earth (fig. 2.6). Paul, holding a sword to denote his mode of death, is balding but has long dark hair and a long pointed beard. Both men are haloed and dressed similarly, but in an example of compositional thoughtfulness, they have clothes with opposite colours to each other: Paul has blue under a pink cloak while Peter has pink under a blue cloak: they look at each other. Paul's right hand is raised between them and, as noted by East, magnification of the spot on Paul's forehead reveals the letters IR, *Iesus Rex.*[33] As a further sign of respect for this day, the calendar entry for this feast (29, June: fol. 5v) has the highest honour of being written in blue and gold script and is recorded as an eight cope occasion.

The relationship between the house at Westminster and St Peter was fundamental to the abbey beyond the apparent one of Peter being the saint for whom the abbey church was named, and predates the link with the Confessor. The legend and belief was that the saint had personally consecrated the church in a miraculous appearance on the night before the planned consecration ceremony was due to take place. In his *History of Westminster Abbey,* Flete begins his work with the story of the foundation of the abbey in the time of Bishop Mellitus. More than simply re-telling the story, Flete transcribed four narratives of the legend, three of which stem from the eleventh century.[34] Whilst differing in some of the details, the main story line is consistent across these, and later, versions.[35]

Before the day of consecration much rain had flooded the area and impeded access to the island where the church stood (Thorney Island). At night, St Peter, disguised as a pilgrim, appeared to a fisherman and asked for passage to the other side, to where the new abbey church was awaiting consecration on the following day. After some persuasion the fisherman agreed and ferried the pilgrim to the other side of the Thames, where Peter struck the ground twice with his staff (thus creating two springs) to take away the excess water which prevented access to the church. Then he revealed his identity to the fisherman, admonished him for fishing on a Saturday night, and granted him a great haul of fish. Peter instructed the amazed fisherman to present a salmon to Mellitus and to inform the bishop that there would be signs of Holy Unction on the walls of the church as evidence of the saint's own consecration of the building. As the church needed no

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[33] East, p. 36. East noted: 'I bear in my body the marks of the lord Jesus' (Galatians 6:17).

[34] *FHWA,* p. 3. Robinson gave a thorough account of how the four narratives concur and differ.

[35] The legend was still being repeated in the *Brut* Chronicle and continuations into the fifteenth century: see Marx, pp. 3-4.

further consecration, Mellitus held a Mass instead. Sulcard's narrative explains that it was in this way the church obtained thenceforward a new name: no longer the Isle of Thorns, but the West Monastery.

Positive consequences of this legend were varied and long-reaching for the abbey beyond the reputation of its having been consecrated in person by St Peter, apostolic saint and father of all Christ's church on Earth. There were also material benefits stemming from the tale. The honour of it was used in political arguments as reason why the abbey could answer to none other than the pope in Rome; the reason for this status of exemption is even noted in chronicles.[36] Peter's miraculous consecration was also inserted into charters as reason for 'freedom from interference and from imposts'.[37] Although not the only reason for Westminster's position as having rights of exemption, the legend was used in support of the abbey's position. Litlyngton himself used it against King Richard II who tried to prevail upon the community to re-consecrate the church after it had been defiled in the Hawley/Shakell affair.[38] In connecting himself to Peter through iconography it is conceivable that Litlyngton is alluding to his refusal against the royal request and that we therefore witness an event in the patron's life reflected in the imagery of his book.

The privileges of exemption were weighty with implications in matters of power and finance and also included the right for the abbot to adopt certain episcopal vestments and offices (*insignia pontificalia* or 'mitred').[39] A more material benefit of the legend was the initiation of a tithe of salmon from a certain stretch of the Thames being given to the abbey due to the fisherman's presentation of the salmon to Mellitus.[40] As patron saint of the church at Westminster, St Peter is particularly fêted in the Litlyngton Missal. Images of him occur for three different feasts in the Sanctorale: St Peter in cathedra, fol. 232v; feast of SS Peter and Paul with Litlyngton's patronal marks, fol. 249v; and St Peter ad Vincula, fol. 258v.

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[36] 'lour esglise fuist dedie par lappostolle seint Petre et ne purroit ester reconcile par ascun evesqe mes par le seint pere le pape': Galbraith, p. 123.

[37] *FHWA,* p. 12: an impost is a tax or other compulsory payment. *FHWA,* p. 61, the section devoted to charters*: '*ita quod monasterium de Westmonasterio,...ab omni praelatione et jurisdictione Londoniensis ecclesiae sint omnibus libera in perpetuum et exempta, et sacrosanctae'.

[38] See section 1.2.1 for full account.

[39] For a full discussion on the rights of exemption enjoyed by Westminster see David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1966)*,* pp. 597-591. Regarding the rights of mitred bishops see Alfred H. Sweet, 'The Apostolic See and the Heads of English Religious Houses', *Speculum,* 28 (1953), 486-484 and Martin Heale, 'Mitres and Arms: Aspects of the Self-representation of the Monastic Superior in Late Medieval England', in *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities,* ed. by Anne Muller and Karen Stober (Berlin, 2009), pp 99-124.

[40] *FHWA,* p. 9.

Litlyngton's elevation of the house at Westminster, through the marked deference paid to its eponymous patron saint, is consistent with another action taken by the abbot. Flete notes that Litlyngton decreed the feast of St Peter's Chair, 22 February, should be celebrated with five copes and that this proposal was accepted with unanimous consent by the brethren in chapter.[41] This further honour to the saint comes after the making of the missal; the calendar in the service book shows the feast of Saint Peter as being celebrated in 'iiii^{or} cape' (fol. 3v) as opposed to five. The fact that the writing is in gold and that there is the unique superscript note '*or*' after the number of copes would seem to argue that Litlyngton had already marked this day out for a rise in status before the missal was made. It is interesting to speculate that if the extra cope had been established before the production of the missal, whether then Litlyngton's marks would have appeared on this page to mark out his role in the change of custom.

The eleventh example of pages containing the patronal marks of Nicholas Litlyngton celebrates the service of *commune unius apostli* (vigils of the apostles: fol. 289r, figs 2.7 and 2.8) and could seem an unexpected occasion for the abbot's particular attention. Although in missals this service is the traditional point for opening the section known as the Common of Saints, other comparable sections in the Litlyngton Missal, such as the Sanctorale, arguably more important, do not have the abbot's marks. Therefore, as Litlyngton's devices are not employed as section markers, why do they appear at this point? The iconography in the margins helps one to understand: the borders contain figures of Saints Peter and Paul standing opposite each other in the left and right borders. Through their physical characteristics and symbols Peter and Paul are immediately identifiable as the same figures shown in the initial on their shared feast day on fol. 249v. The text of the service does not specifically name either of these saints; the *Oracio* has 'N. apostoli' for insertion of the correct name on a given feast day. However, recognition of the name saint of Westminster, and his feast day companion, via the iconography clarifies that, once again, Litlyngton is paying special reverence to Peter and honouring the house in so doing.

Notwithstanding that Litlyngton's marks do not appear on the feast day of St Peter's Chair, or St Peter in Chains, nonetheless he bound himself tightly to the saint through his patronal presence on the highest feast day, his martyrdom. Litlyngton further strengthened the bonds by using Peter, and his co-martyr Paul, as the figural representative in the margins on the feast day of every apostle, thus, Peter's presence would be felt more frequently in the liturgical year. The abbot linked himself just as strongly to the Confessor King's death and translation day. The

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[41] *FHWA,* p. 137. 'Idem autem abbas ordinavit ut festum sancti Petri in cathedra in posterum celebraretur in quinque capis, unanimi assensu et consensu totius capituli.'

placement of Nicholas Litlyngton's patronal marks on the four feast days connected to these two particular saints not only demonstrates his personal respect, but ties him inextricably to the honour and advancement of the abbey. Consequently, through a simple reciprocity, he himself receives a greater incidental radiance as any promotion of the house reflects positively on the man who is abbot of it.

2.3: Nicholas Litlyngton and the Blessed Virgin Mary

2.3.1: The Marian Feasts

It is understandable for an abbot to promote the saints dearest to his house's own tradition; calendars of service books from various religious houses are filled with devotional idiosyncrasies based on location, history, founders, patrons, and order. However, in the Litlyngton Missal, the patron extends this to include a personal statement regarding his own devotional preferences through where he places his own marks. Conventional major feast days are honoured in the calendar and given respect through being illuminated, but, as noted, they are not marked out for inclusion in Litlyngton's personal illustrative schema. Litlyngton's marks are absent from high feast days such as All Saints, Christ's Nativity, and Easter. In fact, only on the Crucifixion page (discussed 2.4.3) does Litlyngton use his marks to affiliate himself specifically to Christ. Conversely, he does closely link himself to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Litlyngton's shield and monogram appear at the feast of her Assumption (fol. 263v) and the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (fol. 286v).

The scenes of Jesus' Ascension and Mary's Assumption into heaven (figs 2.9 and 2.10) are directly comparable events within the lives of son and mother and yet in the Litlyngton Missal there is no ambiguity as to which of the two Litlyngton most favours. The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the major feast in connection to her cult, has no fewer than six shields and eight monograms in the borders (fig. 2.10a). Indeed, 29% of Litlyngton's forty-nine devices appear on this one page; none appear on the page for the feast of Jesus' Ascension (fol. 106v), the border of which contains no images beyond twisting foliage. The six-line historiated initial of Christ's Ascension shows his wounded feet receding into the folded blue of the stylised sky. His feet have left a very clear imprint, complete with flesh tone and blood, on the reddish earth of the hillock below and are placed directly in front of Mary whose hands are together in prayer.

Despite this image being concerned with Christ rising to majesty, Mary is very much the focal point both in terms of the external viewer and those depicted within the initial as fellow

witnesses to the miracle. Mary, the tallest figure by far, is central and surrounded by nine of the disciples who, with one exception, look at her rather than at the ascending Christ. Even the mother of Christ does not lift her eyes to her departing son. On the immediate left of Mary is St Peter, distinguishable by his tonsure, and it is this figure that holds, and returns, Mary's gaze.[42] To the left of Peter is Mary Magdalene; her inclusion in this group would be particularly fitting due to her symbolic connection to Christ's feet.[43] The issue of footprints has a deeper significance apposite to Westminster Abbey as during the reign of Henry III one of the imprints from Christ's ascension was brought to the abbey as a relic.[44] Even so, although the footprints are prominent features, it is Mary who, on this important day for Christ, holds focal attention whilst the ascending Jesus is in danger of rising unnoticed.

The six-lined initial of Mary's Assumption reveals her standing in her open wooden coffin with hands together in prayer (fol.263v, fig. 2.10). Her limbs are held by angels ready to lift her to heaven. The upper body of the angels is seen on a wave of blue representative of the skies and they diagonally match each other in robe and wing colour: alternating red and pink. At the top of the letter is the head and upper body of Christ. Bearing no stigmata, he looks down at his mother, reaching for her with his left hand while blessing with his right.

Through sheer number of his ciphers, Litlyngton has chosen to associate himself more closely with this feast than with any other day in the liturgical year. His shields appear on each of the corners plus mid top and bottom and there are also eight evenly spaced images of his crowned monogram. As with the image of Jesus' Ascension, Christ is relegated to the upper plane of the image and is diminutive compared to Mary.

A similarly revealing comparative appraisal can be made between Mary's conception of Christ at the Annunciation (fol. 235v, figs 2.11 and 2.12) and its parallel, the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary outside the Golden Gates (fol. 286v, figs 2.13 and 2.14). It indisputably shows that Litlyngton's personal preferences lay with the inception of Mary's life as opposed to Christ's: five monograms appear on the page celebrating the conception of the Virgin and none at the Annunciation. The conception of Mary has a particularly pretty border with vine and maple leaves, pinks, daisies, and ivy designs spreading into the blank margins. Three corners have an elaborate woven knot and there is a red beast's head in the bottom left corner. As a rarity, two musical angels appear at the top and bottom of the middle bar. The use of musical angels occurs

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[42] St Stephen, also often shown as a beardless youth with a tonsure but usually wearing a dalmatic, was not an apostle and is not at this scene in Acts I:9-11.

[43] In Luke 7:38 she washed Christ's feet with her hair: Mary Magdalene is often shown at Christ's feet in scenes of the Crucifixion and Entombment (see figs 3.13, 5.26, and 5.27).

[44] *FHWA,* p. 68: 'et lapidem de impressione pedis Christi caelos ascendentis'.

on only three other folios in the missal and the implication is that the occasion of Anne's conception of Mary was so holy and joyous that even the angels rejoiced.[45]

 The border for the Annunciation is also very fine, certainly wider and more splendid than the folio of Mary's conception, but lacking the patron's connection to it and the distinction of musical angels. The more elaborate border may be in recognition of the higher rank of feast day; the Annunciation is shown in the calendar as being celebrated in five copes (the Conception of Mary has four: both initials are 5 lines high). The Annunciation initial (fig. 2.12) shows Gabriel on the left kneeling to Mary. He wears ecclesiastical vestments and has splendid red wings at his back. In his right hand he holds a speech scroll with the traditional phrase, 'Ave gracia plena dominus tecum' (Luke 1:28). With his free hand he gestures towards Mary who kneels before a lectern where a book is held open by her left hand resting upon it. The impression is that she has been interrupted at her devotions by this divine phenomenon, although she does not look demurely away, as is often the case, but the gazes of the two figures meet. Both figures are nimbed, but Mary's head is bare, and she raises her left hand, palm outwards, in a gesture of surprise.

In contrast to the contained and dignified scene of the Annunciation, the initial for the Conception of Mary is a charmingly tender representation of the meeting of Saints Anne and Joachim outside the Golden Gates of Jerusalem (fig. 2.14). The two figures are shown in a fond embrace, eyes meeting and with faces touching as if just before kissing, the kiss being the actual moment of the conception of Mary (Protoevangelium of James, IV:4). Anne is shown in an older fashion of clothing with headdress and wimple and Joachim wears a pink Jew's hood. Unlike representations of Joseph, husband of Mary, Joachim has a halo as well as his wife. He is old and his white beard is fully defined with distinguishable individual curls. His age is emphasised by the stick on which he leans with his free hand.

The meeting outside the city is denoted by a walled gate to the right of the picture. The gold gates are ajar on their black hinges and show onto a dark doorway with a raised portcullis painted in white relief. The step to the open doorway is stone, as is the crenulated archway above it. The grass Anne and Joachim stand on and a pollarded tree to the left of the picture also indicate that they are outside the city. The suggestion of being away from others increases the sense of intimacy that occurs in this scene in paradoxical contrast to the interior of the

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[45] The other three occasions: the opening page after the calendar (fol. 9r), Corpus Christi (fol. 121r), and the Canon of the Mass (fol. 157r).

Annunciation scene where there is a distinct distance, emphasised by the scroll which acts as a barrier, between the two figures.

On reflection, Litlyngton's lack of personal connection to the Annunciation feast might seem at odds with his apparent devotion to the Virgin as the Annunciation is a moment of glory for Mary and a festival of importance for devotees of her cult. Perhaps Litlyngton's use of his marks makes a distinction between Mary in her own right as opposed to Mary as vehicle for Jesus; this hypothesis is strengthened by Mary being the greater visual focus in illuminations connected to Christ, such as seen in the Ascension initial (above). Certainly the beginning of Mary's time on Earth is marked with a degree of both tenderness and patronal deference that is not accorded to Jesus.

2.3.2: Litlyngton and Osbert of Clare

Another relevant factor beyond devotion to Mary might explain why Abbot Litlyngton had a particular association with the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and with familiar constancy it reflects back onto Litlyngton's championing of the house at Westminster. Due to the energies of Osbert of Clare, prior between c.1117-c.1158,[46] Westminster Abbey became renowned for its support of the contentious matter of celebrating the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Calendars and other sources reveal that in England the celebration of the feast was quite widespread and firmly established before the Norman Conquest, after which it suffered a serious decline due to the ill-favour with which the French regarded the occasion.[47] In 1121, Anselm the Younger (nephew to St Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury) became abbot of Bury St Edmund's and is noted as instrumental in the revival of the Feast of the Conception. In 1127[48] Osbert of Clare writes for support in his own endeavours to Abbot Anselm and states 'your sedulous zeal has fired many in various countries with devotion towards the blessed and glorious Mother of God, and by your assiduous care the feast of her

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[46] J. Armitage Robinson, 'A Sketch of Osbert's Career', in *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster,* ed. by E. W. Williamson (London, 1929), pp. 1-20; Frank Barlow, 'Clare, Osbert of (*d.* in or after 1158)',*ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5442> [accessed 14 July 2014].

[47] Edmund Bishop, 'On the Origins of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary', in *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 238-259; R. W. Southern, 'The English Origins of the 'Miracles of the Virgin'', in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies,* 4 (The Warburg Institute, 1958), pp. 176-216; David Knowles, pp. 510-530.

[48] Bishop (pp.244-245) deduces this to be the date by virtue of the bishops named in the letter.

Conception is now in many places observed'.[49] This assertion seems to be a flattering exaggeration as around the time of this letter, in England only a handful of abbeys were known to celebrate the feast.[50]

Osbert of Clare introduced the feast at Westminster. An 1127 letter to Anselm describes a dramatic situation whereby Clare openly defies two bishops in order to celebrate the feast of the Immaculate Conception. In emotive language he declares:

> some followers of Satan, whilst we were keeping this feast, decried its observance as hitherto un-heard of and absurd, and with malicious intent they went to two bishops, Roger (of Salisbury) and Bernard (of St David's) who happened then to be in the neighbourhood, and, representing its novelty, they excited them to displeasure. The bishops declared that the festival was forbidden by a council, and that the observance of it must be stopped. Nevertheless we proceeded with the office of the day, which had already begun, and carried it through with joyous solemnity. Then some who bore me a grudge, whilst striving to get countenances for their own silly fancies, are busy to bring discredit on both words and deeds of religious men, vomited against me the venom of their iniquity, and shot out upon me the darts of their pestilent tongues, saying that the feast was not to be kept, for its establishment had not the authorisation of the Church of Rome.[51]

Later in the letter, Osbert exhorts Anselm to use contacts, influence, and his knowledge of Roman customs to advance the cause of upholding the feast. Knowles finds it 'significant' that less than two years later in 1129, the celebration of the feast was officially authorised at a legatine council in London.[52] Not content with introducing the feast into the Westminster calendar, Clare continued to be active for the cause, writing a sermon of theological discussion, based on an earlier treatise by Eadmer of Canterbury, *Sermo de Conceptione*,[53] which he sent to Warin, dean of Worcester with an accompanying letter.[54]

After Clare, the feast of the Immaculate Conception continued to be celebrated at Westminster and remained popular with other Benedictine communities; Henry Mayr-Harting believed that

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[49] E.W. Williamson, *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster* (London, 1929), p. 65. This translation is from Bishop's chapter in which he translates one section of the letter.

[50] Bury St Edmund's under Anselm, St Albans under Abbot Geoffrey (1119-46), Gloucester under Abbot William (1113-31), Winchcombe in 1126, and Winchester and Worcester c. 1125. See Knowles, p. 511.

[51] Bishop's translation, p.245. Latin text in Williamson, *Letters,* pp. 65-66.

[52] Knowles, p. 512.

[53] H. Thurston and Th. Slater, *Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1904).

[54] Williamson, p. 79-80 (letter 13).

the main drive behind the feast's development was liturgical as opposed to theological and that 'It was the desire to bring in a new feast and a new devotion to Mary by the black monks'.[55] Even so, the church synod at Oxford in 1222 under Archbishop Stephen Langton left the observance of the feast as optional.[56] At Westminster Abbey, the importance of the feast was consolidated during the abbacy of Richard Ware (1258-1283[57]) when Ware's customary included it as one of the twenty-five highest feasts. The list also included such prominent occasions as the Purification of the Virgin, Annunciation, St Peter in Cathedra, and the Lord's Ascension.[58] With such contextual history, it is possibly small wonder that a future abbot of Westminster should feel a particular affinity with the feast and that Clare's pioneering work should be reflected and commemorated in the iconography of the Litlyngton Missal: not only patronal marks, but musical angels.

It is interesting to note that although the calendar shows blue and gold writing for Mary's name on her nativity and that feast is celebrated with five copes, the occasion of Mary's birth is not marked by patronal devices. The miracle of her Immaculate Conception, as championed by his predecessor and with special relevance to Westminster Abbey, would seem to stand above her actual entry into the world in Litlyngton's eyes, even though, as a four cope occasion, the Conception was a lesser feast.

Osbert of Clare must also take credit for another phenomenon for which we have seen Litlyngton show his appreciation. Clare was the main force behind the movement for the canonisation of Edward the Confessor. Clare's belief that he had been cured of a fever after attending Edward the Confessor's Anniversary Mass prompted the prior to promote the then minor cult through preaching and writing. He canvassed support, miracles were recorded, and in 1138 Clare went to Rome taking with him *Vita Aedwardi regis,* a hagiographical work by Clare, based, according to Barlow, on an anonymous poem which Westminster already possessed.[59] Although the case was not rejected, the precarious political situation in England led Pope innocent II to suspend a final decision. The pope cited 'insufficient testimonies of bishops and abbots . . . for since so great a festival ought to be for the honour and profit of the whole realm, it must needs also be demanded by the whole realm'.[60] A change of abbot, king, and pope

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[55] Henry Mayr-Harting, 'The Idea of the Assumption in the West' in *The Church and Mary* ed. by R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge, 2004), p.104.

[56] John Henry Parker, The Calendar of the Anglican Church (Oxford: London, 1851), p.149.

[57] D. A. Carpenter, 'Ware, Richard of (*d.* 1283)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/94165, accessed 15 Dec 2014]

[58] Thompson, II, pp. 77-78.

[59] Barlow, *ODNB* Osbert of Clare and introduction to Barlow, *Life,* pp. xli-lx.

[60] Wiiliamson's translation of an extract from Letter 19, p.18.

allowed for a second mission to Rome, with a reworked life of the king commissioned from Ailred of Rievaulx. On 7 February 1161, Edward the Confessor was canonised by Pope Alexander III. It is unclear whether Clare was alive to receive the news; the last documented reference to his life is three years earlier through his attestation of a charter at Westminster in 1158. Alive or not, Clare was recognised as having been a protagonist in the venture to canonise Edward the Confessor.

Litlyngton's selection of days for his patronal marks shows a continuation of the pioneering work of Clare and creates a parallel between these two men, who were both passionate in their promotion of the abbey and in their devotion to Mary.

2.3.3: Pentecost

In examining the patronal marks the themes of devotion to Mary and deference to the abbey's patron saints have been identified as separate strands, but mainly falling within the same overarching theme of advancing Westminster Abbey's position and reputation.

So what then of the feast of Pentecost? Why should Litlyngton select not only the feast day itself, but also the octave of the feast, as one of only eleven (see Table 2.1) on which to place his personal marks? Certainly Pentecost was considered one of the highest holy days of the medieval church and is present in Abbot Ware's customary as one of the eight major feasts of Westminster. However, Easter and Christmas were also recognised major feasts also ranked by Abbot Ware, and yet Litlyngton had not chosen to place his devices on the folios of either of those days. Therefore, the importance of the feast alone is not a satisfactory explanation for the presence of the patron's shields. The four shields appear in each of the corners of an impressively wide marginal frame filled with twisting blue and pink vines and fret knots, all on a background of the ever present gold leaf. As Pentecost is a movable feast it is not possible to gain information from the calendar entry; its unfixed date means that it is not recorded. However, a deeper exploration of the iconography of the initial on the page of the feast day helps to understand the message that Litlyngton possibly wished to convey (figs 2.15 and 2.16).

Mary, located centrally, is surrounded by twelve disciples and, as in the Ascension picture, the tonsured figure of St Peter is to the viewer's left of Mary. St Peter holds a closed red book and looks directly at Mary whilst pointing. Above them the dove of the Holy Spirit flies with red tongues of fire issuing like ribbons from his beak and touching the heads of those below. To the right of Mary a bearded man holds an open book on the top left page of which it is just possible to discern the word *vent* written. This is the only occasion in the missal in which a written word,

other than in speech scrolls, is used in an image. *Ventus,* the Latin word for wind, is aptly employed here as rushing winds and tongues of fire, the latter coming from the dove, were the indicators of the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:1-3). The book in Peter's hand possibly refers to when at Pentecost he calls on Joel's prophesy and exhorts the scornful onlookers to repent and be baptized (Acts 2:14-40).

The centrality of Mary in the image is a reminder of her importance at this feast. Pentecost was associated with the Cult of Mary and in medieval iconography she is usually shown at the centre of a group of apostles while the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove imparts the gifts of the Spirit in tongues of fire (figs 2.17, 2.18, and 2. 19). The biblical reading in the Litlyngton Missal at Pentecost does not mention Mary by name (fol. 111v, Acts 2: 1-12 'erant omnes discipuli partier in eodem loco') but the Pentecost image undoubtedly has Mary as the focal point of its composition with her head being exactly central both vertically and horizontally. Additional attention is drawn to her as the sole female figure in the image, and also by a hand, from one of the second row of disciples, resting on the middle curve of the 'S' just by Mary's head. Furthermore, as with the Ascension initial, the attention of the apostles is mainly on the Blessed Virgin Mary as opposed to the dove of the Holy Spirit. The impression given is that the apostles are looking to her for confirmation and comprehension of this miracle.

Mary as the central focus is typical in images of the Pentecost, but the Litlyngton Missal Pentecost is unique in one aspect. Peter's pointing index finger seems to be directing the viewer's gaze quite distinctly towards Mary and not to the dove which is performing the Pentecostal miracle above them (fig. 2.16). It might be argued that artistic limitations could be the reason for this unexpected gesture and that Peter is intending to indicate the dove. However, the Epiphany image (fol. 126r, fig. 20) clearly reveals one of the kings indicating the guiding star with digital accuracy (fig. 2.20). Moreover, the fact that Peter is pointing to Mary rather than the dove is made even more likely by the reciprocal eye contact that undeniably passes between them.

By his hand gesture, the disciple may be literally pointing out the prevalent theological idea that although not one of the traditional Marian feast days,[61] Pentecost was seen as an occasion of great importance for Mary in particular. It was her second encounter with the Holy Spirit, the first being at the Annunciation where the Spirit of God allowed her to conceive without sin. In an intercessory prayer, St Francis of Assisi called Mary the 'Spouse of the Holy Spirit'[62] and the

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[61] Annunciation, Nativity, Purification, Assumption, and Immaculate Conception.
[62] *Works of the Seraphic Father St Francis of Assisi*, trans. by A Religious of the Order (London, 1882), p. 169.

Litlyngton Missal Pentecost shows Mary's arms crossed over her breast in the attitude more usually seen in the Annunciation scene, where the gesture is indicative of demure acceptance and 'marriage' to the Spirit. Using the gesture at Pentecost, the feast most strongly associated with the Holy Spirit, makes a pictorial connection between the Annunciation, when Mary acquiesced to becoming the Mother of God, and Pentecost, when she became the Mother of the Church. [63] Association to the Annunciation at Pentecost was not a fixed iconographical tradition in this period, but neither is it overly unusual. In the fifteenth century, images evolved to show this scene more explicitly as a second Annunciation, often with the dove hovering directly over Mary with the tongues of fire touching her alone.[64] Other images include St John in clothes and kneeling position intended to evoke Gabriel at the Annunciation.[65]

In summation, there is a case for identifying the feast of Pentecost as another occasion in which Litlyngton is declaring his devotion to the Virgin. That the other main figure in the image is Peter shows not only shows reverence to the abbey's patron saint, but also unites him with the Virgin. By eye contact and gesture this image binds two of Litlyngton's devotional passions in one initial. As with the image used at the Ascension of Christ (the only other missal image to hold both Mary and Peter), whilst Mary is the obvious focal point, the mutual sharing of awareness of each other brings them both to the further attention of the viewer, singling them out for particular attention.

The eye contact that passes between Mary and Peter is an extremely unusual feature. Most especially revealing is that the Cambridge Trinity College Missal (B.11.3) which was influenced by the Litlyngton Missal and shares many compositions in common with it (see section 3.5 and Appendix D) does not have eye contact between Mary and Peter at Pentecost or the Ascension (fig. 2.19). It is probable, therefore, that the usual iconography of the Pentecost scene has been adapted to the satisfaction of the patron.[66]

Given Litlyngton's devotion to Mary it is not inconceivable that through manipulating the iconography and by placing his heraldry at this feast and its octave the abbot was trying to promote the office of Pentecost as an essentially Marian feast. Such an action would certainly not be out of keeping with Westminster's tradition of upholding and expanding the Cult of the Virgin, which had been actively promoted throughout the abbey's history. Furthermore, the promotion of the Cult of the Virgin continued to be expanded at Westminster Abbey and town

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[63] Marina Warner, *Alone of All her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1985), p. 220.

[64] Bruges, MS M 493 (Black Hours), c. 1480, fols. 18v-19r.

[65] Canterbury, Cathedral Library H/L MS 3 2, late fifteenth century, fol. 79r.

[66] The only other occasion where I have found eye contact between Peter and Mary, but Peter does not point to her, is in the Wollaton Antiphonal, fol. 160v.

up until its suppression at the Reformation. For example, Gervaise Rosser noted that one way in which the monks and the townspeople of Westminster shared an association was through their joint support of the guild of the Virgin Mary's Assumption.[67]

Clare's championing of the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1127 was one prominent example of the promotion of the Cult at Westminster. However, even before this the monks of Westminster had a long-standing concern in the cult that reached back to the time of Edward the Confessor; the saintly king had bequeathed a portion of the Virgin's girdle, worked by her own hands, to the abbey.[68] In an exploration of Henry III's devotions to Mary, Nicholas Vincent gathered together an impressive variety of occasions when the monarch showed deference to the Virgin at Westminster: material and monetary gifts, oblations, particular devotions, regular Saturday attendance of Lady Mass, and building patronage.[69] The Virgin's girdle was carried by three Westminster monks to Henry's queen to aid her in the pregnancy and birth of her second child.

Westminster Abbey could also boast of a statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary which performed a miracle. The Tale of the 'Blind Boy of Westminster' is extant in at least two early fifteenth century manuscript collections of Marian *Miracula*. Although created in the early fourteen hundreds, the collections consist of tales stemming from the preceding centuries.[70] Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS 95 was written in Latin at Thorney Abbey in c.1409 and is a collection of hundreds of Marian Miracle tales.[71] The rubric introducing the tale on fol. 64v describes the tale as 'De ymagine beate marie apud westmonasterium que puerum cecum a nativitate benigne liberavit'.[72] A version of the tale exists in English in Lambeth Palace MS 432, where 'The Blind Boy of Westminster' is the sixth of fifteen tales.[73]

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[67] See Gervaise Rosser, *Medieval Westminster* 1200-1540 (Oxford, 1989), p. 261 for the involvement of the abbey in the Guild of Mary's Assumption.

[68] *FHWA*, p. 70: 'item zonam quam ipsa propriis manibus operata est'.

[69] Nicholas Vincent, 'King Henry III and the Blessed Virgin Mary', in *The Church and Mary*, ed. by R. N. Swanson, Studies in Church History, 39 (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 126-46 (p. 137 and p. 140-142).

[70] For the dating and spread of Marian *Miracula* see Southern, 'English Origins', pp.176-216 and Beverly Boyd, *The Middle English Miracles of the Virgin* (California, 1964).

[71] This largest known collection of Marian legends in England is still only available in its original manuscript. A description of the manuscript and list of the tale titles exists in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 76-109.

[72] 'Regarding an image of the Blessed Mary at Westminster which benignly liberated a boy blind from birth'. Flete mentioned an image of the Virgin that had once belonged to Thomas Becket (*FHWA,* p. 70).

[73] London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 432 is described by M. R. James and Claude Jenkins, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1930-32), pp. 599-601.

The tale reflects most flatteringly on Westminster Abbey as the miracle takes place upon the feast day of Saints Peter and Paul, a day already marked out as special by the appearance of Litlyngton's marks on that feast. On this day a woman took her son, blind since birth, to pray at the altar of the Virgin Mary. As the woman wept she was given a vision which she related to the sacristan there. She had been told that the sacristan was to wash the statue of the Virgin and Child and that the water should be used to bathe the blind boy. When this was duly done the boy was cured of his blindness and blessed with sight.

Once again, as in the Litlyngton Pentecost image, we see the strong connection of Mary to Saint Peter. The miracle takes place on his feast day and in the church of his name that he had personally consecrated by his own miraculous means. There is also an embedded reference to the abbey's other patron saint, Edward the Confessor. Legend tells that using the water in which the king had washed his hands was responsible for the curing of blindness.[74] In this way, Mary's greater approval and blessings extend to the patron saints and increases the reputation of the abbey as a holy and blessed place, and the separate threads of patron saints and devotion to Mary twine together. In emphasising Mary in the iconography of the missal, particularly when connected to Peter, Litlyngton is, arguably, implicitly raising the status of the abbey.

Thus, through analysis of the iconography of the initial at Pentecost and an understanding of the history of the Cult of the Virgin at Westminster it seems probable that Litlyngton's heraldry at Pentecost is another example of the abbot's devotion to Mary. However, it is also viable to wonder if there is a more personal, family connection being made with the inclusion of the coats of arms on the Pentecost page. Despite there being no distinguishable pattern behind whether shields or monograms are used for the various feasts, nevertheless the notion of a Despenser family connection to Pentecost comes not so much from the four shields that appear on the feast itself, but more from the use of the Litlyngton's Despenser shield to mark the octave of Pentecost. This initial is unique in two ways: it is the only case where the octave of a feast has a decorated initial and also the only use of heraldry within an initial. Rather than using more conventional Pentecost iconography, the artist had used his patron's coat of arms, a decision that would not have been the artist's own. These facts must logically lead to the deduction that Pentecost was particularly important to Litlyngton and possibly the Despenser history. However, tantalising speculation must be thwarted by lack of evidence. Although the feast is a moveable one it is not impossible that Litlyngton's connection to it is through an anniversary, such as a birth, ordination, or death date, but in light of the iconography of Pentecost's initial it is also

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[74] Barlow, *Life*, p. 112.

likely to be a celebration of the feast itself, and, I would argue, the role of Mary and Peter within it.

In fact, Litlyngton's shields throughout the missal might themselves be linked to Mary. As remarked in chapter one, the Despenser shields, as used by Nicholas Litlyngton, underwent a change in their design between 1370, the time of building works on the abbot's house, and the production of the Litlyngton Missal in 1383-4. The coats of arms used in the abbot's dining hall are differenced with a bordure of bishop's mitres (fig. 1.6), while the later missal shields are differenced with three *fleurs-de-lis or* on a bend dexter *azure* (fig. 1.2). The relevant point in the change is the symbolism of the differencing marks. The earlier use of mitres, if authentic, was presumably representative of Litlyngton's position as a mitred abbot, whereas the later use of *fleurs-de-lis* (heraldic lilies)*,* is an iconographic bond to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Although often connected and compared to a rose, the lily remained the flower with which Mary was most strongly associated, both symbolically and iconographically. Depictions of Christ crucified on a lily cross metaphorically united Mary and Christ in image.[75] Taken separately, the use of heraldic lilies as proof of Litlyngton's devotion to Mary would be inconclusive. However, when the change in differencing mark is viewed in conjunction with the other examples of Litlyngton's devotion to her as revealed through the iconography of his missal, it seems plausible. Therefore, conceivably the shields at Pentecost, and in particular at the octave, are expressions of Litlyngton's personal belief that this already important day should be promoted as a Marian feast, at least in Westminster Abbey.

Before moving away from Litlyngton's devotion to Mary there is a final factor to consider. Returning to the feast of Mary's Assumption, in addition to the patronal marks and centrality of Mary I believe that the condition of the initial also bears witness to Litlyngton's special devotion to Mary. The image is damaged, particularly Mary's face. Although there are two cases of iconoclasm in the missal (Thomas Becket, fol. 24r; and St Sylvester, fol. 225r[76]), the damage to these two images is distinctly different in nature to that at Mary's Assumption. Thomas and Sylvester have been completely defaced, possibly by scratching or scraping (fig. 2.21), whereas

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[75] One stained glass example is at Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Woodbridge. See Sarah Jane Boss, *The Spirit of Mary* (Yale, 2012), p. 2.

[76] The limited nature of the damage and its particular targeting of Becket indicates that the despoiling of the images of Silvester and Becket, and the text of Becket's feast , was at the monks' hands in response to Henry VIII's 1538 proclamation which unsainted Thomas Becket : 'Therefore his Grace strayghtly chargeth and commandeth that from henseforth the sayde Thomas Becket shall not be estemed, named, reputed, nor called a sayncte, but bysshop Becket; and that his ymages and pictures, through the hole realme, shall be putte downe, and avoyded out of all churches, chapelles, and other places'. See James Endell Tyler, *Primitive Christian Worship: or, The Evidence of Holy Scripture and the Church, Concerning the Invocation of Saints and Angels, and the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Oxford, 1847), pp.228-9.

Mary's face simply shows signs of wear. The damage is more consistent with that incurred through kissing.[77] There is localised smudging around Mary's face and as this is the only image of Mary to have such wear, it implies that the damage is not an act of defacement (fig. 2.10). Furthermore, the angel to the left of her face is also lightly smudged, suggesting incidental damage from repeated kissing of Mary rather than the precise acts of deliberate defacement, as seen with Silvester and Thomas. Whereas the singling out of one image of Mary for damage would be incongruous, that the Assumption should be selected for kissing is understandable as that feast is the chief one connected to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In the bottom margin of the Crucifixion page is an image made explicitly to be kissed (fig. 2.22). The celebrant of the Mass would ritually kiss a smaller cross so as to avoid damaging the main image.[78] Yet, scrutiny of this 'kissing cross' reveals that it is not nearly as affected as the initial of Mary's Assumption, which leads to the thought that Mary's image received more personal and intimate devotion : the image has been harmed through love rather than hate. However, can we assume that Litlyngton's lips are those to have kissed this image? Certainly his devotion to her is evident in the missal, her symbol was used to grace his coat of arms and further convincing evidence also comes from Litlyngton's other benefactions to the abbey.

The 1388 vestry accounts discussed in chapter one (1.2.5) reveal that Litlyngton donated two folding diptych paintings. The subject matter of these has Mary on each of the four panels and as main focus on three.[79] Furthermore, in the decorated crook of his silver crosier was the Annunciation scene on one side and Edward the Confessor on the other: again twining Mary and abbey together. Considering altogether the evidence of his devotion, it seems not unlikely that Litlyngton may have been the devotee to kiss Mary's image. Litlyngton's devotion to Mary adds to the image of the patron and helps to understand not only the missal's iconography but also other of his gifts and customs, however, in itself it is not extraordinary for the late fourteenth century. How it is distinctive in the Litlyngton Missal is the connection forged between her and Westminster's patron saint, Peter, and also that Litlyngton's devotion might extend to iconographically increasing her profile at Pentecost and extolling her through placing his family arms on that feast day and its octave.

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[77] See John Lowden 'Illuminated Books and the Liturgy', in *Objects, Images and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), pp. 17-53 (p. 41).

[78] Lowden, 'Illuminated Books', p. 41.

[79] CCA MS A 10: Tercia pars, cap xvj De Tabulis Plicabilibus: 'Tabule sunt due plicabiles ex dono N.L. Abbatis bene depicte quarum prima continet in se in una parte ymaginem crucifixi Marie et Johannis et marie Magdalene. In altera vero parte continentur ymago beate virginis tenes filium in gremio et ymagines Johannis baptiste et Katerine. Secunda vero tabula continet in se in una parte salutacionem beate virginis, In altero vero parte Nativitatem domini.'

2.4: Nicholas Litlyngton and Other Occasions

2.4.1: The Feast of Stephen

Of the three as yet unexplored feast days bearing marks of patronage, the motivation of their inclusion is easily identifiable in two cases whilst the third is the most difficult to ascertain. This most elusive of Litlyngton's selection is the feast day of St Stephen: fol. 21r (fig. 2.23). The four monograms are situated one in each of the corners of a margin composed of a continuous rectilinear vine with off-set leaves of blue, red, and pink. There are nineteen roundels in the borders, eleven of which hold beast heads of either blue or red; four hold the crowned N L initials; and the remaining four hold bust representations of St Stephen, haloed and wearing a deacon's dalmatic.

The five-line initial represents Stephen as beardless, tonsured, and wearing a blue dalmatic with gold collar over a white undergarment with gold apparel at the hem (fig. 2.24). Draped around his shoulders, and extending over his hands, is a white robe which shields his skin from touching the three stones, icons of his martyrdom, which he holds in his covered, outstretched hands. The robe is a reference to his garments, which were laid before Saul/Paul (Acts 7:58-59). The significance of the dalmatic stems from Stephen having been the first deacon appointed by the apostles to be responsible for almsgiving (Acts 6:5-9).

The occasion has a confusion of hierarchical elements: the Litlyngton Missal calendar notes that this feast is to be celebrated with the honour of four copes, but only records it in blue, and yet the occasion has been selected by Litlyngton as a feast to be graced with his initials. Furthermore, it has the additional iconographic rank of being one of only seven feasts where repetitions of the saint are present within the margin (see Appendix C). The feast of Stephen (26 December) was widespread and popular in the Middle Ages and the saint was highly esteemed as the protomartyr, and hence the absolute model of how all Christians should prefer to die than to deny or betray their faith in Jesus. However, as proved by other occasions, the importance of a feast was not sufficient motivation for Litlyngton to desire association with it. There exists the possibility that this day was personal to Litlyngton in some way, although as his own commemorative day of 6 December, granted to him in 1360,[80] does not include his marks of patronage, it thus seems unlikely that their inclusion on 26 December should indicate the celebration of a personal anniversary.

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[80] Section 1.2.6.

Thus far, the pattern of the patron's marks has been their presence on a day which is either special to the abbey, particular to the Blessed Virgin Mary, or an intertwining of the two (e.g. Pentecost and the Immaculate Conception). Following this vein, there are also connections between Stephen and the abbey: Flete informs us that 'King Edgar gave stones with which St Stephen was stoned and some bones with blood of the same [saint]'. [81] However, the list of relics recorded by Flete is extensive and includes equally and more impressive relics for equally and, arguably, as important saints whose feast days are not singled out for extra attention. [82] There is another more political connection to Westminster Abbey involving Stephen: a contentious and long-standing legal dispute of the building of the royal chapel, St Stephen's, within the grounds of Westminster Abbey. According to Flete, Litlyngton brought the matter of who had jurisdiction over St Stephen's, the king or Westminster Abbey, to an amicable conclusion during his abbacy. [83] The presence of Litlyngton's initials on this feast might be a celebration of his involvement in the issue, but also an allusion to the abbey's 'victory' on this occasion and a reminder that St Stephen's chapel, although royal, was actually an abbey satellite.

In truth, the chapel affair as a motive for Litlyngton's initials on Stephen's feast day is far from conclusive and it is just as plausible that the abbot may have felt a strong association with Stephen as the patron saint of deacons and altar servers, or indeed as protomartyr. Certainly throughout the missal, excepting Edward the Confessor and Blessed Virgin Mary, the most magnificent border illuminations connected to saints are to be found with high profile martyrs.[84] As Stephen was both 'proto' in historical and missal-page chronology, Litlyngton's monograms could be an appreciation of the glory and role of martyrdom shown on the first occasion of its occurrence in the book through the veneration of the first example of its incidence. The matter to bear in mind above all others is that, taken on the example of the rationalisation of the placement of the other monograms and shields, their inclusion at the feast day of St Stephen has a strong, if presently elusive, motive behind it.

2.4.2: The Blessing of Salt and Water

Less problematic is Litlyngton's presence through both shields and monograms on the page of the service for the Blessing of Salt and Water. As a departure from the other occasions where

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[81] *FHWA,* p. 70: 'rex Edgarus dedit lapides quibus sanctus Stephanus lapidatus fuit, et quaedam ossa cum sanguine ejusdem'.
[82] *FHWA*, pp. 68-73.
[83] Section 1.2.1.
[84] Saints Lawrence, Katherine, Thomas, and Andrew.

the patron places his initials, in this instance the precise location within the missal seems to override the significance of the service itself. The ceremony for the Blessing of the Salt and Water is on fol. 9r, which is the very first page of the Litlyngton Missal after the calendar sequence (fols. 1r-9v). It is natural to expect that the patron would desire to make an impact at the first true entry into the body of the book. The first page of a book is a traditional place to find the presence of the patron of the work with many examples of identifying heraldry, representations of scribe, artist and patron, portrayals of donor and recipient, and even written messages from the originators to the future readers.[85] Although regrettably fol. 9r does not have images of the scribe, artist, or patron, it is a particularly splendidly illuminated page, which succeeds in its intention of creating a powerful first image-rich opening to the missal. Unmistakably, the use of heraldry and ciphers in the abundantly inhabited and wide patterned borders connects the opulence of the gold and colour-filled page to the patron. As the only page in the immense service book to contain a *bas-de-page* type bottom border, further weight is lent to the impressive entrance that Nicholas Litlyngton makes as patron through this sumptuous first page (fig. 2.25).

Litlyngton shares the glory of this first page as Westminster Abbey is also heralded and glorified in the copious iconography. Not only do the borders and the *bas-de-page* scene contain images of clerics in lavish vestments, but the coats of arms of the abbey are also displayed in between the roundels of the lower border (fig. 2.26).

The subject matter of the bottom scene is very significant. Played out over four roundels, a procession of clerics travels from left to right across the page. Each scene is punctuated either by Litlyngton's marks or the abbey arms, therefore making a strong connection between the procession, the abbey, and its abbot. The pageant, discussed in more detail in section 5.3.1, depicts the weekly procession that was an integral part of the Blessing of the Salt and Water ceremony: the *asperges* and Sunday mass.[86] The procession also took place before mass on the solemn feast days and the level of magnificence in clothing indicates that an example of a higher feast day is being portrayed in these images. Most tellingly of all, the procession is moving out over grass into the open and into a direct interaction with the lay people who are shown, more as a destination point than onlookers, in the last scene. The significance comes in the iconography's portrayal of the importance of Westminster Abbey as connected to the laity in the town of Westminster and the city of London. The pictorial representation of a bond between the

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[85] E.g. BL, MS Harley 7026 (Lovell Lectionary), c.1408; BL, MS Add 47682 (Holkham Picture Bible), c.1327-1335; BL, MS Royal 2 B I (Psalter of Humphrey of Gloucester), 1430-1440.

[86] Thompson, *Customary,* I, p. 381-2; F.A. Gasquet, *English Monastic Life* (London, 1904), pp. 132-135; Knowles, pp. 540-545.

convent and the laity accords with the vivid picture of connection that Harvey elucidated in her work on the monastic community at Westminster.[87]

Consequently, although Litlyngton's marks could easily be explained as included on this page as a traditional position for patronal presence, the iconography would suggest a deeper level of sophistication. Other English missals which show heraldry on their opening pages do not go further than a simple proclamation of patronage: the shields are shown without extra pictorial embellishments.[88] However, the chosen imagery in the Litlyngton Missal allows an interpretation of the abbey's importance beyond the abbey walls. Hence, notwithstanding the location is undoubtedly the principal factor behind the shields and monograms on fol. 9r, Litlyngton has taken the opportunity to promote the house through iconography, even when the page is not directly related to a feast day of special importance to the abbey.

2.4.3: The Crucifixion Page

The last of the locations bearing Litlyngton's marks to be discussed is perhaps the most obvious place for them to be found. The occurrence of the patron's identity on the folio bearing a full page miniature of the Crucifixion is quite regular in medieval book patronage, without being universally so.[89] In the case of the Litlyngton Missal, there is a larger than usual incentive for the Crucifixion page to contain the patron's marks; the full page depiction of the Crucifixion scene, (fol. 157*v), is an individual work of art produced separately to the main body of the missal. Executed on a discreet folio, it is blank on one side and bound as a single page, opposite the Canon of the Mass. The quotation from the Litlyngton Missal Accounts informs us that the cost of this one specialist miniature was 10 shillings.[90] The central image of the Crucifixion is painted in a noticeably more innovative style than the other illustrations, showing influences of the *trecento* Italian paintings.[91] Having individually commissioned an Italianate full page miniature, it is not surprising that Nicholas Litlyngton has put his stamp upon it in the form of a large example of his coats of arms and a monogram in the bottom border of the page (fig. 3.7). Considering the pivotal defining importance of the Crucifixion to the whole nature of Christian religion and of a

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[87] *LDE,* especially chapter one, 'Charity'.

[88] E.g. CUL, MS Add 451 (Braybrooke Missal) late fourteenth century and Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.11, c.1430.

[89] This is not the case in the Sherborne Missal. On occasion, a Crucifixion miniature is the only instance of figurative illustration in a missal. Therefore, it was common for a patron's marks to accompany the illustration.

[90] WAM 24265*: see 3.1.1 for transcription, translation, and discussion of the Litlyngton Missal Accounts.

[91] For an exploration of the style and symbolism of the Crucifixion miniature, see sections 3.4.2 and 5.3.2 respectively.

mass book in particular, it would be strange if Nicholas Litlyngton's devices were *not* included on this page.

Another more prosaic, yet no less important, motivation for having his marks on the Crucifixion page is that being connected to the liturgy of the Eucharist, this page would probably have been the most used in the whole book. As a missal, a mass would have been celebrated every time that it was used in a service and therefore, as the heart of the mass, the Crucifixion page with Litlyngton's ciphers on it, would have come to the attention of the celebrant.[92]

Litlyngton's visual association with the holiest mystery of the Christian church is probably an example of affective piety: the external expression of the depth and sentiment of faith. However, his ciphers not only show his presence through iconographic proxy at the mass, but would also prompt later celebrants to render a prayer for his soul each time a mass was celebrated, which brings forward the issue of commemoration as a motivation for conspicuous donorship.

2.5: Nobility and Remembrance

2.5.1: Marks of Nobility and Remembrance

Litlyngton's devices in his missal have been shown to carry a greater message than mere identification of patronage, and beyond that it is natural to interpret the patronal marks as also having a commemorative function.

The ciphers used are consistent with those Litlyngton had employed in other projects and benefactions around the abbey, with the one alteration of the differencing mark of *fleur-de-lis* being adopted for the shield. Naturally enough, Litlyngton's pride in his lineage extends to his role of patron of a richly illuminated bespoke manuscript. Just as the vault boss of Litlyngton's initials with a hunting scene,[93] a motif often associated with nobility, being located in a religious house fuses together the two elements of Litlyngton as both nobleman and abbot, so too, the missal could be another example of this combination.

The differenced Despenser arms are a reference to the abbot's either belonging to, or close connection with, that noble family; the nature of his monogram similarly appears to be an

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[92] It is likely that the ciphers on fol. 9r also experienced high exposure as the great feasts were preceded by the Blessing of the Salt and Water ceremony.
[93] Section 1.2.3.

indicator of his membership of the aristocratic classes. The initials refer to his toponym (Litlyngton, see 1.1.2), which is likely to have been adopted on Nicholas' acceptance into the abbey as a novice, nevertheless, the monogram emphasises nobility without recourse to using D for Despenser. The initials are topped with a coronet, in recognition of the baronetcy that belonged to the Despenser family.[94] Furthermore, the crowned initials are housed within a buckled garter. Edward, first Baron le Despenser (1336-75), for whom Litlyngton acted as attorney in 1373, had become a knight of the garter in c.1357-60.[95] Therefore, the use of the garter in the monograms in the missal could be an allusion to the honour brought to the family by the inclusion of one of its members into the elite institution created by Edward III.

Interestingly, Litlyngton's monogram holds no reference to his ecclesiastical vocation. Although Litlyngton was an abbot who promoted his house through the commissioning of this deluxe book, as well as through what he decided to highlight for special attention in it, he is consistently represented as a nobleman through the symbols he uses to denote himself: the garter, the coronet, and the coat of arms. The features of the symbols eloquently indicate the manner in which he wished to be remembered just as strongly as their actual appearance argues that he desired to be commemorated.

In his study of the patronage of Benedictine art and architecture, Luxford noted that '*Post mortem* commemoration was an incentive for patronage at all levels, and many records survive of its influence on superiors.'[96] The belief that the living could speed the progress of departed souls through Purgatory by acts of commemoration was powerfully influential on medieval society[97] and a true guiding force behind the development of diverse genres of the visual arts with commemorative devices being incorporated into art as visual cues for prayers.[98] Certainly, Litlyngton's placement of his marks on both the opening page and at the Crucifixion page, exactly where they were most likely to receive greatest exposure, would seem to signify that remembrance was among the factors concerning decisions on the illumination pattern of the missal. The patronal marks on these pages, and the fore edge of the book, have echoes of the abbot's donation of plate to the refectory being made on the proviso that prayers would be said

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[94] Pfaff referred to Litlyngton's use of the 'Despenser coronet' in relation to the abbot's gift of plate. Pfaff, p.228, n.95.

[95] G. F. Beltz, *Memorials of the Knights of the Garter* (London, 1841), p. 141; Bernard Burke, 'Despencer-Barons Despencer, Earl of Gloucester', in *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages, of the British Empire* (London, 1962), p. 167.

[96] Luxford, *Art and Architecture,* p. 56.

[97] Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984) provides a comprehensive discussion of Purgatory.

[98] Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996) examines the effects of Purgatory on medieval visual culture.

daily for his soul: proof beyond doubt that Litlyngton was extremely concerned that he should be prayed for.[99] Additionally, Luxford observed that as patronage of art and architecture provided passage through purgatory, via divine mercy induced by prayer, it was considered expedient to finance, or be credited with financing, works of common benefit; both the plate and the missal could be considered works for the 'communal good' at Westminster Abbey.[100]

Litlyngton also ensured that prayers were said for his soul, and for those of his parents, in other religious houses. In 1382, with an initial cost of £40 and an annual recreation of 20 shillings, he founded a twelve-monthly anniversary on 26 September at Great Malvern Priory, daughter house of Westminster Abbey.[101] Westminster Abbey Muniments further reveal that previously, in 1374, a similar anniversary had been secured annually on 6 December at Hurley Priory for the cost of £40 and a yearly recreation of 15s.[102] Abbot Litlyngton also had plans to set up a chantry chapel for himself and his parents in the abbey church at Westminster. In 1366, a royal license records the assigning of two messauges to Nicholas Litlyngton from Richard Rook 'to be held by the said Abbat and convent for building a chantry at Westminster for the souls of the parents of Nicholas de Litlyngton, late prior of Westminster Abbey.'[103] Despite the purchase of various lands for the reason of setting up the chantry, the physical actuality never occurred.[104]

Conceivably, the Despenser shields in both the abbey and the missal may have been a double act of commemoration, a mode of Litlyngton remembering his own parents as well as others remembering him. In the same way, the garter could have been a reminder to him to pray for Edward Despenser.

2.5.2: Anomalous Nicholas

Whilst not achieving the material reality of a chantry chapel he was granted an anniversary by his house as far back as 1360.[105] As with the anniversary that he acquired at Hurley Priory, the date of the occasion was 6 December; the clear connection is that it is the feast day of his namesake, St Nicholas (of Myra). It is through consideration of Litlyngton's anniversary that the largest anomaly concerning the motive of commemoration in the Litlyngton Missal occurs. The

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[99] WAM 9471: see section 1.2.5.
[100] Luxford, *Art and Architecture,* p. 82.
[101] WAM 32660: this document reveals the names of his parents. Also, *LNQ,* fol. cvi.
[102] WAM 5399: Hurley Priory was subject to Westminster Abbey.
[103] WAM 1566.
[104] See *WAE,* pp. 420-424 for details of lands bought by Litlyngton.
[105] WAM 5406-7 and *LNQ,* fol. ci. This grant was exceptional as it was made to a prior, rather than an abbot.

representation of the feast day of St Nicholas on fol. 286r does not have patronal marks. It seems extraordinary that Litlyngton's ciphers should be absent on the very day of his own anniversary at both Westminster and Hurley; it would seem such an obvious place to have included them.

A closer inspection of the illumination of the feast day helps to explain why such an unlikely lack of patronal presence should occur on the day most likely to be connected to his commemoration. It also suggests the intervention of Litlyngton himself. The representation of the bishop is a simple one that shows a mitred figure dressed in a chasuble holding a crosier and with one hand in the attitude of episcopal blessing (fig. 2.27). However, the initial is uncharacteristic in a number of ways. Firstly, the figure stands on a knotted background with foliage on gold, the only instance of such a background for a figurative initial; thirdly, it is the work of the Temporale Artist, the first example for eighty folios, since fol. 206r, and the only example of non-Sanctorale Artist work in the Sanctorale; and finally, the palette, especially of the clothing, is noticeably different to that used for other figures. While East recognised that the hand is that of the Temporale Artist, the other irregularities were not noted and no suggestion as to the anomalous appearance of Temporale Artist's work was offered.[106]

In truth, all of these anomalies can be explained by realising that the figure of Litlyngton's saintly namesake was added after the original illumination of the letter had been completed. The knotted fretwork, which here acts as the figure's background, is commonly found in the three and four line illuminated initials throughout the Litlyngton Missal, and on its own would be a finished illumination. Lines of the knot and some curling leaf are clearly visible under the pale chasuble, demonstrating that the figure was painted over the top of a finished initial. As well as explaining the seemingly singular use of knotted background, the atypical palette can also be explained: in an attempt to block out the paint from underneath, the artist has mixed white with the pigment for the chasuble, resulting in an unusual milky pink/blue colour that is not effective in totally obscuring the designs beneath it.

The final irregularity relates to the artist's hand: the St Nicholas initial is the sole occasion of the Temporale Artist's hand in the section of the missal otherwise uniquely illuminated by the Sanctorale Artist. These two main artists of the missal have their work very markedly split into separate parts of the missal and the atypical appearance of the Temporale Artist's hand here is distinctly noticeable (see chapter three for full discussion on artists and attribution of work). A reasonable hypothesis would be that once the oversight had been noted by the patron, remedies were offered by the artists, on how to correct it. As the error was not necessarily

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[106] East, p. 152.

noticed until either the quire or whole missal had been finished, then the Sanctorale Artist was not inevitably still responsible for the work in that section. As for the lack of patronal marks on the corrected version: whilst it was possible to amend, fairly unobtrusively, the depiction of St Nicholas in the initial, making room in a finished margin for a patronal mark without spoiling the completed work was probably not a viable option.

Thus, through what seems to be an oversight, Abbot Litlyngton appears not to be represented by patronal marks on his own commemoration day. However, in reality this anomaly is probably resolved by turning the page of the missal. Whilst the feast of St Nicholas opens on fol. 286r, it continues, and ends, over the page on fol. 286v. This means that the text of the feast of St Nicholas shares the page with the Feast of the Conception of the Virgin; this latter page, as already discussed, has four patronal monograms in its margins. Rather than a coincidence, I feel it is probable that that the two services of St Nicholas, Litlyngton's commemoration day, and the Conception of the Virgin, a feast championed by Clare, were designed to share pages, and therefore monograms.

The scribe appears to have been directed in this matter as great care has been taken to ensure that the texts of these two services sit together in overlap on the same page (fol. 286v). The writing is noticeably smaller on both the preceding page (fol. 286r) and on the top half of the first column overleaf (fig. 2.13). Excepting the bottom four lines, the entire first column of text is the continuation of the service for the feast of St Nicholas from the previous page. Coming between the service of St Nicholas and the feast of the Immaculate Conception is a short service for the octave for the feast of Saint Andrew. The space saving exercise only continues to halfway down the first column but indicates the measure of importance that was behind the intention of uniting these two feasts.

The anomalous decoration of the feast of St Nicholas sees Litlyngton's agency as both editor and designer, and possibly the most sophisticated use of Litlyngton's patronal marks. Through shifting his marks from the opening page of the service on the feast of Nicholas to the second page, an intelligent instance of poly-layering is created. Their use on this page indicates a record of the patron's own commemoration day; his continuing devotion to Mary in unambiguous terms; and the victorious endeavours of Osbert of Clare are recalled.

On reflection, it would seem that Nicholas Litlyngton never places his initials in any location with just the sole purpose of seeking remembrance. Even in the cases of the opening page and the Crucifixion page, his marks appear in conjunction with other motives: the Crucifixion page shows Nicholas Litlyngton affiliating himself with the central mystery of Christianity and the opening page is in itself a promotion of Westminster Abbey, as well as the most obvious opportunity for

the abbot to claim responsibility as patron for an opulent work of art. In fact, remembrance as the unique motive for including his marks on a page would seem to be out of keeping with his *modus operandi.* This may also go towards explaining the lack of overt figural portrayal of Nicholas Litlyngton's person in his own missal.

2.5.3: Physical representation

Nigel Morgan noted that images of patrons 'abound' in devotional images of all mediums of English art in the latter part of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth.[107] Lethaby identified the now damaged carved stone head at the bottom of the archway leading to the Abbot's House as a probable portrait (fig. 2.36).[108] While Litlyngton is evidently manifest in the missal through heraldry and monograms, whether he is present as a painted figure is both an under-discussed and unresolved issue. It is only in later work involving Nicholas Litlyngton or the Litlyngton Missal that the issue arises at all. In her ODNB entry, Harvey registered an element of doubt as to whether there was a likeness of him in the missal[109] while East asserted that the figure on fol. 164r (fig.2.28) is 'Abbot Litlyngton pronouncing a blessing'.[110] East's reckoning behind this identification is that this folio of the missal introduces a series of episcopal blessings which 'the mitred Abbot of Westminster was entitled to pronounce.'[111] Therefore, East reasoned, as abbot at the time of the commissioning, as well as being the patron, the mitred abbot or bishop in the initial must logically be Litlyngton. This is an important point and not without weight but there are other representations of a mitred abbot/bishop in the missal that East does not consider as representations of the patron, even though the rationale must be the same or stronger.

All the depictions of mitred figures which could be representations of the abbot of Westminster appear in the section of the missal illuminated by the Temporale Artist: folio 121r, Corpus Christi (fig. 2.30); fol. 144r, anniversary of the dedication of a church (fig. 2.29); fol. 164r, benediction (East's Nicholas Litlyngton, fig. 2.28). The figures dedicating the church and giving blessing on folios 144r and 164r respectively, could be interchangeably either bishops or mitred abbots, whereas the figure involved in the annual procession of the Feast of Corpus Christi is unlikely to

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[107] Nigel Morgan, 'Patrons and Devotional Images in English Art of the International Gothic c.1350-1450 ', in *Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage,* ed. by Bernard J. Muir (Exeter, 2002), pp. 93-122 (p.93).

[108] Lethaby, pp. 146-47.

[109] Harvey, *ODNB*.

[110] East, p. 125.

[111] East, p. 29.

be a bishop taking the role of a mitred abbot in that abbot's own house. Therefore, the mitred figure shown processing behind tonsured monks in copes at this feast has more to recommend itself as a representation of Litlyngton as abbot of the brethren of Westminster.

All the mitred figures mentioned could be representations of the abbot of Westminster and it is right that this should be recognised. Sandler cautiously conceded that the figure on fol. 164r could be an abbot as well as a bishop.[112] However, that this should lead to the assumption that any, or all, of the portrayals are of Nicholas Litlyngton specifically, as opposed to abbots iconically, is not justified. Whilst East is to be commended in raising the previously ignored matter of whether Litlyngton is represented figuratively rather than simply through his heraldry, his claim that the figure on fol. 164r is Abbot Litlyngton pronouncing a blessing is overstretched. Furthermore, East asserts that 'even with very basic strokes Artist A has given him a kindly and thoughtful face.'[113] A rudimentary survey of the Temporale Artist's work reveals that he has a limited number of face styles, and consequently many of his figures resemble each other very closely and have limited facial expression. The artist relies on hair colour and style and the presence or absence of beards to show difference in appearance, even across the sexes. Whilst the Temporale Artist is undoubtedly skilful in his use of iconography and composition for effective message conveyance, never can it be claimed that his strength is portraiture. Of course, 'representation' does not equate to 'likeness', but were the initial on fol. 164r to be a representation of Litlyngton then it would be usual to include personal devices to proclaim his identity or even a scroll with his name, as is seen for the patron, Brunyng, in the Sherborne Missal.[114] Furthermore, just a few pages further on in the missal at fol. 199v, is the *benediccio de sancto Nicholao episcopo*, which could possibly be a more fitting place for his namesake's representation.

However, although it seems unlikely that the mitred figure on fol. 164r is Nicholas Litlyngton, I would like to consider another mitred figure as a candidate for his representation, even though initially it would seem implausible as it is usually so strongly connected to a specific bishop.

2.5.4: The King's Coronation Miniature

The column miniature that heads fol. 206r at the beginning of the ceremony of the coronation of a king presents a monarch seated on a throne with mitred figures standing one on each side of

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[112] *GM,* II, p.172. Sandler puts this option of abbot in brackets with a question mark.
[113] East, p. 29. Artist A is East's term for the Temporale Artist.
[114] E.g. Sherborne Missal, p. 492.

him. Also present are two attendant monks and a layman, who holds a sword: presumably the ceremonial 'Curtana' (fig. 2.31).[115] Two such mitred figures in the illustration of an English coronation are generally understood to represent the archbishops of Canterbury and York. The tradition originates from the accounts of the coronation of Edward the Confessor, who was crowned jointly by the archbishops of Canterbury and York.[116] The scene occurred on the walls of the painted chamber at the Westminster palace[117] and in Matthew Paris' illumination in the *Flores Historiarum*.[118] Although the practice of being crowned by both archbishops was not repeated, the iconography of the shared crowning persisted, became the accepted norm, and is to be found in most English examples of coronation scenes in documents and books throughout the middle ages. The tradition is even retrospectively applied to representations of the coronation of David.[119] Many such miniatures show both archbishops, with the archbishop of Canterbury traditionally on the left, flanking the monarch, holding their respective sides of the crown in the act of placing it simultaneously onto the king or queen's head. Examples include: BL, MS Cotton Vitellius A XIII, 1280-1300, fol. 6r; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 20, c.1330-39, fol. 68r; Pamplona, Archivo de Navarra MS 197, c.1390, fol. 3 and fol. 19; and BL, MS Cotton Nero D VI, c.1386-99fol. 70r. Also see Table 4.1.

Other similar scenes, whilst not showing the flanking bishops in the act of crowning, uniformly show the pair engaged in exactly the same actions and usually vested identically. The best known example of this second type is found in the *Liber regalis.* A double coronation of both king and queen depicts a conflated, symbolic continuous narrative in which the monarchs are already crowned while the archbishops of York and Canterbury, simultaneously behind both thrones, are engaged in hand gesture conversation with each other (fig. 2.32). The king's coronation miniature in the *Liber regalis* returns to simultaneous crowning by both archbishops (fig. 2.33). Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 20 has the two bishops engaged not only in simultaneous crowning, but also a synchronised reaching for the chrismatories proffered in perfect symmetry to both men.

The Litlyngton Missal's coronation scene differs in one major respect from its predecessors and contemporaries. The two mitred figures are not employed in symmetrical activities and only that

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[115] See chapter four for exploration of the coronation order and iconography of this miniature.

[116] Joanna Fronska 'Cat.122: *Liber regalis',* in Scot McKendrick, John Lowden, Kathleen Doyle eds., *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London, 2011), p. 354.

[117] For discussion of the chamber and reproduction of Charles Stodhard's 1819 watercolours, see Paul Binski, *The Painted Chamber at Westminster*, Society of Antiquaries, Occasional Paper 9 (London, 1986), 24–31.

[118] Manchester, Feoffes of Chetham's Hospital and Library MS 6712, c.1265-1320, fol. 298r.

[119] E.g. Pierpoint Morgan Library, MS Glazier 25, c.1230, reproduced in *Age of Chivalry,* p. 200.

on the left is shown in the act of crowning; the other is supporting the king by holding the royal forearm and shoulder. In itself this is not evidence enough to presume the supporting figure to be the abbot of Westminster displacing the traditional Archbishop of York. However, the image should be viewed in conjunction with the rubrics in the coronation order and compared with like scenes in other sources.

Litlyngton was the abbot presiding at the coronation of Richard II in 1377 and is long accepted as having been influential in the alterations made to the English coronation order that was used at that coronation (see 4.1.2). The inclusion of the coronation order in the missal at all is remarkable in itself and a definite statement of the significance of Westminster Abbey's role in this most important of royal ceremonies. The declaration of the abbey's unique role in the coronation is emphasised in the revised rubrics.

The instructions in the rubricated text are specific and highlight the matter of the abbot's proximity to the king on this holy day, a fact mentioned more than once. The magnitude of the prestige and status conveyed by this should not be passed over lightly: 'the Abbot of Westminster... who must be always at hand at the king's side to instruct the king in matters touching the solemnity of coronation, so that everything may be done aright'.[120] The mitred figure in the Litlyngton miniature is shown with a supporting hand to the king's shoulder. More explicitly, as per the rubrics, beyond the Archbishop of Canterbury, the only person involved in physically touching the king at the holiest moment of royal unction is the abbot of Westminster, who is charged with assisting the king in his re-vesting: 'When therefore the king has been thus anointed, the loops of the openings are to be fastened on account of the anointing by the Abbot of Westminster'.[121] The loops refer to the shirt fastenings on the king's arms and shoulders, both of which are specifically mentioned as points of unction: 'scapule ambeque compagines brachiorum ipsius ungantur'.[122] It appears intentional that the king's arm and shoulder are the exact points of contact for the mitred figure in the Litlyngton miniature, the very points that the abbot would have touched in his re-vesting of the king. The second mitred figure's depiction in a position of both support and in contact with the clothing of the king at forearm and shoulder loudly echoes the rubrics and their defining role of the abbot of Westminster at the coronation.

The hypothesis that the figure is the abbot is further supported by the manner in which the rubrics pointedly omit any individual mention of the archbishop of York. In answer to historical wrangles and noted discontent on the archbishop of York's behalf, the rubrics specifically state

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[120] *ECR,* p. 116. All translations regarding the rubrics are taken from *ECR.*
[121] *ECR,* p. 119.
[122] *MEW*, 695.

at the beginning that the rite of crowning and anointing the king belongs solely to the archbishop of Canterbury, or his appointee, and none other.[123] In fact, despite the bishops of Durham and Bath being mentioned, the rubrics do not deign to single out the archbishop of York individually at any point throughout the lengthy instructions for the coronation, whereas the abbot of Westminster is frequently noted throughout (see 4.2.1). It therefore seems fitting that the image of the coronation should reflect the new order as revised by Litlyngton, patron of the missal. This seems especially true as a later manuscript miniature (BL, MS Cotton Nero D VI, fol.70r, dated 1386-99: fig. 2.34) of Richard II's coronation by the same artist (Temporale Artist) shows a return to the simultaneous crowning witnessed in earlier images. Therefore, the portrayal in the Litlyngton Missal is not this artist's stock depiction of an English coronation.

Further support that the mitred figure is the abbot comes from the Litlyngton miniature portraying the coronation of a queen fifteen folios further on in the missal. Folio 221v (fig. 2.35) shows a queen being crowned jointly by two mitred men, who simultaneously place the crown on her head. The rubrics connected to this ceremony reveal that the abbot of Westminster plays no part in this feminine counterpart to the male coronation service. Hence in the image there is a return to the more traditional iconography of the two archbishops in identical robes, synchronised and symmetrical in every way. The figures in the coronation of the king have mitres of two different designs. The Archbishop of Canterbury's headgear conforms to the design shown in the miniature of the coronation of the queen. It is interesting that from the four figures present at the two coronation scenes, the only one to have a different mitre is he whose traditionally assumed identity is here being challenged.

Furthermore, in the king's coronation miniature the archbishop of Canterbury is accompanied by a crucifer to denote that he is performing a sacred act, whereas the abbot figure is accompanied by a tonsured monk who holds his superior's crosier. In the coronation of the queen miniature, both of the mitred men are accompanied by crucifers to show that it is a shared act of crowning by two archbishops. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the distinction between cross and crosier in the king's coronation miniature is made for a specific reason. It must be recognised that the motif of crucifer/crosier is not a fixed tradition,[124] however, here inconsistency within the same book is a notable element.

Further still, in the Litlyngton Missal, and unlike in other coronation scenes, the two mitred men are not identically dressed, with different coloured and patterned vestments, and the right hand figure is conspicuously not holding the crown. Whilst not holding the crown could plausibly be

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[123] *ECR,* p. 112.
[124] Chapter four, Table 4.1.

read as a reminder that the archbishop of York had no place to crown the king, the other elements of the rubrics, the double crowning shown by the same artist elsewhere, different attire in the Litlyngton miniature, and double crowning and use of two crosses in the queen's miniature all point to it being further proof that the figure is the abbot.

Finally, heraldry of the abbot of Westminster appears twice in the border of the king's coronation page.[125] The heraldry of the abbey is also present, but through the abbot's arms the role of the abbot as an individual at the ceremony is emphasised beyond his capacity of head of a house, which has the honour of being a coronation site.

As to whether the image is therefore an intended representation of Nicholas Litlyngton is another matter. There are facts which might lead to an affirmative answer: Litlyngton had been the abbot to officiate at the most recent coronation and had been heavily involved in the revision on the Fourth Recension coronation order. However, there are no patronal marks on this page to draw particular attention to Litlyngton's identity, no scrolls naming the two mitred figures, and the portrayal of the facial features of both men is the homogeneous style that the Temporale Artist uses for beardless men. Therefore, although Litlyngton's presence in this image is heavily implied it is not overtly stated.

Indeed the conclusion of 'heavily implied but never overtly stated' could be applied to all of the figurative representations of the mitred abbots that appear in the missal. Had Nicholas Litlyngton desired an unambiguous rendering of himself he could have commissioned a clearer and customary manner of figurative patron portrayal. One classic method would be representations of him, vested in his abbatial pontificalia,[126] paying homage at the scene of the Crucifixion as a kneeling figure in the margin. Abbot William Ashenden is portrayed thus in the Abingdon Missal[127] (Bodleian, MS Digby 227, 1462, fol. 113v) to name but one of many examples. Similarly, ecclesiastical patrons are sometimes incorporated in an attitude of reverence in a decorated border on an important abbey feast day, as happens regularly in the Sherborne Missal.[128] The use of heraldry and scrolls removes issues of uncertainty of identity and is adopted in both the Abingdon and Sherborne Missals in conjunction with the figurative portrayals of their patrons; such measures would overcome the limitations of artists unable to produce physical likenesses of characters, were that ever to be the true intention.

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[125] *Or* indented *azure* with mitre and crosier *gules* in the first quarter.

[126] Mitre, tunicle, dalmatic, ring, sandals, gloves, and pastoral staff/crosier. Even if all of these elements were not shown, the mitre and crosier were representative of the whole ensemble: e.g. the Abingdon Missal, fol. 113v.

[127] LGM, II, cat. 101.

[128] E.g. pp. 216, 260, 276, and 279 (Easter Sunday, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and Corpus Christi). Note the Sherborne Missal is paginated, not foliated.

My belief is that in the same way that the figure of the king in the coronation miniature is representative of a player in the ritual of the coronation ceremony, rather than of Richard II in particular, so too the images of the mitred abbots throughout the missal, including in the coronation miniature, are representative of a given abbot of Westminster as opposed to Nicholas Litlyngton himself. That connection is made to both Richard, as king at that time, and Litlyngton, as abbot and patron of the book, is natural and possibly even consciously sought.

2.6: Conclusion

The desire for commemoration and commendation are the most obvious considerations when assessing incentives behind a patron's wish to be explicitly identified. Certainly, the desire to be remembered both in prayer and for posterity seem beyond doubt in Litlyngton's patronage of his missal. His chosen vehicles for achieving these aims were his aristocratic heraldry and monogram in preference to identifiable representations of himself as an abbot; in truth, his presence is no less palpable from that choice. However, to conclude that Litlyngton's motives in using his devices were simply to be remembered, praised, and prayed for would be to miss the intelligence that rests behind his guiding hand. A reappraisal of the perceived frequency of Litlyngton's devices and analysis of where they are placed leads to the conclusion that there is an exact intention behind their inclusion in carefully chosen locations.

That there is a discernible rationale underpinning the location of Litlyngton's devices suggests, in turn, that there is the highest probability of the patron as an active agent in decisions regarding the missal's illumination. Furthermore, as the feasts chosen to bear his marks were not the obvious ones it is likely that someone other than the artists was involved in judging where they should be placed. Also, there is no clear reason why an artist should paint his patron's arms at the Octave of Pentecost without instruction, and the likelihood must be that the original instruction came from the patron. Further indications of Litlyngton's intervention are the alterations made to the illumination of his anniversary date, and the occasions when iconographic decisions are based on knowledge of Westminster Abbey and its feast days.

The location of devices in the Litlyngton Missal reflects a complex web of varied motivations which accords with other instances of Litlyngton's benefaction. The strongest strand is the intent to promote the house at Westminster and show his pride in it. His frequent alliance with matters of importance to the house, together with the notable lack of personal figurative representation, gives the message that the monastery is of primary importance. He shines only in the reflected radiance of the house's greater glory, even as serving abbot on coronation day.

Certain elements of his special devotion to Mary could also be seen as a continuation of the traditions and prides of Westminster. Litlyngton's championing of the Feast of the Immaculate

Conception implicitly praises Osbert of Clare's pivotal part in the development of the feast, as well as venerating the *Genetrix* herself. The intimate connection between Peter and Mary portrayed in the images at the feasts of Jesus' Ascension and Pentecost is so marked a departure from the norm, even for a book related to the missal (Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.3, c.1380-1400), as to stimulate the idea that it is intentional and was driven by the patron. Litlyngton's manifest presentation of himself at both Pentecost and its octave reaffirms this thought. The binding together of Mary and Peter ties the greater power of Mary to the patron saint, and, in so doing, raises the sanctity and prestige of the abbey. Not to be forgotten is that affiliation to Peter, and even possibly Stephen, could also be read as references to Litlyngton's life events via the Hawley/Shakell and St Stephen's chapel affairs. However, Litlyngton's veneration of Stephen's feast remains somewhat of a mystery.

 Although Litlyngton's marks at the Crucifixion are to be expected as a natural recognition of the apical moment of Christ's ultimate sacrifice on the cross, the patron often eschews the normal hierarchy of major feast days as locations for his devices. In extension of this, Litlyngton somewhat unexpectedly does not have his ciphers on all the feasts of his preferred foci of attention, St Peter and the Virgin. This selectivity gives greater gravitas to those occasions when they do appear. Rather than placing his marks on each of St Peter's feast days, he chooses the most revered day of martyrdom and the day which marks Peter out as first among apostles: *unius apostoli.* The same concept of discernment applies to his veneration of Mary. Litlyngton's most preferred day is also clearly indicated by the highest number of his devices on the day of Mary's Assumption, the metaphorical and literal pinnacle of her glories when she is lifted by angels to be crowned Queen of Heaven. Had his devices been more regularly and numerously applied, the effect would have been less striking on this day. As it is, the illumination for this feast stands out as an exuberant display of Litlyngton's devotion to the Virgin Mother.

In relation to the pattern of use for the devices in the missal, Abbot Litlyngton's epitaph exhorts an *alma parens* to know that he will continue to give, in death, to that which he loved in life. A*lma parens* translates as 'nourishing parent' in the Latin feminine.[129] Thus, conceivably, it could refer to either Mother Mary or the house at Westminster Abbey (abbatia/ecclesia: also feminine). Of course, as seems usual with Litlyngton's messages, there is probably a multiple meaning. It appears likely that the reference on his gravestone is associated with the two themes that Nicholas Litlyngton affiliated himself to most strongly in his missal: the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Benedictine house at Westminster.

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[129] Section 1.3.2.

Chapter Three
The Missal Makers: The Artists and Scribe

John Lowden once perceptively observed that, 'it is important to distinguish the making of a book from its use', and it is the main aim of this chapter to explore the missal's production and makers.[1] Accordingly, the first part of this chapter will concentrate on matters relating to the production of the missal and, where possible, on the identities of the men completing these tasks. To this end documentation related to the Litlyngton Missal, as well as the missal itself, will be closely examined with specific relation to manufacture. In order to better understand how the various components came together, discussion of the themes will be approached in the chronological sequence of the missal's production. The second part of the chapter will address the unresolved question of how many artists were involved in the missal's decoration and individually for which of the missal's illuminations they were responsible. Beyond establishing attribution, awareness of the number and progression of artists further clarifies our understanding of the missal's production. The final section of this chapter closely examines the illuminators' work, mainly in relation to artistic style, but also to present the qualities of each artist in more detail than has before been undertaken, which additionally affords a view of them as individual artistic personalities.

3.1: Missal Production

3.1.1: The Abbey Accounts

As mentioned in the introduction, one of the reasons for which the Litlyngton Missal is best-known is the survival of financial accounts relating to its creation. The accounts form a four-line entry and are the third from last item in the Abbot's Treasurer's Roll for 1383-4, running from Michaelmas to Michaelmas (WAM 24265*: hereafter Litlyngton Missal Accounts).[2] They are valuable in understanding not only the cost of the book's manufacture, the reason for their

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[1] *Royal Manuscripts,* p. 20.

[2] The accounts are often quoted due to the rarity of such sources regarding a deluxe book's production costs: see for example H.E. Bell, 'The Price of Books in Medieval England', *The Library* (1936), pp. 312-332, esp, p. 318; *GM,* II, p. 173; Backhouse, *Age of Chivalry,* cat. 715, p. 519; Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London, 1992), p. 14; Luxford, *Art and Architecture,* p. 70; Bovey, 'Wollaton', p. 39.

existence, but they also provide explicit and implicit information regarding the missal's production.

WAM 24265*: Abbot's Treasurer's Roll 1383 to 1384 (Litlyngton Missal Accounts)

Expense novi Missalis

In xiij duodenis percamenti vitulini empties pro uno novo missali faciendo

Iiij. li. vj. s. viij.s. [sic][3]

Et in illuminacionae grossarum litterarum xxij.li.iii.d.

Et pro ligacione dicti missalis. xxj.s.

Et .j. homini scribenti notas in dicto missali iij.s. iiij.d.

Et pro cooperatura dicti missalis. viij.s. iiij.d.

Et pro brodura eiusdem vj.s.x.d.

Et pro registro euisdem missalis xx.d.

Et pro pictura dicti missalis x.s.

In vj. nodulis emptis pro eodem xij.s.

In j. baga empta pro eodem iiij s.vj.d.

Et in feodo Thome Preston per duos annos scribentis dictum missale iiij.li.

In panno empto pro liberatura dicti Thome per dictum tempus xx.s.

Summa xxxiiij. Li. xiiij.s.vij. d.

Expenses for the New Missal

For 13 dozen vellum parchments bought for the making of one new missal £ 4 6 s 8 d

And for illumination of the large letters £22 3 d

And for the binding of the said missal 21s

And for 1 man for writing the notes of the said missal 3s 4 d

And for covering the said missal 8s 4d

And for embroidering the same 6s 10d

And for registration of the same missal 20 d

And for the painting of the said missal 10 s

For 6 bosses bought for the same 12s

For 1 bag bought for the same 4s 6d

And in payment to Thomas Preston for two years' writing of the said missal £4

In clothing bought for the livery of the said Thomas for the said time 20s

Total £34 14s 7d

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[3] This should read 'd'

The accounts show that thirteen dozen (156) skins were bought for the Litlyngton Missal. Normal procedure was to fold each skin to make one bifolio (two leaves or four pages), therefore 312 folios would have been created from the 156 skins, and yet, in total, the Litlyngton Missal has 341 folios. The shortfall of twenty-nine leaves (fifteen skins) was noted by East who argued that the Abbey scriptorium was likely to have already had vellum enough in stock for 156 skins to be sufficient for the Litlyngton Missal.[4] It is unclear whether East meant that the parchment in stock was taken into account as a part of the original calculation of parchment necessary for the Litlyngton Missal's production, or whether the shortfall, once noticed, was accommodated by using existing stocks. Regarding parchment, East convincingly contested Ker's assertion,[5] and repeated by Alexander,[6] that three dozen skins, recorded in an entry in the Infirmarer's Roll 1386-7 (WAM 19370, discussed in section 3.1.4), were intended for the Litlyngton Missal. East indicated the implausibility of the abbot's parchment costs appearing in the infirmarer's accounts, which is the implication of assuming that the parchment mentioned in WAM 19370 (infirmarer's accounts) was to be used for the Litlyngton Missal. He also noted that the infirmarer's order for three dozen skins (thirty-six skins: i.e. seventy-two folios) would be over double the amount needed for the Litlyngton Missal's shortfall of fifteen skins.[7] Ker's idea seems to have arisen from a mistaken conflation of different obedientiary accounts for two separate missals made chronologically close to each other: the Litlyngton Missal 1383-4 and a Westminster Abbey 'Infirmarer's Missal 1386-7'. That the two sets of accounts refer to two separate missals also explains Alexander's concern that the binding cost for the Litlyngton Missal was itemised twice: it was actually one mention in each set of accounts.[8] The later 'Infirmarer's Missal' is now lost, but the accounts give an idea of a more modest missal than the Litlyngton Missal (see 3.1.4).

Despite the fact that the Litlyngton Missal Accounts do not include the full amount of parchment needed to make the Litlyngton Missal, the cost of parchment was still the second greatest expense after illumination. Inspection of it shows it to be of high quality: clean, of even thickness, and with very few holes. Using the Litlyngton Missal Accounts, Christopher De Hamel

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[4] East, pp. 233-4.

[5] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries: I London* (Oxford, 1969), p. 410.

[6] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* p. 36.

[7] In his calculations regarding parchment for the Litlyngton Missal, Alexander did not allow for each piece of parchment being folded in half. He therefore argued that even with the parchment from both sets of accounts (thirteen dozen and three dozen) there were only 192 folios and that 'the account is still incomplete': Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* p. 158, n. 27.

[8] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, p.36.

calculated that each sheet would have cost 6 ½ d., comparatively costly to other known prices of 3d. per sheet in 1358-9.[9]

3.1.2: The Scribe

After the acquisition of parchment the next phase of production would have centred on the scribe as he ruled and marked out the vellum in preparation for writing. The abbot's treasurer is more expansive in his entry regarding the scribe than any other matter to do with the missal:

> And in payment to Thomas Preston for two years for writing the said missal 4 pounds.
> For clothing bought for livery for the said Thomas for the said time 20 shillings.

The higher level of information presumably stems from the different forms of payment to the scribe: cash and clothing. That we are given both his name and the duration of his employment seems to be both good fortune and perhaps an indicator of a closer bond to the abbey. The abbot's treasurer's roll of 1382-3, the previous year's roll to the Litlyngton Missal Accounts entry, records that a payment of 21 shillings and 8 pence was made to Fr. W. Warfeld 'pro mensa Thome Preston commorantis secum ad mensam'.[10] Walter de Warfeld, Preston's host, is recorded as being the infirmarer at the time of the missal's production, although he died in that post within the critical period of 1383-4.[11] This payment for board and 'remaining' or lodging with Warfeld covers the twenty-six weeks between St John the Baptist's feast to Advent. The details regarding Preston's lodge and board arrangements dovetail with the Litlyngton Missal Accounts' information that the task of writing took two years and was finished in 1383-4, as witnessed by the fact that the final production acts of binding and covering the book are also recorded. Given that Preston lodged with the Abbey during his employment it seems likely that he had been an itinerant scribe but as noted by Robinson and James and others, later documents show that a Thomas Preston was professed as a novice to Westminster Abbey in 1384-5 and sang his first mass in 1386-7; he appears on the abbey's death roll in 1419-20.[12] Christianson's *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300-1500* notes the name Thomas Preston was not uncommon in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.[13] However, the profession of a Thomas Preston contiguous to the Litlyngton Missal's completion

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[9] De Hamel, *Scribes,* p. 13.

[10] WAM 24264*; Robinson and James, *Westminster Manuscripts,* p. 8. 'for the board of Thomas Preston lodging and at table with him'.

[11] Pearce, p. 96.

[12] Robinson and James, *Westminster Manuscripts,* pp. 7-8; Pearce, p. 120; Christianson, *Directory,* p. 144; East, p. 230.

[13] Christianson, *Directory,* p.144.

seems almost too co-incidental to not be the same person. Furthermore, Legg judges the Litlyngton Missal and the 1388 Westminster Vestry Inventory to have been written by the same hand.[14] Of course, it is also possible that the abbey had simply reemployed the same scribe, but as a Thomas Preston was professed in 1384-5 it seems likely that the abbey had gained him as an in-house scribe. Certainly East believed this and reasoned that the Litlyngton scribe probably wrote the 1386-7 Infirmarer's Missal as a Westminster monk.[15] As payment for a scribe is not recorded in the Infirmarer's Roll 1386-7, it is likely that a brother undertook the task and the newly professed Thomas Preston is the probable candidate.

3.1.3: Preston's Work

The uniformity of scribal hand in the Litlyngton Missal bears out the Litlyngton Missal Accounts record of payment to just one scribe; the only element not undertaken by Preston was the musical notation, which is recorded as undertaken and paid for separately. There are also later marginal notes at various points in the missal (discussed 4.1.1) and the signed witness of public instrument concerning John Islip as Abbot of Westminster in 1500 on the leaf preceding the calendar.[16] Erasures and alterations have since been made to suit the required change in worship.[17]

The text is divided into two columns and written in red, for instructional rubrics, and black. There are two sizes of writing: 7mm and 5mm in Gothic Textura. The area prepared for writing is 368mm x 267mm with thirty-two ruled text lines per page. The larger script, as noted by Legg, is used for collects, epistles, and gospels with the offices, grails, sequences, and offertories being in the smaller size.[18] Reflecting the importance of the Eucharist, the writing in the Canon of the Mass is 8.5mm high and there are only twenty-seven lines ruled on fols. 157r-161v to accommodate this larger script.

Both the calendar and the Canon of the Mass include bi-coloured words, where the letters have two colours in stripes, chevron, or check patterns. In the mass they are blue and red, whilst in the calendar they are blue and gold; this accentuates their importance. In the opening of the

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[14] Wickham Legg, *Inventory,* p. 4.

[15] East, p. 234.

[16] For document transcription see *MEW,* pp. a2 and iv.

[17] E.g. the removal of Becket's name from the calendar and the erasure of his mass from fol. 24r. At the Canon of the Mass references to the pope have been erased and a later hand has added 'Rege nostro H. Regina N. antistite nostro N.'

[18] *MEW,* p. vii. Wickham Legg observed that there were exceptions to these rules as might be expected in a two-year project.

mass, 'pater' and 'ihesum' are written in a chequered pattern of blue and red (fig. 3.1).[19] In the calendar the bi-coloured blue and gold letters denote the abbey's most special feast days: Edward the Confessor, 6 January; the feast day of SS Peter and Paul, 29 June; the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 8 September; and the Nativity of Christ, 25 December. Other days are written in gold, blue, red, or black in an approximate, but not entirely consistent, hierarchy of importance of feast days.[20]

As the script is consistent with the rest of the manuscript it appears that Preston was responsible for the bi-coloured writing and that he therefore knew how to apply gold over gesso; the gold words in the calendar are raised and therefore gold leaf laid on gesso. There are instances where the gold has come away and red bole can be seen underneath.[21] The gilded and bi-coloured words resemble Preston's hand all but exactly, however, the small gold initials, of which there are hundreds in the book, are distinct from the scribe's Gothic Textura text by their lack of angularity and therefore more likely to be the work of the artists (see below).

Also appearing by the hundred over the pages of the Litlyngton Missal are faces sketched by the scribe varying in size, gender, and expression (fig. 3.2). East attempted to find meaning behind their inclusion but, apart from incidental occasions, he deemed that there was no pattern and that Preston simply enjoyed including them.[22]

 Preston's contribution is core to the missal's production and provides continuity of form throughout. His pace also decided the speed of the missal's production, not only in provision of completed text, but also as only once the text, and layout, on any given page was completed could the illumination begin.

3.1.4: The Illuminators

The scale of the Litlyngton Missal's creation suggests that the book was divided into units so that the illuminators could commence work on finished sections while Preston continued with the task of writing. In comparison to the information about the scribe, the Litlyngton Missal Accounts are unforthcoming regarding information about how many artists were involved, who they were, and how long it took them.

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[19] These are 'unfinished' in the sense that the letters ihes of 'ihesum' have been outlined in black ink, whereas 'um' and 'pater' are without an outline.

[20] As noted in 2.2.1, there are inconsistencies in the hierarchy of colours used in relation to the status of the feasts as denoted by the number of copes and lections. The calendar's non-definite hierarchical structure is discussed *MEW,* p.ix and East, pp. 74-78.

[21] De Hamel, *Scribes*, p. 60.

[22] For faces see East, pp. 112-114.

Christianson hypothesised that Thomas Rolf might have been a key artist of the Litlyngton Missal since this individual was named as the illuminator of the aforementioned Infirmarer's Missal in the accompanying accounts:[23]

WAM 19370: Infirmarer's Roll 1386-7 (Infirmarer's Missal Accounts)

> Et in tribus .xii.nis de velym empties pro novo Missali .xxi.s. precio.xii. vii.s. Et pro rasura .xiiii. quaternorum dicti Missalis .ii.s. iiii.d. Et pro vermilion̄ et incausto .xviii.d. Et in azuro pro Kalendario .vi.d. Et Solute Thome Rolf pro illuminacione & ligamine Missalis predicti .lxx.s. xi.d.

> And for three dozen vellum bought for a new missal, 21s. Price per 12, 7s[24]. And for shaving of the 14 quaternions for the said missal 2s 4d. And for vermillion and ink 18d. And for blue for the kalendar 6d. And in payment to Thomas Rolf for the illumination and binding of the said missal 70s 11d.

While Christianson believed Rolf's involvement in the Litlyngton Missal to have been 'possible', East was confident that 'One of the two [main] artists was almost certainly Thomas Rolf'.[25] It is plausible, and tempting, to take the name of an illuminator known to have worked at Westminster Abbey and apply it to unknown illuminators who also worked there on a similar project just three years apart from each other. However, it does not necessarily follow that the same illuminator would have been used for the two projects of very different scale. Indeed, from the Infirmarer's Roll it is not even possible to ascertain whether there was figural illumination in the later missal from the term 'pro illuminacione'. However, certainly the 70s and 11d paid to Thomas Rolf in 1386-7 shows that illumination was an important part of the Infirmarer's Missal and the proposal that he was a Litlyngton Missal illuminator remains an interesting possibility.

Although the identity of the Litlyngton Missal artists remains unknown, it is possible to garner other information about them from the Litlyngton Missal Accounts. There are two entries related to decoration: 'Et in illuminacione grossarum litterarum xxij. li. iii.d.' and 'Et pro pictura dicti missalis x.s.'. The second has been understood to refer to the individual payment of the

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[23] Paul C. Christianson, *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300-1500* (New York, 1990), p. 153.

[24] 7d. per sheet.

[25] East, p. 4.

Crucifixion page from as far back as 1928.[26] Regarding the first, although 'Et in illuminacionae grossarum litterarum' only mentions the illumination of the large letters, the entry must, perforce, mean all the other illumination: columnar miniatures, floral initials, small gold and painted initials, and the various different forms of borders ranging in their hierarchy from filled frames populated with figures to single coloured bars.

Though not explicitly stated, the inclusion for payment of 'grossarum litterarum' does implicitly inform us that the decoration was not undertaken by members of the monastic community. Had the artists belonged to the house then it is doubtful that payment of decoration would have been included in the manner it has. Instead, itemised costs of materials for internal use would have been presented individually such as was done with the parchment in the Litlyngton Missal accounts and for ink, scribe's paint, and parchment in the 1386-7 accounts for the Infirmarer's Missal. In truth, by the late fourteenth century it would have been unusual for such a large illumination project to have been undertaken in house, as monastic production had been superseded by professional artisans.[27]

As the artists were from outside of the abbey are we to assume that they were working together as a part of one workshop? Is it possible that one master of a workshop was paid for his services and then paid his workers a wage or share? Or could there be a stationer sub-contracting the work to various independent craftsmen? Scholars including Alexander, Christianson, De Hamel, and Scott have explored the topic of illuminators' workshops, their locations and collaborative habits.[28] Their discussions deal with such problems as false inferences regarding working collectives and assumptions based on lack of evidence to the contrary. Christianson stated that direct evidence of association between the different threads of the book profession is not easily found, but he outlined the elements that make it more likely than large centralised workshops with divisions dealing with different stages of a book's manufacture.[29] Christianson, Scott, and De Hamel also agree that on many occasions the central figure of the stationer was responsible for contracting the various independent craftsmen necessary for the completion of a manuscript.[30]

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[26] Eric Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (Paris: Brussels, 1928), p. 28.

[27] See, for example, the discussion in Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* pp.30-32.

[28] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators ;* Christianson, *Directory,* p. 29; De Hamel, *Scribes,* passim; Kathleen L. Scott, 'A Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Illuminating Shop and Its Customers', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), 170-196, esp. p. 170.

[29] Christianson, *Directory,* pp. 29-31.

[30] Christianson, *Directory,* pp. 29-31; Scott, 'English Illuminating Shop', p. 170: De Hamel, *Scribes*, p.5.

With reference to the Litlyngton Missal, due to the various itemised elements recorded on the abbot's treasurer's account roll, in itself a very rare occurrence, it seems highly plausible that a central stationer would have been responsible for the management of the different production strands. Perhaps this could be Thomas Rolf's role: Christianson noted that Thomas Rolf and Richard Marleburgh were named as 'stacyoners' in 1382.[31] Furthermore, in the Infirmarer's Missal accounts he was recorded as paid for illumination and binding, which shows responsibility for other aspects of book production in line with a stationer's responsibilities. Backhouse posited that Preston might be responsible for sub-contracting other artisans.[32] A stationer, whether Rolf, Preston, or neither, would explain the grouping together of art costs relating to different artists and types (miniatures, borders, letters) into one undifferentiated sum covered by the umbrella term 'grossarum litterarum'. Additionally, as the work of these figurative artists is never seen together again, it should be strongly considered that they were not all from one fixed workshop.

Unlike in the case of Thomas Preston, the Litlyngton Missal Accounts make no record of money for livery, board, or lodging for the artists. Thus it is safe to reason that the artists were not housed in the abbey, and were, therefore, professionals from local workshops. However, this does not necessarily tell us where the decoration was accomplished: within the abbey walls or in the artists' workshops.

Christianson explained that early book commerce began in the fourteenth century in London[33] and that by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as many as fifty-six book craftsmen rented shops in Paternoster Row.[34] With a thriving book trade in London, illumination would have occurred in local workshops, although in the case of the Litlyngton Missal there are reasons to think this may not have been the case. Sandler believed the decoration of the St Alban's Benefactors Book[35] and the Litlyngton Missal had been undertaken 'in the abbeys by which they were commissioned' and she based this on 'the production history of both', that is to say the account rolls.[36] However, the Litlyngton Missal Accounts do not prove that the missal was illuminated in the abbey: only the scribe is shown as receiving food from the abbey and there is no specific mention of the artists' work taking place in the abbey. Yet it is possible that the artists worked daily in the abbey, but that their food was not supplied and was therefore absent from the accounts. The materials the artists needed were easily portable, or could have been

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[31] Christianson, *Directory,* p.153.

[32] Backhouse, *Sherborne Missal,* p. 12.

[33] Paul C. Christianson, *Memorials of the Book Trade in Medieval London: The Archives of Old London Bridge* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 1.

[34] Christianson, *Directory,* p. 31.

[35] *GM,* II, cat. 158, p. 180.

[36] *GM,* I, p. 50.

stored in the abbey. Such a precious manuscript of considerable size could have been most easily dealt with within the abbey, rather than dividing it up, possibly, between various workshops. If the missal was decorated within the abbey walls it might clarify why the Crucifixion scene was on an individual folio and singled out for separate payment; the specialist work could have been executed independently by the Crucifixion master at his own place of work.

3.2: Attribution of work

Moving away from the Litlyngton Missal Accounts and returning to the idea of sequence of production, it is possible, to a certain degree, to deduce stages of the missal's illumination by looking at the division of labour between the various artists. However, in order to do this logically it is first necessary to address the unresolved question of how many artists were involved in the missal's decoration and for which illuminations they were responsible.

The Litlyngton Missal has sixty-one historiated initials, three column miniatures, and the full page miniature of the Crucifixion, making a total of 65 instances of illumination without including the figurative or decorative borders.[37] Figurative work in the borders occurs only as an accompaniment to either a miniature or inhabited/historiated initial on the same page, and is always undertaken by the same artist responsible for the initial.[38] As noted in the introduction to this thesis, the Litlyngton Missal's historiography is brief. While discussions regarding the artists is included in various notable works,[39] only three studies include a correlation of illustrations to individual artists: Lucy Sandler in *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*[40] (1986); Lynda Dennison in 'The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop, *Ca* 1340-1400'(1988);[41] and Douglas East in 'The Great Westminster Missal of Abbot Nicholas Litlynton, 1383-1384: Its structure, form and purpose' (2007).

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[37] See Appendix C for list.

[38] The initials vary in height from 3 to 7 lines: 1 x3 lines, 19 x 4 lines, 10 x 5 lines, 14 x 6 lines, and 8 x 7 lines

[39] J. J. G. Alexander and C.M. Kauffman, *English Illuminated Manuscripts 700-1500* (Bruxelles, 1973), pp. 102-3; Amanda Simpson, *Connections between English and Bohemian Painting during the Second Half of the Fourteenth Century* (New York: London, 1984), pp. 138-139;Janet Backhouse, 'cat. 714: The Litlyngton Missal' in, J. J. G. Alexander and Paul Binski, *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England 1200-1400* (London, 1987), pp. 518-19; Marks and Morgan, p. 89.

[40] *GM,* II, pp. 172-5.

[41]Lynda Dennison, 'The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop, *Ca* 1340-1400' (unpublished thesis, Westfield College, University of London, 1988), pp.205-206, n. 9 and 10.

There is a clear consensus that two main artists were responsible for most of the figurative illumination in the missal and that the change in their hands is mainly coincidental with the major divisions in the book: the Temporale and Sanctorale. Differences in expressed views occur regarding total number of artists involved in the missal's illumination and attribution of certain sections of work; the two problem areas are the Crucifixion miniature page and the section containing the royal ceremonies, which comes between the Temporale and Sanctorale.

1. Calendar: fols. 3r-8v
2. Temporale: fols. 9r-144r
3. Ordinary of the Mass: fols. 145v-157*
4. Canon: fols. 157r-161v
5. Benedictions: fols. 161r -205r

> Temporale Artist, apart from Crucifixion page (fol. 157*v)

6. Coronation services and funeral of a king: fols. 206r-224v

> Attribution debated

7. Sanctorale: fols. 225r-288v
8. Commune Sanctorum: fols. 289v-311v
9. Votive Masses/ Commemorations: fols. 312r-325v
10. Office for the dead: fols. 326r-331v (332 blank both sides)
11. Other offices: fols. 333v-342v

> Sanctorale Artist, apart from fol. 286r

The division of work between the two main figurative artists, which is so clearly defined, apart from section 6, would suggest that as the scribe completed the first sections they were passed to the Temporale Artist to be illuminated.

The exception of the Crucifixion page in section 5 is easily explained as it is on a singleton with no text. As sections 7-11 are also illuminated by one hand (except fol. 286r: see section 2.5.2), the logical interpretation is that these later sections were passed to the Sanctorale Artist once they had been written. The change from Temporale Artist to Sanctorale Artist might be due to factors such as the Temporale Artist no longer being free due to other work, or that he was still involved in illuminating the first sections.

There is, of course, the additional element of non-figurative illumination to be considered. It is difficult to know whether the border artist is necessarily a separate person from any of the missal's figurative artists. As already stated, figurative work appears in the borders only on pages where there is an inhabited or historiated initial on the same page and the border figures are always by the artist who undertook the initial. However, who undertook the non-figurative elements of the inhabited borders and the many pages with borders but no figures?

The work of the borders will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter (3.3.9), but here it is important to prefigure that discussion a little in order to ascertain the likelihood of a separate identity for the border artist. The border designs throughout the missal show continuity in style, features, palette, and execution in all the sections of the missal with no noticeable changes in these elements in the different sections of the book. The regularity of the border illuminations, irrespective of varying figurative artists, would strongly suggest that the work was not undertaken separately by each figurative artist in the individual sections for which they were responsible. Therefore, we can assume an individual role of 'border artist' even if we cannot then discount him (or her) from being one of the figurative artists. Furthermore, as borders appear in sections of the book where, as I will argue, the figurative work is undertaken by neither the Temporale Artist nor Sanctorale Artist, then I am inclined to preclude both of these artists from also being the border artist.

Returning to the work of the figurative artists, if the attribution of work is generally so uncomplicated, it is pertinent to consider what the differing interpretations of the Crucifixion page and section 6 are, why they have arisen, and what a resolution of attribution might reveal regarding the missal's production.

3.2.1: The Crucifixion Page

The disputed matters concerning the high-profile page of the Crucifixion (fol. 157*v, fig. 3.5) are whether the Crucifixion miniature was completed by a different artist or the Sanctorale Artist and by whom the Crucifixion border images were illustrated. Ascertaining the number of artists involved in the Litlyngton Missal is in itself of interest and also of value with regards to understanding fourteenth-century manuscript illumination conventions. Beyond this, establishing attribution of work and extent of collaboration for this page affects the perception of the miniature as a stand-alone commission from a specialist artist with experience of the Italian *trecento* features.

Regarding the borders scenes, only Sandler believed them to be by the Temporale Artist.[42] However, a comparison between the Temporale Artist's Jesus at the Resurrection (fol. 95v) and the same scene from the border vignettes on fol. 157*v (figs 3.3 and 3.4) shows quite distinctly that they have been accomplished by two different hands: hair, face shape, tomb chest, and soldiers are all stylistically and iconographically dissimilar. As two examples of iconographic difference, the Temporale Artist's Jesus wears a torse and caries a Resurrection staff which are

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[42] GM, *II*, p. 174.

not included in the border Resurrection of the Crucifixion page.[43] Furthermore, the border vignette figures have the wavy hair and higher eyes of the Sanctorale Artist. Direct comparisons can be made between the Crucifixion page border scenes and the Sanctorale Artist's work in the Sanctorale. The figure supporting Christ in the Deposition vignette is an exact fore-runner of the Sanctorale Artist's later representation of Simeon in the Presentation in the Temple (also known as the Purification of the Virgin, fol. 230r, fig. 5.23). Furthermore, the left tormenter in the Flagellation vignette is exactly the same in face, hair, and clothing to the left tormentor in the St Andrew initial (fol. 285r).[44] The kissing cross in the page's bottom margin also portrays elements of the Sanctorale Artist's style. It is a pen and colour wash copy of the crucified Christ directly above it, with same body outline and attenuated arm muscles, gauzy loincloth, torse, and foot position.

Still regarding the Sanctorale Artist, Alexander and Kauffman,[45] Dennison,[46] and Simpson[47] asserted that the main Crucifixion miniature is also his work; whereas Sandler and Backhouse[48] maintained that the work is by a different hand. If the miniature is by the Sanctorale Artist then the appreciation of the Crucifixion as a specially and singly commissioned and separately paid for piece from a specialist artist must be re-thought.

There are indeed similarities between the Crucifixion miniature and the Sanctorale Artist's border vignettes, but there are also differences. For example, the torture marks on Christ's body in the Nailing to the Cross vignette are crude black dots, whereas on the main figure of Christ directly below they are subtler red lines. Anatomical details are also slightly different: the navels in the border scenes are higher than those in the main image and eyebrows are more defined and arched in the main figure. There are also consistent general differences in eyes, hair, and drapery. Furthermore, certain differences to regular Litlyngton Missal iconography occur only in this scene, notably the circles and scalloped borders on the halos and the half-length stocking and bare knee used for Stephaton. In addition to this last point, the square-based pattern on the background to the miniature is also unique to this page.

However, more significantly, the Crucifixion scene is conspicuously superior in sophistication and complexity of composition to any other work in the missal. Even posing the hypothesis that such compositional differences could be explained by the Sanctorale Artist copying a piece of work it

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[43] A torse is a twisted band or wreath.

[44] Dennison and East also believed the border images to be by the Sanctorale Artist and East also noted these two similarities.

[45] Alexander and Kauffman, pp. 102.

[46] Dennison, p. 205.

[47] Simpson, p. 138.

[48] *GM,* II, pp. 172-5; Backhouse, *Age of Chivalry,* pp. 518-19; East, p. 4.

would not make clear why the figure of Jesus in all the border scenes has shorter, lighter, more helmet-like hair than the darker, freer tresses of the central Jesus (fig. 5.29). Also, the loincloth in the outer scenes is arranged with a fold in the middle, whereas in the central scene it is tied to one side; continuity of clothing and hair colour on the same page would be expected if undertaken by one artist, particularly as all the border Christ figures are alike to each other. More tellingly, the gauzy material of the loincloth is effortlessly shown in flowing movement, as if caught in a breeze. Such a departure from the Sanctorale Artist's manner is a forceful argument against an 'artist copying' and tends more towards 'different artist'.

There is an extra nuance to the argument of Sanctorale Artist *versus* 'Crucifixion Master'. East suggested that the Crucifixion scene might be a collaborative work between the Sanctorale Artist and another artist.[49] He noted the angels have different eyes (iris-less) to the other figures in the painting and that their nature is more like that of the Sanctorale Artist (fig. 3.6). This point can be more securely evidenced by comparing the five Crucifixion angels with the angels known to be by the Sanctorale Artist for the Assumption of the Virgin (fol. 263r). The angels in both scenes share similarities in clothes, hair, wing configuration, eyes, palette, and the way they emerge from stylised blue sky folds. The similarities are most easily perceived when comparing the Crucifixion angel at Jesus' feet to any of those in the Assumption scene as they share the same three-quarter upper body pose (figs 3.7 and 3.8). In extension of East's point, by the same token of iris-less eyes and stylised sky motif, the sun and moon in the Crucifixion scene were also executed by the Sanctorale Artist. The implication is that the angels, sun, and moon, unless added later by the Sanctorale Artist (and there are no technical indications that this is the case)[50] were painted by original design and that the Crucifixion scene was a collaborative work between the Crucifixion Master and the Sanctorale Artist. Collaboration between two artists on this image is further supported by the way in which the border fretwork encroaches onto the main image itself (fig. 3.9). Had the border been painted independently of the Crucifixion Master by the Sanctorale Artist, such elisions between border and miniature would not have been possible.

3.2.2: The Royal Ceremonies

In section 6, there are three miniatures connected to the royal ceremonies and nine penwork initials which decorate the music of the king's coronation ceremony.[51] Sandler considered that all three miniatures were undertaken by another separate artist[52] (hereafter the Royal

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[49] East, pp. 119-221.

[50] It is interesting to speculate what an infra red exploration of the painting would reveal.

[51] King's coronation miniature, fol. 206r; nine penwork initials, fols. 208r-218v; queen's coronation miniature, fol. 221v; and king's funeral miniature, fol. 224r.

[52] *GM*, II, p. 174.

Miniatures Artist[53]) and she did not mention the nine penwork initials on fols. 208r-218r; Dennison thought the king's coronation miniature was by the Temporale Artist (her Litlyngton Hand A), the queen's coronation and king's funeral miniatures were by the Royal Miniatures Artist (her Litlyngton Hand C), and she also overlooked the penwork initials;[54] East thought the king's miniature was by the Temporale Artist (his Artist A) and the other two were by the Sanctorale Artist (his Artist B).[55] He believed the penwork initials were mostly by the Sanctorale Artist (his Artist B) with some elements looking like the Temporale Artist.[56]

There are many similarities between the three miniatures which mean that examination under time pressure might lead to the conclusion that they were by the same hand (palette, size, general figure style, and rather inexpressive facial features). However, close inspection shows the figures in the king's coronation miniature are different from the other two royal miniatures, which both have wavy hair, longer face shapes, taller bodies, and more awkward arm movements (compare figs 2.31, 2.35, and 3.10). The queen's miniature also includes the unique appearance of red collar apparel for the crucifers. Further perusal shows that the king's coronation illumination holds the typical characteristics that Sandler herself individualised as the Temporale Artist's work, but failed to recognise in the king's coronation miniature: 'large tubular figures with curvilinear drapery, ovoid heads, and half -shut eyes.'[57] Also useful in recognising the Temporale Artist's work are idiosyncratically fixed hairstyle types and two beards types (see 3.3.2 for expanded discussion). Just one of many possible comparisons can be made between the king's coronation miniature (fig. 2.31) and the Temporale Artist's initial for the First Sunday of Lent, fol. 10r (fig. 3.11). They both share stylised hair, high eyebrows, eyes with pupils connected to the upper eyelid, and black line mouth with a red dot for lips.

Does it then follow that the artist of the queen's coronation and the king's funeral is a third hand, and not the Sanctorale Artist? A particularly useful comparison can be made between the funeral of a monk by the Sanctorale Artist (fol. 326r, fig. 4.14) and the king's funeral image. Instantly noticeable are the different backgrounds, with the king's funeral being only one of three in the whole missal which is not gold leaf. Furthermore, the Sanctorale Artist's figures are more fluid with better body proportions, and the funeral tapers and hooded figures are notably different.

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[53] My term.

[54] Dennison, pp. 205-6.

[55] East, pp. 4 and 5.

[56] East, p. 152. Tudor-Craig discussed two of the penwork initials in her article, but she did not discuss artists or attribution: Tudor-Craig, *passim*.

[57] *GM*, II, p. 174.

Thus, examination of the miniatures in section 6 shows that a third figure artist, the Royal Miniatures Artist, is present in the Litlyngton Missal. That his work sits between the end of one main artist's input and the beginning of the other's, on just two pages, is significant.

Had the king's coronation miniature also been completed by him, rather than the Temporale Artist, there would have been a more apparent sense and continuity.[58] It would also have been more logical if the royal ceremonies had been presented on discrete quires, which might have meant that the section for the royal ceremonies was executed in a different place, and even at a different time to the rest of the book, although with the same scribe. In reality, the king's coronation starts part way through quire 28, fills quire 29, and runs over into quire 30, which holds the other two royal ceremonies: the queen's coronation and a king's funeral.[59] Therefore, the text for the royal ceremonies does not coincide with quire breaks, albeit by little (see Diagram 3.1). Thus, that the Benedictional (starting quire 22) ended on the first folio of a new quire and that the rest of that quire is taken up with the king's coronation, rather than moving onto the Sanctorale (starts quire 31), shows that that the inclusion of the royal ceremonies was always a part of the initial missal plan. What also becomes clear is that quire 30 was dealt with solely by the Royal Miniatures Artist.

Diagram 3.1: Royal Ceremonies Quiring Diagram

Quire 28	Quire 29	Quire 30
205 –	213 x	221 x * RMA
206 x TA	214 x	222 *
207 x	215 x	
208 x P	216 x	
209 x	217 x P	
210 x	218 x P	
211 x P	219 x	223 *
212 x	220 x	224 + RMA
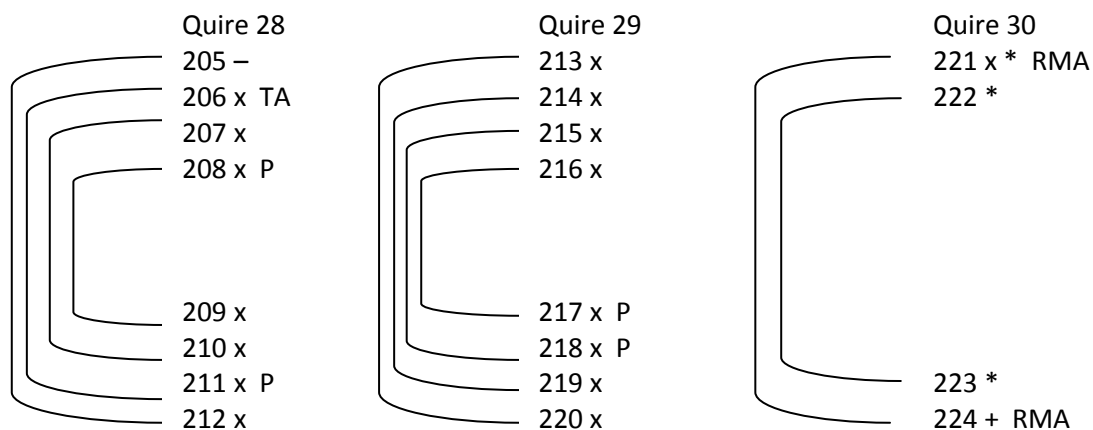
KEY: - Benedictional   * Queen's Coronation   x King's Coronation   + King's Funeral

TI   TA Temporale Artist   P Penwork Initials   RMA   Royal Miniatures Artist

scheme of the illumination pattern of the missal: the Temporale Artist's work ends somewhat abruptly on fol. 206r and the other main artist, the Sanctorale Artist, does not begin his section

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[58] This could go some way to explaining why Sandler attributes all three royal miniatures to the Royal Miniatures Artist.

[59] The king's coronation starts on fol. 206r in a quire that begins with fol. 205r.

until fol. 225r. The change in hands partway through a section that had already been begun might suggest that although the inclusion of royal ceremonies was intentional from the missal's inception, using the Royal Miniatures Artist was probably not in the original conception of missal decoration. It is even plausible that the Temporale Artist, unable to continue the work of the previous sections, was replaced by the Royal Miniatures Artist who was found unsuitable either by the stationer or the patron.

That the nine penwork initials in this same section have been so disregarded is hard to understand and who was responsible for them is difficult to ascertain.[60] Unpainted, with letters physically formed from zoomorphic and anthropomorphic designs, these penwork initial are different in style to any other illumination of the missal, making comparisons with other initials far more difficult and attribution uncertain.

3.2.3: The Penwork Initials

Understanding whether the artist responsible for the nine penwork initials on fols 208r to 218v is one of the Litlyngton Missal artists so far examined is not an easy task; there are no like examples with which to compare them. The penwork initials are drawn in brownish ink and show skill in draughtsmanship and delicacy of execution mixed with ingenuity of form.

The Temporale Artist's work appears in the coronation of the king in the same quire as some of the initials (Diagram 3.1), and although the application of paint would necessarily change the appearance markedly, the manner of the penned figures is unlike his. As examples of difference, the beard and hair of the wodewose and penwork Abraham are wavy and flowing, and the tiered drapery on the penwork king is unlike any found in the Temporale Artist's work either in the missal or his other work (figs 3.19, 3.20, and 5.31). Also, given the Temporale Artist's solid, unbending, monumental, tubular figures it seems out of keeping with his style, and possibly ability, to bend figures with the creative flexibility found in the penwork initials.

By dint of position in the manuscript, there might be an argument that the Royal Miniatures Artist is a likely candidate to have drawn the penwork initials. They appear immediately before his other works and in the section that divides the work of the two main artists. However, the stiffness and problems with anatomical proportions of the figures in his miniatures are at odds with the nine penwork initials showing fluidity of form. Some of this could be explained by the different techniques. Admittedly, the border figures by the Royal Miniatures Artist around the

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[60] One of them is acknowledged by Alexander and Kauffman, p. 102.

miniature of the queen's coronation are more accomplished examples of human proportion and suppleness. Once again though, the hair and beard of the penned figures are too different to be convincingly by the same hand. Added to this, the clothing differences between the dead king of the painted miniature and the penwork king are considerable (figs 3.10 and 3.20).

The work that appears physically furthest away from the penwork initials in the missal is by the artist who approaches the style most closely. The Sanctorale Artist's superior draughtsmanship and litheness of form would make him the most probable from among the missal's artists, including the Crucifixion Master, to have created the penwork initials.[61] Probably through the dictates of various subject matters of initials, the Sanctorale Artist has the most animals in the missal with which to make comparisons with the zoomorphic initials: the Royal Miniatures Artist has no examples and the Temporale Artist has one eagle (fol. 22r). Although there are many examples of animals in the Temporale Artist's other manuscripts, they tend to be as unbending as his human figures. The pelican in the border above the crucified Christ on the Crucifixion page, work of the Sanctorale Artist, possesses similarities in beak and flexibility to the birds in the St Francis initial, and the lion in the wodewose initial is better, though comparable to that found in the Crucifixion borders. The tiered drapery of St Sylvester on fol. 225r is more akin to that of the penned king than any other drapery in the missal.

There is another possibility that might be considered. As the initials are so different to all the other figurative decoration in the manuscript then it is possible that the hand that drew these penwork initials is a new one. The fact that they appear in a section wholly given over to music might even suggest that the man hired to write the notes in the missal may have been instrumental in some way ('homini scribenti notas in dicto missali').[62]

In summation, the illumination of the whole section connected to the royal ceremonies has a number of puzzling inconsistencies: the Temporale Artist's work finishes abruptly with no logical reason at the king's coronation, part way through quire 28; the figural decoration of the king's coronation continues over quires 28 and 29 with a set of penwork zoomorphic and anthropomorphic initials, the like of which never appear again in the missal; the bifolio with the Temporale Artist's miniature (the first of the three royal images) also contains examples of penwork initials; the artist for the penwork initials cannot be convincingly identified with any other artists in the missal; the only artwork in quire 30 is on two pages completed by the Royal Miniatures Artist, his only contribution to the missal's illumination; and the last verso of quire 30

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[61] East was unsure whether the artist of these figures is his Artist A or Artist B and did not consider an alternative: pp.152-153.

is blank before quire 31, where continuity is again resumed as the Sanctorale Artist's contribution begins and continues to the end.[63]

Were it not for the fact that the text for the king's coronation and the queen's coronation both start partway through quires which connect them to something else then the reasonable assumption would be that the text and incongruous artwork had been completed separately and possibly as a later addition. As it is, not even the queen's coronation can be separated from the king's, although this would fit both with the blank last verso of quire 30 and with theories regarding the *ordo* for the sole coronation of a queen discussed in chapter four. The scribe's hand and the border artist provide continuity in this more erratic section.

3.3: The Artists and their Style

In relation to the missal's production, this chapter has already discussed how many artists were involved and for which images they were responsible; the focus for this next section is still connected to the artists and moves onto an examination of their work and an exploration of each artist's style. To help fully gauge the capabilities of the two main artists and to assess their qualities, close scrutiny of an example of their work, including interpretation of the artists' iconographic intentions, is included in the relevant sections.

Following the chronological pattern of stages of production, as in the first half of this chapter, poses a problem in deciding at which point to analyse the work of the Crucifixion, due to its inclusion as a singleton partway through the Temporale Artist's work. Also, as it is a singleton there is no real clue as to where in the sequence of production it belongs. Therefore, as it has been argued as being a collaborative work with the Sanctorale Artist it is perhaps fitting that it should be discussed after that artist's work. Also difficult to place in terms of sequence is the border artist. In all probability the border artist began the illumination sequence, but as the borders run throughout the whole missal and beyond where figural work finishes, the border artist was probably also the final illuminator to be working on the missal. Therefore, the work of the border artist will be analysed last of all as the shared element that connects all of the other artists' work.

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[63] Excepting the aforementioned St Nicholas completed by the Temporale Artist.

3.3.1: Art Historical Context

Before moving on to consider each of the Litlyngton artists individually, it will be useful to consider the characteristic style of the missal in broader terms. In the introduction to her survey Sandler situated where the illumination of the Litlyngton Missal slots stylistically into the development of the illumination of fourteenth-century manuscripts.[64] Not only did she track the development of manuscript illumination from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries, she also devoted attention to the clarification of rather indiscriminate use of terms, such as East Anglian and Court Style. Sorting manuscripts into location and patronage groups and styles of illumination she identified a sub-section of London-Westminster manuscripts that she named the 'Litlyngton group'.[65] As the Litlyngton Missal is the sole group member for which ownership information is known Sandler defined the bonds that link these fourteen manuscripts as pictorial and textual rather than through patronage, as with the Bohun group.[66] Simpson also defined a 'Westminster School' of Manuscripts through which she tracked the work of the Temporale Artist, and work that she considered to be like his and from the same 'workshop'.[67] Dennison's interest in some of the Westminster or Litlyngton manuscripts is based on their stylistic connection to the Bohun manuscripts and what she called the 'development of the Bohun style.'[68]

Sandler noted the style of illumination in the Litlyngton Missal demonstrates 'the survival of the taste for monumentality and forceful linearity' witnessed in the Douce Apocalypse and the Oscott Psalter.[69] This taste for monumentality, use of rather stocky figures, and simplicity of composition and palette is shared, in varying degrees, by all the Litlyngton artists and means there is a discernible coherence in style. Beyond the major contributory factor of most of the work being undertaken by two artists, stylistic unity is further emphasised by the gold

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[64] *GM,* I, pp. 15-52.

[65] *GM,* I, p. 36. The group includes nos. 144-157 in Sandler's survey: cat. 144, Oxford, Trinity College MS 8, Sarum Missal; cat. 145, BL, Add MS 16968, Hours and Psalter; cat. 146, Oxford, Keble College MS 47, Sarum Hours; cat. 147, Marquess of Salisbury, MS CP 292, Flores psalterii and Psalter; cat. 148, Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.3, Noted Sarum Missal; cat. 149, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc 188, Hours of the Virgin; cat. 150, Westminster Abbey, MS 37, Missal (Litlyngton Missal); cat. 151, BL, MS Cotton Nero D VI, Historical Compilation; cat. 152, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 581, Libellus geomancie; cat. 153, Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.10.2, Apocalypse and scenes from the Life of Edward the Confessor (Westminster Apocalypse); cat. 154, Private Collection Germany, Hours of the Virgin (Belknap Hours); cat. 155, Westminster Abbey, MS 38, Coronation Order (*Liber Regalis*); cat.156, Cambridge, St John's College MS A.7, Statutes of England; cat. 157, Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra MS 197, Coronation Order.

[66] *GM,* I, pp. 34-36.

[67] Simpson, p. 172-142.

[68] Dennison, p. 203 and chapter nine, 'Relatives of the Bohun Manuscripts'.

[69] *GM,* I, p. 15.

background used for nearly all images, which also creates flatness and lack of depth.[70] The style is consistent through the artists' use of black or white outlines to delineate their figures. There are some differences in treatment of drapery, although the two main artists come very close to each other in depiction of vestments. With some provisos regarding the Crucifixion Master, the figures of the other three artists are generally two-dimensional and almost always exude solidity and immobility.

Finally, a cohesive force behind the illumination of the missal comes from other facets of *mise-en-page* such as the page layout, consistent use of one line coloured letters in the text, the same scribe throughout and, very powerfully, from the non-figurative border decorations, which are regular in design, palette, and high quality. Nevertheless, the stylistic unity of the figural illumination still accommodates twists and idiosyncrasies of the individual artists to show through the harmonious whole.

3.3.2: The Temporale Artist's Style

The Temporale Artist completed the twenty-one initials, and related figurative border elements, for the Temporale, Mass and Benedictions, and the contiguous king's coronation miniature. The only example of his work outside of the above sections is the initial for St Nicholas on fol. 286r in the Sanctorale.

The faces of the Temporale Artist's figures are one of the easiest ways to distinguish his work. They are normally ovoid, though sometimes spherical, and generally very pale with heavy-lidded eyes, which often look half-closed and only have the top lid defined and to which the pupil is always fixed. The eyelids are frequently highlighted with paler paint and a mixture of dark lines or shading indicates eyebrows (e.g. fig. 3.11). The eyes also usually appear at least half way down the face, lending a youthful aspect to the countenance. The Temporale Artist's mouths follow a consistent formula of a black line, sometimes wavy, which regularly has a red dot of paint to indicate lips; this is not gender specific. The somewhat androgynous depiction of faces means that age and gender are defined by hairstyle, hair colour, and beards. Thus, monks are shown as clean-shaven and tonsured, older men have grey beards and hair with a bald forehead, and women have long hair. The Temporale Artist habitually uses four hairstyles: the tonsure, long wavy hair centrally parted, neck-length centrally parted, and neck-length centrally parted flicking up at the ends. All styles are often shown with a line of lighter paint to suggest reflected

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[70] There are some inconsistent exceptions where a sense of space has been created (e.g. fol. 121r, Corpus Christi) but it could almost be argued that this is more accident than design.

highlights. Beards are most usually depicted as pointed forks, although he also uses single point beards on occasion. With a very few exceptions the Temporale Artist' faces could be described as expressionless.

The limited range of colours that the Temporale Artist uses fits with the overall palette employed throughout the missal: gold, silver, red, blue, ochre, sienna, sage green, black, white, and pink/pinkish white.[71] His application of colour gives substance and form to the rather cylindrical figures. The Temporale Artist's figures are solid, generally proportionate, and rigid even when shown in movement. Clothing often drops in stylised folds with elements of shading, highlighting, and outlining to establish definition. He falls into the group of artists that Sandler shrewdly notes as modelling and shading in some colours more readily than in others: blue, green, and pink in the Temporale Artist's case.[72] The focus of his images is generally central and his figures are least problematical anatomically when presented full frontal or three quarter right facing.

3.3.3: *Te igitur:* An Example of the Temporale Artist's Work

The Temporale Artist's historiated initial T heralds the beginning of the Canon of the Mass: *Te igitur clementissime pater* (fol. 157r, fig.3.14)*.* The initial is six lines high and portrays the Sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham. A large altar with cloth stands on the top of three, slightly curved, wooden steps. The middle step has a pattern of circles and the whole stands on a brown carpet with white dots. On the right section of the altar top Isaac is firmly held down by his father's hand on his neck. Isaac's hands are pressed together in prayer and his feet protrude over the edge of the altar. Abraham placed centrally, raises the sword upon which an angel lays a staying hand. With the other hand, the angel points down to a ram on a patch of grass.

The down stroke of the T is mostly provided by the body of Abraham himself. This simple device of continuing the beginning of the down stroke of the letter through the medium of Abraham's body ensures the space for painting is not only larger, but is also uncompromised by the bisection that would otherwise have occurred had the text initial continued down into the scene. The concept of Abraham's body being a letter is extended by the positioning of the sword above his head, which forms the top lintel of T. In this way, Abraham is an inner letter T inside the actual outer T of Te igitur.

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[71] Abraham's feet in the *Te igitur* initial are the only example of the 'emphasis given to bright orange' that Dennison (p. 207) claimed for this artist and the missal generally.
[72] *GM,* I, p. 45.

The Temporale Artist's treatment of the subject matter both conforms to and diverges from other representations in ingredients, configuration, and message. The usual iconographic elements of Abraham, Isaac, the angel, a ram, and an altar are present, whilst absent is the commonly shown kindling and bush wherein the ram was found (seen in the Sherbrooke, Tiptoft, and Cambridge Trinity Missals, figs 3.15, 3.16, and 3.17).[73] Palpable in the Litlyngton Missal initial is a crossover between interior and exterior settings, with the accent firmly on interior. Other representations of the scene are always shown as taking place outside. Indeed, apart from one very small patch of grass to the left on the image, on which the ram stands, the Litlyngton scene seems to take place indoors.

The sense of 'interior' is created by the nature and large size of the altar, which is either much smaller or absent in other renditions, and certainly not the central focus (figs 3.15, 3.16, and 3.17). Here, the altar is a church altar with white cloth with black pattern band, blue frontal, and golden top band. It is placed atop three wooden steps with the circular decoration adorning the top step; this is certainly not the makeshift construction alluded to in Genesis 22:9: 'and Abraham built an altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son and laid him on the altar upon the wood'. However, it would be either ingenuous or indicative of a lack of comprehension on the conventions of medieval art to simply say that the portrayal of a sophisticated altar in the place of a rustic one is enough to indicate that the intention was to create an interior; after all, this may be simply a rendering of an altar *per se*.[74] And yet, that there is carpet around the altar steps, as opposed to a continuation of the grass, is telling of the artist's intentions, as is the absence of a bush and kindling, which elements would both emphasise the sense of an exterior ambience. The artist's objective seems to be to bring a church altar to the viewer's mind in order to strengthen the intended typological parallel between the sacrifice of Isaac and the sacrifice of Jesus daily enacted at an altar, via the mystery of the Eucharist.

An altar, by association with the Eucharist, serves to evoke the ultimate sacrifice of Christ, with images of the consecration of the host at an altar sometimes being used as the *Te igitur* illumination.[75] Thus by adaption and change of emphasis of one of the usual iconographic elements of the Old Testament scene, the Temporale Artist evinces not only another image often used at the Canon, but also the actual deed which this point of the liturgy creates. The

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[73] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS 15536 E (Sherbrooke Missal), 1310-1320, fol. 230r; New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library MS M.107 (Tiptoft Missal), 1311-1332, fol. 141v; Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.3, 1380-1400, fol. 123r.

[74] The Sherbrooke Missal renders rusticity through an altar made from faggots of kindling.

[75] While not the main initial, consecration images appear twice on the canon page of the Sherborne Missal. Consecration is in the Tiptoft Missal at *Te igitur*.

power of this association is stressed further when we remember that the facing page to this initial holds the full page Crucifixion image. At the Crucifixion Christ gave his body and blood, an act thereafter recreated at church altars at the Canon of the Mass, which is aptly the location of this particular image in the missal.

As well as an example of the Temporale Artist's skill in pictorially creating effective economical statements, this initial provides the opportunity of examining certain of his techniques. Despite the solid and rather inflexible figures, movement is present through the positioning of limbs and hand gestures. There is a cyclical continuum of movement: Abraham's upraised arm holds the sword aloft, the angel's staying hand catches the blade and makes a link in the movement which is continued by the right hand pointing down to the ram from where the eyes are drawn to Abraham's feet, which are one in front of the other in walking pose with up-tilted toes, thus directing upwards to Isaac and the upraised arm once more.   The position of Abraham's sword arm and the purposeful placement of his feet give the idea that the angel has intervened at the very moment that the fall of the blade would have ended Isaac's life. The artist has used Isaac's diminutive size and foetal position to emphasise his vulnerability as he is powerfully held down. His smallness is juxtaposed with the deliberately large sword that breaches the confines of the initial frame, adding to the sense of threat and danger. Isaac's hands are pressed together in prayer and his feet hang, rather poignantly, over the altar's edge. Again the Temporale Artist has adapted a usual iconographic ingredient to impart extra resonance: in earlier and contemporary representations, when Isaac is represented on the altar he is shown kneeling or seated rather than curled into a protective ball (e.g. the Neville of Hornby Hours, the Queen Mary Psalter, and the Sherbrooke Missal).[76]

In summation, the initial has a resourceful use of iconography, allusion, conflation, and clever configuration of compositional elements. The Temporale Artist's intelligent use of conventional iconography to evoke narrative economically is not unusual in his work in the Litlyngton Missal, further examples of which are discussed with reference to iconographic messages in chapter five. Using a minimum of well-chosen ingredients he can conjure a complex narrative and evoke scenes which, by association, come with all the inherent details that it has been unnecessary for him to include in the image itself.

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[76] BL, MS Egerton MS 2781 (Neville of Hornby Hours), 1325-50, fol. 8r; BL, Royal MS 2 B VII (Queen Mary Psalter), 1310-1320, fol. 11v.

3.3.4: The Royal Miniatures Artist

The queen's coronation miniature (fig. 2.35) has a sense of continuity with the preceding miniature through size, background, and centrality of composition, but this miniature has immediately noticeable differences to the work of the Temporale and Sanctorale Artists. The robes of all the figures are different in some way to both the main artists', from the patterning on the bishop's cloaks to the apparel on the crucifers' albs, and even the number of points on the crown. The figures are taller and often slightly awkwardly constructed with disproportionately long arms. Indeed, it would seem that this artist has greater difficulties than the Temporale and Sanctorale Artists with making the human form look natural, especially when shown in degrees of profile, apart from the absolute side profile of the hooded mourners in the miniature and borders of the king's funeral (fol. 224r, figs 3.10 and 3.12).

Even so, the Royal Miniatures Artist created a striking pair of miniatures, particularly that of the king's funeral. He has used red as a powerful background against which the black of the mourners and gold of the bier jump in relief. Contrast of colour is also achieved by the slice of pale face that shows through the black mourning hoods. In general, this artist's faces are neither the pale, wide-eyed, youthful looking visages of the Temporale Artist nor the more delicately expressive faces of the Sanctorale Artist, but the face of the dead king is arresting in its calm repose and ingeniously shown from a full aerial perspective while the other figures are in vertical side profile. This original planar perspective has the result of making the king stand out inan otherwise crowded composition

The power of the queen's coronation miniature comes from the monumentality of the figures and the rigid symmetry of composition. The Royal Miniatures Artist has introduced a variation in palette through the light orange in the bishops' capes. The silver of the throne is also noticeable not only for its sole use to depict Litlyngton thrones, but also because it has not oxidised, which is the fate of most other silver in the missal, and also of the crucifer staffs in this same miniature.

The border figures connected to the two miniatures are noteworthy. Those of the funeral are simply, yet effectively, a repetition of side profile mourners' busts, whereas those for the queen show glimpses of plasticity of form not easily evident in the two main images. Yet, the eyes, hands, hair, and face shapes strongly suggest that they are indeed by the same artist, which agrees with the unwavering trend in the missal that border images are painted by the same artist who undertook the main illumination for a given page. Taking the example of the bagpipe player from the middle of the top margin, this figure stands naturally, with a bent right knee and a foot braced against the edge of the frame (fig. 3.13). His clothing is fitted and noticeably

different to the 'contemporary' garments depicted by both the Temporale Artist and the Sanctorale Artist.

3.3.5: The Penwork Initials: Style

The figures show good draughtsmanship with human and animal figures being well-proportioned and with the animals being easily identifiable. The various forms are effectively adapted to form the letters. The level of detail includes depiction of drapery, feathers, and fur. All of the penwork initials, in varying degrees, include shading. The brown ink appears to have been diluted and has been applied to denote areas in natural shadow such as in drapery folds (e.g. fig. 3.20), under the woodwose's left arm and his inner left thigh (fig. 3.19), and under the swan's wing on fol. 211r.

These initials have caused a difference of opinion between the few scholars to have mentioned them. The split in judgement is connected to their style as it concerns whether they are finished or not. Alexander and Kauffman talk of 'an unfinished drawing' on fol. 208r (despite there being two penwork initials on this same recto).[77] East also believed the penwork initials to be unfinished, due to their not being painted.[78] Tudor-Craig, however, asserted that they were left deliberately uncoloured[79]

Tudor-Craig reasoned that the letters are not unfinished as nothing else in the missal remains incomplete. However, this assertion does not recognise that the penwork initials are themselves in varying states of 'finish'. Of the nine, seven are gilded; that is to say that all around the initial gold leaf has been applied and, at times, daisy buds and foliage have been painted not only around them, but up inside them (fig. 3.18). However, two of the letters remain ungilded: the wodewose on fol. 217v and the king on fol. 218v (figs 3.19 and 3.20). As further intimations that the penwork letters are not in a finished state, in the case of the king it is possible to see the underscored lines running through the drawing. Also, the figure of St Francis (fol. 208r) has some small illegible lettering in the scroll by Francis' ear (fig. 5.30). Such markings in manuscripts were not uncommon as instructions to illuminators.

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[77] Alexander and Kauffman, p. 102.
[78] East, p. 125.
[79] Tudor-Craig, p. 114.

3.3.6: The Sanctorale Artist's Style

In the Litlyngton Missal the Sanctorale Artist completed thirty initials and relevant accompanying figurative elements of the borders in the Sanctorale, the Common of Saints, Votive Masses, Commemorations, and Office for the Dead (fols. 225r-326r) as well as the fifteen figurative elements in the framed border around the Crucifixion miniature.[80]

Whilst the Sanctorale Artist's style has similarities to that employed by the Temporale Artist in drapery, gestures, and planarity of compositions, nevertheless his work has naturalism and is consistently technically better in proportion, expression, flexibility and fluidity of form, deftness of touch, and basic draughtsmanship. He employs a greater variety of face types and is careful to be consistent if a character appears more than once in his illustrations (e.g. St Peter on fol. 232v, fol. 249v, fol. 258v, and fol. 289r). The Sanctorale Artist's faces are longer ovoids than the Temporale Artist's spherical ones and he uses more tonal modelling in depiction of flesh. The eyes are placed in the top third of the face and hair is generally wavy, whether long or short. Although his depictions of hands are generally tapering and elegant, there are certain scenes where they are clumsily splayed when holding an object. The artist's palette is the same as the Temporale Artist's, probably a purposeful decision taken to be consistent with the work produced before his.

3.3.7: *Ecce agnus dei*: An Example of the Sanctorale Artist's work

The five-lined initial D on fol. 247v opens the office of the feast day of the Nativity of John the Baptist and is one of the most accomplished illuminations of the whole missal (fig. 3.23). In an outside scene, John stands centrally with his bare feet resting on, and slightly overlapping, the bottom line of the letter while his halo breaches the top frame. The scene holds numerous elements which are balanced in size and colour and are proportionate and well-configured. The centrally placed figure of the saint is the direct focus of the image and where the eye easily comes to rest. The device of showing John holding a book balanced horizontally in the crook of his bent left arm and against his chest is managed naturally by the artist. This particular pose compares favourably to the same stance rather awkwardly managed by the Temporale Artist with John the Evangelist (compare figs 3.21 and 3.23).

 Facing left, John is dressed in an animal skin, to which the head and hoof of the camel are still attached.[81] His left leg is not covered by his makeshift clothing and his left arm is bare from the

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[80] And arguably the angels in that scene: see 3.2.1.

[81] Matthew 3:4: 'John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins'.

elbow. Despite his deliberately ragged attire, his elegant pose imbues dignity, which emphasises his gentleness of nature, as do the animals which are unafraid to gather around him. Seated on the red book held against his chest is a lamb which looks up into John's face. This *Agnus dei* has a crossed nimbus to pronounce him as Jesus and the book is the Bible wherein Jesus' coming was foretold and witnessed. There is a sense of vulnerability conveyed by the tininess of the lamb, John's symbol, which acts as a reminder of Jesus' destined death.

As the saint's gaze travels beyond the confines of the initial, John directs both the viewer's and the seated animals' attention by pointing to the lamb with the index finger of his right hand: this visually creates John's phrase *ecce agnus dei,* behold the Lamb of God (John 1:29)*.* The artist has contrasted the holy lamb with the earthly animals at John's feet; on his right is a spotted deer and a lion while to his left is a grey-blue unicorn. The deer's red tongue is clearly visible and acts to diagonally balance the red of the book, the only other red present in the image. The animals are also indicators of the wilderness associated with John the Baptist, an idea strengthened by the grass and the two trees which frame him. The deer's tongue is a visual cue to the opening lines of psalm 42: 'Like as a hart desireth the water brooks, so longeth my soul after thee, O God.' There is the added connection of water to the Baptist through these lines. This portrayal of John the Baptist with animals gathered around him is unusual in renditions in earlier and contemporary manuscripts.

Thus, the Sanctorale Artist can be commended for creativity as well as technical ability in this initial. However, these accolades cannot be applied uniformly; at times the Sanctorale Artist's renditions are extremely conventional in iconography and at others they lack the level of grace and proportion found with John the Baptist. One example of this is the representation of Mary in the initial for the Purification of the Virgin on fol. 230r (fig. 5.23). The Virgin's head is long and heavy-jawed and seems over-large for her slender frame, although the figures and faces of Simeon and Joseph are well-executed. The Purification also holds an example of awkwardly spread hands, which occur especially when the figures are shown in profile holding something. Here the problem is illustrated by Joseph's unnatural grip on the taper. Even so, the Sanctorale Artist's work is undoubtedly technically superior to that of the Temporale Artist whose rendition of John the Baptist in the Keble Hours is flat in comparison (fig. 3.22).

3.3.8: The Crucifixion Master

The full page Crucifixion miniature on fol. 157*v (fig. 3.5) is the most-famed page of the Litlyngton Missal. It has appeared in major publications on Gothic art and medieval illumination

and has featured on television:[82] where the missal's illumination is represented, the Crucifixion scene is generally present, often as the sole example of illumination from the manuscript. It is unsurprising that it should be a focus of attention as it is undeniably striking. Exploration and interpretation of the messages and symbolism of this image occurs in chapter five (5.3.2 and 5.3.3), whereas here, it is the style which is relevant: it is a very rare example of a *trecento* Italian style Crucifixion scene in a fourteenth-century English manuscript.[83] An influential study regarding the spread of the *trecento* characteristics into English manuscript art is Otto Pächt's article 'A Giottesque Episode in English Medieval Art'.[84] Pächt examined the various forms through which Italian influence showed itself in English art, for example, space-composition and dramatic gesticulation. Whilst never mentioning the Italianate Litlyngton Crucifixion, he discussed the wall paintings at St Stephen's Chapel at Westminster (second half of the fourteenth century), stating that they might well have passed as the work of a follower of Simone Martini.[85] This observation is apposite as it reveals that Italian influences were present in Westminster at the time of the Litlyngton's production in 1383-4, as was subsequently commented upon by Simpson, who was concerned with tracing 'the influence of Italian painting' in relation to its later Anglicisation.[86]

Sandler's appraisal of the Italian influence on the Litlyngton Missal was that 'the panoramic treatment of the subject immediately calls to mind the narrative complexities of Italian frescoes of the time.'[87] And in truth, in the Litlyngton Missal we see a movement away from the starker, more static representation of the Crucifixion, with Christ crucified in the centre, Mary to the left, and John the Evangelist to the right (figs 3.24 and 3.25). In the Litlyngton Missal, this 'barer' form has been replaced by a complex composition of a highly narrative quality, which expands the scene into a more crowded rendition and includes Mary Cleophas, Mary Magdalene, pharisees, soldiers, the Good Thief, the Bad Thief, Stephaton, and Longinus. The Litlyngton Missal Crucifixion Master has based his image on symmetry of configuration and colour, which though constant is not rigid (see fig. 3.27: central miniature without borders). The figures are arranged on a triangular frame with Jesus at the highest level acting as the peak, before moving down to the balance of the two thieves on either side of him and thence, finally, to the base formed by

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[82] E.g. Christopher De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts,* 2nd edn. (London: New York, 1994), p. 212; Marks and Morgan, p. 88; *GM*, I, image 402; Tony Trowles, *Treasures of Westminster Abbey* (London, 2008), p. 83; Westminster Abbey, Episode 1, first broadcast on BBC 2, 7/12/12 at 21:00.

[83] The other most famous example is the Sherborne Missal, p. 380, fig. 3.26.

[84] Otto Pächt, 'A Giottesque Episode in English Medieval Art', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 6 (1943), 51-70.

[85] Pächt, p. 57.

[86] Simpson, pp. 114-5 and p.147.

[87] *GM*, II, p. 173.

the crowd ranged to left and right. Another proportioned triangle is easily divined through the medium of the paler colour: Jesus' bare body, the two thieves' bare bodies and the garment of John the Evangelist on the left and, at equidistance from the cross, the garment of a Jew to the right. Such attention to colour balance is evident throughout the image, to the level of being almost mirrored on either side of the dividing line of the central cross. The line of the cross provides symmetry for compositional elements too: the sun and the moon, two angels to left and right, the two thieves, Longinus with a long spear and Stephaton with a long pole, and the two sections of the crowd.

The Crucifixion Master has applied various techniques consistent with the greater sophistication of the *trecento* in an attempt to provide depth, despite the flattening effect of the one-dimensional gold background; the green of the grass meets at a point behind the cross in an endeavour to portray perspective lines arriving at a distant vanishing point. Foreshortening is rather clumsily depicted in the figure of Stephaton, again to express distance. The figure of Stephaton gives another example of an Italian device by being painted from the rear looking up; Rickert noted such curiously arranged figures as being 'little understood outside of Italy.'[88] Noticeable too is that the crowd members are shown in a realistic arrangement rather than in a straight line with variation in figure height.

Despite the crowded nature of the scene, which portrays seventeen human and angelic forms, the Crucifixion Master has adroitly maintained a sense of space around the figure of the crucified Christ. In this, the Litlyngton Crucifixion conforms to the points made by Pächt regarding space composition and a 'common stage' creating a picture space. This element is heightened by the image being framed, like a panel painting, by a wide historiated border running all around the central picture.[89] Explicitly regarding the figures of the scene, Kuhn stated that they do not contain modelling and are flat, attenuated, and with strong outlines; in this way, although the scene carries Italian influences, it still conforms to what Kuhn considered to be 'the outstanding characteristics of English art' up into the early fifteenth century.[90] Rickert's later appraisal of the figures was that they were well-painted but 'heavy and uninteresting'.[91] Although heaviness is true of some of the figures on the ground, Mary in particular, I think it unfair to extend this judgement to the figure of Christ where the vulnerability of his naked body has been emphasised by the thinness of the stretched limbs and the tightness of the muscles in the arms. There is also dignity in his tilted head, where suffering is shown through the arched brows, and his face is

[88] Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages* (Middlesex, 1954), p. 173.
[89] Pächt, p. 51.
[90] Charles L. Kuhn, 'Herman Scheerre and English Illumination of the Early Fifteenth Century', *The Art Bulletin,* 22 (1940), 137-139.
[91] Rickert, *Painting in Britain,* p. 173.

softened by the long hair that surrounds it. Such examples of artistry in expression, understanding of spatial tension, and employment of more sophisticated forms sets the Crucifixion Master apart from the other Litlyngton Missal artists. And yet, his work has previously been interpreted as being by the Sanctorale Artist's hand, which is probably best understood as proof that although the image is Italianate, the Crucifixion Master himself was English.

3.3.9: The Border Artist

The borders give continuity to the different artists' hands in the missal and there is a concurrence of opinion that the borders throughout the missal were accomplished by one hand. Sandler qualified this with the phrase 'by one hand, certainly in design if not in execution';[92] a comparison of the borders in different sections of the book does not reveal a noticeable difference in style or content. Sandler recognised that the borders were of 'paramount visual importance';[93] certainly very often the borders are exceptionally sumptuous and executed at a consistently high level. That they are being discussed as the last aspect of illumination in this chapter is not a negative reflection of their contribution to the missal.

As already discussed (section 3.2), while the non-figurative elements of the borders were almost certainly not undertaken by each of the individual figurative artists as they illuminated their sections, the border artist may, or may not have been one of the Litlyngton Missal's figurative artists. The red or blue lion's heads that are the only figurative element employed by the border artist (e.g. fig. 2.24) bear no resemblance to the Sanctorale Artist's lion on the Crucifixion page, or to that by the penwork artist (fig. 3.19). The border lion heads have higher heavy-lidded eyes with deeply etched eyebrows sloping downwards towards the nose. Also the ears are placed in line with the eyes, which again is different to the lions by the Sanctorale Artist and Penwork Initials Artist. Unfortunately there is no effective animal with which to compare either the Temporale Artist's or Royal Miniatures Artist's work with that of the border artist. Although essentially serving a different purpose, the foliage rendered by the Sanctorale and Temporale Artists for the trees they paint is markedly unlike any of the myriad leaf forms (see below for list) used in the borders (figs. 3.21 and 3.23). Such evidence points towards a separate individual, although constructive comparisons are necessarily limited.

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[92] *GM,* II, p. 174.
[93] *GM,* I, p. 37.

Also in favour of the border artist not being one of the figurative artists is that consistently similar borders appear in each of the sections completed by the four figurative artists discussed above, including the section with the Penwork Initials, where no other paint or gilding occurs (figs 3.18 and 20a). Had the border artist and the Penwork Initial artist been the same person it is unlikely that the zoomorphic initials would have remained uncoloured with the borders and gilding around them.

The border decoration exists on a variety of levels and frequently appears on pages where there is no figural iconography. The border variations range from decorative penwork at the lowest end of the scale, through to five wide and inhabited borders, (top, bottom, left, right, and inter-columnar) at the highest end. In between these opposite degrees are schemes with one border, usually left or centre (figs 20a and 3.29), and two and three borders in varying combination with the left, top, or bottom. Border illumination widths also fluctuate from 5mm to 40mm (figs 3.28 and 3.29).

The border decorations are variations making use of a decorative vocabulary consisting of certain regular features. The palette is unvarying: gold leaf, blue, red, white for patterns, black for outlines, and green almost solely for the daisy bud motif. There are often single, double, and treble solid bars with solid festoons or twisting foliage, in pairs, sprays, or single leaves: tri-lobed, five pointed, ivy, vine, beech, heart-shaped, lanceolate, smooth edged, serrated, bi-coloured, harlequinade, and mono-coloured. These examples indicate the complexity and richness of the various forms of foliage employed. Floral motifs are more limited and generally consist of stylised paired daisy or dianthus heads. Rarer are the more delicate ink flowers of five or six white or bare petals with a gold centre and white leaves. At other times the borders are more like frames with the interiors filled with foliage and strapwork (e.g. fig. 4.9). Fretted knots of intricate interlacing frequently appear and lacing, curling lines often become the outline of a space to be filled with a figure by one of the other artists.

The border designs are consistent with the work preceding and immediately post-dating the Litlyngton Missal. In Scott's exploration of English manuscript borders from c.1395-1499, which tracks the development of English border work, only the very first of the fifty manuscript borders she examined (c.1395) is recognisable as sharing designs found in the Litlyngton Missal.[94] The border designs have also been used to link manuscripts with similarities to the Litlyngton Missal and the Westminster area, some of these, such as the Belknap Hours and Keble Hours, are also connected to the Litlyngton by the Temporale Artist, but others, such as the Coronation Order in Pamplona, are not.

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[94] Kathleen, L. Scott, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders* c.1395-1499 (London, 2002), p.22.

The border artist also had a role in the decoration of letters. The foliage and daisy balls incorporated into the decoration that surrounds the penwork initials of the king's coronation order evidence that it was done by the border artist, as were the borders themselves. Therefore, it may have been normal practice for the border artist to lay down the gold stippled backgrounds for the other figural work inside letters, perhaps working around a drawn figure, as witnessed in the penwork initials. The rose, red, blue, and white of the letters surrounding an inner figural scene, often intricately connected to the border, are also just as likely to have been painted in preparation for the figurative artists to complete afterwards, particularly as many such letters are enclosed in a square obviously decorated by the border artist (e.g. fig 3.23). Additionally, examples of such bi-coloured decorated initials can be found in the calendar where there are also borders, but no figurative work.

There are hundreds of decorated letters, often called champ initials, in the Litlyngton Missal. They vary in size from two to four lines high and are filled with floral designs (fig. 3.32) similar in device to the borders. Also common are decorated letters of two lines high which are painted and further embellished with flourished penwork, often lavender or red, in the spaces in and around them (e.g. figs 3.28 and 3.29). Continuing down the hierarchy of decorated letters, at the bottom are the one-lined letters which must surely reach into thousands (e.g. fig. 3.29). These are in blue, red, and gold with ink flourishing and often appear in abundance on a single page. It is difficult to know whether these were accomplished by the border artist or the scribe. There is evidence for both being possible. Alexander refers to the blurred line between scribe and illuminator[95] while De Hamel names an illuminator whose employment rates included capital letters at a hundred for a penny.[96] It is even possible that a monk from the abbey was responsible for the champes.[97] Consideration of these decorated initials means the phrase from the abbot's treasurer's accounts of payment for the 'large letters' in the Litlyngton Missal needs to be re-thought. In the light of the various types of illumination that occur in the Litlyngton Missal without being specifically named (e.g. borders, miniatures) it appears very unlikely that the term 'grossarum litterarum' only applies to the historiated initials. The term most probably also relates to not only the unmentioned borders and miniatures, but also the two to four-lined floral initials, and even possibly the two-lined colour and ink flourished initials and one-lined capitals, which after all, are, relatively speaking, 'large letters'. This creates a difficulty in De Hamel's calculated cost of 'approximately 7.6d each' for historiated/inhabited initials in the

[95] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* p. 16.

[96] De Hamel, *Scribes*, p. 65.

[97] As happened with the Tickhill Psalter (New York Public Library, MS Spencer 26, 1303-14): Donald Drew Egbert, *The Tickhill Psalter: An English Illuminated Manuscript of the Early Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1932), p. 12.

Litlyngton Missal as his calculation was based on the £22 3d (for 'grossarum litterarum' in the Litlyngton Missal Accounts) divided by number of figural initials and miniatures, excluding the Crucifixion miniature. [98]

As a final thought related to the border artist, once again, the Crucifixion, stands apart from the bulk of the illumination in the manuscript. Although the interlaced knots of the borders agree with elements found throughout the missal, there is heaviness in the border decorations and the occurrence of uncharacteristic mistakes on the Crucifixion page that call into question whether it was undertaken by the normal border artist at all. There is a problem with the inner red bar line to the left and bottom corners of the miniature and the lowest right corner sags slightly below the line of the rest of the frame (fig. 3.5). The intersection of the diagonally crossing lines in the knot in the bottom border is off-centre. As the illumination for this page was possibly not accomplished in the abbey the likelihood is that the border decoration was accomplished by the Sanctorale Artist, who appears to have collaborated with the Crucifixion Master and is responsible for the other border components; this gives more evidence to the Sanctorale Artist and the border artists not being the same person. Whether completed by the border artist or not, the Crucifixion border is markedly not the best example of the intricate, delicate, and reliably skilful work which makes the Litlyngton's 'the most elaborate borders of any surviving late 14th-century manuscript'.[99]

3.4: Books Related to the Litlyngton Missal

In the exploration of the Litlyngton Missal's illumination style and artists it is helpful to look at related manuscripts. From among the figurative artists of the Litlyngton Missal, only the hand of the Temporale Artist has been identified in other works, although other manuscripts have been connected to the Litlyngton through similar illumination styles and shared iconography and compositions.

3.4.1: The Temporale Artist's Oeuvre

The Temporale Artist's hand is distinctive enough that he can be easily recognised as contributor to other manuscripts but although we know that he was working on the Litlyngton Missal in around 1383-4, it is not possible to place his other works into chronological order.

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[98] De Hamel, *Scribes*, p. 14.
[99] *GM,* II, p. 174.

Other works identified as including the Temporale Artist's hand:[100]

- Belknap Hours (Germany, Private Collection), c.1285-1400

- Historical Compilation (BL, MS Cotton Nero D.VI), 1386-99

- *Libellus geomancie* (Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 581), 1391 or later

- Sarum Hours (CUL, Add MS 4086), c.1380-c.1400

- Sarum Hours (Oxford, Keble College MS 47), 1380-90

- Westminster Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 10.2), 1380-c.1400

The Westminster Apocalypse is perhaps the most artistically accomplished of his other works. Whilst showing similarities of style in face, hair, drapery, and tubular figures in a two-dimensional space, there is a greater complexity of composition and variance in colour, stance, and expression than found in any of his other works.[101] In great part this may be due to the increased freedom of space allowed by half page miniatures (page dimensions, 365x 250mm). Even so, some of these spaces are divided up into separate sections to provide spaces no bigger than those for the initials in the Litlyngton Missal (fig. 3.30). In the seventy-six miniatures, accomplished solely by the Temporale Artist, there are no instances of the harsh awkwardness of misplaced limbs of disproportionate size which occur fairly regularly in the Litlyngton Missal. The illustration of the Westminster Apocalypse has more vitality due to the brighter colours against the white of the plain vellum background, which allows the images to jump into crisp relief in a way that is not possible with the gold background of the Litlyngton Missal. The paint is also applied with a precise care not always evident in his other works and there is more modelling and shading. Notably, the Temporale Artist manages to convey a consistent sense of connectivity between the figures in his miniatures in the Westminster Apocalypse through eye contact, body posture, and image composition, which is only sporadically in place in the Litlyngton Missal (compare fig. 3.31 with 2.28 and 2.29).

 A possible conclusion is that the Westminster Apocalypse is a later work showing developments in the style and ability of the artist.[102] Conversely, of course, it could be as convincingly posited

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[100] All of the manuscripts here were recognised as being in the Temporale Artist's hand by Sandler in *GM* (see n.64, above) apart from the Sarum Hours in CUL, which was identified by Dennison, p. 209-10. Dennison (p. 211) also suggested that a breviary, CUL MS Add 4500, contains work by the Temporale Artist, although there are differences which make this arguable (e.g. the eyes). Similarly, Sandler suggests that the frontispiece to the Metrical Life of the Black Prince (University of London, Senate House Library MS 1) is by the Temporale Artist (*GM,* II, p. 175) although the faces are more elongated and the hairstyles differ considerably from his usual style. It has been possible to view all of these manuscripts apart from the Belknap Hours.

[101] A recognisable difference is that the forked beards are rounded in the Westminster.

[102] Sandler dates the Westminster Apocalypse as c.1380-1400, p. 176.

that the Litlyngton Missal is the work of an older man who has lost sureness of hand and eye. In whichever scenario, through the knowledge the Temporale Artist was working in London-Westminster in the 1380s, it is reasonable to consider the Westminster Apocalypse as being made there too. This is especially true in view of the addition of scenes from the life of Edward the Confessor in a later hand.

On occasion there are compositions or subject matter in the Temporale Artist's other works which are either the same or very comparable to images found in the Litlyngton Missal. The Keble Hours includes two facing pages of eight standing saints (fols. 7v-8r), among whom is John the Evangelist, also portrayed on fol. 22r of the Litlyngton Missal (figs 3.21 and 3.22). The compositions are greatly similar, both showing the bearded and nimbed saint in the central space. He has the same long wavy hair and holds a golden book in one hand and, strangely, a palm of martyrdom in the other; in both cases he is standing on grass, facing left, and has a red-lined blue cloak which is draped in a fold across the waist. We see the same use of outlines and columnar figures and the modelling of the clothing. The most noticeable differences, apart from the change in background from gold to red diaper, are that the palm and book have swapped hands and the Keble miniature does not have trees; the beard lengths and face colours are also subtly different. The Cotton Nero manuscript allows the opportunity of viewing the Temporale Artist's rendering of a king in armour (fol. 31r) as well as in gown and tippet, in which garments he also appears in the Litlyngton Missal, Westminster Apocalypse, and *Libellus geomancie*. The rinceaux around the historiated letters of the Cotton Nero book are exactly comparable to the twisting foliage with white veined leaves of pink, blue, and red of the Litlyngton border artist. The dates of all these other manuscripts fall into the vague period of late fourteenth to early fifteenth century with no patronage or ownership known.

3.4.2: Other Related Manuscripts

As mentioned, using similarities in figure style, border, composition, and the distinctive inclusion of the three royal ceremonies, Sandler identifies a selection of manuscripts that she names the Litlyngton group. She includes the Westminster *Liber regalis* and the Pamplona Coronation Order. Discussed in detail relating to coronation orders and royal iconography in chapter four, here they are relevant in their connection to the Litlyngton group. The Westminster *Liber regalis* is linked to the Litlyngton Missal through its subject matter and date rather than through artistic influence. By extension, through virtue of the appearance of the Westminster *Liber regalis* artist in Cambridge, St John's College MS A.7, c.1388 (Statutes of England, Henry III to Richard II) and Oxford, Trinity College MS 8 (a late fourteenth-century Sarum Missal) both these manuscripts

become members of the Litlyngton group. Sandler argued that the Pamplona Manuscript was produced in Westminster at about the same time and 'that the same artists were probably employed on both'.[103] There is reason to doubt this proposal, as whilst it is true that the compositions are in many ways so alike that they appear to have been copied one from the other (the Pamplona Coronation Order is considered to be the later manuscript, see chapter 4.1.1 and *GM,* II, p.179) the style of the artist in the Pamplona Coronation Order bears no resemblance to the work of any artist in the Litlyngton Missal. The figures are smaller and the faces, hair styles, and clothing are markedly different. I would also hesitate to make connection through the border artist as despite shared elements and palette, the Pamplona Coronation Order borders do not have the precision and unerring straightness of running design that are found in the Litlyngton Missal (fig. 3.33).

The illuminated scenes of Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.3, 1380-1400 (Sarum missal, hereafter B.11.3) show such a direct correlation in individual initials and style to the Litlyngton Missal that it is highly likely that there is a definite connection. B.11.3 is a noted missal, smaller than the Litlyngton Missal.[104] The two missals share the same palette and have gold backgrounds to the initials. The figural work of B.11.3 is by one artist (apart from a singleton of the Epiphany from a later date[105]) and although the style most resembles that of the Temporale Artist due to the tubular figures with spherical faces and low eyes, there is an overall lower standard of quality and clarity in the work. The borders hold many of the features of the Litlyngton Missal (daisy buds, fretted knots, and leaves, which are tri-lobed, serrated, ivy, and vine) but they tend to be double bars with sprouting leaf pairs or daisy buds rather than filled frames.

Sandler observed that two images from B.11.3, the Annunciation and Feast of the Relics, find 'exact parallels' in the Litlyngton Missal.[106] Further comparison of the two books reveals that there are many more such parallel initials where the compositions resemble each other to the point of being obviously related. In order through B.11.3 these are: Nativity (fol. 30v), Sacrifice of Isaac (fol. 123r), Resurrection (fol. 131v), Ascension (fol. 145v), Pentecost (fol.149r), Saint Andrew (fol. 193r), Presentation (fol. 201), Annunciation (fol. 205r), Nativity of John the Baptist to Litlyngton Missal's Nativity of the Virgin (fol. 213r), SS Peter and Paul (fol. 215r), Feast of the Relics (fol. 218r), Assumption (fol. 225v), Nativity of the Virgin (fol. 230v), All Saints, (fol. 240r), Annunciation (fol. 281r). Appendix D is an itinerary of B.11.3's illuminations and all similarities to

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[103] *GM,* II, p. 180.

[104] See Appendix D for description.

[105] See description, M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge : A Descriptive Catalogue* (Cambridge, 1900), p. 329.

[106] *GM,* II, p. 171.

the Litlyngton Missal are indicated per initial, such as composition, similarities in clothing, figure shape, and facial features.

While all of the above scenes show obvious similarities in composition, some initials appear to be direct copies one from the other, for example the two Annunciations, SS Peter and Paul (compare fig. 2.6 and 3.34), and St Andrew (figs 3.35 and 3.36). Others are essentially the same but with some differences, such as the initial of Abraham and Isaac. The ram, angel, Abraham, and Isaac are compositionally located in the same places in both initials (figs 3.14 and 3.17). As with the Litlyngton Missal (see 3.3.3) the B.11.3 initial has Abraham stayed in the moment of execution by the angel who catches the sword with one hand while pointing down to the ram with the other. The altar has a blue frontal in both, but in B.11.3 Isaac kneels on the ground rather than being on the altar, which is positioned to the side rather than being central. B.11.3 also has a tree which the Litlyngton Missal does not; the tree probably refers to the briers or thicket wherein the ram was caught.[107]

In my opinion, other initials from B.11.3 appear to be based on larger Litlyngton Missal initials that have been scaled down, therefore suggesting that the Litlyngton Missal was the book to be copied from. A powerful example of the B.11.3 being the smaller, later copy can be made through the comparison of the initials for All Saints (Litlyngton Missal, fol. 279v and B.11.3, fol. 240r, figs 3.37 and 3.38). The Litlyngton Missal has an initial with Christ seated, surrounded by a nimbed crowd, holding an orb, and raising his hand in blessing. A wide left border incorporates four scenes vertically, creating a tower of saints in the margin. The bottom scene has two maiden saints with long hair. Above them two apostles holding red books stand in front of a crowd. Next, two older women hold red books and on top, in the highest scene, is a pope crowned with tiara and holding a long-staffed cross; he is flanked by bishops with his right hand raised in an attitude of blessing. The artist of B.11.3 is ingenious in his conflation of the initial and border of the Litlyngton into just an initial. Centrally seated is Christ, who, as well as being very similar facially to the Litlyngton equivalent, in the same respective hands holds an orb and bestows a blessing. Either side of the seated Christ, in recognition of the tower of saints in the Litlyngton border, are three pairs of heads. The highest heads wear papal tiaras, the second two wear mitres, and the third are bare-headed and, therefore, are 'ordinary' saints.

Unfortunately the page which presumably held a rendering of the Crucifixion is missing from B.11.3 (once fol. 270), thus preventing what could have been a profitable comparison. Nevertheless, although B.11.3 is much smaller, does not hold the coronation order, and the artist cannot be convincingly identified with a Litlyngton Missal artist, this book is more like any

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[107] Genesis 22:13.

other that exists in the Litlyngton group with style, borders, and specific iconography being directly comparable in both. It is tempting to consider that B.11.3 may have had some connection to Westminster Abbey, beyond its figural inspiration, and even to tentatively entertain that it could be the 'new missal' named in the infirmarer's roll and illuminated by Thomas Rolf (see 3.1.4). Unfortunately, absence of heraldic clues, evidence in provenance history, or direct documentary proof make that thought no more than an intangible link based on similarity of iconography and a probable shared location of production. Furthermore, comparison of the calendars of B.11.3 and the Litlyngton Missal reveal some small differences.[108]

3.5: Conclusion

Those interested in the production of the Litlyngton Missal are lucky in having the Abbot's Treasurer's account of 1383-4 to help guide them. However, as this chapter's exploration has shown, the accounts, so vital in dating production and relatively forthcoming on information concerning the scribe, do leave much unexplained regarding the identity, number, and deployment of artists. One conclusion of this chapter must therefore be to urge caution; perhaps rather too much has been read into what the accounts really tell us regarding decoration. The two entries connected to payment for illumination cannot reliably reveal that the illumination work was undertaken by one workshop, or that the work was completed in the abbey. Neither can an estimated cost per illuminated letter be calculated as the term 'grossarum litterarum' covers a diversity of decoration beyond inhabited initials: miniatures, floral initials, border figures, non-figural borders of varying complexity, and possibly the thousands of one line letters scattered throughout the immense book. On the positive side, we can safely reckon that the artists were from outside of the abbey: other non abbey-related work exists by the Temporale Artist,[109] and probably the border artist. Had the work been undertaken by artists in the abbey's community, the accounts would reflect this by itemising art material costs, as they do for parchment and as is witnessed in the infirmarer's accounts of 1386-7. Also, the inexact nature of the term 'grossarum litterarum' in the accounts probably points to the payment of money to one person, possibly a stationer or workshop leader, who then divided payment between the artisans for their various tasks. That there was probably not one specific 'Litlyngton Missal workshop' is supported by the Temporale Artist's hand in other manuscripts as sole figurative

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[108] E.g. B.11.3 does not include 'Saint Cyriaci sociorumque eius martirum' that appears 1 April in the Litlyngton Missal. Legg does not mention the book in his section on Westminster books: *MEW,* p. xii.
[109] E.g. Keble Hours; *Libellus geomancie;* CUL, Add MS 4086.

artist or in conjunction with different artists,[110] but never again with the figurative artists of the Litlyngton. Admittedly, there could have been other manuscripts which are now lost.

Although it cannot be definitively ascertained whether the Litlyngton Missal artists were from one workshop or not, this chapter has assessed the illumination in order to understand how many hands were involved and which pieces they undertook, partly to propose a solution to the conflicting ideas of past scholarship. Chronologically, the first anomaly of attribution is on the Crucifixion page. Scrutiny of artistic style has strengthened the theory that the main work of the miniature was undertaken by a separate artist, whose only work is in the central miniature of this page. If the main miniature had been undertaken by the Sanctorale Artist, as has been proposed, it could appear incongruous to record a separate payment to him in the Litlyngton Missal Accounts as his other payment is included in a different entry ('grossarum litterarum'). It is, of course, plausible that a discrete payment might have been recorded for the Crucifixion page, even to an existing main artist, due to its size and isolated structure. However, when it is understood that the work contains the sole appearance of a specialist artist, it seems far more probable that the individual record of payment is related to that fact. Indeed, it could be argued that if the work was undertaken by the Sanctorale Artist, there would have been no need to paint the image on a separate page at all; a page in the relevant quire could have been left blank for him to fill.

 Another conclusion regarding the main miniature on fol. 157*v is that the Sanctorale Artist's involvement was probably greater than previously thought. Not only are the angels in the miniature in his hand, as persuasively proposed by East, but the sun and moon also appear likely as his devices. Furthermore, as well as the border images being by the Sanctorale Artist, the atypical irregularity of certain of the border features, and the integration of the border rinceaux into the main image lead to the conclusion that the Sanctorale Artist also did the border work. Therefore, a new appraisal of the Crucifixion page indicates that the work was accomplished as a close partnership between the Crucifixion Master and Sanctorale Artist and, therefore, that the former was also based in London.

 Observing the stages of illumination has highlighted that the illustration of the royal ceremonies constitutes a break to the otherwise smoothly organised illumination pattern of the missal. The significance of the peculiarly brief appearance of the Royal Miniatures Artist in a section begun by the Temporale Artist has previously passed unrecognised or unremarked, whereas such an abnormality must raise the question of whether it was ever an original intention to include the Royal Miniatures Artist in the illumination scheme.

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[110] E.g. Westminster Apocalypse and CUL, Add MS 4086.

Similarly, scrutiny of the Litlyngton Missal's artistic styles shows that the penwork initials should receive recognition as an important, if atypical, feature in the missal's decoration. While resembling the more naturalistic style of the Sanctorale Artist's work, effective comparison is hampered by the different technique and media to the other illuminations, which in itself probably indicates that none of the missal's other artists completed them. On balance, I lean towards a completely different hand being responsible: possibly the music scribe. Consideration of a different artist for the penwork initials would mean that there were five figurative artists' hands in the Litlyngton Missal.

Analysis of the artists' style reveals that the adaption of iconographic ingredients and the technical skills employed, or found wanting, individualises strengths and weaknesses per illustrator. It also underscores differences between them, where previously the artists have tended to be judged overly homogenously, to the point where incorrect assumptions have been made regarding the royal ceremonies, the Crucifixion miniature, and the Crucifixion borders. Closer examination of the styles, idiosyncrasies, and creativity of expression shows that the differences are as significant as the similarities and lead to definable artistic personalities.

An even-handed, unhomogenised assessment of the collective of artists also helps to redress the imbalanced focus of attention that the Crucifixion miniature has received. That the Crucifixion image is singled out for attention precisely due to its special nature makes it paradoxical that the best known and most seen image is the least representative of the illustration of the book. Arguably, high expectations have been placed on the other figurative artists due to the Crucifixion miniature and also because the book is large, expensive, and has consistently sumptuous borders. Thus, while broadly agreeing that 'The Litlyngton style is more vernacular than aristocratic',[111] in fairness, if the artwork is to be evaluated with regards to immediate predecessors and exact contemporaries, such as many of the Bohun Manuscripts,[112] or even those fellow members of the Litlyngton group with different artists,[113] then the artwork is on a par with, and indeed outshines, a good many of them.

There is an aesthetic consistency in the missal's presentation which suggests an overarching vision for the book that a stationer could have enforced. Janet Backhouse expressed the view that Thomas Preston, as the only named individual in the Litlyngton Missal Accounts, was

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[111] *GM*, I, p. 36.

[112] E.g. BL, MS Egerton 3277, c.1361-1373; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek MS Tott 547.4 (1380-1394) and Tott 517.4 (1300-1400).

[113] Oxford, Trinity College MS 8; BL, MS Add 16968; Hatfield, Marquess of Salisbury MS CP 292; Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.3; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc 188; Westminster Abbey MS 38; Cambridge, St John's College MS A.7 (see note 65).

entrusted with subcontracting the various elements of the book's illumination.[114] It is arguable that Preston's being the only name present in the Litlyngton Missal Accounts is proof enough to consider him as overseer, his being named could just as easily be due to his being housed in the abbey during his employment. However, it is true that Preston's role is pivotal to the missal's production. The illuminators could only begin their work once the scribe had completed any given section of the book. Additionally, and significantly, the pattern of illumination greatly favours sections being given out to artists at clearly defined stages in its creation, with probably only two artists initially intended as carrying out the figural work, not including the Crucifixion singleton.

Whether Preston acted as stationer or not, the Litlyngton Missal Accounts give helpful details on the later stages of the missal's production. The book was bound, covered, and had embroidery commissioned for the covers. The missal's binding was then further embellished with six bosses. As a final measure, the finished creation was furnished with a special bag so that the work of all the book's creators could be kept protected inside it.

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[114] Backhouse, *Sherborne Missal,* p. 12.

Chapter Four
The Litlyngton Missal and Royalty

Westminster Abbey is so historically linked to royal ceremony that the inclusion of a full coronation order of the kings and queens of England in a fourteenth-century abbot of Westminster's deluxe book might not seem particularly remarkable. Yet compared to other missals this element is very unusual, a point not recognised in the varied discussions regarding coronation orders. Royal ceremonies, including exequies, which are also in the Litlyngton Missal (fol. 224r), were more usually in discrete volumes and pontificals.[1] The only other commonly recorded occurrence of an English coronation order in a 'missal' is a far earlier example in the misnamed Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 579). The Leofric Missal is considered not truly to be a missal, but rather an amalgamation of a late ninth- or early tenth-century sacramentary and pontifical.[2]

In this chapter I hope to demonstrate that the inclusion of the three sumptuously decorated royal ceremonies (fols. 206r-224r) is a way of emphasising, validating, and extending particular privileges held by the abbey of Westminster. Analysis of the text and illustrations of the royal ceremonies will provide further evidence of Nicholas Litlyngton's wish to use his missal to promote the Benedictine house at Westminster to its best advantage. Viewing the text through the lens of the abbot and his house will also aid clarification of to what extent Litlyngton was involved in the compilation of the coronation order.

The Litlyngton Missal is one of three extant later fourteenth-century English books to contain illuminated texts for the coronation of a king alone or with his queen, coronation of a queen alone, and a king's funeral. The other two, the *Liber regalis* (Westminster Abbey Library MS 38) and the coronation order now held in the Pamplona Archivo General de Navarra (MS 197, hereafter the Pamplona Manuscript), are discrete volumes containing nothing other than the

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[1] E.g. Westminster Abbey MS 38 (*Liber regalis*), c.1380-1400; BL, MS Harley 2901, early fourteenth century ; Pamplona, Archivo General de Navarra MS 197, c.1380-90; Bodleian MS Rawlinson C. 425, early fourteenth century; CUL, MS Mm 3.21, 1327. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 20 (early fourteenth century) is an exception; chiefly an Apocalypse manuscript it also contains a coronation order in Anglo-Norman French (fols. 68r-72v).

[2] See introduction to *The Leofric Missal,* I, ed. by Nicholas Orchard (Woodbridge, 2002). For information on contents of missals see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 157-8.

three royal ceremonies.[3] Analysis of the text and iconography also helps to understand more clearly the relationship between the three books and forms a part of this chapter's discussion.

The unprecedented nature of the inclusion of such ceremonies in a missal brings forward the issue of where to locate them in the volume. Although by their nature the ceremonies are infrequent and generally had decades between their use, the quire holding the royal occasions is bound almost centrally in the book and divides the main sections of the Temporale and Canon of the Mass from the Sanctorale. They follow on from the Benedictions, also a rarer inclusion in missals. There is logic to bringing together these two sections as Benedictions, like coronation ceremonies, were more usually a part of a pontifical. However, whilst it is logical that the two sections should be together, their positioning at the centre is not. The explanation must surely lie in the wish to avoid relegating these prestigious pages to the rear of the book, the more expected place for occasional ceremonies in missals. The royal ceremonies placed centrally between the Temporale and Sanctorale, along with the Canon and Benedictions, emphasises the fact that embedded within the liturgical functioning of Westminster Abbey is the great privilege of being the institution responsible for the coronation of the kings of England.

4.1: The Coronation Order of the King

Historical custom together with royal and papal authority ensured that at the time of the Litlyngton Missal's production Westminster Abbey had long been the undisputed coronation venue of the kings of England. Charters and bulls of varying trustworthiness, ranging from real or partly genuine to completely forged, repeatedly assert the right of the abbey to be the holders of the regalia and to be proclaimed as the confirmed coronation church of England.[4] The tradition of Westminster as coronation site was so strongly felt that when the child-king Henry III was crowned in essential haste at Gloucester in 1216 (away from French occupied London) it was considered necessary to repeat the ceremony in the rightful location of Westminster in 1220.

The bond between the abbey and royalty is first evident with Edward the Confessor's particular patronage in the eleventh century. Edward himself had been crowned at Winchester and it was

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[3] *GM*, II, cats. 155 and 157. My thanks to Prof. Nigel Morgan for his generosity in lending me his copies of the Pamplona Manuscript facsimiles.

[4] Robinson discusses the reliability of the bulls and charters used by Flete: *FHWA*, pp. 12-18. See also, Percy Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 39-40; Emma Mason includes a list of writs and charters that she deems as under suspicion of interference from later hands in her appendix to *Westminster Abbey Charters,* 1066-c.1214 (London, 1988), p. 322.

William the Conqueror who set a crucial precedent in choosing the abbey for his coronation on Christmas Day 1066. That the church had been re-built by Edward the Confessor, and housed the last undisputed king's remains was probably significant in William's choice of location.[5] By the time of Litlyngton's abbacy, Westminster Abbey was unrivalled as the religious house most associated to the English monarchy. Association came through proximity to the principal royal palace and administrative centre, through the growing number of royal tombs in the abbey church, and, most crucially, through being the acknowledged site of the coronation. Appreciating the importance of the link to royalty makes it understandable that Abbot Litlyngton should include the coronation order in his show-piece missal. Additional motivation could be related to Litlyngton's personal role as acting abbot at the time of Richard II's coronation (see 2.5.4); including the order could have been an opportunity to record for posterity his presence at a coronation. A further motive is the almost indisputable certainty that Litlyngton, as discussed below, was involved in the compiling of the coronation order used for Richard II.

4.1.1: Historiography

The matter of the medieval coronation orders of England has been a widely contested subject amongst scholars.[6] The issue of development and chronology of the manuscripts containing the orders is unquestionably a complicated one and whether the unwieldy bulk of the missal was ever used on a coronation day itself or not, the Litlyngton Missal is universally recognised as being important as a datable and complete record of the Fourth Recension of the king's coronation order.

Despite differences of opinion on the finer details concerning the dating, provenance, influence, and authorship of the various manuscripts, Legg, Schramm, Richardson, Binski, and Hughes agree that the earliest version of the Fourth Recension was used in 1308 at the coronation of Edward II.[7] Also accepted is that the order in the Litlyngton Missal and the *Liber regalis* are closely related and were produced within a short time from each other. Whilst it is known that the Litlyngton Missal was produced in 1383-4, identifying when the *Liber regalis* was composed

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[5] David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London, 1964), chapter ten,'Willielmus Rex'.

[6] *ECR* (1901); H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, 'Early Coronation Records', *BIHR*, 13 (1935-6), 129-145; Schramm (1937); H.G. Richardson, 'The English Coronation Oath', *Speculum,* 24 (1949), 44-75; L. B. Wilkinson, 'Notes on the Coronation Records of the Fourteenth Century', *EHR,* 70 (1955); *Liber Regie Capelle,* ed. by Walter Ullmann (London, 1961); Andrew Hughes, 'The Origins and Descent of the Fourth Recension of the English Coronation', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual,* ed. by Janos M. Bak (Berkeley, 1990), pp. 197-216; Paul Binski, 'The *Liber Regalis:* Its Date and European Context', in *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych,* ed. by Dillian Gordon, Lisa Monnas and Caroline Elam (London, 1997), pp. 233-246.

[7] *ECR,* p. 81; Schramm, p. 74; Richardson, 'English Coronation Oath', p. 45; *WAP,* p. 130; Hughes, 'Origins and Descent', p. 197.

is more difficult. Schramm, Hughes, and Binski agree on the likelihood of the *Liber regalis* not having been produced for a specific occasion. Their arguments are a reaction to what Binski stated was a general assumption that it had been produced for the coronation of Anne of Bohemia as consort to Richard II in 1382.[8] From an art historical perspective, Marks and Morgan,[9] Sandler,[10] and Binski[11] favour a date later than 1377, Richard II's coronation year, and only reluctantly consider 1382 as early enough for the style of painting used in the miniatures. With the exception of Binski, these scholars reject the idea of a Bohemian influence.[12] The texts of the Litlyngton Missal and *Liber regalis* orders are all but identical, with the small differences being brought into concordance by the addition of marginal notes to the *Liber Regalis* from the Litlyngton Missal (discussed below).[13]

The *Liber regalis* shows signs of having been modified to concur with the Litlyngton Missal order of 1383-4, and would therefore seem to an earlier text being brought up to date. L. Wickham Legg, Schramm, and Hughes are of the opinion that the *Liber regalis* predates the Litlyngton Missal, despite the discrepancy of the too early appearance of the 'Bohemian' illumination style.[14] Also relevant to dating the *Liber Regalis* is the account of Richard II's coronation (TNA Close Roll i Ric. II. mem. 45).[15] Written in 1377, it follows almost exactly the structure of the order as presented in the Litlyngton Missal/ *Liber regalis*, even, as Schramm observed, copying from it exactly in places.[16] As we know that the Litlyngton Missal postdates the 1377 coronation by around six years, it might be assumed that the *Liber regalis,* if not a further unknown order of the Fourth Recension, was used as the model for the Litlyngton Missal's order. L. Wickham Legg hypothesised that the *Liber regalis* may have been the book held by the young king Richard II at his coronation,[17] and Schramm, Williamson, and Ullmann stated that the *Liber regalis* was the abbot's book just as much as the Litlyngton Missal. Although the texts are shared, discussion later in this chapter regarding the iconography of the *Liber regalis* and Litlyngton Missal leads to reconsideration of whether it can be considered 'the abbot's book'.

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[8] *WAP*, p. 194.

[9] Marks and Morgan, p. 86.

[10] *GM,* II, p. 178.

[11] Binski, '*Liber Regalis'*, pp. 233-246.

[12] An idea which gained currency after J. W. Bradley proposed it in 1901 in *Historical Introduction to the Collection of Illuminated Letters and Borders in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1901).

[13] As noted by both Wickham Leggs and Schramm.

[14] *ECR,* p. 81; Schramm, p. 80; Hughes, 'Origins', p. 200.

[15] Reproduced in *ECR*, pp. 131-168. The *processus factus* of Richard II also holds the first known minutes of the proceedings of the Court of Claims held before the coronation.

[16] Schramm, p. 87.

[17] *ECR,* p. 81; Schramm, pp. 80-88; Wilkinson, p. 592; Ullmann, p. 22.

Binski moved away from consensus in refuting the idea that the *Liber regalis* predates the Litlyngton. He has asserted that L. Wickham Legg's 'unguarded remark' regarding the marginal notes in the *Liber regalis* being 'brought into conformity'[18] with the Litlyngton Missal is the probable root cause of all later scholars' presumptions regarding the dating of the manuscript. He has argued that although there is a medieval hand in the marginal notes, some of the additions are in a seventeenth-century hand.[19] On this point, recognition should be extended to J. Wickham Legg, who, in his edition of the Litlyngton Missal, meticulously recorded in collation notes what the marginal additions to the *Liber regalis* were and where they occur in a seventeenth-century hand.[20] Binski does not question that the later marginal notes bring the *Liber regalis* into 'conformity' with the Litlyngton Missal, just when it happened. It is a point of some interest, which would impact strongly on our understanding of the date of the *Liber regalis*. However the question remains, why would the alterations to an otherwise identical text need to be made in a hand of any century unless the *Liber Regalis* predated the text with which it is brought into line? Relevant to this, Binski observed that both the Litlyngton Missal and the *Liber regalis* could have been copied from a 'third common text' as opposed to from each other; this is an engaging thought that bears consideration.[21] Binski's third text has remained unidentified, but the 1388 Westminster Abbey Vestry Inventory does note a coronation order that is unknown.[22] Even so, a common text does leave the difficulty of why there should be discrepancies at all (excepting scribal errors) and why all the modifications should be carried out from one text to another and not mutually. For example, the cursive marginal notes that occur in the *Liber regalis* are not present in the Litlyngton Missal. Binski himself admits that the only conclusion to draw about the *Liber regalis*, the Litlyngton Missal, and the other coronation order noted in the 1388 vestry inventory is that their 'historical relationship is fluid.'[23]

As seen in chapter three, elements of the *Liber regalis'* illumination style locate its production at Westminster-London. However, its first appearance in the abbey records is not until 1762 (WAM 51191), where it is noted as in the chapter clerk's custody.[24] Marks and Morgan proposed that a possible reason that it did not appear on abbey inventories is because it was kept with the

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[18] *ECR,* p. 81.

[19] Binski, '*Liber Regalis'*, p. 238.

[20] E.g. *MEW,* 675, n. 3.

[21] Binski, '*Liber Regalis'*, pp. 238 ff.

[22] CCA MS A 10: this 1388 inventory also records what has been identified by both J. Wickham Legg and Binski as Rawl.C.425.

[23] Binski, '*Liber Regalis'*, p. 239.

[24] Fronska believed that the *Liber regalis* can be tied to the abbey almost a century earlier based on Archbishop Sandcroft's annotations in the late seventeenth century (*Royal Manuscripts*, p. 354).

coronation regalia in the abbey, rather than in the library or under another obedientiary.[25] However, it does not appear in inventories of the regalia either. Editions of extant examples of these, as well as the complete *Liber regalis* coronation order, are included by L. Wickham Legg in his *English Coronation Records* and there is no reference to books in any of the regalia inventories spanning from the reign of Henry III to 1649. It may simply be that the *Liber regalis*, or any coronation order, does not appear on the regalia inventories as they were not classified as regalia objects, a fact borne out by the inclusion of the unknown coronation order in the 1388 inventory of the vestry.

The *Liber regalis*' Westminster origin is also reflected by its apparent use as a model for another Westminster related coronation order: the *Liber regie capelle,* a mid-fifteenth century manuscript now in Evora, Portugal.[26] Walter Ullmann's study and transcription of this later book reveals that 'the text in the *Liber regie capelle* was copied from the *Liber Regalis*... [as] demonstrated by a number of identical omissions.'[27] Ullmann also noted that there are a number of identical marginal rubrics and specifically makes the point that it was not copied from the Litlyngton Missal, which does not contain these marginal notes. The identical omissions make it unlikely that some other exemplar was used.

The *Liber regie capelle* was commissioned from the dean of the royal chapel (William Say) by Count Alvaro Vaz d'Almada for the young king of Portugal,[28] and the use of the *Liber regalis* as model might point to the *Liber regalis* as initially belonging to either the royal household at Westminster or the royal chapel. Certainly the members of the royal chapel were included in the royal ceremonies of coronation and funerals of kings and queens and therefore might be expected to have their own copy of the services. Of course, a more prosaic explanation might be that the *Liber regalis* was also an abbey book, but was used as a model purely because it is a more manageable volume from which to copy than the weighty Litlyngton Missal. In either case, it seems likely that the *Liber regalis* was in Westminster, if not the abbey itself, in 1449 at the time of the *Liber regie capelle'*s production.

4.1.2: The 'Lytlington *ordo*'

Whether the *Liber Regalis* predates the Litlyngton Missal, or whether the text was copied into both books from a now lost source does not affect the issue of who compiled this fourth form of

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[25] Marks and Morgan, p. 86.
[26] Evora, Biblioteca Publica CV 1-36 d.
[27] Ullmann, p. 22.
[28] The term 'royal chapel' refers to a body within the royal household.

the Fourth Recension.[29] L. Wickham Legg, Schramm, Wilkinson, and Ullmann[30] proposed that Litlyngton was personally involved in the revisions and Schramm even dubbed it the 'Lytlington *ordo*' saying 'whether this was actually his own individual work, or whether he did no more than supervise its compilation . . . the *ordo* appeared under his direction'.[31] H.G. Richardson doubted Litlyngton's involvement in the changes made to the *ordines*, calling it 'absurd . . . that the abbot of Westminster could, of his own volition, introduce changes . . . which affected, not only the clergy and the king's religious duty, but also the laity and the secular obligations of the king.'[32] Later scholarship seems to disregard Richardson's objections.[33] Also, whilst acknowledging the Litlyngton Missal, Richardson wholly neglected to discuss the *Liber regalis* and confusingly links the 1383-4 missal with a 1308 *Liber regalis,* whose provenance remains unexplored in his article. Schramm claimed that the revisions show insider knowledge into the charters of Westminster. He also discussed the coronation oaths and how the 'Lytlington *ordo*' makes a radical change in defence of the rights of the church through the introduction of a new fifth oath, not present in the earlier *ordines.* As Schramm indicated, through this new oath the king is not merely bound, as previously, to keep peace for the Church, but to maintain its privileges: 'canonicum privilegium ac debitam legem et iustinium'.[34]

In extension of Schramm's observation, Litlyngton's pronounced and dangerously exposed role in defending church law and privileges after the Shakell/Hawley affair in 1378 (see 1.2.1) hints that he was responsible for the inclusion of this oath in direct reaction to it. Interestingly, according to the already mentioned *processus factus* of Richard's coronation, the oath appears not to have been used, which Schramm notes without explanation. It is not inconceivable that the non-inclusion of the oath stems from it not having been added to the order used at the coronation in 1377, but that it appears *post factum* in the *Liber regalis* and Litlyngton Missal. This, together with the consideration of the oath as a reaction to the violation of Westminster Abbey's sanctuary rights, and Litlyngton's battle to reassert them in 1378, could have interesting implications for the dating of this fourth form of the Fourth Recension: it would certainly favour those who believe that the *Liber regalis* postdates 1377. Of course, it is natural to consider that Litlyngton had strong feelings on the matter of church privileges and included the oath as a matter of course before the Shakell/Hawley affair as an embodiment of a cause that he already

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[29] A recension is a version of the liturgical text of a coronation order, whereas a 'form' indicates differences to liturgy or instructional text within a given recension.

[30] *ECR,* p. 81; Schramm, pp. 80-88; Wilkinson, p. 592; Ullmann, p. 22.

[31] Schramm, p. 80.

[32] Richardson, 'English Coronation Oath', p. 46.

[33] E.g. Ullmann, p. 22: 'Both the *ordo* and the recension of the Missal [Litlyngton] are very probably the work of Abbot Lytlington. His coronation *ordo* has for a long time been designated as the *Liber Regalis*.'

[34] Schramm, pp. 202-213.

championed. This link between the content of this oath and direct relation to Litlyngton has not previously been made; at the very least, the new oath would surely point to the direct input of a cleric.

John Wickham Legg's edition of the entire Litlyngton Missal was published by the Henry Bradshaw society in 1891, and followed in 1901 by Leopold Wickham Legg's transcription and translation of various English coronation records, including the *Liber regalis*. Both father and son made meticulous reference to other relevant orders to enable the reader to understand where, and to what degree, divergence occurs. The manuscripts included in the collation for the coronation services in both Wickham Leggs' works are the Litlyngton Missal, the Westminster *Liber regalis,* and Bodleian, MS Rawlinson C. 425 (hereafter, Rawl. C. 425), this last being a Westminster pontifical, which J. Wickham Legg dated by the handwriting as being from the beginning of the fourteenth century.[35] J. Wickham Legg also used a second Fourth Recension *Liber regalis* privately owned by Mr Brooke[36] which Legg believed to have been copied from the Westminster *Liber regalis*.[37] L. Wickham Legg used CUL, Mm 3.21 (the Lincoln Pontifical) as his fourth text, believed by Wilkinson to be from 1327.[38]

Containing an earlier version of the Fourth Recension, Rawl. C. 425, the collations made by both Wickham Leggs show that much of the service in Rawl. C. 425 is synonymous with the Westminster *Liber regalis* and Litlyngton Missal and that the dominating difference is the extension of the rubrics in the later orders. Hughes believed that Rawl. C. 425 belonged to the abbot of Westminster and was made prior to the coronation of Edward II in 1308.[39] Through musical similarities and the litanies he connected this manuscript to the Litlyngton Missal.[40] J. Wickham Legg also made a strong connection through identifiable traits in some benedictions in Rawl. C. 425, thought previously to occur only in the Litlyngton Missal, and also via a Westminster Abbey vestry inventory reference from the time of the suppression (1540), this last also noted by Binski.[41]

J. Wickham Legg supplied another fascinating connection, which also dates the manuscript as probably being extant, and therefore possibly used, at the coronation of Edward II. In footnotes to the coronation order for the Litlyngton Missal J. Wickham Legg reproduced a record which

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[35] *MEW,* III, pp. vii-x.

[36] Thomas Brooke, was a book collector and author of *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Printed Books Collected By Thomas Brooke, F. S. A.* (1891).

[37] *MEW,* I, p. xiii.

[38] Wilkinson, p. 581.

[39] Hughes, 'Origins', p. 200.

[40] Hughes, 'Origins', especially p.211-212. N.B. the *Liber regalis* does not contain music.

[41] *MEW,* III, p. vii; Binski, '*Liber Regalis',* p. 238.

refs to an allowance to the Abbot of Westminster Abbey for cushions and cloths for the coronation. The record is written on the verso of a leaf before the commencement of the coronation service in Rawl. C. 425. The reference to 'Thome de Usflete' as clerk of the king's wardrobe places the reference in the reign of Edward II.[42] Examination of Rawl. C. 425 reveals that the memorandum has been completed in a different, more ornate, hand to the liturgical text of the pontifical with the text arranged so that it fills the page fittingly. I suggest that the subject matter and care in manner of recording probably indicate that it was copied onto the appropriate blank page after the coronation event for which the book had been used, and served as a reminder of abbey privilege for the next coronation.

The existence of Rawl. C. 425 at Westminster at the time of Edward II's coronation, and the similarities between it and the texts of the *Liber regalis* and the Litlyngton Missal, must make it a strong candidate for being the base text from which the later orders were compiled and extended. The significance of this should be considered in relation to Litlyngton's level of involvement as a compiler.

4.2: The Rubrics: Reading between the Lines

In the often complex discussions regarding manuscript chronology and development of recensions and differing forms of the various recensions, there is a consensus that the Fourth Recension was first used in 1308 at the coronation of Edward II and that the same was again used, unchanged, at the rather hasty coronation of his son in 1327. Edward III's reign was long enough to allow, without the pressure of hurriedness, for a careful revision of the coronation order.[43] Mainly, the studies connected to the coronation orders has focused on analysing how the changing oaths and liturgy reflect political events, shifting ideas of kingship, law, and royal responsibility to the realm. In a different approach, Hughes analysed liturgical music, notation, and tone, to assess how they can help place manuscripts of the Fourth Recension both chronologically and geographically.

However, the most immediately obvious difference between the 1308 order and the fourth form in the *Liber regalis* and Litlyngton Missal is not connected to liturgy, music, or oaths, but is the exponential increase in rubrics, a phenomenon apparent from the very first line. The opening generalised instructions in the rubrics of the earlier form of the Fourth Recension found in Rawl.

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[42] *MEW,* 676, n. 3.

[43] In the revisions, elements of the French Rheims and Fulrad orders were incorporated into the later English Fourth Recension orders: Schramm, p. 81-83; *WAP*, p. 131.

C. 425 cover just over one page of two twenty-lined columns holding an average of three to four words per line. The introductory rubrics of the fourth form of the same recension found in the Litlyngton Missal cover five pages of two thirty-two-lined columns with an average of five words per line.

The content of the rubrics has been overlooked in favour of discussing the more 'political' changes in the Fourth Recension. Yet in many ways the content of the rubrics provides the strongest confirmation of the involvement of Westminster Abbey and Nicholas Litlyngton in compiling the order.

A focused evaluation of the rubrics in specific relation to the abbey will allow clear insight into the complier's aims, and possibly shed further light on the level of Nicholas Litlyngton's involvement in the compilation of the order. Although it has been briefly noted that the rubrics of the revised Fourth Recension safeguard the rights of Westminster Abbey,[44] this would seem to be an overly dismissive appraisal of other messages contained in the massively expanded text. The ensuing discussion will follow different themes that present themselves in relation to the abbey within the rubrics, although some inevitably overlap and others seem to be nothing more than an opportunity to name the abbey whenever possible, a noteworthy fact in itself. In Rawl. C. 425 the abbey and abbot are mentioned only once in the whole of the ceremony.[45] The other numerous details relating to the both the abbey and its obedientiaries in the Litlyngton Missal are all new additions which do not feature in Rawl. C. 425.

4.2.1: The Abbot and his Obedientaries[46]

Edward III was king when Litlyngton was elected abbot of Westminster (1362), therefore at the time of revising the Fourth Recension, Litlyngton probably anticipated that he would be abbot at

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[44] E.g. Richardson, 'English Coronation Oath', p. 46; Schramm, p. 80; *WAP,* p. 131; Fronska, *Royal Manuscripts,* p. 354.

[45] The short opening rubrics include details relating to the procession leading the king from the palace to the abbey: 'Hiis peractis ordinetur in ecclesia per archiepiscopos Abbatem et conventum Westmonasterii et alios processio in capis sericis cum textis et thurilibus et aliis que processioni conveniunt.' (MEW 681, note).

[46] Appendix E has a chronologically arranged record in Latin and English of each reference to the abbey that occurs in the order. Also recorded are the minor differences between the rubrics of the Litlyngton Missal and *Liber regalis,* and between the Litlyngton Missal and Rawl.C.425. Unless otherwise stated, all English references in this chapter and Appendix E are taken from L. Wickham Legg's translation in *English Coronation Records*, referenced using *ECR*, followed by the page number. Although the *ECR* translation is technically of the *Liber regalis*, the coronation order is all but identical to the Litlyngton Missal and note has been made where differences occur. Latin references in this chapter and the appendix are given for both *ECR* and *MEW.*

the next coronation ceremony, due to the advancing age and reduced health of the king. Accordingly there is an inevitable self-consciousness regarding the abbot's role as it appears in the order. The following quotation is the first of many which occur in the rubrics of the coronation order and sets the tone for the abbot's role:

> And since it is well that the prince should be informed about these and other observances which have to do with the coronation, the Abbot of Westminster of the time being shall be the prince's instructor in these and other matters: and this office belongs to him alone.[47]

This initial mention of the abbot serves a threefold purpose: to emphasise the honour that the abbot holds through close association with the king on the coronation day, to show him as wise, and to mark out the privilege to be the prerogative of the Abbot of Westminster only. As happens on several occasions in the order, the compiler of the rubrics calls upon precedent as a mode of ensuring that rights and entitlements, not exclusively of just the abbey, are projected as being both genuine and ring-fenced. Employed on this occasion is the phrase, 'secundum modum et consuetudinem ab antiquissimis temporibus hactenus usitatem' (according to the manner and custom in use from the earliest times to the present).[48]

As mentioned in chapter two (2.5.4), the matter of the abbot's proximity to the king on this momentous day is included, more than once, and the degree of cachet intended by this should not be underestimated. The officiating archbishop of Canterbury anoints the king, and the abbot of Westminster is the only other person who touches the king at the holiest moment of royal unction; the abbot is charged with assisting the king in his re-vesting: 'When therefore the king has been thus anointed, the loops of the openings are to be fastened on account of the anointing by the Abbot of Westminster'.[49] The abbot is also responsible for vesting the king in the regalia at other points in the ceremony, and also for receiving the garments again when they are removed from the king at Edward the Confessor's shrine. Each time, arguably unnecessarily on certain occasions, the compiler of the rubrics painstakingly records that it is the abbot of Westminster who is to perform these duties, thereby accentuating the indispensability of the abbot at the ceremony.

The role of the abbot is accentuated via the compiler's repetition of the abbot's role, even when it refers to the same action. For example, the abbot's prerogative as person to vest the king is mentioned on three occasions: firstly, 'the loops of the openings are to be fastened on account

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[47] *ECR*, p. 113.

[48] *ECR,* p. 114. Latin: *ECR,* p.83*; MEW,* 676.

[49] *ECR*, p. 119.

of the anointing by the Abbot of Westminster or his deputy' (*ECR,* p.119); secondly, 'the king shall be clothed in his vestments by the Abbot of Westminster or his deputy' (*ECR,* p.119); and finally, 'The king thus crowned and vested with the regalia by the Abbot of Westminster'.[50] Such emphasis is not extended by the same reiteration to the Archbishop of Canterbury who has actually crowned the king.

Another telling example of accentuating the abbot's function comes in a repetition of the initial mention of the abbot. Having clearly set out that the abbot is to be close to the king and to act as his advisor (see above) the compiler repeats the phrase at the point when the king is to be lead to the high altar:

> [. . .] and the other Bishops, with the Abbot of Westminster or another monk of the same monastery elected for this purpose, as is above described, who must be always at hand at the king's side to instruct the king in matters touching the solemnity of coronation, so that everything may be done aright, shall lead the king with honour from the said stage to the high altar.[51]

The compiler takes the opportunity of portraying the abbot as wise and key to the success of the day. These examples seem conclusive evidence that someone with the abbey and abbot's importance at heart was involved in writing the rubrics for this updated Fourth Recension. As Schramm stated, the fact that Litlyngton was abbot at the time of their composition involves him by implication as, at least, overseer of the project.[52] As an extension to Schramm's tentative pondering on whether Nicholas Litlyngton was personally involved,[53] I strongly propose that the compiler's determination to highlight the role of the abbot would suggest that Abbot Litlyngton was involved on a personal level.

Nevertheless, the abbot's function at the ceremony should not be dismissed as simply meaningless emphasis by the compiler. The abbot was entrusted with grave responsibilities at the ceremony. Beyond being close to the king and involved in the holy moment of unction, the abbot played a pivotal role in the sacred moment of administering the Purification wine to the king and queen from the stone chalice of St Edward the Confessor, after they had received the Body of Christ.[54]

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[50] *ECR,* p. 121.
[51] *ECR*, p. 116.
[52] Schramm, p. 80.
[53] Schramm, p.80.
[54] *ECR,* p. 116.

Some elements of the role defined for the abbot are examples of him as guardian of the regalia belonging to the abbey, hence the especial notice made that when the king is divested of regalia at the Confessor's shrine the items are returned to the abbot (*ECR*, p.127). Like the chalice, the regalia had been donated to the abbey by Edward the Confessor and as such were relics; that the abbot should be in direct physical contact with the saintly items is another example of his singular status.

Two other members of the convent at Westminster are explicitly mentioned in the ceremony, the sacrist and the almoner. Above all, the sacrist is mentioned in connection with practicalities and the smooth running of the ceremony. For example, detailed note is made of the provision of the holy oil for anointing the king:

> And the sacrist is to provide that the phials for the oil and for the chrism be ready, of which one is to be gilt and to contain holy chrism. But the other is to be only of silver, and to contain only the holy oil.[55]

These particulars reveal a forward thinking approach on behalf of the compiler of the rubrics. Binski's appraisal of Westminster Abbey as a coronation space and his attempt to map the Fourth Recension service onto the various sections of the abbey church provides a useful insight into some physical logistics involved, matters which, as Binski pointed out, are often missing from the rubrics.[56] However, practicalities do occur on occasion. For example, the compiler directs that

> [. . .] the sacrist of Westminster is to take care that the royal ornaments and the great crown be early set with all honour upon the high altar, so that everything may be done without hindrance from the very great concourse of people which there is sure to be at such coronations.[57]

To find examples of such attention to detail within the rubrics resonates with echoes of the characteristics of foresightedness already encountered in the personality of Litlyngton.[58] Thus, in addition to the role of the abbot specifically within the rubrics, it is perhaps possible to discern the personal presence of the authorial hand of Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton in particular. As a minimum, the attention to detail in this case shows an insider's knowledge of Westminster Abbey on crowded occasions.

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[55] *ECR*, p. 119.
[56] *WAP,* pp. 130-131.
[57] *ECR*, p. 121.
[58] See 1.2.4.

In addition to the practical nature of including the role of the sacrist in the rubrics, identifying abbey officials in the coronation order emphasises the importance of the abbey at the solemn and splendid occasion of the king's coronation. Similarly, the other numerous references to the monks and convent magnify their role in addition to giving instructions on execution of certain matters. This aspect of the mixed purpose of the rubrics is interesting when we consider that members of the chapel royal would also have been involved in the ceremony, but are conspicuously absent from mention in the rubrics.[59]

4.2.2: The Rights of Westminster

As already witnessed in conjunction with the sacrist's role, the rubrics are in some respects very pragmatic. Indeed, the very first lines are concerned with the preparation of the stage in the crossing between the high altar and choir at Westminster, and how cloths and cushions should be arranged.[60] As well as an eye for such practicalities the rubrics include examples of when sensible instructions are given so that the convent of Westminster either gains, or at least does not suffer loss, in relation to the ceremony.

Possibly the inclusion of these aspects has led to the over-simplified judgement of the rubrics as serving to protect the abbey's interests.[61] Perhaps one of the reasons that this issue has caught scholars' attention to the exclusion of the rubrics' other concerns is because at times their inclusion seems slightly at odds with the tone of what is a religious service. Indeed, there are examples throughout the service of matters relating to abbey rights which range from a passing mention to a quite detailed discussion.

For an example of the former:

> that part of the ray cloth or burell spread out by the aforesaid almoner, as is described above, under the king's feet as he goeth, which is inside the church, is given always to the use of the sacrist, and the rest, which is outside the church, is given always to the use of the almoner.[62]

Similarly, when the king has been divested of the regalia and re-clothed in other garments at the shrine of Edward the Confessor at the end of the ceremony, it is written 'note that the outer

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[59] Ullmann, p. 22; Hughes, 'Origins', p. 213.

[60] *ECR*, p. 112.

[61] Richardson, 'English Coronation Oath', p. 46; Schramm, p. 80-81; *WAP*, p. 130; Fronska, *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 354.

[62] *ECR*, p. 114.

garments which the king wears that day before his coronation belong to the monk who is then keeper of the vestry of the monastery.'[63]

More striking are the two examples regarding material goods, which become quite detailed and move towards legalistic language. In these examples it is possible to perceive a measure of detail possibly born from previous experience or misunderstanding. The first concerns the canopy which the barons of the Cinque Ports hold over the king and queen. The rubrics clearly dictate that although the barons can keep the silken cloth of the canopy, the silver lances and silver gilt bells,

> [. . .] belong to the church of Westminster, so do the stage and all the carpets on it, with the silken cloths and cushions placed there by the king's servants...these are to remain in possession of the church where the king is crowned in accordance with ancient right and custom.[64]

In the Litlyngton Missal there is even a hand drawn in the margin which points to this line. This extra enforcement of the issue gives reason to believe that there had been a previous occasion when the protocol had either not been observed or had been challenged.[65]

Perhaps the most extraordinary example of this sort of detailed rubric is one concerning provision for the convent for the feast after the ceremony:

> And provision is to be made by the king's servants on that day that the Convent of Westminster receive on the same day from the king a hundred bushels of corn and a modius of wine, and of fish, as much as the king thinks fit. What a modius of wine is, and what the measure, may be seen from the words of Papias[66] in his Dictionary under the letter M at this word. And a gallon under the letter S at this word clearly means a Sextarium.[67]

This extraordinarily precise definition of weights and measures, which goes so far as to direct the reader to the correct entry in a dictionary, is a somewhat bizarre item to find in the coronation

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[63] *ECR*, p. 127.

[64] *ECR*, p. 115-6.

[65] There is no equivalent place to this in Rawl.C.425.

[66] Papias was a Latin lexicographer from the eleventh century whose dictionary, *Elementarium Doctrinae Erudimentum,* was widely dispersed. See Hans Sauer, 'Glosses, Glossaries, and Dictionaries in the Medieval Era', in *The Oxford History of English Lexicography*, I (Oxford, 2009), p. 30.

[67] *ECR,* p. 127-8. N.B. 'vidilicet iiij. viii. lagenas vini' has been added in lower margin of the Litlyngton Missal, *MEW,* 724, n. 2.

order of the kings and queens of England.[68] It seems almost an encroachment on a sacred office by the following festivities. After all, the coronation order is a part of the liturgy and surely not the place for a discussion of material or financial issues? It is tempting to think that this remarkable rubric alone is enough to understand that the rubrics were written by someone from the abbey; although somewhat jarringly out of place in the coronation order, this example accords with the perception of Litlyngton as protector and promoter of Westminster Abbey.

Other abbey rights are outlined in the rubrics, referring more specifically to the matter of safeguarding the role of individuals and the convent of Westminster as a whole in the ceremony. To such an end phrases like 'And the right of meeting the king that is to be in solemn procession belongs to the prelates of the realm and the monastery of Westminster alone'[69] occur with some regularity: language similar to that already witnessed in securing the role of the abbot and the coronation regalia. However, it should be recognised that the rights of others are also asserted. As an obvious example, in the opening passage of the rubrics it is clearly stated that the right of crowning and anointing the prince who is to be king belongs specifically to the archbishop of Canterbury, or to another bishop of his choosing should he be unable to undertake the office himself.[70] As personal friend to Archbishop Langham, Litlyngton may have had a special motive to uphold Canterbury's primate's position; Langham died just one year before Richard's coronation. Similarly, various nobles, bishops, and court officials are expressly named as having specific rights and roles assigned to them.[71] However, it is fair to say that the rights and roles of others are expressed neither as frequently nor as emphatically as those for Westminster Abbey.

4.2.3: Spirit of Place: The Abbey in the Rubrics

In the very first line of the coronation order, after the title, the rubric specifically names the church of St Peter's at Westminster as being the place where the ceremony should take place: 'First there is to be prepared a stage somewhat raised between the high altar and the choir of the church of St Peter at Westminster.'[72] Later, but still in the opening rubric, the identity of the church is repeated, 'the Bishops and other prelates with the nobles of the realm and the said

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[68] Richardson and Sayles (p. 138) mentioned that the reviser of this fourth form of the Fourth Recension seems to have taken the sentences regarding the banquet from the 1236 coronation service, but there is no specification of the matter of quantity of food and wine to be given to the convent.

[69] *ECR,* p. 114.

[70] *MEW,* 674. N.B. the archbishop of York is not suggested as his replacement.

[71] E.g. 'The Earl of Leicester serves that day as Steward, although the Earl of Norfolk may claim that duty. In nappery N. de Hastings will serve': *ECR*, p. 128.

[72] *ECR,* p. 112.

Convent of Westminster shall lead the king that is to be crowned from his palace at Westminster to the Church of St Peter at Westminster.'[73] This matter of location is pivotal, as from this one matter of the geographical setting of the ceremony shines all the associated glory onto the abbot and members of the convent at Westminster.

A comparison of the rubrics of the *Liber regalis* / Litlyngton Missal with Rawl. C. 425 reveals that the compiler of the later extended rubrics has taken the opportunity to pinpoint the coronation site. In the earlier book there is no specific naming of the Church of St Peter at Westminster; the place of coronation is simply termed *ecclesia*: church.[74] The only mention of Westminster is in relation to the royal palace there, from whence he should be led to the *ecclesia*. This change from the shorter rubrics of Rawl. C. 425, not the only one to favour the abbey, is a significant one. The revised rubrics have named the Church of St Peter at Westminster in the opening sentence, whereas before it remained an anonymous church, with the abbey church only assumed by implication. Perhaps particular clarification was deemed desirable as within processional distance from the palace was the church of St Margaret's and St Stephen's chapel.

Also noteworthy is the section towards the end of the order which, in a surprising mixture of legal terminology and lyrical language, claims the right of coronations and holding the regalia as an unassailable prerogative.

> Dicta uero sceptred liberabuntur statim finito prandio. et rege thalamum ingresso abbati westmonasterii siue alio monacho ad hoc assignato per manus dictorum regis et regine ut una cum aliis regalibus in dicto monasterio prout per bullas papales et regum cartas ac antiqua et semper obseruata consuetudine plenius habetur. quod sit locus regie institucionis et coronacionis. ac eciam repositorium regalium insignium imperpetuum. Sub hac enim racione in rescriptis papalium priuilegiorum et regalium cartarum ecclesia prefata scilicet ecclesia beati petri westmonasterii diadema regni nominatur. Capud pariter et corona tanquam ea que sola inter ceteras anglie ecclesias speciali prerogatiua prefulget.[75]

> Now the sceptres are to be delivered immediately after breakfast, when the king has gone into his chamber, to the Abbot of Westminster or another monk appointed for this purpose by the hands of the king and queen to be kept in the said monastery, as it is

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[73] *ECR*, p. 116.

[74] *ECR,* p. 86, n. 10; *MEW,* 681, n. 5: 'Et sic induti processionaliter regi future occurrant in palatio antedicto et sic ipsum processive in ecclesiam ducant'.

[75] *ECR*, p. 107; *MEW,* 724.

appointed to be the place of institution and coronation of kings and the repository of the royal ensigns for ever, by papal bulls and king's charters and old custom always observed. For this reason the said church of Westminster, that is the church of St Peter at Westminster, is called in rescripts of papal privileges and royal charters, the diadem of the kingdom, the head and crown, as it is the church alone which shines forth amongst the other churches of England by special prerogative.[76]

There are many items of note in this intriguing passage, not least of which is the number of lines that is devoted to ensuring that the point is effectively made. Also, the author of this tract has left no room for doubt as to which place is being described. Although easy to infer from the mention of the 'Abbot of Westminster' and 'the said monastery', the message is clarified by, 'the said church of Westminster, that is the church of St Peter at Westminster'. Even this clarification is doubly precise, just in case another church at Westminster might be understood as 'the said church'. Rather than being excessively careful the writer is probably using legal terms, in fact he calls upon the legal documents of the highest temporal authorities, papal bulls and kings' charters, in support of his claims (discussed below).

 Also of note is the description of the abbey church as 'the diadem of the kingdom ': 'diadema regni'. The metaphor is neatly apt for the church as coronation site, yet the claim is an elevated one. The rubric claims that St Peter's of Westminster does 'shine forth' above all other churches in England as 'the head and the crown': 'Capud pariter et corona tanquam ea que sola inter ceteras anglie ecclesias speciali prerogatiua prefulget'. Of course, Westminster Abbey did indeed lead in the field of coronation churches, but the intended idea is that by the very virtue of its position as coronation church it is therefore the highest in the land.

The fulsome language of 'diadem' and 'shines forth amongst other churches' is stylistically in awkward juxtaposition with the technical language that immediately precedes it and a functional and brief list of names, with associate duties, that comes after it, the latter acting almost as an gauche and anticlimatic postscript as the document ends immediately after.

More specifically, the claim within the rubrics is that that St Peter's of Westminster 'is called in rescripts of papal privileges and royal charters, the diadem of the kingdom'. More than appropriating the title of diadem, the compiler is stating that it has been called so by popes and kings. Whilst in the fifteenth century Flete devoted a whole chapter of his history of Westminster Abbey to copying various papal bulls and charters, which do frequently name the

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[76] *ECR,* p. 128.

privilege of holding the regalia and being the place of coronation,[77] nowhere in the transcribed documents do the words 'diadema' or 'prefulget' occur.[78] More interesting still, Flete, in the section directly after the transcripts, has taken the phraseology of the order and used it in his own praise of the abbey's status: '[. . .] from its first foundation, this is the place of royal consecration, the burial of kings and of keeping of the royal regalia; by merit is called the head and diadem of the realm, by antique custom.'[79] It is possible that the phrases may have come from charters or bulls that are now lost, but in the case of Flete, he seems to have taken it from the order itself and not from any of the documents that he had copied. In which case, although the rubrics in the *Liber regalis* and Litlyngton Missal state that the elevated title of diadem comes from those in authority, until an original document with such wording is located, there remains the possibility, albeit remote, that it is an example of self-aggrandisement.

The striking inclusion of this rather ornate praise within the frame of a liturgical setting would appear to be an opportunistically placed promotional tract for Westminster Abbey. It is more powerful as it comes at the end of solid staking of ceremonial territory through iteration of the role of the abbey and its monks throughout the rubrics. It also shows a realistic awareness of the strength of the abbey in holding an absolute monopoly as being the church of the sovereigns of England.

4.2.4: Reflections on the Coronation Rubrics

The Westminster provenance of the various Fourth Recension orders, the time frame, and the contents of the rubrics strongly suggest that revisions were made by a member of Westminster Abbey, and therefore, inevitably, that Abbot Nicholas Litlyngton was involved at some level. However, important factors have been disregarded with regards to the degree of his involvement and authorship.

The strong endorsement of the role of the abbey and the abbot in the rubrics fits with the motivation of promotion that we witness as a point of continuity employed by Litlyngton in his

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[77] *FHWA,* chapter seven and pp. 46-64. One example of the regalia rights of Westminster Abbey comes from the papal bull of Paschal II (1099-1118)'permittiumus et confirmamus ut locus ille regiae constitutionis locus sit atque insignium regalium repositorium': p. 48. See pp. 12-18 for Robinson's discussion of these documents, including the dubious veracity of certain of Edward the Confessor's alleged charters.

[78] The word 'prefulget' is also used with reference to the church of St Peter at Westminster in the tale of the *miracula* tale of the 'Blind Boy of Westminster' (see 2.3.3).

[79] *FHWA,* p. 63: 'et quia ex primitiva fundatione locus iste est regiae consecrationis, regum sepultura, epositoriumque regalium insignium ; caput Angliae merito diademaque regni ab antiquo nominatur.'

acts of patronage and building. Moreover, it is plausible that the coronation order was written during the archbishopric of Simon Langham, Abbot Litlyngton's predecessor at Westminster and personal friend.[80] This relationship with the prime prelate of the coronation ceremony in addition to the proven good favour of King Edward III towards Litlyngton would leave Litlyngton both exceedingly well-placed and well-informed for revising the order.[81] Additionally, he would have had access to the previous coronation orders known to have been in Westminster Abbey, such as Rawl. C. 425. Furthermore, as we have seen, elements of the writing show traits of legal exactitude and fore-sightedness in gauging possible problem areas, a trait evident in other cases bearing Litlyngton's influence. Finally, aside from the rubrics, the tantalising matter of the new fifth oath, which binds the king to protect canon law and privileges is in keeping with Litlyngton's mentality and actual deeds as witnessed by his actions at the Gloucester Parliament in 1378.[82] Even if Litlyngton delegated the revisions of the fourth form of the Fourth Recension, including changes to the oaths, it is highly likely that he was ultimately responsible for the revisions of the greatly developed rubrics which bear hallmarks of his *modus operandi*.

Regarding the inclusion of the coronation order in the Litlyngton Missal, the motivations are now revealed to be strong and varied. My original premise that the inclusion of royal ceremonies within the glamorous book served to raise both the honour and the profile of the abbey, and subsequently reflect glory onto the abbot of the establishment, still holds true. However, there is additional impetus for the patron to include the order: personal experience of the event itself. Not only was Litlyngton a participant at Richard II's coronation, reason enough to record the occasion in some way, but also he was responsible for part, if not all, of the revisions to the Fourth Recension. Throughout the order there is a meshing together of different, disjointed, and possibly jarring, tones and timbres ranging from biblical, liturgical, and legalistic to poetic, which diversity aptly reflects the differing purposes and varied reasons for the order's inclusion in the missal.

4.3: Coronation Illuminations

As might be expected, the illumination of the section of the missal dealing with the royal ceremonies is opulent. Apart from the full page miniature of the Crucifixion, the illumination of the three royal occasions witnesses the only other miniatures in the missal; all other illumination

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[80] See 1.2.6.

[81] For instances of the king's favour towards Litlyngton, see 1.1.2.

[82] See 1.2.4.

is either inside borders or initials. The borders of the three opening pages related to the ceremonies are also amongst the most richly figural.

Having examined the rubrics of the king's coronation order in specific relation to the abbot and abbey, the same level of scrutiny can be extended towards the illuminations of the royal ceremonies. The texts for the queen's coronation and the king's exequies will be considered in direct relation to the accompanying pictures. As well as reading and interpreting the images this section will also consider whether the images of all three ceremonies relate specifically to Westminster Abbey, and if Litlyngton's promotion of the abbey, so palpable in the rubrics, is visible in the accompanying iconography. In light of the revised rubrics, it is pertinent to assess whether there is accompanying innovation and message in illustration, and to what extent the images relate both to the text and to other examples of English coronation scenes, particularly those other royal ceremony manuscripts usually linked to the Litlyngton Missal.

4.3.1: The King's Coronation Miniature

The miniature of the king's coronation has already been discussed in terms of whether it contains a representative portrayal of the Abbot of Westminster at the ceremony. However, this highly illuminated first page of the king's coronation order (fol. 206r, fig. 4.1) deserves further attention to establish whether it holds other messages beyond the possible pictorial ousting of the archbishop of York by the Abbot of Westminster (see 2.5.4).

The miniature fills a column width and stands seven lines high. The image depicts the very moment of the king's receiving the crown. In many ways, excepting the previously argued point that the mitred figure to the right of the king is the abbot of Westminster and not the archbishop of York, the image contains iconographic similarities to former and contemporary English coronation images, although this issue itself is a movable feast.

The iconography for a king's coronation in English portrayals, different in some respects to coronation scenes from different countries, typically includes various common yet inconsistent elements. A comparison between iconographic features of nine scenes found in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English manuscripts (Table 4.1) allows an overview of the visual pedigree that is associated with the coronation of English kings.

Table 4.1: Images of the Coronation of English Kings from 13th and 14th Century Manuscripts

Manuscript	Date & Origin	King shown	Crowned by both archbishops	Oil	Type of throne	Sceptres: Type and number	Sword: number & bearer	Orb	Number of laymen	Number clerics	Heraldry	Bearded king
BL, MS Loan 94, fol. 53 Cheetham's *Flores Historiarum*	c.1265-1320 Westminster Abbey	Arthur	Yes	No	Bench	1 x fleur-de-lis	0	0	1	**4:** 2 mitred 2 tonsured	No	Clean shaven
BL, MS Loan 94, fol. 115v Cheetham's *Flores Historiarum*	c.1265-1320 Westminster Abbey	Edward the Confessor	crowning not shown	Yes, act of anointing shown	Bench	1 x dove	4 held by laymen	0	c.9	**4:** 2 mitred 1 tonsured 1 ?	No	Clean shaven
CUL, MS Ee.3.59, fol .9 *Estoire*	c.1255 London?	Edward the Confessor	crowning not shown	Yes, act of anointing shown	Bench	1 x fleur-de-lis	0	0	4	**6:** 2 mitred 4 tonsured	No	Clean shaven
BL, MS Cotton Vitellius A. XIII, fol. 6	1280-1300 England	Henry III	Yes	No	Possibly with a back	1 x floral	0	0	0	**2** mitred	No	Bearded
Cam. Corpus Christi Coll. MS 20, f. 68. Apoc. and Order	1330 (?)-1339	Possibly Edward III	Yes	Yes 2 x chrismatory	Gable back throne (similar to Ed I's Chair)	1 x floral	0	Yes, with cross	13	**7:** 6 mitred 1 tonsured	No	Bearded
Westminster Abbey MS 38, fol. 1v *Liber regalis*	Late 14th century Westminster	unknown	Yes	No	Low backed undecorated	0	0	0	2	**2** mitred	No	Bearded
Litlyngton Missal, fol. 206r	1383-4 Westminster	unknown	No, only left figure	No	Bench	1 x floral	1 held by layman	0	1	**4:** 2 mitred 2 tonsured	Yes	Clean shaven
Archivo General de Navarra, MS 197, fol. 1 C'nation Order	Post 1383-4 Westminster	unknown	Yes	No	Bench	1 x floral	2 held by laymen	0	2	**4:** 2 mitred 2 tonsured	No	Clean shaven
BL, MS Cotton Nero D.VI, f. 70r Royal Docs.	1386-99 London	Richard II	Yes	No	Backed 3 slim pinnacles	1 x fleur-de-lis	0	Yes, with cross	0	**2** mitred	No	Clean shaven

Clearly highlighted by the comparison is that, apart from in the Litlyngton Missal, when crowning is shown it is executed by both archbishops. This gives extra strength to the notion that the Litlyngton Missal image holds the archbishop of Canterbury and abbot of Westminster rather than two archbishops, Canterbury and York. Also clear is that sceptres are a constant feature, appearing in all but one scene but without being of a fixed type, whereas orbs are used just twice. The findings show that the now iconic Westminster Abbey symbol of the Coronation Chair of Edward I simply did not form a part of the traditional coronation iconography.[559] There is an isolated incident when a similar throne is portrayed in CCC MS 20 (fig. 4.5). There are parallels in the gabled and crocketed back, yet it lacks the throne's uniquely defining feature of the repository built to house the Stone of Scone captured from the Scots in 1296.[560] Although the king's gown partly covers the base, the repository is not there. Even so, Warwick Rodwell convincingly reasoned that there are too many similarities to countenance coincidence.[561] Binski has stated that the idea of the continuity of kingship through the use of Edward I's coronation chair is really a 'secondary myth' and brought to attention that although there is no positive evidence against the chair being used, the first known occasion of its use is for the coronation of Henry IV in 1399.[562]

Binski made the point that English depictions differ from French as they are single representative images and are not documentary or instructional. In particular he uses the example of the Capetian order (BNF, MS lat. 1246) which has fifteen step-by-step pictures of the coronation process.[563] English coronation scenes are a conflation of the whole ceremony, which, to some extent, explains the inconsistency of elements, with even anointing being shown on a minority of occasions. None of the English coronation scenes depicts the coif applied to the king's head after unction, before crowning, and worn for seven days.[564]

In the Litlyngton miniature, the king is seated centrally upon a backless throne, decorated with simple devices. His clothes are fittingly sumptuous: a pink robe with a pattern of gold crosses is seen beneath a tooled gold leaf cloak with red pattern and lining. This already lavish ensemble is further enriched by an ermine tippet, which sits over the cloak, or is possibly intended to be a

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[559] See Warwick Rodwell, *The Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone: Archaeology and Conservation* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 23-26.

[560] The use of the more ornate throne coincides with the more architectural thrones depicted on great seals from the end of Henry III's reign.

[561] Rodwell, p. 23.

[562] *WAP,* p. 140.

[563] *WAP*, p. 128.

[564] *ECR,* p. 119: 'The coif is to remain continuously on the king's head for seven days.'

part of that garment. In an incorrect chronological conflation of events, the king has already received the sceptre, which he holds in his right hand as he looks directly out at the viewer.

The archbishop of Canterbury, in a gold patterned blue cape, is removing his hand from the crown which he has just placed on the king's head whilst the other mitred figure, in cloth of gold cape with red chevrons, has a solicitous hand on the king's back and another on the monarch's bent forearm. Each cleric is accompanied to their left by a tonsured figure dressed in alb and grey fur almuce. Behind the archbishop the figure holds a processional cross and the other holds a crosier. To the extreme right of the image stands a bare-headed lay figure dressed in white hose and blue doublet with shoes of the same colour. He is bearded and leans out past the bishop so as to view the scene more clearly. In his left hand he holds a large sword; presumably representative of all the ceremonial swords, Curtana being the chief one, the carrying of which in the coronation procession was the duty of the lay nobility.[565] Strangely, the layman is standing on grass with daisies when the scene would otherwise seem to be in an interior. Without doubt, the flower speckled grass has been included deliberately and the Temporale Artist has painted over a section of the red quatrefoil frame to enlarge it. I suggest that the introduction of grass into the image symbolises the lay nature of the man who stands upon it as well as making a reference to the procession from outside the abbey into its interior; the grass symbolises what is outside of the abbey in the temporal world of the laymen. Grass under a layman's feet is unique to the Litlyngton depiction of the coronation: it does not appear in the Pamplona Manuscript which is understood to be modelled on the Westminster missal. Placing the only layman present on grass to indicate his secularity and movement from exterior to interior reveals an economically powerful use of symbolism within a limited space, one of the Temporale Artist's strengths.

4.3.2: The King's Coronation Borders: Heraldry

The border on this page, aside from the usual blue and gold fretted knots, contains roundels and cartouches with figurative imagery, including heraldry. The use of heraldry already sets the iconography apart from depictions in the associated manuscripts of the *Liber regalis* and Pamplona Manuscript and appears to be unique to the Litlyngton Missal (see Table 4.1).The top and bottom borders contain three shields apiece, located in the four corners and at the top and bottom of the middle bar, which serves to divide the two columns of rubricated text. The shields at central top and bottom bear the English royal arms with the blazon, g*ules three lions passant*

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[565] *ECR,* p. 115: 'Then shall follow three earls clothed in silk carrying swords. The Earl of Chester, who claims the chief right of carrying the sword called Curtana, shall bear the same.'

guardant in pale or; their appearance on this coronation folio is obvious (fig. 4.2). Less evident is why the older royal arms have been used as opposed to those that were adopted by Edward III, and subsequently used by his descendents, when he made claim to the French throne in 1340. The royal arms from c.1340 to 1603 included quartering the lions *passan*t with varying forms of *fleur-de-lys or*.[566] At the time of the missal's production the arms had been in use for roughly forty years. They appeared on coins from Edward III's reign onwards and the Temporale Artist himself paints them in a 1386-1399 depiction of Edward III giving Aquitaine to the Black Prince (fig. 4.14, BL, MS Cotton Nero D VI). Additionally, Richard II sometimes impaled the quartered royal arms onto the shield of Edward the Confessor as a personal coat of arms as a sign of his veneration of the saintly king.[567] Oversight or compositional designs are just as likely to be motives for the anomalous use of the older arms as an unknown political message. However, it deserves to be noticed that elements of uncertainty exist.

It may seem equally puzzling that on this particular page, there is no heraldic reference to the patron of the book through the Litlyngton shield or personal monogram. The lack of patronal presence appears more striking still when considered in terms of Litlyngton's probable involvement in the revision of the coronation order and also that he had personally assisted at the coronation of Richard II. However, the omission of the patronal marks here acts as a support to the earlier hypothesis that the mitred figure to the right of the king in the miniature is the abbot of Westminster. The top left and right corners have roundels containing the arms of the abbot of Westminster (*or indented azure,* with *crosier gules* in the first quarter, fig. 4.3). In using the abbot's arms, as opposed to his personal device, Litlyngton attaches the coronation role to the abbot of Westminster rather than to any one man. Naturally, as the easily identified abbot-patron of the missal, the abbot's arms and the possible representation of the abbot in the king's coronation miniature could bring Nicholas Litlyngton to the beholder's mind, but in using the abbot's arms it was unequivocally in his function as abbot, rather than nobleman, that Litlyngton had a defined role at the coronation. Furthermore, just as with the repetitious and cogently delineated role of the abbot in the rubrics, using the abbot of Westminster's heraldry here explicitly asserts the privilege for Litlyngton's successors.

The bottom left and right corners contain the arms of Edward the Confessor, which are also Westminster Abbey's arms and therefore a corroboration of the integral nature of the saint to the place (fig. 4.4). On the occasion of the king's coronation these two elements of both saint and place are significant. As abbey arms, they indicate the importance of the location of the coronation, and as such pictorially fortifies that fact stated in the rubrics. As the saint's arms

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[566] Fox-Davies, p. 271.
[567] E.g. the Wilton Diptych, tempera on panel, c.1390, National Gallery, London.

their presence not only links the newly-crowned monarch with a royal saint, but also consolidates the continuity of kingship, accentuated further as the coronation regalia itself had once belonged to the Confessor and is mentioned unambiguously in the order. The abbey and Confessor arms on this opening page to the coronation ceremony act as a positive endorsement of the abbey where the crowning and anointing took place mere steps from the prized shrine of the Confessor. Thus the direct connection to Westminster discerned via heraldry on the coronation page complements and extends the sentiment expounded in the rubrics of the order.

4.3.3: The King's Coronation Borders: Prophets

In the borders, five prophets inhabit each of the left and right vertical borders. Elegantly dressed in robes of varying colours adorned with gold, these ten figures all wear gold topped hats, representing Jewish headwear,[568] to indicate that they are the Hebrew prophets of the Old Testament. Each of the men holds a scroll, a rare trope in the Litlyngton Missal, with abbreviated writing indicating their identity.

Depicting prophets in the borders includes them as prestigiously holy witnesses to the coronation taking place in the miniature they flank; this is especially true of the prophet Daniel who stands in the left border. He is the same level and height as the figures in the miniature and from whom he is separated by the merest strip of white frame (fig. 2.31). The role of prophets in a king's coronation is a pivotal one acting as a biblical link to the practice of anointing.[569] The most obvious connections are to David's anointing by the prophet Samuel and Solomon's by Nathan, both of which are explicitly referred to in the order. Reference to Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet's anointing of Solomon as king is found in orders stretching back to the first English coronation order. At the point of anointing in the service, a ninth-century pontifical coronation order for an English king uses the words 'Uncxerunt [sic] salomonem sadoc sacerdos et nathan propheta regem' and indicates that they should be used as an antiphon.[570] In the 'Litlyngton *Ordo*' the same words are used with the rubric instruction that the choir should sing the words as an antiphon: 'Choro interim concinnente antiphonam'.[571] A less well-known connection to the prophets and unction also appears in the coronation order:

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[568] For discussions of this phenomenon see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1993); Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton, 2003).

[569] 1 Samuel 16:1-14; 1 Kings 1:45.

[570] *ECR,* p. 4.

[571] *ECR*, p. 92.

[. . .] and afterwards by the effusion of this oil, you made priests, and kings, and prophets, to govern your people Israel, and by the voice of the prophet David foretold that the Countenance of your Church should be made cheerful with oil.[572]

By the inclusion of prophets in the Litlyngton Missal iconography 'priests, and kings and prophets' are all represented as per the text. This reference also shows that prophets were amongst those anointed as God's chosen, as does 'Ungantur manus iste de oleo santficato unde uncti fuerunt reges et prophete [sic] et sicut Samuel David in regem.'[573] As both anointers and anointed, prophets in the text and image of the coronation order in the Litlyngton Missal implies a stronger significance than simply as the conductors of God's holiness. Kantorowicz, who calls upon medieval sources such as the Norman Anonymous of c.1100,[574] noted that the king assumes Christic elements through being anointed; the images of the border prophets are further reminders of the king taking on their wisdom and power as well as receiving their blessing and holy witness. Significantly, the visual inclusion of prophets makes a pictorial reference to anointing without the act being shown in the miniature.

Understanding the importance of prophets to the coronation ceremony helps to explain why they should appear in the borders in the Litlyngton Missal, but does not explain why their inclusion should be such a rare occurrence in the iconography of English kings' coronations generally. The miniatures in the *Liber regalis* do not include prophets, and indeed have no borders. Prophets are equally absent from the Pamplona Manuscript. In his work produced for the Navarra archive, Florencio Idoate stated that the text and image of the Pamplona Manuscript rely heavily on the Litlyngton Missal.[575] Although undoubtedly true, there are also some notable differences. The composition of the Pamplona king miniature (fol. 3r) is rigidly symmetrical and therefore has two laymen, one on each outer edge; they both hold a sword (fig. 3.33). Also different is that the albed figure to the right holds a book and each of the mitred figures holds the crown in an act of shared coronation of the king. Only six figures inhabit the borders: temporal kings, not prophets.

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[572] *ECR*, p. 91: 'et postea per huius unguenti infusionem ad regendum populum israeliticum sacerdotes ac reges et prophetas perfecisti uultumque ecclesie in oleo exhilarandum per propheticam famuli tui uocem dauid esse predixisti.'

[573] Latin: *ECR,* p. 92; *MEW,* 693. 'Let this hand be anointed with holy oil as the kings and prophets were anointed and as Samuel anointed David as king.'

[574] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957) chapter three, and, p.48 where he quotes the Norman Anonymous: 'The power of the king is the power of God. This power, namely, is God's by nature, and the king's by grace. Hence, the king, too, is God and Christ, but by grace; and whatsoever he does, he does not simply as a man, but as one who has become God and Christ by grace.'

[575] Florencio Idoate, *Ceremonial De La Coronacion, Uncion y Exequias De Los Reyes De Inglaterra* (Navarra, Temas de cultura popular, no. 254), p.5. The Pamplona Manuscript has one text column per page.

Thus, not only are depictions of prophets at coronations absent from the two books most closely associated with the Litlyngton Missal, but they also do not appear in the other well-known examples of English coronation scenes either. Prophets at the coronation in the iconography of English coronation orders seem to be an occurrence unique to the Litlyngton Missal.[576]

Although at first the Litlyngton miniature might seem a conventional representation of the king of England's coronation, there exist a number of iconographical elements on this entire page, through either omission or inclusion, which have notable features and innovations complementing and reinforcing the text of the order. In parallel with the text of the rubrics, the heraldry adorning the borders reflects the heightened role of the abbot of Westminster and his abbey, despite the anomaly in the use of the older royal arms. Furthermore, the illumination of the borders shows a so far unnoticed innovation in the iconography through an expansion of the subject matter to include depictions of heraldry and prophets; again, as seen above, these latter are linked to the text of the order, with a direct link to the otherwise absent act of anointing. In the miniature, the inclusion of two assisting monks in an image with only six figures total is a pictorial equivalent of the written reminders in the coronation rubrics to note the importance of the abbey. The rubrics of the order provide insight into the mitred figure conventionally considered to be the archbishop of York and give a strong basis for considering that it is, in fact, a representation of the abbot of Westminster. The full discussion is in chapter two (2.5.4), but in brief here: the attitude of the mitred figure to the right directly reflects the rubrics which specifically state, twice, that the abbot should be the king's 'support' and that he should vest the king and close his sleeves after anointing has taken place. Not to be forgotten is that the archbishop of York, unlike other clerics, remains steadfastly unmentioned in the order.

4.3.4: The Queen's Coronation

One of the reasons why the Fourth Recension was revised, according to scholarly consensus, was to allow for the creation of a ceremony where a queen might be crowned alone. Until the coronation of Anne of Bohemia in 1382, this had not happened since the coronation of Henry III's spouse, Eleanor of Provence in 1236. The order that appears in the Litlyngton Missal was later copied into Rawl. C. 425 where it had not previously existed in any form.

Although undertaken by a different artist, the illumination for the queen's coronation, fol. 221v (fig. 2.35), has similarities in style and composition to those for the king's coronation. The

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[576] Coronation scenes in chronicles and biblical works do not depict prophets (other than Nathan in images of David's anointing) and are therefore not useful as comparisons.

figurative illumination on this folio is the first of only two instances of the work undertaken by the Royal Miniatures Artist (see 3.4.7) and in considered continuity the miniature has the same dimensions and position as the king's. The borders contain figures, although these are evenly spaced at thirds both horizontally and vertically as opposed to being solely in the left and right vertical borders. There are nine figures with the intercolumnar border also being populated; there is no heraldry.

In emphasis of the importance of women on this occasion, the left border holds three female figures depicted in contemporary dress. All the left border figures wear blue gowns, mirroring the queen's in the miniature. The central border figure is a queen wearing a jewelled hair net and crown (fig. 4.7). It is more difficult to distinguish the headwear of the top and bottom border females. The three females have their hair up in contrast to the queen in the miniature, who wears it loose for the coronation. Therefore, rather than being repeat images of the queen, it is conceivable that the top and bottom women are representations of the noblewomen of the realm who are named in the rubrics as attending the queen at her coronation: '[. . .] the noble lady who is always to attend on the queen'; 'And the noble women of the realm shall follow her, the noblest whereof shall always attend on the queen, as is aforesaid, to accompany and relieve her'.[577] These quotes indicate that the abbot played no role in personally assisting the queen.

The six figures in the middle and right borders are male musicians with various instruments (fig. 4.6).[578] In fascinating contrast to the gravitas lent to the king's coronation through prophets in the borders, here, the queen's coronation border figures encourage the viewer to levity: celebration as opposed to exaltation. Interestingly, as another mark of difference between the illuminations of the two manuscripts, in the Pamplona Manuscript musical angels do populate the borders. The Litlyngton musicians are dressed in hose, sometimes bi-coloured, with belted and buttoned tunics. All the border figures are separated by an intricate twining of blue, red and white foliage and stems on a gold background. Various paired leaves and flowers spread into the margins around the borders.

The miniature is more conventional in both its composition and subject matter than the king's coronation miniature. A queen sits on a throne central to the rigidly symmetrical composition. On either side of her is a bishop, presumably the archbishops of Canterbury and York, identically dressed in capes with red chevrons on a lighter peach background with gold collars and edging. Beside each bishop, on the far left and right of the picture, stands a tonsured crucifer, also identically dressed in albs with red apparel. As a final point of symmetry, both bishops are

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[577] *ECR,* pp. 123 and 124.
[578] Harp, bagpipes, harp, nackers, rebec, and horn.

holding either side of the crown in both of their hands, making a bridge over the queen's head with the crown as capstone and just about to be placed on the queen's head. Noticeable for its non-symmetry, the cross by the archbishop of Canterbury, traditionally on the left, is larger than the cross on the right. If an intentional difference, it is possible that this refers to the primate's higher standing.

The figure of the queen acts as the focal point of the picture not only by her centrality, but also by the splash of her blue gown that draws the eye.[579] The queen has already received the sceptre which she holds in her left hand and her right hand is lifted to her breast in a gesture reminiscent of humble acceptance or surprise commonly given to the Virgin in Annunciation scenes. Her loose hair and generic blue gown with gold cape also engender comparisons to Mary; the whole effect is of solemnity, which contrasts with the border figures. The throne here is very different to that used by the Temporale Artist in his miniature; it has ornamented sides and a back rather than being a simple bench throne. Set in the stone, represented in silver here, seem to be blue leaded panes. Most strikingly of all, it has two crocketed pinnacles rising like architectural spires above the bishops' mitred heads and beyond the upper blue frame of the miniature itself. In many ways, the throne resembles a church building, more cathedral than *cathedra*.

Comparison with the *Liber regalis* and Pamplona Manuscript shows the Litlyngton Missal miniature conforms to type both compositionally and iconographically. The equivalent miniature in the *Liber regalis*, fol. 29, also has two identical archbishops behind the queen's throne where she sits with loose hair and similar hand gestures. However, the crucifer monks of the Litlyngton Missal have been replaced by two identically dressed laymen who look on.

Comparing the Litlyngton Missal miniature with the equivalent in the Pamplona Manuscript reveals noticeable similarities in both border and miniature, but again with major differences (fig. 4.8). Shared properties are the queen seated centrally with loose hair; the two bishops flanking her whilst placing the crown on her head; and the two tonsured crucifers symmetrically on the outer edges of the image. The most notable difference is that the Pamplona Manuscript artist has employed a geometric shape to further encase the coronation scene within the existing rectangular frame of the miniature. Beyond variations in palette and cloth design, diversities include a bench throne, the crucifers hold a book and a reliquary and there is no sceptre for the queen, whose hands rest in her lap. Also, the right-hand mitred figure does not have a crucifer behind him, but a tonsured monk holding a crosier.

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[579] The rubrics state that the queen should wear an unpatterned purple tunic: 'que quidem tunica et ciclas unius erunt coloris vidilicet purpurei et unius texture sine aliquo opere' (*MEW,* 726).

The borders of the Pamplona Manuscript's queen miniature, like those in the Litlyngton Missal, hold female figures and musicians. However, there are only eight figures, two of whom are uncrowned noblewomen. In a conspicuous difference to the Litlyngton Missal, only two of the border musicians are earthly, whereas the four corners hold musical angels. The overall impression is that although the Litlyngton Missal may have been used as a model for the Pamplona Manuscript, the artist has adapted and sometimes extended the iconographic elements rather than slavishly copying them.

In relation to the text of the coronation ceremony, although Westminster Abbey is implied as the place to which the queen should be led in procession for her coronation it is not specifically named, as it pointedly is with the king's coronation:

> On the day on which the queen is to be crowned by herself the prelates and nobles of the realm shall assemble in the royal palace at Westminster, and a procession shall be arranged by the Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, the Abbot and Convent of Westminster...they shall go in procession to meet at the palace the queen that is to be crowned.[580]

Historical precedent regarding the location of a queen's coronation was not as early in being fixed at Westminster as a king's. However, by 1200, Westminster Abbey had become the chosen place for queens too.[581] The role of the abbot goes unremarked in the rubrics and the relatively minor importance of the ceremony is reflected in the reduced number of pages and explanatory rubrics that are devoted to it: fols. 206r-220v for the king and fols. 221r-223v for the queen.

Admittedly, some of the information in the king's ceremony is also relevant for the queen's and therefore not written out again. However, in certain matters it is unclear whether the ceremony should follow the same form as the king's, or whether the process is different. For example, in the queen's order the rubrics are sparing in their detail regarding the mass:

> Immediately on the ending of the hymn shall be begun the office of the Mass, and after the offertory of the same Mass the king and queen shall go crowned to make their offering, and then shall return to their seats, and shall remain there seated to the end of Mass.[582]

It is difficult to know whether the king and queen receive wine administered by the abbot from the chalice of Edward the Confessor, as per the king's coronation, or whether this protocol

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[580] *ECR*, p. 128.

[581] Schramm, p. 39.

[582] *ECR*, p. 130.

belonged solely to the coronation of the sovereign. Unfortunately, chronicle accounts are unhelpful in providing missing details. [583] Notwithstanding the relative lesser importance of the queen's coronation to the king's, the occasion was still of high significance and the abbey clearly felt the privilege of the occasion enough to include its extravagant illumination within the Litlyngton Missal.

4.4: The Exequies of Kings

The tombs of kings' and queens' and their royal death legacies to the abbey were valuable both in terms of cachet and finance. Indeed, the crosses erected by Edward I to mark the journey of Eleanor of Castille's body from Lincoln to London in 1290 could be interpreted as signposts which emphasise the importance of the destination point of Westminster Abbey as the queen's true resting place. Harvey explored the royal death anniversaries at the abbey, which highlighted the economic importance of the royal funeral and death culture to the community of Westminster Abbey. This importance of royal death to the abbey is reflected in the Litlyngton Missal through the inclusion of the luxuriously decorated exequies for a king on fol. 224r (figs 4.9 and 3.25). [584] As Christopher Given-Wilson comments in his article concerning the royal funeral ceremony of this period, in a society where there was an increasing move amongst the nobility to leave full instructions to allow for grandly commemorative funerals, it is only fitting that kings should be given exalted exequies. [585]

4.4.1: The Text

The folio has a similar layout to the preceding coronation ceremony pages although, the miniature sits below two lines of text and is one line shorter in height; it is the second and last instance of the work of the Royal Miniatures Artist. Although usually termed the 'funeral of a king', and indeed the subject matter of the miniature and opening phrase, *De exequiis regalibus,* would support this, such a title promises more than is present in the text. Thus far unpublished in translation, the rubrics actually deal with the preparation of the outward appearance of the dead monarch's body *post mortem, pre-sepultura* rather than being the funeral service for a king. The term exequies, obsequies or even 'certain funeral rites' would be more correct than

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[583] Preest and Clark, p. 171: 'and crowned queen by the archbishop of Canterbury with glory and honour.'
[584] *LDE,* pp. 24-33.
[585] Christopher Given-Wilson, 'The Exequies of Edward III and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England', *EHR,* 507 (2009), 277-282.

simply 'funeral'. The text fills less than one page and there is no reference to a requiem mass, indeed no liturgy at all, simply rubrics.

The rubrics explain how the body of the king was to be washed and dressed with certain very precise details such as 'the beard is to be becomingly arranged over his breast'.[586] Equally detailed are the instructions that the body was to be covered, apart from his face and beard, in a wax cloth which should be sewn around his fingers and thumb 'individually as if his hands were covered with linen gloves'.[587] The body was then to be dressed over the wax cloth, with specifics regarding the king's attire. However, beyond the physical appearance of the corpse, no details of the ceremony, officiants, procession protocol, and other matters are noted. A longer version of the *De exequiis regalibus* is included in the *Liber regie capelle* of the mid-fifteenth century.[588] Despite discrepancies in dating between Edward III's death and the production of the *Liber Regie Capelle,* and indeed the Litlyngton Missal and probably the *Liber regalis*, Given-Wilson speculated that aspects of this extended later 'funeral order*'* were used in the funeral of Edward III.[589]

The brief text of the Litlyngton Missal/ *Liber regalis* order concludes with a vague 'cover all' sentence which is the very antithesis of the precision given to matters in the rubrics of the king's coronation:

> In such a way the said prince is dressed, and with the bishops and magnates of his reign and with all reverence he will be carried to that place which he had chosen for his burial and with regal rites he will most befittingly be handed over to burial.[590]

The inclusion of 'that place which he had chosen for burial' is probably the reason why the exequies text has a paucity of detail regarding anything other than the king's appearance. Although a place of importance as a royal mausoleum, Westminster Abbey has never held the monopoly as the site of royal tombs.

Unlike the rubrics for the coronation ceremony, there is no reason to suppose that Litlyngton was involved in the authorship of the obsequies of the king although it is worth considering that *De exequiis regalibus* was included in the Litlyngton Missal to highlight and consolidate what was

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[586] *MEW,* 734: 'Barba vero ipsius decenter componetur super pectus illius.' (See Appendix 3.4 for full translation).

[587] *MEW,* 734: 'Et circa manus et digitos ipsius...cum police utriusque manus singillatim insuatur per se acsi manus eius cirotecis lineis essent operte.'

[588] Ullmann, pp. 111-115.

[589] Given-Wilson (p. 259) dates the *Liber regalis* at 'c.1390'.

[590] *MEW,* 735.

becoming an established pattern of burial at the abbey for the later Plantagenets.[591] The abbey had even petitioned that the body of the deposed Edward II be transported from its tomb in Gloucester to be interred in the abbey in 1327.[592] Another possible reason that the rubrics have few details is that certain of the ceremonial aspects of the funeral were often governed by the kings themselves in their wills with different personal expressions of desired ritual.[593]

4.4.2: Edward III: The Dead King

Edward III and Philippa of Hainault were the last king and queen of England to die before the Litlyngton Missal's production and both had been buried at Westminster. By including the *De exequiis regalibus* Litlyngton was arguably attempting to consolidate the abbey as royal resting place: this would be consistent with Edward III's own attitude towards the idea of Westminster Abbey as a royal necropolis.[594] In his will, Edward stated that he wished to be 'regally buried in the church of Saint Peter of Westminster, among our progenitors of illustrious memory, the kings of England'.[595] In *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets,* Binski explored the abbey as 'A Royal Fellowship of Death: The Royal Mausoleum under Henry III and Edward I'.[596] In his study, Binski recognised that Henry III did not set out to create a royal mausoleum through ordering to be buried in the Confessor's chapel, and made the interesting point that Henry was following the tradition of being buried in a church of his own founding. This thought can be extended even further to state that Henry III was following in Edward the Confessor's own footsteps through re-founding the very church that the saint had initially patronised. Although the concentration of Binski's study was with Henry III and Edward I, with reference to the entombment of Edward III in the abbey, he stated that Edward III's desire to be buried with his royal forbears shows for the first time that Westminster Abbey was to be the established royal mausoleum.[597]

Litlyngton must have had a personal involvement with the funeral. Although undocumented, it would be illogical had he not been present in ceremonial function as head of the house where the king's funeral took place.

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[591] Henry III, Edward I, Edward III, Eleanor of Castile, Prince Edmund 'Crouchback', and Queen Philippa of Hainault.

[592] Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (Yale, 2010), p. 551.

[593] Much fruitful information can be found on this subject in J. Nichols, *A collection of all the wills, now known to be extant, of the kings and queens of England. . .*(London, 1780).

[594] *WAP*, p. 92; Michael Evans, *The Death of Kings* (London, 2003), pp. 25-31.

[595] Nichols, p. 60: 'p' corpore vero n'ro in eccl'is Sancti Petri Westmonast'ii int' clare memorie p'genitore n'ros reges Anglie regale eligimus sepulturam'.

[596] *WAP,* pp. 90-120.

[597] *WAP,* p. 195.

Given the date of Edward's death (1377) and the production of the missal (1383-4) it is not unreasonable to explore the possibility that the king depicted in the exequies miniature is a representative image of Edward III. Litlyngton is known to have enjoyed the favour of Edward III and the latter to have received popular acclaim as having been a strong and wise king, in spite of his waning popularity in his final years. Certainly, the eulogies praise him as a pinnacle of kingship. Walsingham lauded the king in a long passage listing Edward's many virtues, abilities, and physical beauty, and claimed that he was 'like a father to orphans' and 'Among all the world's kings and princes...a glorious king, benevolent, merciful and magnificent.'[598] To use such a king, dead for less than a decade, as the model for the dead king in the Litlyngton Missal miniature would be understandable. Taken together with the king's relationship to Litlyngton, the abbot's probable presence at Edward's funeral, the fact that Edward's relatively recent funeral being the last royal funeral in more than fifty years, and, most convincingly of all, the physical similarity of the dead monarch in the miniature to Edward III's tomb effigy it seems that this picture is based on the defunct Edward III.

Post mortem images of Edward III may have stemmed from the funeral and tomb effigies, themselves possibly based on a death mask, which are the truest representations of the king (figs 4.10 and 4.11). Anne Morganstern believed that the quality of the rendering of the face on the tomb effigy indicates that it was 'a portrait made during his lifetime'. She believed the tomb effigy was not based on the death mask from which the funeral effigy was made, the mouth of which shows signs of having been affected by a stroke.[599] Paul Williamson has also stated that the likenesses of both Edward III's and Philippa of Hainault's tomb effigies were examples of portraiture. However, he concluded the features to have been based on the death mask.[600] It is contested whether the tomb was finished by the time of the missal's production, in light of which, if the Royal Miniatures Artist was indeed creating a likeness of Edward III by using a model then the death mask or funeral effigy may have been used.[601]

Images of Edward III as an older king became easily recognisable as him, as opposed to generic king representations, through distinctively long wavy hair and a lengthy forked beard. Examples of this phenomenon can be found in sources as diverse as his later Great Seal (fig. 4.12a), his

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[598] Preest and Clark, p. 32. Ian Mortimer, *The Perfect King* (London, 2007), pp. 393-395, explored other contemporary eulogies, all of a similarly flattering nature.

[599] Anne McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (Pennsylvania, 2000), p. 122 and p. 224, n. 13.

[600] Paul Williamson, 'Sculpture' in *Age if Chivalry,* p. 104.

[601] As an example of divided opinion Morganstern, who thoroughly discussed the various dating problems for this tomb in chapter seven of her book, believed that the tomb was probably fashioned in advance of Edward's death (Morganstern, p.124). Binski, on the other hand, considered that it was improbable that the tomb was finished before 1386 (*WAP,* p.196).

tomb, the Chaworth Roll,[602] the fifteenth-century York Minster choir screen, and a pictorial book of the Order of the Garter (BL, MS Stowe 594, fol. 7v) c.1430-45.[603] Most of these sources post-date Edward, as indeed does the Litlyngton Missal itself, but they serve to signify the identifiable portrayal of him. The Chaworth Edward III (fig. 4.12) is located in a fifteenth-century addition to the genealogical record of England's royalty and it differs not only from the earlier painter's generic clean-shaven, short-haired kings, but also from the subsequent kings on the roll by this later artist. The beard and hair are characteristically long and wavy. In the York choir screen Edward III, the attributes chosen to distinguish him are the longer length of his forked beard. Even the Temporale Artist breaks from his usually formulaic representation of bearded faces in his depiction of Edward III that occurs on fol. 31r in BL, MS Cotton Nero D VI (1386-1399: fig. 4.13); the king's hair is hidden by his crowned helmet, but his moustache and forked beard are notably long and grey in contrast to his son's shorter brown beard. The representation of the dead king in the Litlyngton Missal fits this pattern of representation of Edward III and has the additional persuasion of having been commissioned by the head of the religious house which held the dead king's tomb, at around only six years after Edward's death.

The representation of the dead king in the *Liber regalis* is a more generic image which is less identifiable with Edward III, both beard and hair are noticeably shorter and the dead monarch seems to be a replica of the king who is shown as being crowned in earlier miniatures. The defunct king in the Pamplona Manuscript, as one might expect in having the Litlyngton Missal as a model, is portrayed with lengthy wavy hair and beard as well as almost identical clothing. Of course, in general a long beard could be said merely to signify old age, however, there is a consistency in the portrayal of Edward III with a long-forked beard, which links him, probably both intentionally and subconsciously, to such portrayals.

4.4.3: The Exequies Miniature

The miniature of the dead king is one of the most striking images of the entire missal, partly due to a quasi-relief effect of strong black shapes against a red background, and partly to the drama of the scene depicted. The palette of this scene is limited to black, white, red, blue, and gold, all strong colours reacting boldly with one another. The use of red, rather than the missal's usual gold leaf background, further heightens the effect caused by the atypical use of blocks of

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[602] See Alixe Bovey, *The Chaworth Roll: A Fourteenth Century Genealogy of the Kings of England* (London, 2005), p. 20.

[603] For further details of the manuscript, see Fronska 'William Bruges's Garter Book', in *Royal Manuscripts*, p. 367.

black.[604] The same arresting colour scheme extends into the borders where eight roundels, placed at thirds, contain bust profiles of hooded mourners or monks in black facing left against a red background. Only the merest sliver of a profile is visible from under the black hoods.[605] The hooded figures in black do not necessarily indicate monks and could be lay mourners in hooded cloaks. The account record of the funeral of Edward III details that four hundred black cloaks with hoods were to be provided for the torch bearers that surrounded Edward's hearse.[606] However, the very different black garb of the lay mourners in the margins on fol. 326r, office for the death of a monk might mean that the hooded figures in the Litlyngton Missal are intended as monks, especially as other mourning monks are shown in the same cloaks but with their hoods down and with tonsure clearly visible at a monk's funeral, fol. 326r (figs 4.14 and 4.15). If the intention is to portray monks in greater number, it emphasises the role of the abbey at a king's funeral.

In keeping with the idea of the sacral nature of kingship, the recumbent figure of the dead king shows a man who would dwarf those around him if he were shown standing. The clothed body lies on a bier covered with cloth of gold which falls into regular and stylised folds. The gold cushion for his head has cross hatching in black and tassels, thus defining it against the gold of the bier cloth. His tunic is gold, as are his sandals; his cloak is rich royal blue, red-lined with an ermine pelisse; the stockings, showing through his golden shoes, are red. John de Sleford's wardrobe accounts list that following Edward III's death, a gold tunic, gold bier cloth, and gold covered cushion were provided for the king's body.[607] The defunct monarch is crowned, gloved, and holds a sceptre in his left hand and a golden orb with crucifix in his right.

The portrayal of the king in this miniature relates to the specific instructions given in the rubrics. This seems not to be simply a matter of coincidental iconographic custom; both the miniature in the *Liber regalis* and the depiction of the recumbent Edward the Confessor in the Litlyngton Missal have differences that do not conform with the order. For example, the dead king in the *Liber regalis,* despite having the same text to accompany it, does not hold an orb topped with a crucifix in his gloved right hand; instead he has two sceptres and bare hands. Different again, Edward the Confessor, shown as a recumbent king on fol. 277v of the Litlyngton Missal has one sceptre in his right hand. However, the rubrics clearly state that 'in his right hand is placed a round gilded orb in which a gilded rod is fixed and reaches from his hand to his chest on the top

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[604] Black appears as a painted colour only once more in the missal at the funeral of a monk, fol. 326r.
[605] The left and top edges of the miniature are framed with a blue band with zigzag pattern, although around half way along the top edge the pattern rather clumsily changes to wavy lines. The tails of the two 'g's from the above text extend down into the frame, which is drawn around them.
[606] Given-Wilson, p. 268 and n. 46.
[607] Given-Wilson, p. 266.

of the rod will be the sign of the cross of our lord which on his chest of the same prince must becomingly be placed.'[608] The rubrics also state that the king should be crowned. The one area in which the depiction of the Litlyngton Missal king strays from the rubrics is in the omission of a gold ring that was to be placed 'on the middle finger of the right hand.'[609] The dead king in the Pamplona Manuscript seems to be a copy of his Litlyngton Missal counterpart excepting that he too is gloveless, notwithstanding the text's lengthy attention to the sewing of the wax cloth around each digit (fig. 4.16).

The Litlyngton king's face is restful and it is interesting to consider whether the monarch in the picture is a representation of the dead king's corpse, or of a funeral effigy. The first use of an effigy for a king's funeral had been for Edward II, and the effigy for Edward III survives and is held in Westminster Abbey's museum.[610] Given-Wilson asserted that there is no stated role for an effigy in this short funeral order, even though it is known that effigies were used. He also wondered whether the regalia ordered to be made by craftsman Stephen Hadley was in fact intended for the effigy rather than the corpse of the king.[611]

 Similarly, whether the king in the Litlyngton Missal is an effigy or not is also ambiguous. To consider the miniature as an effigy rather than cadaver would be historically correct for this time as Edward III's funeral effigy was the first to be used at Westminster Abbey.[612] However, as we have seen, the historically incorrect representation of English kings crowned by both the archbishop of York and Canterbury had existed iconographically for centuries without needing to be corrected. On balance an image of an effigy of a dead king would seem convoluted and possibly counter-indicative when the rubrics surrounding the miniature are fastidiously concerned with the king's body rather than his effigy. The point of importance is that the essence of the dead king has been portrayed, which is also the role of the effigy itself.

The miniature for the king's exequies in the *Liber regalis* does not portray a funeral, but, instead, has the representation of a king's tomb. Therefore the image portrayed in the *Liber regalis* most definitely is of an effigy (fig. 4.17). The king lies on a slab above a tomb chest with stone canopies both above his head on the slab and over the whole structure in an elaborate

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[608] Latin, *MEW,* 734.

[609] *MEW,* 734: 'Et in medio digito dextre manus imponetur annulus aurens'.

[610] Discussion of Edward II's effigy is found in Joel Burden, 'Re-writing a Rite of Passage: The Peculiar Funeral of Edward II', in N.F. McDonald and W. M. Ormrod, W. Marks, eds., *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004). Similarly, Given-Wilson addresses the idea of the role of Edward III's effigy in the already cited article. See also, Kantorowicz, pp. 419-429.

[611] Given-Wilson, p. 265-267.

[612] Given-Wilson (p. 265) explained how adhesive had been used to attach, wig, beard, moustache, and eyebrows to the now hairless effigy in Westminster Abbey museum.

perpendicular gothic, fan vaulted tester. The inclusion of the canopy and elaborate tester strongly call to mind Edward III's tomb architecture (fig. 4.18). Binski convincingly drew comparisons between the *Liber regalis* tomb to the real tomb of Edward III and yet leaves unremarked the differences in depiction of the effigy, hair and beard length, and the inclusion of a crown in the miniature, where there is none on the effigy. This latter aspect could be explained as an uncrowned king in the iconography of a royal book would be anomalous. Understanding that the *Liber regalis* depicts a tomb rather than a funeral explains the absence of clerics, mourners, tapers, and the other trappings of death ceremony as well as the divergences from the rubric instructions.

Conversely, the Litlyngton miniature shows many of those missing elements. Two archbishops/bishops perform the liturgical rites over the king and the sense is of a captured moment in the heart of the ceremony. One bishop stands at the king's head, and another at his feet, both hold a book from which they presumably conduct the service; each has an attendant tonsured crucifer, dressed in white alb. In front of the bier are four hooded mourners holding tall, white, lighted tapers, and there are three of these same figures on the far side of the bier. To the far left and right of the miniature stand bare-headed and bearded men dressed in black to represent the laity. The mourners stand in profile, all facing right, with only a slim section of forehead, nose, mouth, and chin visible.

 It is in the depiction of the mourners and absence of the bishops that the Pamplona Manuscript miniature differs most from the Litlyngton. In the Pamplona Manuscript, as in the Litlyngton Missal, hooded mourners dressed in black and holding lighted tapers surround the bier. However, as opposed to the rigid lines of mourners in the Litlyngton, the four in the foreground of the Pamplona Manuscript are seated on a low bench and, by their body language, are conversing in two pairs of two. Two of these front mourners are visible in three quarter profile. Placing the mourners on a bench could be a compositional practicality, portrayed thus they do not block the view of the recumbent king as they certainly would if they were standing. Using seated mourners avoids the necessity of the awkward perspective of showing the king on a horizontal plane viewed aerially that has been adopted by the Royal Miniatures Artist in the Litlyngton. In the Pamplona Manuscript it is unclear whether the four mourners on the far side of the bier are seated or standing and only the tops of their hoods, eyes, and foreheads are visible. There is one bearded mourner who stands to the left of the bier and who is not blocked by it.

4.4.4: Reflections on *De exequiis regalibus*

Unlike the two preceding coronation ceremonies, it would not have been possible to open the Litlyngton Missal at *De exequiis regalibus* and to conduct the ceremony for the funeral of a king. So why is it included? I think it logical to conclude that Litlyngton was highlighting the honour of the abbey as mausoleum and sometime place of royal funerals. Certainly in the miniature, the presence of monks and the tonsured crucifers makes a strong connection to the role of the abbey monks at the funeral of kings.

The strong likeness of the dead king in the Litlyngton Missal miniature to Edward III's tomb effigy is unmistakeable and brings forward interesting issues of Nicholas Litlyngton's possible nostalgic remembrance of a strong king in the time of Richard II's difficult minority. This hypothesis could be especially plausible when we remember that Litlyngton was known to have had Edward III's favour, and that by the time of the Litlyngton Missal's production Litlyngton had stood against Richard's representative at the 1378 Gloucester Parliament and the Peasant's Revolt had occurred just two years before work on the missal began.

Whether representing an effigy or corpse, the significance of the defunct king in the miniature is that even in death he radiates the essence of kingship, and in the Litlyngton miniature I feel this essence of kingship has been deliberately melded with the persona of Edward III. Just as I proposed that the image of the king in the coronation scene is generic (2.5.4), I believe that the Litlyngton's dead king is intentionally reminiscent of Edward III without being a 'portrait' of him. The facial details of the king's effigy in the *Liber regalis* are the same as those of the kings in the coronation scenes, whereas in the Litlyngton Missal the king at coronation is a youthful, clean shaven figure, but in death he is mature with a lengthy beard. In the iconography of the Litlyngton Missal a real distinction is being made between the coronation of a youthful king and the death of an elderly one. Such a distinction would fit chronologically with the missal's production; in 1377 Westminster Abbey hosted both the burial of Edward III, considered long-lived at sixty-four, and the coronation of his grandson, Richard II, as a ten-year old boy.

4.5: Conclusion

The Litlyngton Missal has strong links to the Westminster *Liber regalis* and Pamplona Manuscript by virtue of the close dates, shared texts, and same production origin. However, comparison of the iconography reveals at least as many differences as similarities in the illumination. Whilst the overarching themes of pictorial subject matter are shared the differences between them are numerous and significant. Reasonably, as the Pamplona Manuscript was copied from the

Litlyngton Missal, it is the *Liber regalis* that has the most differences: most notably the depiction of a king's tomb rather than a funeral and also in the double coronation of king and queen together (fol. 20r). Furthermore, the iconography in the *Liber regalis* is not concerned with the portrayal of monks at the various ceremonies. Except for the portrayal of archbishops at the three coronation miniatures, other clerics are not included and there is always a parity of laity to clergy (the funeral miniature simply has a tomb with no live figures). The importance of the laity in the *Liber Regalis* is heightened not only by number, but also by their representation as holding crowns at the double coronation (fig. 2.32); the symbolism is that, in part, the power of the king comes from the complicity of the laity.

Conversely, in the Litlyngton Missal it is the role of the clerics that is emphasised in all images.[613] The Litlyngton funeral miniature has just two laymen but at least four clerics and probably seven more if it is understood that the black hooded mourners are the monks of the abbey; there are also eight more hooded monks/mourners in the borders. The difference in the balance of clergy and laity in the Litlyngton Missal and the *Liber regalis* is striking. It strengthens the suggestion that the *Liber regalis* was possibly intended for Westminster Palace rather than the Westminster Abbey,[614] particularly as the lay figures appear to be wearing gold chains of office, or livery collars, which could conceivably further connect them to Richard's court.

By contrast, the consistently heightened portrayal of clerics and tonsured monks in the Litlyngton Missal, is in accordance with the emphasised role of the abbot and convent that occurs in the rubrics of the 'Litlyngton *ordo*' for the king's coronation. Indeed, in revising the Fourth Recension, the rubrics' author greatly accentuated the role of both the abbot and the convent in the ceremony and put historically accrued functions and privileges into the body of the coronation order itself. Such actions resonate with Nicholas Litlyngton's already noted propensity to promote Westminster Abbey. So too does the desire to uphold and extend the abbey's reputation as the burial place of royalty which occurs through the inclusion of the king's exequies.

 Recurrent in the miniatures in the Litlyngton Missal is a greater adherence to the rubrics than is found in the other manuscripts. From the atypical portrayal of only one archbishop crowning the king (an innovation not continued in the Pamplona Manuscript) to the meticulous placement of a crucifix-topped orb in the gloved hands of a dead king, the Litlyngton illuminations show a recognisably more rigorous deference to the text around them than either of the other

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[613] The Pamplona Manuscript, despite being influenced by the Litlyngton, has two laymen at the king's coronation, whereas only the *Liber regalis* miniature of the queen's coronation includes laity.
[614] Fronska, *Royal Manuscripts,* p. 254.

manuscripts. It is worth consideration that this closer relationship between text and image may be due to Litlyngton. As patron of the missal he would have had the opportunity to influence the iconography and encourage concurrence with the texts in which he also very likely to have figured as compiler. Such an understanding of the text by the patron would also explain why the related pictorial innovation of prophets that occurs in the Litlyngton Missal is missing from the *Liber regalis* and Pamplona Manuscript.

The location of the section of royal ceremonies is worthy of note. There was no precedent for where to place the royal ceremonies due to the Litlyngton Missal being the only example of their inclusion in a missal. In the Litlyngton Missal they have the special dignity of being with the Canon of the Mass and Benedictions in the central section between the Temporale and Sanctorale. This positioning is an effective metaphor of how the privilege of being the coronation church is inseparable from the nature of the institution's worship.

This last thought on where the ceremonies are in the missal leads to what was the starting point of this chapter, namely, why should these ceremonies be incorporated into a missal at all? Now clear is that their unique inclusion is far from arbitrary. The missal was commissioned and donated by the abbot of the church where kings were crowned and who was probably personally involved in the re-writing of the have coronation order. On which point, the heightened role of the abbot and abbey in the rubrics, the introduction of the fifth oath, and Litlyngton's relationship to the king and Archbishop Langham all lead to the conclusion that Litlyngton had a stronger hand in the revision that has previously been thought. Furthermore, he had been the attending abbot for an example of each of the three royal occasions: the funeral of King Edward III, the coronation of Richard II, and the coronation of Queen Anne of Bohemia. Such a claim is not true even for the officiating archbishops of Canterbury and would be worthy enough of record in some way.   However, Litlyngton's use of abbot's heraldry as opposed to his personal arms reveals more than private sentiment as a motive, which can never be more than guessed at. It seems both logical and fitting that one of the abbey's material treasures should herald through luxurious illumination and carefully worded text one of the abbey's most prized privileges: Westminster Abbey's unequalled connection to the sovereigns of the realm.

Chapter 5
The Iconography of the Litlyngton Missal: Convention, Innovation, and Message

Examination of aspects of illumination has already demonstrated that iconography is a powerful witness to the Litlyngton Missal's patronage, production, and function. Analysis of the directed placement, or omission, of the patron's symbols has provided insight into the motives and messages of patronage and the chosen modes of patronal presence and portrayal. Also, assessing images has furnished an understanding of the division of labour between the artists involved in the illumination and brought forward differences in the manner of their work. Equally, close attention to the illustrations of the royal ceremonies has yielded information which complements and extends the context of those occasions.

However, there remain unanswered questions concerning the illumination that this chapter will address through investigation of the imagery, both holistically and via study of individual details.[1] How does the illumination fit within the broader context of other English missals? What overall relationship do the images bear to the text, if any? Can themes be divined? If so, what are they and why are they present? What messages are contained in the images? Excepting the Crucifixion miniature, the missal's imagery has been considered conventional,[2] but can this term be fairly applied to all other aspects of the missal's illumination? As for the Crucifixion miniature, the discussion on style in chapter three revealed how it shows awareness of the Italian *trecento* tradition, but what does analysis of its symbolism reveal?

5.1: Pictorial Cycles in English Missals: A Comparative Study

Observing how the Litlyngton Missal's illumination compares to that of other English missals of a similar period affords the opportunity of evaluating how the iconography meets and diverges from them in range, content, and convention. The Reformation and the ensuing destruction of

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[1] East established a logical hierarchy of Litlyngton Missal illumination but without contextualisation in terms of missal illumination specifically, nor any real measure of interpretation: East, chapter five.
[2] E.g. Backhouse, *Age of Chivalry,* p. 519.

the Catholic liturgy mean the corpus of illuminated English medieval missals is incalculably reduced. Sandler and Scott's constituent volumes of the series *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* include a sample of 298 illuminated manuscripts from the period 1285-1490, of which only fourteen are missals.[3] While this figure can be only partly indicative of the numbers of extant illuminated missals, the surveys do include any existing superior examples, which is important for effective comparison with the Litlyngton Missal.[4]

As a prelude to his survey of certain Cambridge manuscripts, Morgan explained the different sections of missals and in broad terms what manner of illuminations might be found at which points.[5] Interesting and valuable study has also occurred concerning representational images of individual missals.[6] Scott included a table of 'Pictorial Cycles of selected Missals from c.1380 to third quarter of the 15th century' in her survey.[7] Whilst providing a useful overview of the subject matter of illuminations, details are not furnished beyond the title of the scenes (e.g. Nativity) and therefore variances in iconographic elements per scene cannot be judged. Furthermore, as Scott explained, the 'miniatures are not necessarily in the order shown in the Table' and only the illuminations of three of the fifteen manuscripts[8] included are listed in full, which lessens the opportunity of understanding the full nature of the pictorial cycles.

5.1.1: The Sources

In order to understand the Litlyngton Missal's illumination cycle specifically in the context of other English missals a comparative study of missal illustration is instructive. The sample includes ten missals spanning roughly one hundred years from c.1310-c.1415 and the overview of the

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[3] *GM,* cats: 65, 78, 144, 148, 150; *LGM,* cats: 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 36, 61, 101, 129 (25 and 46 are possibly missal fragments).

[4] The only known exception is the English missal held at Valencia Cathedral's archives which has been historically very difficult to access (Valencia, Biblioteca Capitular MS 166, c.1370-80). Wickham Legg was unable to view it (*MEW,* p. xiii) and Prof. Nigel Morgan finally viewed it after a period of some years. In private correspondence regarding the Valencia Archives he stated 'I am one of the few people outside of Spain that can claim to have studied in this library.' I have so far been unsuccessful in my own attempts and I am indebted to Prof. Morgan for his private notes, which I have used extensively. I also extend my thanks to Dr Nick Warr, University of East Anglia, for a CD Rom of scanned images of the Sherborne Missal.

[5] Nigel Morgan, 'The Liturgy and the Offices', in *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West,* ed. by Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova (London, 2005), pp. 119-123.

[6] Notably, Margaret Rickert, *RCM*; Backhouse, *Sherborne Missal*; William Marx, 'Iconography and Meaning in the Sherbrooke Missal', in *English Manuscript Studies* 1100-1700, ed. by A.S.G. Edwards (London, 2002), pp. 154-176; Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, 'The Pictorial Program of the Stammheim Missal', in *Objects, Images and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. by Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), pp. 79-93.

[7] *LGM,* II, pp. 380-381.

[8] Scott included manuscripts which do not feature in her main survey.

findings can be seen in tabular form in Appendix F. All the books are English, with a level of illumination that defines them as elite and all contain figural illustration; only figural representation has been used for comparison; floral, foliage, and pattern work is not included. Covering the periods of before and after the Litlyngton Missal permits observation of changing trends in subject matter and affords a wider context for the Litlyngton Missal's iconography. Those books furthest removed from the Litlyngton chronologically are the earlier missals; there is a dearth of examples from the mid fourteenth century,[9] but English Missals of the same period and later than the Litlyngton survive in greater numbers.

Included in the sample are the luxury service books, the Sherborne and Carmelite missals. These two volumes are frequently linked to the Litlyngton Missal due to proximity in date, size, and wealth of illumination.[10] However, other factors prohibit them from being truly useful for some comparisons. The illumination programme of the Sherborne Missal is so richly extensive that, to date, an exhaustive catalogue of the images has yet to be completed.[11] The gulf between the extents of the Litlyngton and Sherborne Missals' illumination cycles makes comparison unequal. The Carmelite Missal's surviving illuminations, although closer to the Litlyngton's in number (fifty-two surviving historiated initials[12]), make for an equally challenging comparison due to the book's fragmentary nature; even after painstaking reconstruction, missing images and text mean that the missal is far from complete and the order of appearance of the images cannot be viewed as indisputable. For these reasons, although the Sherborne and Carmelite Missals are referred to as valuable points of comparison and form part of the sample of ten missals of the comparative study, they are not included in the tabular representation of the pictorial cycles appearing in Appendix F.[13] For ease of reference, when results are discussed which do not

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[9] Conceivably this phenomenon may be partly due to the Black Death. Philip Lindley examined the relationship between the Black Death and art in England in later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: Philip Lindley, 'The Black Death and English Art: A Debate and some Assumptions', in *The Black Death in England*, eds. W.M. Ormrod and P.G. Lindley (Stamford, 1996), pp. 125-146.

[10] Litlyngton Missal: 525mm x 360mm, 1383-4; Sherborne Missal: 535mm x 380mm, c.1400; Carmelite Missal: 787mm x 560cm as per Rickert's reconstruction, c.1395.

[11] Scott's entry in *LGM,* II, runs from p. 45-60, and despite being the longest entry in any of the books from the Harvey Millar Survey series, she concedes that there are possibly several thousand images connected with borders that have not been listed.

[12] *RCM,* pp. 59-60 lists the breakdown of images per section of the missal.

[13] Whether the comparative lack of larger books is due to their being more vulnerable targets for Protestant iconoclasm or whether other such missals simply were not commissioned is an interesting question, unfortunately falling outside the scope of this work. De Hamel examined the matter of large books in Christopher de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London, 2001), chapter three, 'Giant Bibles of the Thirteenth Century', pp. 64-91. Other work on large manuscripts includes Bovey's already noted work on the Wollaton Antiphonal, esp. p. 31.

include the Sherborne and Carmelite Missals the eight missals included on the tables will hereafter be referred to as the 'Main Sample Missals'.

Study Sample:

Common Name	Location and Reference	Folios	Date
Sherbrooke Missal	Aberystwyth, National Library Wales MS 15536 E	343	c.1310-1320
Tiptoft Missal	New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library MS M.107	360	1311-1332
O/Trinity MS 8	Oxford, Trinity College MS 8	292	end of C14th
Litlyngton Missal	London, Westminster Abbey MS 37	341	1383-4
Carmelite Missal	London, BL, Add MS 29704-5	212	1395
C/Trinity B.11.3	Cambridge, Trinity College Missal MS B.11.3	297	c.1380-1400
Sherborne Missal	London, BL, Add MS 74236	347	c.1400
Valencia Missal	Valencia, Biblioteca Capitular MS166	299	1370-80
Hatton 1	Oxford, Bodleian MS Hatton 1	229	late C14th
Oriel Missal	Oxford, Oriel College MS 75	320	c.1405-1415

As Hughes noted in his study of the text in liturgical manuscripts, the contents of Missals fall into three natural divisions: Calendar and Temporale; the Ordinary, Prefaces, and Canon of the Mass; and the Sanctorale with Common of Saints and Votive Masses;[14] accordingly, the results are arranged in three tables based on these main divisions.[15] In Hughes' sample of sixteen missals, he noted ten variations in order and/or inclusion of elements.[16] In my sample, the main differences are the position of the Mass and whether certain services were always included, particularly the Exorcism of Salt and Water. Apart from the changing position of the Mass, the tables reflect the images of all the books in the order in which they appear, which makes it possible to discern where differences in the organisation of the missals occur. There is also a degree of detail in iconographic elements in order to show shared traditions, variety on a theme, and absolute difference. As none of the missals, excluding the Sherborne Missal, have figural border iconography independent of the appearance of historiated initials, the comparisons refer to the use of figural illumination in initials and, more rarely, miniatures.

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[14] Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 157-8.

[15] Appendix Table F.1: Temporale Illumination; Table F.2: Mass Illumination; and Table F.3: Sanctorale Illumination.

[16] Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts,* p. 158.

Taking the findings by missal sections, the results are discussed firstly with reference to quantity and pattern of image placement. Subsequently, the discussion moves onto an examination of the subject matter across the missals and then, finally, onto a detailed analysis of iconographic themes in the Litlyngton Missal that emerge from the findings.

5.1.2: The Results: Number and Location of Images

Perhaps the most obvious result to come from a comparative study of missals is that the Litlyngton Missal steps outside of tradition simply by the sheer quantity of historiated initials and miniatures that are included in the illumination cycle. Only the unparalleled Sherborne Missal exceeds the number of figural illuminations present in the Litlyngton.[17] A sum of the figural images of the three parts of the various missals ranges from fifteen in the Valencia and Sherbrooke Missals to fifty-two in the Litlyngton, which figure excludes the twelve images from the royal ceremonies and the benedictional section as these are not present in any other missals in the sample.[18] The next highest figure is thirty-eight in the Oriel missal.

The comparison of the ten missals reveals that there is a set pattern of eleven occasions in the Temporale that were usually selected for figural decoration:

1. Exorcism of Salt and Water
2. First Sunday of Advent
3. Christmas Day
4. Circumcision
5. Epiphany
6. Easter
7. Ascension
8. Pentecost
9. Trinity Sunday
10. Corpus Christi
11. Anniversary of the Dedication of a Church.

Of the ten missals, each book has the majority of these feasts marked by pictorial imagery. Three missals (Litlyngton, Oriel, and Sherborne) have pictorial decoration for all eleven named

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[17] Sherbrooke Missal, 15; Tiptoft Missal, 18; O/Trinity MS 8, 17; Litlyngton Missal, 52; C/Trinity B.11.3, 26; Valencia Missal, 15; Hatton 1, 17; Oriel Missal 38.
[18] The Carmelite Missal has 52 surviving initials.

feasts; three other missals have only one of these feasts missing: a different feast on each occasion (Table F.1).

Excepting the Sherborne Missal, the Litlyngton and Oriel Missals are the only books to include figural decoration beyond the eleven feasts. The Temporale of the Litlyngton Missal holds six extra occasions: the Feasts of Stephen, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Thomas Becket, Palm Sunday, and the Octave of Pentecost (although strictly this last is heraldic, not figural).[19] The Oriel Missal has three extra historiated initials at Stephen, John the Evangelist, and Palm Sunday.[20] Hence, as well as having fewer decorated feasts than the Litlyngton Missal, at no point does a Main Sample Missal illustrate a Temporale feast other than those decorated in the Litlyngton Missal. The Carmelite Missal has seven surviving illustrated Temporale images,[21] with Holy Saturday as the one feast day falling outside the eleven main feasts; an occasion not illustrated in the Litlyngton Missal.

The Mass occurs in one of two places in all the ten missals. The most common placement for this pivotal missal element occurs before Easter Sunday, the pinnacle of the Christian year. Only four missals of the ten do not have the Mass in this location. The Sherbrooke, Litlyngton, Carmelite, and Sherborne missals all have their Mass beginning after the Temporale. The Sherbrooke, Litlyngton, and reconstructed Carmelite Missals all have the Mass occurring after the Anniversary of the Dedication of a Church, which itself comes at the end of the Temporale. However, the Sherborne Missal's dedication anniversary differs from the norm and occurs in the Sanctorale on the actual anniversary of Sherborne Abbey's dedication (18 July, p.492).

Not including the Sherborne and Carmelite Missals (which latter presumably had a Crucifixion scene, but otherwise has no figural images in the Mass) the places in the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass which hold images are fairly unvarying (Table F.2). The first image occurs at the end of the Ordinary of the Mass in the P for *per omnia secula* before the common Preface to the Canon. Two exceptions are O/Trinity MS 8 and the Valencia Missal, neither of which has a figural image at this point.[22] The Sherbrooke and Tiptoft Missals both have two images at this point: the earlier missals have more decoration at Mass section than any of the later missals, except the Sherborne.

The next image traditionally to appear in the Mass is the Crucifixion; the Litlyngton Missal, Oriel Missal, and the Sherborne Missal are the only three in this group of ten English missals where

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[19] Seven occasions have extra figural illumination in the borders of the page (see Appendix C). An explanation for this further decoration is not immediately obvious.
[20] Figural images in the borders occur only at Pentecost.
[21] Holy Saturday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, Corpus Christi, and Dedication of a Church.
[22] Both have floral initials.

the image has survived. In some cases it is possible to see that there was once a page before the Canon of the Mass.[23] In other instances, it is assumed that the general wealth of illumination would make it implausible that a Crucifixion scene would not have existed, particularly as many less deluxe missals have the Crucifixion as their sole image.[24]

The Crucifixion generally comes directly before, and mainly facing, the Canon of the Mass, the start of which (the T of *Te igitur*) holds the next historiated initial in the Mass.[25] Of the Main Sample Missals only O/Trinity MS 8 and Hatton 1 do not have a historiated initial here currently, but probably did have. The *Te Igitur* page is missing from Hatton 1 and a later replacement Mass in a different hand has been bound into the O/Trinity MS 8; the later scribe left a space, unfilled, for a decorated initial. The Carmelite Missal's reconstructed Canon has floral initials and the Sherborne Missal has three historiated initials on this page.

Of the eight Main Sample Missals the Sherbrooke and Litlyngton are the only books to have additional historiated initials after the *Te Igitur.* Both have one which occurs in the P of the penultimate *per omnia,* just before the *Pater noster,* and the Sherbrooke has an extra one in the P of the *Pater noster*. As a matter of perspective, excluding the extensive figural illuminations in the Ordinary and Prefaces of the Mass, the Sherborne Missal has twenty-four historiated initials on the thirteen pages of the Canon of the Mass alone, where all the other missals have between zero and three in the same section. For a more complete picture it should be noted that each of the thirteen pages of the Canon in the Sherborne Missal also has between fourteen and twenty figural images per page. The Litlyngton Missal has figural border work in this section only for the opening page of the Canon.

In the Sanctorale and Common of Saints, just as in the Temporale, comparison of the occurrence and number of images provides a discernible pattern of use across the sample. In all ten cases, the Common of Saints and Votive Masses follow the Sanctorale, and the progression of feasts is mainly uniform. A very noticeable exception to the regularity of chronological order takes place in the Litlyngton Missal at the beginning of the Sanctorale. The other Main Sample Missals, and indeed all but one of the missals consulted at any point for this study, all begin with the Feast of St Andrew, and in each case a historiated initial is used. However, the opening page of the Litlyngton Missal's Sanctorale is the Feast of St Silvester, a highly irregular phenomenon that it

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[23] E.g. C/Trinity B.11.3 at fol. 122v.

[24] E.g. Cambridge, Newnham College MS 3, c.1476-80, fol. 100v.

[25] The Sherborne full page Crucifixion miniature has been bound so that the image's blank verso faces the Canon's recto. The miniature itself is a recto facing a blank verso too.

shares with the Sherborne Missal.[26] The most likely explanation comes from the date of the feast. St Silvester's feast is the 31 December, and as such heralds the calendar new year, whereas St Andrew's feast, 30 November, coincides with the start of advent: the beginning of the liturgical year. The Litlyngton Missal follows a strictly calendar year approach to the remaining feasts, and therefore any feasts falling between 30 November and 31 December occur at the end of the Sanctorale in the Litlyngton Missal, rather than at the beginning of the Sanctorale as for the other missals. Visually, this only affects the feast of St Nicholas and the Conception of Mary: only one other Main Sample Missal has an image for St Nicholas (Oriel Missal) and none illuminate the Conception of Mary.

Dealing separately with the Common of Saints and Votive Masses below, seven Sanctorale feasts stand out as being selected for the honour of figural illumination by almost all of the missals:

1. St Andrew's Feast
2. Purification of the Virgin
3. Annunciation
4. John the Baptist's Feast
5. Assumption
6. Nativity of the Virgin
7. All Saints

Only St Andrew's Feast and the Purification of the Virgin have unanimous figural decoration and only the Sherbrooke Missal does not decorate the Assumption (Table F.3). The Annunciation, Feast of John the Baptist, and All Saints have historiated initials in six of the Main Sample Missals and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary is decorated in five. Additionally, each of the seven feasts is illustrated in both the Sherborne and Carmelite missals.

In total, the Litlyngton Missal has twenty-five historiated initials (thirteen with accompanying figural borders) in the Sanctorale, more than double that of the Oriel Missal (eleven), which has the next highest number from among the Main Sample Missals. Again, as with the Temporale, at no point in the Sanctorale do any of the seven other Main Sample Missals decorate a feast that does not appear as decorated in the Litlyngton Missal. There are two hundred and fifty-eight historiated initials in the Sherborne Missal's Sanctorale, making comparison unequal.[27] The

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[26] Hughes' study did not include information regarding with which feast a Sanctorale might begin, although he discussed Christmas Week feasts in section 104.9 and chronological variations according to the dates of Advent and Easter in section 101. See *RCM,* pp. 29-34 for Rickert's proposed Sanctorale order.
[27] *LGM,* II, pp. 49-51

Carmelite Missal's Sanctorale has forty-one feast days marked with historiated initials and it is useful to compare them with the Litlyngton's illustrated Sanctorale feasts.

Results in the Venn diagram, below, show that although the Carmelite Missal has the greater number of illustrated Sanctorale days, the Litlyngton Missal has a higher rate of illustrated feasts shared with others. The results clearly attest that outside of the seven common feasts, the most frequently illustrated Sanctorale occasions were the feasts of: Saints Nicholas, Lawrence, Peter and Paul (shared), Michael, and the Feast of the Relics.

Table 5.1: Venn Diagram of Feast Days in the Sanctorale with Figural Illumination (Sherborne Missal not included). Numbers in brackets indicate the frequency of appearance.

Litlyngton Missal   **Carmelite Missal**

1. Silvester
2. Edward the Confessor
3. Peter in Cathedra
4. Dunstan
5. Commem' of Paul
6. Mary Magdalene
7. Peter ad Vincula
8. Bartholomew
9. Commem of Matthew
10. T'slation of Edward the Confessor

Exaltation of the Cross

Katherine

Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary

1. Conversion of Paul 2.Richard 3.Abrose 4.Sixtus 5.T'slation of Martin 6.Oct' of the Apostles7. Hippoytus 8.Vigil of Assumption 9.Oct' of Lawrence10. Louis, 11. Augustine 12.Decollation of the Baptist 13.Maurice 14.Cleophas, 15.Giles, 16.Martin 17.Brice 18.Edmund Archbishop, 19.King Edmund 20.Cecilia 21.Clement 22.Chrysogonus 23.Linus, 24. Saturninus 25.Vigil of Andrew 26.Loy 27.Barbara 28. Oct' Andrew 29. Lucy 30.Lazarus

Nicholas (3)
Lawrence (3)
7 * **(See Inset)**

Peter & Paul (3)
Feast of Relics (2)
Michael (3)

Any of the Other Seven Main Sample Missals

* **Seven Common feasts:**
  1. St Andrew's Feast (9)
  2. Purification of the Virgin (9)
  3. Annunciation (7)
  4. John the Baptist's Nativity (7)
  5. Assumption (8)
  6. Nativity of the Virgin (6)
  7. All Saints (7)

  The Litlyngton and Carmelite Missals both have all seven feasts. (See Sanctorale Table for details on occurrence in the Main Sample Missals.)

Results indicate that those responsible for the production of larger more highly illustrated missals were idiosyncratically selective about which saints they chose to venerate through imagery. There is evidence of this in the Sherborne Missal too, although it is a confusingly atypically rich case.[28] However, the comparison between the Litlyngton and Carmelite Missals shows a surprising diversity in choice with little overlap. One conclusion must be that it was not the practice to simply move down a list of graded feasts from the most popular until more obscure saints were left to be illuminated only by extensive works such as the Sherborne Missal. The selection of feasts illustrated could be affected by the differing contents of the Sanctorale as dictated by different Use, religious order, or if missals were intended for lay congregations. Saints highlighted by one order might not appear or might be downgraded into the Common of Saints by another order.[29] Furthermore, as seen in the Litlyngton Missal, geographical location of production or ownership might also affect which saints were emphasised in both calendar and Sanctorale.[30] Using such evidence, Rickert was able to ascertain that the collection of fragments of missal text and image were not only Carmelite, but that they were also connected to London.[31]

As might be expected, the Sanctorale allowed freedom for the patron to favour the feasts that were most important to him or her personally. Of the eleven feasts illustrated solely in the Litlyngton Missal, four are directly connected to the House of Westminster: Edward the Confessor, Peter *in Cathedra*, Peter *ad Vincula,* and the Translation of Edward the Confessor. Another one, the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, reflects Litlyngton's devotion to Mary and the importance of this feast is discussed in chapter two (2.3.1). Observations regarding the iconography specifically related to the Benedictine house at Westminster occur later in this chapter.

The Common of Saints is the shortest section of a missal and contains feasts and saint days that merit celebration, but do not have a specific Mass or service. In a graded calendar, such as appears in the Litlyngton and Sherborne Missals, such days are generally written in black with just three lessons allotted to them. The Common of Saints contains liturgy and rubrics for services used on multiple occasions, such as the Vigil of an Apostle used on each occasion before the named Apostle's Mass, which would then be in the body of the Sanctorale.

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[28] E.g. St Juthware is local to Sherborne and receives particular attention on p. 489.

[29] Richard Pfaff explored the importance of calendars to religious order, locale, and date in *Liturgical Calendars, Saints and Services in Medieval England* (Ashgate, 1998).

[30] Edward the Confessor and St Peter are of exceptional importance in the Litlyngton Missal and only otherwise illuminated in Oriel from the Main Sample Missals.

[31] *RCM,* pp. 37-44.

The Vigil for an Apostle, the opening service in the Common of Saints, has been illustrated in six of the eight Main Sample Missals. The Sherborne Missal has a richly illuminated page (p. 613), but the rubrics '*in vigilia unius apostoli*' are absent and the page opens with the first words of the service: '*Ego autem sicut oliva'.* The Carmelite Missal does not have figural illumination at the Common of Saints. From the Main Sample Missals only the Litlyngton and Oriel Missals have further images connected to the Common of Saints after the Vigil of an Apostle initial. Solely in this section is the Litlyngton not the most heavily illustrated missal; the Oriel Missal holds nine images for four services, whereas the Litlyngton holds only three, as does the Carmelite Missal. The Oriel has four images just for martyrs, while the Litlyngton has none.

The last section of the missals holds Votive Masses, commemoration services, offices for the dead, and other offices, such as the marriage ceremony. There are only eight images between all the Main Sample Missals (none in the Carmelite Missal) and all eight are contained in just four books, three of which contain an image for the Mass for the dead. The Litlyngton Missal has three illustrations, another three are in the C/Trinity B.11.3, and one is in the Oriel Missal. The eighth image is the oddity of the Sherbrooke Missal's ceremony for the Blessing of Salt and Water, usually the opening ceremony.

5.1.3: Reflections on Number and Location

As well as providing a fundamental overview of information regarding the trends and traditions in the illumination of English missals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this first stage of scrutiny allows an appraisal of where the Litlyngton Missal's pictorial cycle fits within the context of what was illuminated in English missal cycles generally. It reveals that, excluding the unmatched Sherborne Missal but including the reconstructed Carmelite Missal, the Litlyngton Missal differs from the norm mainly through the sheer number and diversity of occasions that have figural illumination, even among books with similar numbers of folios. Not only does the Litlyngton Missal include all the traditional occasions for illumination, but, in both the Temporale and the Sanctorale, the missal puts forward occasions that do not usually receive illustration elsewhere, also true of the Carmelite Missal. It must also be considered that the Litlyngton swerves from the customary make-up of missals, setting it apart even from the Sherborne Missal, by the inclusion of a benedictional section and royal ceremonies and that these too hold figural illustrations. Furthermore, the Litlyngton Missal's Sanctorale breaks from the traditional organisation in that it begins with the calendar year, as opposed to the more usual liturgical year: this is later echoed in the Sherborne Missal, but in no other missal examined for this entire study does this instance repeat itself.

It is unlikely that all the extra figural illumination found in the Litlyngton Missal is due only to the scale of the book: that is to say that due to the expanse of space there is room for more illustration. It seems more than possible for a smaller book to exist with a similar number of illuminations, but all in a lesser dimension. As an example, the Oriel Missal (315mm by 210mm with thirty-five lines of text with four to five words per line) as compared with the Litlyngton Missal (525mm by 360mm with thirty-two lines and four to five words per line) has only two fewer figural illuminations in the Temporale than the Litlyngton, only one fewer in the section of the Mass and six more than the Litlyngton in the Common of Saints. It is in the Sanctorale that the Oriel lacks the intensity of figural illumination that occurs in the Litlyngton. Certainly, many smaller books of hours hold an abundance of imagery, higher in number than the Litlyngton Missal, despite their smaller size.[32] The Tiptoft Missal has a decorated rectilinear border for every one of its pages, suggesting that expense is not the defining factor behind the illumination cycle, but that elaborate borders have been preferred over historiated initials through deliberate choice.

Perhaps then, credit should be given to Nicholas Litlyngton for envisaging a pictorial cycle with an innovatively high frequency of figural illustrations for a missal. Higher levels of figural illumination existed in other genres of books predating the Litlyngton Missal, but the comparable Carmelite Missal postdates the Litlyngton as does the unequalled Sherborne Missal. On the evidence available (which is admittedly fragmentary), the Litlyngton Missal was the first to include figure-painting for offices other than the ones that normally received it in missals.

5.1.4: Results: Subject Matter of Iconography - Shared Images

Having established that the pictorial cycle of the Litlyngton Missal marked out more feasts by the use of figural illumination than any of its surviving counterparts, excepting the Sherborne Missal, it is interesting to consider the subject matter of the images to understand to what extent the illustrations are representative of traditional iconography.

Naturally, the Main Sample Missals only provide a reference point for the images shared with the Litlyngton Missal, and that will be the starting point for comparisons. The Sherborne and Carmelite Missals, with other illustrated liturgical books, will help to contextualise the images that are not included in the Main Sample Missals. The following section will first discuss those images that are found commonly in other missals before addressing instances of rarer inclusion and those that are solely witnessed in the Litlyngton.

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[32]E.g. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 48 (Carew-Poyntz Hours), 1350-60.

Manifest from comparing the Main Sample Missals is that the subject matter of the historiated initials in the Litlyngton Missal fits without deviation within an established convention of missal iconography. Fourteen of the seventeen images in the Litlyngton Temporale find a counterpart in one or more of the other Main Sample Missals. For each of the eleven Temporale feasts previously noted as being the most usually illustrated, the Litlyngton Missal only has one occasion where the subject matter is not the accepted model.

Table 5.2 shows the traditional subject matter, with any major variations, of the eleven main feasts in the order in which they occur in the Temporale:

Table 5.2: Subject Matter for the Most Commonly Illustrated Temporale Feasts

Temporale:	Frequency of use in Main Sample Missals	Standard Iconography (excluding minor variations, for which see Appendix F.1)	Exceptions	Exception details
Exorcism of Salt & Water	7	Priest and acolyte or deacon/s in act of blessing salt and water before open book on lectern	0	
1st Sunday of Advent	7	Figure (lay or religious) kneeling before an altar, sometimes lifting up soul	2	**Hatton 1:** Christ seated in Judgement on rainbow **Oriel Missal:** Annunciation scene (also used in the Sherborne Missal)
Christmas Day	8	Nativity scene with Mary, Joseph, Infant Christ, Ox and Ass	0	
Circumcision	4	Circumcision of Christ in the presence of Mary (always), Joseph and Anne (varies)	1	**Litlyngton Missal:** presentation scene
Epiphany	6	Adoration of the three kings	0	
Easter	8	Resurrected Christ steps from tomb guarded by sleeping and waking soldiers	0	
Ascension	8	Mary and apostles pray beneath the ascending feet of Jesus	0	
Pentecost	8	Mary and Apostles receive tongues of fire from the Holy Dove	0	
Trinity Sunday	6	Trinity: all *Gnadensthul* representations except in the Litlyngton Missal		
Corpus Christi	6	Canopied procession with monstrance and host (4 examples)	2	**O/ Trinity MS 8:** Priest administers host to 4 laymen **Hatton 1:** 2 priests swing censors before a monstrance on an altar
Anniversary of Dedication of a Church	7	Mitred figure (usually with acolyte) asperges the exterior of a church	0	

The occasion of the Litlyngton Missal's departure from the customary subject matter at the feast of Christ's Circumcision can probably be explained as an error due to lack of knowledge. Confusion of this feast also occurs in a conflation of the Jewish custom of Circumcision (1st January) and Presentation or Purification of the Virgin (2nd February) in the Sherborne Missal's

rendering of the Circumcision (p. 47), which Scott labelled 'Presentation and Circumcision'.[33] Sixten Ringbom deals with the two occasions as related events in an exploration of the development of narrative portrayals of Christ's infancy.[34] Essentially, there is much that is shared in the representation of the two scenes. In both cases, Mary, usually accompanied by Joseph, hands over the infant to a Jewish priest figure; mostly there is an altar-like structure and a sense that the scene is in a temple. The main differences between the two occasions are that at the Circumcision, turtle doves are not necessary as an offering and the priest is traditionally shown holding a knife and sometimes seated.[35]

In fact, the representation of the Circumcision of Christ presents an interesting anomaly in the ten missals used in this comparative study. Despite being a major feast it is absent from five missals (four Main Sample Missals and the Carmelite Missal), incorrectly portrayed in two missals (Litlyngton and Sherborne Missals), and shows a degree of variety in the remaining three Main Sample Missals. Although each of the three representations is undoubtedly the Circumcision, there is confusion and lack of uniformity regarding who to include in the image concerning Joseph, Anne, an angel, and whether the priest should be seated or at an altar.

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[33] *LGM,* II*,* p. 46. East also notes the confusion of these feasts, p. 23-24.

[34] Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative* (Doornspijk, 1965), pp. 72-89.

[35] For an exploration of Jesus' Circumcision in medieval art see Henry Abramson and Carrie Hannon, 'Depicting the Ambiguous Wound: Circumcision in Medieval Art', in *The Covenant of Circumcision: New Perspectives on an Ancient Jewish Rite* (Lebanon, NH, 2003), pp. 98-113.

The seven commonly illustrated feasts in the Sanctorale also reveal the Litlyngton Missal's traditional approach to subject matter:

Table 5.3: Subject Matter for the Most Commonly Illustrated Sanctorale Feasts

Sanctorale:	Frequency of use in Main Sample Missals	Standard Iconography (excluding minor variations, for which see Table F.3)	Exceptions	Exception Details
Andrew's Day	8	Andrew either on or being tied to a saltire cross	1	**Hatton 1:** Andrew and Peter stepping from boat in answer to Jesus' call
Purification of the Virgin	8	Mary hands child across altar to priest. Either Joseph and/or Anne accompany her with turtle doves and taper	0	
Annunciation	6	Gabriel appears, usually kneeling, to Mary. Dove and lilies are inconsistently present	0	
John the Baptist's Feast	6	John is shown in an exterior in poor clothes and with the *agnus dei*	2	**O/Trinity MS 8 and C/Trinity B.11.3:** Nativity of the Saint with Zechariah present
Assumption	7	Mary, uncrowned, is lifted up from tomb (not always shown) by angels	1	**Oriel Missal:** Mary, crowned, drops her girdle down to St Thomas while being lifted up
Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary	5	Anne in a bed holds the infant Mary. Joachim not uniformly present	0	
All Saints	6	Christ in heaven with saints	0	

In this series of feasts, the Litlyngton Missal does not move away from the traditional subject matter, making the one variance in the Temporale seem even more likely to be an error.[36]

Images connected to the various parts of the Mass has less to do with variety of subject matter (except the one irregular inclusion of Melchizadech and Abraham in the Oriel Missal: see Table 5.4) and more to do with in which order and whereabouts in the Mass sequence a traditional set of images is located. The standard images used in the Mass are: the Elevation of the Host, priests involved in other activities connected to the Mass, the Holy Face, Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, and the Crucifixion. Table 5.4 shows the results of images per placement of subject matter

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[36] N.B. the duplicate scene of the Presentation/Purification of the Virgin in the Litlyngton Sanctorale is by a different artist to the Temporale scene.

within the Mass, excluding the Crucifixion scene. The Mass Illumination Table, (Appendix F.2), has a breakdown of images for all eight missals, including where pages are missing.

Table 5.4: Position of Images Related to the Mass

	Preface *Per omina*	Preface *Vere dignum*	Canon: *Te igitur*	Ordo Post Canon: *Per omnia*	Ordo Post Canon: *Pater noster*
Sacrifice of Isaac	Oriel Missal	Tiptoft Missal	S'brooke Missal Litlyngton Missal Trinity Missal Valencia Missal		
Elevation of the Host	Litlyngton Missal		Tiptoft Missal		
Other Mass Activities	S'brooke Missal Tiptoft Missal Trinity Missal Bod. Hatton 1			S'brooke Missal	
Holy Face		S'brooke Missal		Litlyngton Missal	S'brooke Missal
Melchizadech & Abraham			Oriel Missal		

The relative fluidity of the subject matter is perhaps the most striking and surprising result in this Mass section. The Sacrifice of Abraham is the most used iconography (the two of the eight missals that do not use it have missing pages which probably accounts for its absence) and appears most often at the opening prayer of the Canon of the Mass. And yet, it is not a fixed subject matter as the two examples of difference show. Furthermore, the Sherborne Missal has an image of the Trinity at this point. The other most common pictorial theme is of priests and clerics involved in activities connected to the Mass such as hand washing, blessing the chalice, and elevating the host. The results very clearly show that the concentration of imagery in the Sherbrooke Missal is firmly established in the celebration of the Mass; there are as many images in the Mass as in the whole of the Temporale (six) and after the images clustered around the Mass, there are only four more in the Sanctorale and Common of Saints. Conversely, the Litlyngton Missal has the largest collection of images occurring after the Mass.

In all three sections of the missal, it appears that the choice of subject matter is guided more by generic association to the feast day and/or its visual tradition rather than overtly specific relation to the text of the services, although the two are not always mutually exclusive. For example, the Nativity scenes are loosely representational of Christ's birth and originally come from the New Testament,[37] but each one of the Nativity scenes from the ten missals includes an ox and ass,

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[37] Luke, 2: 1-20.

despite their presence never being recorded in the Bible versions of the event. However, their presence dates back to at least the fourth century where they are represented at a Nativity on a stone sarcophagus.[38] Likewise, epiphany shows three kings paying homage to Christ: the Bible[39] does not say that they are kings, nor does it report that the men are of the three stages of life; mature, middle-aged, and youthful, and yet this tradition in Christian art is seen as far back as c.550[40] and shown in each of the representations in the sample of ten missals where the image occurs.

Certain images are examples of visual tradition based on the experience of services rituals and not their texts, such as *Corpus Christi*. Four of the six Main Sample Missals that illuminate this feast have procession scenes, including the Litlyngton, yet nowhere in the readings or rubrics is the procession mentioned.[41] Sometimes ritual and text combine: the representation of praying figures, often before an altar, predominantly used for the first Sunday of Advent shows tradition directly influenced by text. The image is a representation of somebody lifting their soul through prayer, an interpretation of the opening phrase of the service: '*Ad te levavi animam meam*', 'to you I have lifted my soul'. In some images the kneeling figure literally holds up a small praying naked soul (e.g. C/Trinity B.11.3) and in others, the words of the prayer are shown as a scroll issuing from the supplicant's mouth (e.g. Litlyngton Missal). However, despite these general observations, some initials from the Litlyngton Missal do show images influenced in varying degrees by text and these are discussed in the relevant places in the following sections.

5.1.5: Rarer inclusions: Saints

The subject matter of certain images from the Litlyngton Missal cycle is either rare or apparently unique in missals, making comparisons difficult or impossible. However, it is possible to compare the same subject matter with renditions in other contemporary liturgical English manuscripts, such as antiphonals or books of hours. In such a way it is possible to establish if the Litlyngton's treatment of the iconography is innovative beyond its mere inclusion in a missal.

Excluding subject matter connected to the Trinity or the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the remaining so far undiscussed initials from across the different sections of the Litlyngton Missal (excluding the benedictional and royal ceremonies) twenty-one are representations of saints, and of these, fifteen are shown as full-length representations identifiable by symbols connected to their death

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[38] Sarcophagus of Stilicone, 385 A.D., Basilica di Sant'Ambrogio, Milan.
[39] Matthew, 2:1-12.
[40] Peter and Linda Murray, *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Art* (Oxford, 2004), p. 319.
[41] *MEW,* 392-395.

or miracles (Tables F.1 and F.2). Using symbols for a saint not only identifies a figure, but can also evoke narrative by proxy; symbols allude to events which are present through association. For example, St Mary Magdalene (fol. 255r, fig. 5.1) is shown carrying a vessel. Although the viewer cannot know the contents of the jar from the image, association with the Bible and legends means that the vessel is accepted as containing ointment. In this way, Mary with a vessel is typically emblematic of the episode where she anoints Christ's feet[42] and also of the occasion that she carried oil and spices to Christ's tomb in order to anoint his body.[43] In this as in the other 'portrait' representations of various saints, the Litlyngton artists are conventional in their representations and follow an established tradition in manuscript and other media depictions. If not common in missals of the fourteenth century, simple full-length depictions of Mary Magdalene with a vessel exist in English liturgical books from before that time (e.g. Cambridge, St John's College MS K 21, fol. 81v, Canterbury, thirteenth-century hymnal).[44] A contemporary, very similar and related example of the same scene occurs in the Keble Hours (fig. 5.2); the Litlyngton Magdalene is the work of the Sanctorale Artist while the Keble Hours was undertaken by his co-illuminator, the Temporale Artist (see 3.4.5).

The historiated initial of St Silvester, enthroned and wearing a papal tiara and with a badly damaged face, would be unidentifiable as that particular saintly pontiff purely from the initial (fol. 225r). The initial is supplemented with border roundels containing repeat images of the saint's head with papal tiara, interspersed with roundels containing two-legged dragons. Without some knowledge of the saint's life and miracles, the inclusion of dragons here could simply pass for marginal imagery of beasts and hybrids common to many medieval manuscripts. However, in this case, use of the dragon elicits the legend of Silvester's slaying a dragon and re-animating those who had fallen victim to the beast.[45] In the luxury of the Sherborne Missal, as well as a portrait initial of the saint, a *bas-de-page* illustration portrays the slaying of the dragon and Emperor Constantine confined to bed by illness.

The clothing and stance of the saint portraits is usually based on just one of two models, and although unvaried the images are effective in identifying which saint is being represented. There are really only three exceptions to this. The figure of St Matthew, fol. 272v, is only established by a name scroll that curls around him. On just two occasions are depictions so anonymous (rather than intentionally generic as with the Common of Saints initial) as to make identification

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[42] Matthew, 26: 7; Mark, 14:3; Luke 7:38; John, 12: 3. In Matthew and Mark the woman anoints Jesus' head but in Luke and John the oil is used for his feet, the more traditional association.

[43] Mark, 16:1; Luke, 24: 1: she goes to the tomb in all gospels, but only in these two does she carry oil.

[44] <http://ica.princeton.edu.chain.kent.ac.uk/images/ci/CI54.62.2.gif>[accessed 14/05/13].

[45] Jacobus De Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints,* I, trans. by William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993), pp. 70-72.

impossible without recourse to the text outside the image. The initial at the feast for St Dunstan, fol. 241v, shows a bishop with archiepiscopal cross conferring a blessing. He does wear a *pallium*[46] but this is not unique to him. Another *pallium* wearer, Thomas Becket, also has non-specific iconography (fig. 5.3). From what remains of the spoiled image it seems the initial was in the generic vein of an enthroned cleric, such as in St Silvester's image: a figure is seated on a throne holding an archiepiscopal cross. Unlike with St Silvester's feast, the border images of two repeat busts, do not further clarify the figure's identity.

Mainly due to the nature of feasts included in the Temporale, the Temporale Artist has only three representations of saints in his section of work and all are portrait representations: Stephen, John the Evangelist, and Thomas Becket. John the Evangelist is shown with his symbol, the eagle, and, strangely, a martyr's palm (fig.3.21)[47] while Stephen is vested as a deacon and carries a cloth as well as the stones that killed him (fig. 2.24). The Oriel Missal also has illustrations for John the Evangelist and Stephen, although they are both different to the Litlyngton Missal. The Evangelist initial shows a portrait portrayal, but his symbols are the chalice and a palm. The dramatic portrayal of Stephen shows the saint being stoned by two men.

A narrative portrayal of saints at the scene of their death or undergoing torture was another traditional mode of depiction, but there are just three such instances of this in the Litlyngton Missal: St Lawrence, St Katherine, and St Andrew. These are all the work of the Sanctorale Artist and the pages on which they occur have borders with repeat portrait busts of the saint with their symbol, except Andrew's which, in an extension of the narrative in the initial, has corner pictures of his tormentors.

Narrative scenes have an immediacy of engagement that can be absent from static representations of portrait figures; on the pages of the feasts of Saints Lawrence and Katherine in the Litlyngton, both portrait and narrative are present. Taking the example of Lawrence, notwithstanding the initial being only four lines high it is the focal point of the page (figs. 4.4 and 4.5). Lawrence is naked on a ladder-like gridiron above a wood fire. His pale body, running horizontally from left to right at a slight downwards angle, shows black marks of previous torture. In the left foreground a tormentor feeds air onto the flames, which lick up through the gridiron, with a pair of bellows. Indeed, the text for the sequence includes the phrase 'Hodie tormentum ignis examinatus pertulit' (Today he was weighed and brought through the torment of fire).[48] However, individual details of the image owe more to Voragine than the standard

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[46] A Y-shaped stole-like garment decorated with black crosses, given to archbishops of Canterbury by the Pope.

[47] This scene also exists as a miniature by his hand in the Keble Hours.

[48] *MEW,* 902.

missal text. Standing on the other side of Lawrence is an exaggeratedly ugly and abnormally formed figure who pinions the saint's left arm to the frame with a forked metal bar. This feature, not unique to the Litlyngton, comes from Voragine's telling of the tale: the 'iron pitchfork' as he terms it.[49] The red wings in place of ears, the large bulbous nose, and marked pigeon breast all denote him as being demonic.[50] Haloed and tonsured, Lawrence calmly accepts his fate and 'the sweet relief' of the coals.[51] The red flames that rise up, around, and through the gridiron are effective on the gold leaf background that can be seen between the rungs like a glowing fire.

The images in the borders provide an extra stratum of meaning to the page's iconography through their relation to the main image. The historiated initial depiction of the saint, naked, maimed, and physically bound to an implement of torture, is contrasted with the five representations of him in the borders as sumptuously vested in golden and pure white clothes, triumphantly holding the gridiron that was powerless to prevent his separation from God.[52] From initial to borders we see the transformation and transcendence from narrative scene of human torture to icon representation of victorious saint; even what was an ugly emblem of pain has been symbolically reduced in size and become golden. As an additional element, the figure in the top margin, by the nature of its location above the initial, takes on the *persona* of witness to the event of his own martyrdom occurring in the initial.[53] In the Carmelite Missal the story of Lawrence is shown in nine scenes, all depicted in one initial and four border roundels. Although the Carmelite Missal images are undeniably more intricate and artistically skilful than the Litlyngton Missal's, they arguably lack the intensity of message.

The initial for the feast of St Michael is also narrative, but differs from Lawrence, Katherine, and Andrew as it does not deal with the death of an earthly saint, but with the victory of Archangel Michael over the devil (fig. 5.6). Michael's role as defeater of the dragon, Satan, is highly accentuated in the first reading for this Mass (Revelations 12: 7-12[54]) which accounts for this common tradition of showing Michael defeating the dragon. Certainly in the Litlyngton Missal there is true vigour in this initial. Michael stands on the tail of a two-legged, wingless dragon, choking the beast by thrusting his shield into its open mouth, where the sharp teeth are no longer any defence. The beast's head being bent almost fully back on itself via a long flexible

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[49] Jacobus De Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Selections,* trans. by Christopher Stace (London, 1998), p. 208.

[50] Mellinkoff, p. 115.

[51] Voragine, *Selections,* p. 208.

[52] Two bust versions in top and bottom borders and three five-lined full length images of the saint holding a red book and gridiron in the middle of each vertical border.

[53] This facet of border witness is more emphatic at St Katherine's feast where the initial is at the bottom of the first column of text and therefore more images look down on the scene.

[54] *MEW,* 960-61.

neck adds to the feeling of asphyxiation. The angel's right arm is shown at the top of an upswing ready to fall and decapitate the dragon. Movement is further captured in the blue wings which swirl around Michael, rather like a cloak in motion. There are nine border images of six-winged seraphs which are probably repeat images of Michael rather than a representation of the nine orders of angels, especially as there is no physical differentiation between them.[55] Of very similar composition, but with a less vibrant rendering, is the Oriel Missal initial (fig. 5.7), which shows the dragon biting the shield, but bleeding from a wound already inflicted by Michael who prepares to strike again with his bloodied sword.

The other common depiction of St Michael is in connection to the judgement of souls, holding weighing scales, or presenting souls to Christ. This role of weigher of souls is alluded to in the second reading. Both the C/Trinity B.11.3 and the Sherborne Missal have initials with Michael in this form. The B.11.3 has a feathered seraph, which seems to be a direct copy from the border angels of the Litlyngton Missal, but he holds a large pair of scales (fig. 5.8). Surprisingly, considering that the feast has been important enough to be illustrated in two other missals, the Sherborne initial has a modest marking of this feast with just the torso and head of the angel shown holding scales in a small initial on a borderless page.

While most of the missals have an image of an apostle at the beginning of the Common of Saints portrayals of confessors and virgins are far rarer. Due to the unspecific nature of these categories, the images are not defined by narrative and are again only identifiable by the text that surrounds them. The image for a confessor is remarkably similar to the image of St Dunstan, a bishop conferring a blessing, but without *pallium,* and carrying a crosier instead of staff. The first of the two confessor images in the Oriel Missal is compositionally almost identical to that in the Litlyngton, just the backgrounds are different. The image for a virgin martyr in the Litlyngton is very like that of Mary Magdalene, with only the vessel being absent. Oriel's two scenes are rather more descriptive: the first shows a virgin holding a saw, while the other shows a young woman being boiled alive.

Looking at the range of images of saints in the Litlyngton Missal that are rarer inclusions in missals, we can distinguish that beyond their atypical occurrence, the manner of their representation conforms to other renditions of the same subject matter. As with most other images in the missal, the images appear to be influenced by already set traditions of the liturgy, such as the reading for Michael's feast, and others by iconography developed in conjunction with different widespread religious texts, notably Voragine (e.g. St Lawrence).The majority of

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[55] The widespread idea of the nine orders of angels originates from Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite's C5th work, *Celestial Hierarchy,* translated into Latin in C9th. See Murray, p. 18.

these images use effective but unadventurous portrait portrayals of predominantly male figures with an accompanying symbol for identification and association. However, where the initials are narrative, although the subject matter still conforms to tradition, there is greater room for elements of originality to be perceived, such as Michael's asphyxiation of the dragon with the shield and Lawrence's observation of his own martyrdom.

This introduction of creativity to the images brings the discussion of the Litlyngton Missal's illustration cycle onto another phase, where originality of expression, intention, form, and content has been achieved within an overarching convention of subject matter.

5.2: Innovation within Tradition

It has been interesting to note instances of innovation within tradition in the images in the range of illuminated manuscripts examined for contextual reference, but the necessary parameters of this study limit exploration to examples found in the Litlyngton Missal. Even then, it is not possible to describe them all in detail and so a selection will be made to illustrate various points. Discussion of images in earlier chapters has already individualised examples of how a familiar scene can be enhanced, or have its significance altered, through even small adjustments to iconography. For example, the addition of carpet to the scene of Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac and the inclusion of animals in the scene of John the Baptist (see 3.4.4 and 3.4.6 respectively) serve to intensify an already intrinsic meaning.

5.2.1: Focus and Mood

Some small changes in the accepted tradition of subject matter act to change the focus of the image's significance. The initial for the opening of the Common of Saints (fol. 289r, fig. 5.9) presents an unidentifiable haloed saint standing centrally in the generic long under gown and lined cloak used for apostles and biblical figures throughout the manuscript. In his right hand he holds a red book, also common to images of saints in the Litlyngton and other manuscripts, to which he points with the index finger of his left. He has a forked beard and looks over his right shoulder to present a face in three quarter profile. Up until this point, the image concurs with the usual representation. What makes the Litlyngton image unusual is that the saint is standing in front of an elegant open gateway with a delicate and curved arch over his head. Through the

gateway is either a red tiled or carpeted floor. Far more usually the apostle is situated in an exterior and most especially with a tree or trees: in the Oriel Missal (fig. 5.10) the saint holds a fruiting tree, in C/Trinity B.11.3 he stands between two trees, and in O/Trinity MS 8 the figure holds a tree outside a sheltered shrine. The tradition for this comes from the reference to the olive tree in the opening words of the office: *Ego autem sicut oliua fructificavi in domo domini* (However, I like the olive gave fruit in the house of the Lord). Furthermore, the Gradual for the office makes additional reference to trees: *ut palma florebit sicut cedrus libani multiplicabitur* (as the palm flourishes and the cedars of Lebanon multiply).

The gateway in the Litlyngton Missal initial is, arguably, an analogy to the entrance to heaven shown by the golden gates and accentuated by the difference in floor coverings on either side of the threshold. The saint symbolically points to the red book, indicative of Holy Scripture, as a reminder that only through the Word can heaven be accessed. Standing on the threshold may also indicate the role of the saints as intercessors between earth and heaven. The presence of Peter and Paul in the Litlyngton borders is similar subject matter to the initial for the Common of Saints in the Tiptoft Missal: Peter represented as holding keys consolidates the liminal theme of the iconography.[56]

Mood, like focus, can also be affected by small changes in iconography. The Litlyngton Missal Nativity (fol. 20r, fig. 5.11) holds classic elements of this scene, one of the few to occur in all the Main Sample Missals and Sherborne Missal (it is missing from the Carmelite Missal). The Nativity was common in all liturgical books and frequently appeared in books of hours at the office of Prime. The normal composition in our period, and that used in all occasions in the missals of this comparative study, shows Mary reclining on a couch on the left of the picture, with Joseph seated near her, generally shown as an old man and often with a stick. The later trend in iconography portrayed Mary kneeling in homage to her infant son,[57] and Cambridge Trinity B.11.11 Missal (c.1430) has both Mary and Joseph kneeling to Jesus in his manger (fig. 5.12).[58] None of the missals depicts Mary suckling the infant, despite its being a fairly common image. The Sherborne and Tiptoft missals (fig. 5.14) show a midwife holding the baby, but in the others Jesus is either held by Mary or lying in a manger. An ox and ass are always present.

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[56] The Sherborne Missal Common of Saints has an initial with an enthroned figure with a papal tiara on p. 613, while p. 615 has SS Peter and Paul.

[57] Eric Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York, 1962), p. 7.

[58] Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.11, fol. 24r: see James, *Western Manuscripts Trinity College,* p.350 and *LGM,* II, p.189-190.

Where the Litlyngton Missal departs from the norm is in the portrayal of the relationship between Mary and Joseph: the tone of the image is intimate and of shared experience between the two adults. Usually shown as either physically distant from Mary (Hatton 1, fig. 5.13) or emotionally detached from her (Tiptoft Missal, fig. 5.14), in the Litlyngton Missal Joseph and Mary are connected to each other through proximity, eye contact, and touch. Joseph's right arm is protectively resting on Mary's legs, which are stretched out in front of him as she half sits, half reclines on a couch. Compositionally, it was not necessary for the Temporale Artist to show Joseph in this touching gesture, the arm could easily have been shown by his side or holding a stick (as in the Tiptoft). Additionally, his face conveys concern, shown through his perplexed brows. He holds an object which is hard to identify, but could be a box or bread; there is a sense that this could be his gift to Jesus. Joseph directly faces Mary who returns his look as she demurely places a hand on her breast and tilts her head slightly downwards. The intimacy of the scene is heightened by the absence of any other figures, beyond the infant, to act as distractions from one to the other; even the angels witnessing the miracle are confined to roundels in the borders. Also in the border is a prophet's head carefully placed by the reading taken from the prophet Isaiah, an example of direct relationship between text and image.

The more intimate mood achieved through small changes in the usual iconography is not repeated in the Nativity of C/Trinity B.11.3 (fig. 5.15), the book modelled on the Litlyngton Missal (see 3.5 and Appendix D): Mary does not look at Joseph, he holds no gift nor is he in physical contact with her.[59] The Sherbrooke Missal Nativity (fol. 13r, fig. 5.16) shows Joseph possibly lightly touching Mary's leg, but he holds his head in his other hand and his gaze is averted from her; Mary's body language shows her presenting Joseph her shoulder as she is turned away from him.

In the spirit of continuity that exists between the two main artists of the Litlyngton Missal, the mood of intimacy recurs strongly in some images by the Sanctorale Artist. The Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (fol. 286v, fig. 2.14) is not included in the illustration scheme of any of the other Main Sample Missal and occurs only in the three larger books of this study.[60] This feast and the iconography connected to it have already been discussed for their importance to the history of the abbey and also specifically to Nicholas Litlyngton as patron in chapter two. Here it deserves iteration as possibly the tenderest scene of the entire missal, and shows how management of traditional iconography can be innovative in the effects that it creates. As with

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[59] See Murray, p. 278 for an overview of the characterisation of Joseph and Cynthia Hahn, '"Joseph Will Perfect, Mary Enlighten and Jesus Save Thee": The Holy Family as Marriage Model in the Merode Triptych', *The Art Bulletin,* 68 (1986), pp. 54-66 for a 'revaluation of Joseph as powerful and dignified *pater familias'* (p. 55).

[60] Not a category in Scott's tables.

the Nativity initial, an atmosphere of emotional engagement has been created through the intimacy of the scene. Although an exterior scene, outside the Golden Gate, privacy has been evoked through the aloneness of the two as they gently, but warmly, embrace with arms around each other and lips almost touching. In the Sherborne Missal the artist has shied away from portraying overt physicality and the couple merely holds hands. Furthermore, there are no iconic Golden Gate to give an indication of who the figures are. The Carmelite Missal has an initial with elements of continuous narrative showing the rejection of Joachim's offering in the temple, the two separated as they both receive their divine messages, and then their coming together at the Golden Gate. The initial is well-balanced, informative, refined, and executed with great technical skill and, once again, offers a different effect to the Litlyngton Missal through a rather more restrained embrace at the gate.

Still exploring how the mood of an image can be formed through the manipulation of traditional iconography, we move from intimacy to passion in the initial used at the feast of the Massacre of the Holy Innocents. This image is another example of a rarer inclusion in missals; possibly missing from the Carmelite Missal, the only other occurrence is in the Sherborne (p. 42). The Litlyngton Missal image (fol. 23r, fig. 5.17) has an interesting and highly effective compositional arrangement. At the centre the pale, naked, and bloodied body of an infant with flailing limbs is held by one leg in a soldier's grasp, whose darker armour acts as the background to the child's paler body. On either side of this mutilated child are a woman (logically the mother) and Herod, crowned and seated on a bench throne. To the left of the woman we see a wounded child held fast by another soldier.

Representation of Herod, though not unknown in depictions of the Holy Innocents, is not common and generally we see women, children, and soldiers. Particular here are the level gazes of the two protagonists locked in opposition across the scene that Herod has caused and that the woman is trying to stop. The power of the woman's maternal protection is conveyed by action: she simultaneously puts one hand in the path of the soldier's blade in a futile attempt to avert the soldier's dagger blow while thrusting her hand into the guard's face with such force that she causes it to bleed. All the while she looks directly into Herod's eyes in accusation and unflinching bravery. Blocking the soldier's face with her hand also ensures that the intense eye-contact between herself and Herod remains uninterrupted by the distraction that another face would cause.

Herod, his legs crossed as a symbol of temporal power and judgement, leans back slightly from the woman's wrath and holds his sword vertically between them as both a barrier and a symbol of his imposition of the death sentence on the innocents. His robe is blood red, an echo of the

red blood spilling from the dark gashes on the babies' pale bodies while the blue dress of the mother, redolent of Mary, is a reminder that this event was meant to occasion the death of the Christ child. This whole scene of cruelty and maternal tragedy is a pre-runner to the ultimate sacrifice and mother's loss at the Crucifixion of Jesus. In the elegant swooning of the Virgin Mary in the Crucifixion miniature the extent of her pain is gracefully implied and understood; in the case of the woman at the Massacre of the Holy Innocents, the raw energy of her grief is manifest.

The important difference in the Temporale Artist's treatment of this subject is in his portrayal of the woman. Generally the mothers are beleaguered, grieving or, at times, attempting to shield their children or pleading with the soldiers (Sherborne Missal p.42 and William de Brailles single psalter leaf).[61] The intensity of the mother's grief in the Litlyngton is expressed through the unexpected depiction of a woman doing actual violence to an armed soldier in her desperation to save her son.

5.2.2: Comparisons: The Trinity

In the Litlyngton Missal it is possible on three occasions to compare the treatment of the same subject matter by the two main artists. The Litlyngton Missal contains duplicate images of the same scenes, but by different artists, for: the Trinity, the Presentation, and the Resurrection.[62] In this way, as an extension of the theme of innovation within tradition, it is possible to perceive how the treatment of traditional iconography differed even within the context of the same missal.

Most noticeable is the difference in the two depictions of the Trinity. The Temporale Artist's Trinity is located in the usual position of Trinity Sunday (fol. 120r) while the Sanctorale Artist's version occurs as the office for the Commemoration of the Trinity, in the Votive Masses after the Common of Saints (fol. 312r). Including the Litlyngton Missal, six of the eight Main Sample Missals have an image of the Trinity at that feast, and only the Litlyngton's is not a *Gnadenstuhl* or Mercy Seat version. Conversely, the Litlyngton is the only missal of the eight to have a second rendition of the Trinity in the Votive Masses, and here, it is a *Gnadenstuhl*. Typically, albeit with some variations, the well-established tradition of the Mercy Seat Trinity shows God the Father as the largest figure seated and holding the arms of the cross, upon which is crucified God the

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[61] Pierpoint Morgan Library MS M.913, c.1230-40: the single leaf has six main scenes connected to the role of the three kings and Herod in Christ's infancy.

[62] There are also two renditions of the Annunciation, both by the Sanctorale Artist and very similar.

Son.[63] The dove of God the Holy Spirit is often in the vertical space between the two heads, although sometimes it rests on the arm of the cross (e.g. Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.10.15, mid to late fourteenth century, fol. 33v) or is missing (e.g. CUL, MS Add 4500, late fourteenth-early fifteenth century, fol.188r).

The Sanctorale Artist's *Gnadenstuhl* (fig. 5.18) depicts God the Father looking out directly at the viewer. Centrally below God's bearded chin, Christ is suspended on a tau cross. The artist has used contrast for effect: in antithesis to the Father's direct stare, Jesus' eyes are closed in death and his nudity, covered only by a loin cloth, is consciously emphasised by the surrounding billowing folds of the Father's gowns. The shape of the parted cloak mirrors the arms of the suspended Christ, particularly as the folds move up to meet the Father's hands which are further along the cross from Jesus' own nailed hands in evocation of shared experience. The positioning of the hands and moulding of the cloak show sophistication that is not uniformly present in renditions of the Mercy Throne Trinity. Hatton 1, Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.11, and Oriel Missal Trinity images (figs. 5.19 and 5.20) all show God the Father with one hand removed, in blessing, from the cross, and in each case the cloak does not mimic Christ's arms. The Sanctorale Artist's Trinity shows blood running from each of the five wounds which draws a noticeable contrasting parallel to the Father's own bare and unblemished feet.

While the Sanctorale Artist has composed the various elements of the Trinity well there is nothing notably innovative in his deployment of them, although he has chosen the less usual trope of portraying a youthful God the Father; instances of this are unusual in medieval manuscript illumination.[64] God the Father with youthful aspect lessens the differentiation between God the Father and Son, which, in turn strengthens the idea of a united Trinity.

The Temporale Artist's Trinity (fig. 5.21) is the only other image in the missal to contain an image of God the Father and it is distinctly different from the Sanctorale Artist's. Not only is the Father conveyed as older through having grey hair, but a further distinction between Son and Father is made as God is crowned when Christ is not. This Temporale Trinity (hereafter Bench Throne Trinity[65]) is of the type where Jesus and God are seated on the same throne and typically the dove is between them. Although not an uncommon form, the Litlyngton's instance is the only example from the ten missals of the comparative study.[66] God the Father and Son sit right and left, respectively, on a bench throne reflecting psalm 109 (Vulgate numbering): 'Dixit Dominus

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[63] Variations include: God the Father seated on a rainbow or a more ornate throne, his feet may be visible, and the foot of the cross sometimes rests on a globe: see Table F.1.

[64] Tiptoft and O/Trinity MS 8 have a youthful God the Father.

[65] My term.

[66] Although the Sherborne Missal incorporates this form into the Corpus Christi initial, p. 279.

Domino meo sede a dextris meis'. Jesus' right hand is across his body, palm open and towards the Father. In a notable difference to other Bench Throne Trinities, his other hand is curved inwards towards his body, in a gesture resembling a pregnant woman cupping her stomach and thus strongly evocative of Mary's role in bringing together the Trinity: being chosen by the Father (*ancilla domini*), conceiving through the Spirit at the Annunciation, and so becoming mother to the Son. The Father's right hand is extended in blessing and in his other is a red book as a representation of the Word and covenant. Perversely, the elements of the book and the hand raised in benediction strongly resemble images of the *Pantokrator*, a pose always associated with Christ.

The dove of the Holy Spirit flies down between their heads radiating Pentecostal fire onto the two figures. Unusually, even the dove also has a small crossed nimbus. At the feet of the figures is the upper half of a golden orb divided into the three sections of the medieval globe: the lower half has wavy lines symbolising the sea, the top left quarter is blank while the second quarter holds a church, which Tudor-Craig noted as a novel embellishment and interpreted as being God's Kingdom on Earth.[67] The position of the globe is not fixed in Bench Throne Trinities: in the Litlyngton Missal it is between the figures' feet, in the earlier Luttrell Psalter and contemporary breviary and psalter CUL, MS Add 4500 (fol. 314v) it is held by God the Father while in the Sherborne Missal (p. 279) it rests between the two figures.

Perusal of the missals and other contemporary manuscript examples of the Trinity reveals that there is much flexibility for individual interpretation and difference within the two set frameworks of Trinity portrayal: such as the ornate castellated throne used in Hatton 1 and the unwounded Christ in O/Trinity MS 8. Outside of that framework, this subject matter also provided great scope for artists to be wholly innovative. Both the Sherborne and Carmelite Missals have multiple renditions of the Trinity with at least one less orthodox version. Trinity Sunday in the Sherborne Missal has a marginal image of the Risen Christ on a throne whilst above him is an altar over which is the dove. Adjacent to Christ in an initial is God surrounded by angels and suspended above an open book upon which is the *agnus dei.* The Carmelite Missal's Votive Mass of Trinity has Christ and God seated upon a rainbow with the dove between them, while under them is the Virgin *mediatrix* with saints and patrons. The Wollaton Antiphonal has a *Gnadenstuhl* but also a curious Trinity at psalm 109 with three male figures seated on one throne: the figure representing the Holy Spirit has white feathers visible beneath the hem of his robe (fol. 246v).

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[67] Tudor-Craig, p. 104.

Whilst traditional in working inside the two accepted forms, the Litlyngton artists are interesting not only in the way that they differ from each other but also in how they fit within the treatment of the subject matter in a wider sense. In essence, the Sanctorale Artist's *Gnadenstuhl* Trinity is an example of an artist using form, colour, and contrast well to portray a good quality image within the normal bounds of iconography. However, the work of the Temporale Artist, whilst arguably not as refined as the Sanctorale Artist's, provides an enlargement of the Trinity theme through conscious changes to the accepted norm: the references to the whole nature of the Word and God's plan via the book he holds; the implicit inclusion of Mary through reference to her pregnancy by the body language of her son; the merging of Son and Father by showing God, not Christ, as *Pantakrator*; and the unique reference to the Church on earth through the globe.

5.2.3: Comparisons: Presentation and Resurrection

The two images of the Presentation in the Temple, also known as the Purification of the Virgin and Candlemas, are less dramatic in their differences than the Trinity (figs. 5.22 and 5.23). The duplication of the image in the Litlyngton Missal, as mentioned, came about due to the pictorial misrepresentation of the Circumcision of Christ by the Temporale Artist. The Temporale Artist's scene (fol. 25r) is badly damaged through paint deterioration and it is not always easy to understand certain aspects.[68] On the right of the picture a priest, anachronistically mitred, takes a reluctant Jesus from his mother's arms.[69] Through the paint damage it is possible to see Jesus gripping his mother's wrist in an attempt not to be wrested away: he also leans away from the priest, traditionally Simeon. Such reluctance is a common and understandable motif in circumcision scenes and is sometimes used in Presentations to denote an awareness of the forthcoming sacrifice; it is also a way of showing tenderness between mother and child in both situations. The prefigurative quality of Presentation scenes is deepened by the fact that Jesus is traditionally handed across an altar (Table F.1). Although obscured, the under drawing suggests the priest is behind an altar, the outline of which is visible in the damaged area; very unclear is whether Simeon's hands are covered with a cloth, which would be traditional.

Behind Mary is a nimbed female figure holding a taper, possibly Anna the prophetess, although the halo and taper are less usual for this character. At the rear of this group stands Joseph,

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[68] East (pp. 23-4) noted that Tudor-Craig informed him that the bad repair of the initial was due to deterioration of white lead used for the priest's robes. I feel it likely that the damage could be connected to the later treatment of the preceding folio, fol. 24r, with ammonium sulphide undertaken so as to read the defaced text of Thomas Becket's feast: *MEW,* p.xii.

[69] Instance of mitres on Jewish priests is not uncommon, and the Sanctorale Artist uses the custom in the border scene of the Judgement before Pilate on fol. 157*v.

wearing the same red hood as in the Nativity, not nimbed and the most diminutively-sized adult. He watches attentively and holds a basket of turtle doves; the usual sacrifice given at the Jewish Presentation ceremony of the firstborn son. However, the reference in Luke (2:24) says that a pair of turtle doves should be given; here there are three.[70]

The lesser importance of Joseph in this Temporale scene is not witnessed in the Sanctorale scene (fol. 230r). Indeed, the non-inclusion of Anna creates the sense of Holy Family intimacy that was encountered at the Nativity scene (see above). Rather than diminish Joseph's stature and importance by making him short enough to fit into the initial, as in the Temporale, the Sanctorale Artist allows Joseph to exceed the limits of the initial. Also different to the Temporale scene is that Jesus goes willingly to the priest and places his small hands into the other's covered ones, although the child's tiny feet peep out from his gold clothing as a reminder of his vulnerability. Both Joseph and Simeon wear hats that denote their Jewishness and it is interesting to note that within the same missal one artist uses conventional iconography for Jewish clothing whilst another does not. The Sanctorale Artist's less crowded rendering lends more emphasis to the prefiguration of Christ's sacrifice and the latent symbolism of Christ and altar. Central to the composition, Jesus is held symbolically above the altar as Mary yields up her child. It is a stark reminder that the live flesh and blood of the child crossing the altar to a priest here will become the transubstantiated flesh and blood of the sacrificed Christ when the priest will hold the elevated Host.

The final example of a scene painted by both Litlyngton artists is the Resurrection. The Temporale Artist's is a historiated initial on Easter Day (fol. 95v, fig. 3.2) while the Sanctorale Artist's is the last in the series of border vignettes of Christ's Passion which surround the Crucifixion miniature (fig. 3.3). They both follow the regular form of composition showing the risen Christ, dressed only in a cloak and with wounds visible, stepping from a tomb chest onto one of the soldiers on watch there. This iconography is the established form (Table F.1) and also used in the Sherborne Missal (p. 216), but not the Carmelite Missal. [71]

Such differences as exist between the Litlyngton Missal scenes are minor and, in some ways, reflective of the usual variations in iconography present in other renditions of the scene. Including the Sherborne Missal, only the earlier missals (Sherbrooke and Tiptoft) have angels at the Resurrection. In keeping, the Resurrection scene in the mid to late thirteenth-century Missal

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[70] Birds in a basket are repeated in each margin corner.

[71] In the Carmelite Missal the upper scene of a horizontally split initial shows the three woman bringing ointment to Christ's closed tomb; the lower scene is almost identical, but the tomb has been opened and an angel sits on the ledge (f. 7v).

of Henry of Chichester includes two musical angels[72] while other fifteenth century examples (Cambridge, Trinity B.11.11 and Keble Hours) do not. Another area of mutability is what Christ holds; at times it is a banner and at others a cross. The number of soldiers varies and ranges from two (C/Trinity B.11.3) to four (Litlyngton Temporale). The soldiers pose another interesting issue, which is whether they are shown as awake or asleep; most usually there is a mixture of states, sometimes they are all asleep, but never are they all awake. In the Litlyngton the Sanctorale Artist's three soldiers are all asleep while the Temporale Artist has two awake behind the tomb while two in front are asleep. The point of interest is that where soldiers are awake they are the first earthly witnesses to Christ's Resurrection rather than the three women who come to Christ's tomb on Easter Sunday morning.

The Sanctorale Artist's Resurrection scene does not have iconographic variations from the norm. However, like the Tiptoft Missal, which has the idiosyncrasy of Jesus stepping from a high tomb resembling a saint's raised shrine (f.144r), the Temporale Artist's illustration holds notable points of difference, one of which is Jesus' torse or crown of thorns. Along with the copiously bleeding five wounds, the Temporale Artist's Christ sheds blood from the torse-like crown of thorns he wears. This feature, mainly absent from Resurrection scenes in missals and different genres of liturgical and devotional manuscripts, is present in both the Sherborne Missal and Hatton 1. Showing Christ with the Crown of Thorns creates an interesting crossover with the representation of Jesus as Man of Sorrows in which Christ is often painted as a half bust inside a tomb surrounded by the Instruments of the Passion and almost always wearing the crown.[73] This accords with Ringbom's mapping of the rise and development of the Man of Sorrows icon and its derivations, *Ecce Homo* and *Arma Christi*, which he placed as a mainly fourteenth-century phenomenon in Europe, gaining in popularity in the fifteenth century.[74]

Another difference in the Temporale Artist's Resurrection concerns the soldiers. Whether they are painted with shields is another point of changeability (the Sanctorale Artist has not), but it is the design on the shield in the Litlyngton Missal which is the point of interest and appears to be unique. The sleeping soldier to the right in the foreground holds a rectangular shield upon which is emblazoned a gryllus or dragon. Unlike other medieval manuscripts, these beasts are not used to adorn borders and solely occur in symbolic reference to the devil. The only two other occasions are at Michaelmas when St Michael defeats the devil/dragon and at Silvester's feast in reference to his legendary defeat of a dragon/devil (both above). Therefore, here, the beast is

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[72] Manchester, Rylands Library MS Lat 24 (Henry of Chichester Missal), 1240-60, fol. 152v.

[73] A famous example of the crown's omission is the c.1260 panel painting of the *Man of Sorrows* by the Anonymous Umbrian Master: London, National Gallery 5673.

[74] Ringbom, pp. 66-69 and pp. 142-170.

being used to show the heathen and evil nature of the soldiers who guard the saviour's tomb as even the marks of their livery show affiliation to the devil.[75] Once again, we see the Temporale Artist's strength in augmenting meaning through considered changes that do not constitute immediately remarkable departures from the normal framework of a scene's iconography.

5.3: Innovation beyond Convention

5.3.1: Fol. 9r: More than Salt and Water

Beyond extending and intensifying some accepted iconographic norms, there are at least two occasions when the Temporale Artist stepped outside of convention and was wholly innovative in his choice of iconography. Discussion of the king's coronation order has already referred to the unique appearance and significance of prophets in the borders around the king's coronation miniature (see 4.3.3). The other occasion is on another high profile page: the opening of the book on fol. 9r, which holds the ceremony for the Exorcism of Salt and Water. The historiated initial is conventional in form and manner, containing a cleric and acolyte performing the ritual found in the text. However, as with the coronation, the borders contain innovative imagery. The iconography of this page was covered to some degree in the discussion of the placement of Litlyngton's patronal marks in chapter two (2.4.2), but it merits a fuller exploration with a different focus here.

The borders of fol. 9r are rich with figural illustrations of musical angels, elaborately vested clerics, altar servers, heraldry, and monograms (fig. 2.25). The lowest border is widened to incorporate four connected vignettes showing a procession of clerics moving from left to right (fig. 2.26). No other English missal referred to throughout this thesis has figural illumination in the borders at this typical opening service. Of course, this makes the Litlyngton innovative by default, however, it is enlightening to explore themes that run through the iconography of the whole opening page and assess reasons for specific choice of subject matter.

Some elements are more evident than others, for example, the two full-length servers with aspergillum and situla in the central margin are repeat motifs relevant to the subject matter shown in the initial, a technique used in other folios. Also easy to interpret, at least on one level, are the patronal marks and abbey heraldry, which are expressions of identification that are apt

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[75] East interpreted the shield as brown cloth with an 'indeterminate animal' on it. Due to the unusual square shape I can understand how confusion might arise. Were it indeed cloth, then it might be a prayer mat or a painted idol; in either case the point of emphasising the soldier's affiliation to paganism and the devil still stands.

at the opening of a deluxe book.[76] A canopied procession might seem a stranger choice of subject matter as it strongly brings to mind the feast of *Corpus Christi*. As noted by Luxford,[77] representations of some ceremonial and liturgical processions contain common iconographic elements, however, the procession is most likely to be the Sunday Mass asperges ritual connected to the Blessing of the Salt and Water which, like *Corpus Christi,* moved outside of the church building.[78] If this were the case, which is logical in terms of the context of the service, then the priest under the canopy would be holding the recently blessed holy water although the item in his hands looks more like a ciborium or reliquary. Swayed more by image than contextuality, Wickham Legg's caption for his reproduction of this image is 'Procession with the Eucharist'.[79] In either case, I believe that the true importance of the iconography is in the portrayal of a liturgical ritual connected to the celebration of Mass.

The whole essence of a missal is that it encapsulates the liturgy of the Mass and its rituals in a continuous yearly cycle. A range of other service books existed for Mass (for example, breviaries, sacramentaries, antiphonals, kyriales, lectionaries, graduals, hymnals, and pontificals),[80] but they worked in conjunction with each other and as subsidiaries to a missal, which itself was a compendium of sacramentary, lectionary, and cantatorium. It is therefore appropriate that elements of liturgy and liturgical ritual should be emphasised on the opening page, and naturally, if the depicted priest is holding the Eucharist and not Holy Water, it would be a fitting pictorial reference for a book created specifically for Westminster's masses.

There are seven books shown on this opening page, an emphatic visual reference to the importance of the words included in the ritual of the abbey's daily liturgy. The books on fol. 9r could be interpreted as visual self-reference, with the one on the lectern which, in order for the priest to be performing the ritual that he is enacting, would be open at the very page on which it is depicted in the image itself. It could be posited that the lectern holds the missal being used by the celebrant and those books that appear elsewhere on the page are supporting books used by others in the Mass. For example, although the Litlyngton Missal includes musical notation on occasion it is not a noted missal, and therefore would need the support of a different book (e.g. a gradual) for music. Beyond books there are other elements in the iconography which call

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[76] See 2.4.2 for fuller discussion on the significance of the interspersal of Litlyngton's marks and abbey arms between the procession roundels in the lower border.

[77] Julian M. Luxford, 'A Fifteenth-Century Version of Matthew Paris' *Procession with the Holy Blood* and Evidence for its Carthusian Context', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 72 (2009), 81-101 (p.89 and Fig. 10).

[78] See 2.4.2 and Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts,* p. 18.

[79] *MEW,* p. xvi.

[80] Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts,* p. 119.

attention to the liturgy of the Mass such as the array of liturgical accoutrements: aspergillum, situla, processional cross, taper, canopy, ciborium/reliquary, vestments, and an incense boat.

Another possible pictorial self-reference is the musical angel motif in the borders. Shown playing harp, knackers, double pipes, and lute, the instruments could be an allusion to the music contained within the book, a common feature of many missals. The implication of angels playing the instruments, as opposed to monks or secular musicians, is that the music in the missal is a sacred thing, both devoted to God and incurring his blessing.

5.3.2: The Crucifixion

Depictions of Christ crucified were ubiquitous in every visual art medium in the medieval culture, occurring in private and public spaces and multiple times even in one church. In missals, the Crucifixion scene was usual and situated opposite the Canon of the Mass as a visual reminder of Christ's sacrifice to the Mass celebrant as he prepared for the holiest moment of performing the mystery of the Eucharist. The most standard version of the scene was a central crucified Christ with Mary left in the image and John the Evangelist right (see figs. 3.11 and 3.12). This immediately recognisable formula was unequivocally the English standard by the time of the Litlyngton Missal's production in 1383-4, and also remained the template up into the Reformation era.[81] Although there are numerous examples where the basic three-figure arrangement remains unchanged, there are also many cases where variations exist. It is not unusual to see angels collecting Jesus' spilled blood (Vatican, Bibl. Apost., Pal Lat 501, fol. 122v) or to find Mary Magdalene kneeling beneath Jesus' feet or embracing the cross, as in the early Italianate example of Gorleston Psalter (fig. 5.24, BL, MS Add 49622, 1310-1324, fol. 7r). Other variations might include the incorporation of the Trinity (Abingdon Missal, 1462, fol. 113v; *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ*, c. 1444-65, fol. 118v[82]) and the inclusion of the sun and the moon. Even so, the basic pattern of Jesus central, Mary left, and John the Evangelist right remains integral to the image.[83]

In the Litlyngton Missal's most famous image (fig. 3.7), the illumination cycle conspicuously breaks from the tradition of the three-figure Crucifixion and moves to a more crowded scene

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[81] E.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 227 (Abingdon Missal), 1462, fol. 113v; Vatican, Bibl. Apost. Rossiana 275, fol. 101v; Wayland 1555, STC:16065. An exception is London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209 (Lambeth Apocalypse), c.1260-7209, fol. 51v.

[82] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 18.1.7, c. 1444-65 (Scott cat. 98).

[83] BL, MS Add 47682 (Holkham Bible), c.1327-40, fols. 32r-33r hold crowded Crucifixion images, but they are part of a larger narrative cycle with no Italian stylistic influences.

recognised as having been influenced by Italian *trecento* paintings. As discussed in chapter three (3.4.2), one of the most common elements of a scene from this genre is the crowd that surrounds Jesus and the high element of narrative incorporated into it. Whereas traditionally John and Mary are static and passive witnesses to the death of Christ, in the more complex narrative Crucifixions the role balance changes and we, as viewers, become witnesses to an event which includes John and Mary as active characters in the scene. Naturally, a more complex scene allows for a greater opportunity of iconographic symbolism, meaning, and message, all of which are evident in the Litlyngton Missal.

As noted, the Litlyngton Crucifixion Master arranged the figures in a triangular arrangement in form and colour and created equilibrium using the figure of the crucified Christ as a vertical line of symmetry.[84] Looking beyond stylistic composition to symbolism and meaning, I believe Christ also acts as the symmetrical axis of morality in the Litlyngton image: Jesus' supporters, the righteous, to his right (viewer's left) are symmetrically mirrored by his antagonists, the sinners, to his left (viewer's right). Such rigid division of good and evil via the vertical divider of the cross and the strict symmetry of Jesus' advocates versus tormentors is not a fixed *trecento* composition and arguably a Litlyngton Missal innovation.

Many crowded *trecento* Italian paintings still show John the Evangelist in his traditional position to the right of the image. One example is Paolo Veneziano's *Crucifixion* [85] (c.1340, fig. 5.25) which portrays Mary, left, supported by haloed figures with crowd members behind her, Mary Magdalene kneels at Jesus' crucified feet, and John is to the right of the cross with soldiers around him. Giotto's *Crucifixion* in the Arena Chapel (fig. 5.26) does have John the Evangelist with Mary on the left but shows a different haloed figure on the right.[86] Another Italian form of composition represents the action on different planes. Gaddi's *Crucifixion* (fig. 5.27)[87] shows John to the right again and uses four planes: foreground with Mary, supporters, and gaming soldiers; middle ground with horsemen; background showing a continuous line of the crowd; and finally, the higher ground of the crucified figures. The Sherborne Missal full page Crucifixion, the only other English missal to have an Italianate Crucifixion scene, follows this multi-plane

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[84] See 3.4.2.

[85] Paolo Veneziano, *Crucifixion*, c.1340, tempera on panel, National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

[86] Giotto, *Crucifixion*, c.1305, fresco, Arena Chapel, Padua. The haloed figure is identified as Longinus by Anna Maria Spiazzi, *The Scrovegni Chapel in Padua,* trans. by Huw Evans (Milan, 1993), p.36.

[87] Agnolo Gaddi, *Crucifixion,* c. 1390, tempera on panel, Uffizi Galleries, Florence.

composition (fig. 3.13). In direct contrast to the Litlyngton Missal, in none of the above images is symmetry observed in anything but a loose form.[88]

In the Litlyngton Missal, the strict left and right division is denoted by no haloed figures being present on the right of the image (excepting the angels who fly in symmetry on both sides); only two figures to the left of the scene are not nimbed, but do merit to be on the 'good side'. Firstly, the non-haloed crucified man is the Good or Penitent Thief who asks for Christ's mercy, to which Christ responds, 'Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in paradise' (Luke 23: 43).[89] Secondly, the figure inflicting the wound in Christ's right side is Longinus who, according to legend later widely spread by Voragine's *The Golden Legend,* was a soldier healed of near blindness by Jesus' blood dripping into his eye from the very wound that he had inflicted with his lance. Accordingly, Longinus ceased soldiering and became a monk who 'converted many to the faith by his teaching and example'.[90] Longinus points to his eye to call attention to the miracle. In early Christianity Longinus had been identified with the centurion who declared that Jesus was the Son of God, [91] but here Longinus is unequivocally the figure with the lance.

Just as the saintly characters to the left of the picture are easily identified by their haloes, so too the evil characters to the right of the image are denoted by their headgear and not just the lack of haloes. The three figures of a centurion[92] and two Jews are shown, respectively, with an elaborate feathered hat, a Jew's hood with flap, and a funnel hat, part hidden by the encroaching border. It seems likely, due to the elegant headwear and clothing, that the centurion holding a speech scroll declaring Christ as Son of God, is the high-ranking officer Petronius responsible for the Crucifixion.[93] In symmetrical balance to the other side, the only two figures that are without headwear are the opposite entities to the Good Thief and Longinus: the Bad Thief and Stephaton.

According to Luke 23: 39, the Bad Thief mocked Christ saying 'If thou be Christ, save thyself and us' and to the right of this crucified figure is a scroll with 'Si filius dei es; descendit (sic) decruce'

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[88] New York, Public Library MA 020 is an English Missal c.1400-1415 with a Crucifixion miniature (fol. 17v bound in later and possibly not original) which is a scaled down version of the Italian crowd scenes but is of symmetrical composition. Mary swoons into John's arms on the left and on the right a robed Jew and soldier with lance (Longinus?) look up to Jesus. There is an angel on either side of Jesus but no thieves, nor other crowd members: image accessed <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-e406-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99> [accessed 20/06/13]

[89] Also known as St Dismas. In Giotto's *Crucifixion,* c.1330, Louvre, Paris, Dismas has a halo.

[90] Voragine, *Selections,* p. 102.

[91] David Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints,* 5th edn. (Oxford, 2011), p. 274.

[92] My thanks to Dr Scot McKendrick for his identification of the centurion.

[93] Gospel of Peter, Fragment 1: v.31 trans. by M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924), p. 92.

(if you are the son of God, came [sic] down from the cross).[94] Beneath the Bad Thief, Stephaton holds up the vinegar on the sponge for Christ to drink. Like Longinus, the legend of Stephaton as a Jewish tormentor comes as a later development. Strickland stated that he is a stark example of a pejorative image of Jews.[95] Without headgear to proclaim him as Jewish, it is possible to perceive that he is by certain traits of 'ugliness'. Thick lips and deformed noses were typical for portrayal of Jews[96] and an extension of the perception that ugliness and disease were outward signs of evil and corruption, as mentioned in Leviticus.[97] The Litlyngton Stephaton has a pig-like snout nose[98] and he is shown in deliberately ungainly unorthodoxy with an upside-down face: inversion equating to a sense of 'wrongness' in medieval art.[99] Stephaton shown of diminutive stature is typical of the portrayal of the, literally, baser nature of villains.

Even the bucket holding gall and vinegar that Stephaton carries, is compositionally and metaphorically balanced by the goodness of the chalice holding the sacred blood of Christ. As a point of symmetrical flourish, the wings of the angel at Jesus' feet reflect the colour and position of Stephaton's bent arm. Noticeable too is that the sun is on the side of the righteous as the bringer of light, whereas the moon, indicator of literal and metaphorical darkness, is with the other evil elements. Only Christ and the angels are not bounded by the division of good and evil that otherwise confines the iconography of the miniature; as saviour, his arms spread wide to encompass the wrongdoings of all mankind and therefore cross onto the dark side of the image.

The marked division of right and wrong that occurs in the Litlyngton Missal might appear occluded by the scroll bearing the words, 'Vere filius dei: erat iste'. This admission of Jesus' divinity would seem to venerate Christ and yet is shown on the side of sinners. The phrase is taken from Matthew, 27:54: 'So that the centurion and those who kept guard over Jesus with him, when they perceived the earthquake and all that befell, were overcome with fear; Truly this was the Son of God.' Their awareness of Jesus as the Son of God comes only after his death and through fear, not belief; they are the embodiment of the fickleness of the crowds who had hailed Jesus' entrance to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday only to cry for his death a few days later. Therefore, the scroll is not indicative of faith and is justly placed with Jesus' tormentors. The

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[94] East indentified the grammatical error which should read 'descende' rather than descendit.

[95] Strickland, p. 111.

[96] Mellinkoff, p. 66.

[97] Mellinkoff, p. 115: Leviticus 21:18.

[98] This snout nose is also used for Stephaton and an accomplice in the Crucifixion miniature for the Casanatense Missal, Avignon, c.1400, the miniature and a miniature of the Majesty are on a bifolio separated from the missal, and held by HM the Queen at Windsor Castle, The Royal Collection, Royal Library 25.009-10.

[99] As well as having sinister overtones, at times this was used for comic effect viz. the trope of inverted humans and animals in manuscript borders, or people and animals riding backwards.

luxury of the Centurion's cloak might also seem misplaced. An obvious compositional balance to Mary's, it should also be read as the moral opposite to hers: on the side of right, Mary's beautiful cloak is an indication of her worth and virtue, whereas on the side of wrong the luxury of the cloth is an indication of vanity and misdirected wealth.

Naturally, due to forced lack of comparison it is difficult to evaluate this Crucifixion scene in terms of contemporary English manuscripts. As mentioned, the Sherborne is the only other English missal of any date to contain a comparable scene although some smaller versions exist in other English manuscripts of dates later than the Litlyngton: most notably in the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Christ*,[100] in Edinburgh, an unpainted half page miniature in MS Bodley 758[101] and the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen.[102] The Crucifixion page of the Northern French Casanatense Missal also shows *trecento* influence, but it bears a greater resemblance to the Sherborne's Crucifixion than the Litlyngton's (fig. 5.28).[103] Once again, useful parallels can be drawn with Italian art.

Comparison illustrates that the three crucified figures are not uniformly present in the crowded Crucifixion scenes; even in the Italian frescoes Jesus is often shown as the only crucified figure.[104] However, when the two thieves are present only Jesus is shown as being nailed to the cross; probably the reasoning for this is that Jesus is distinguished as a special sacrifice and the wounds inflicted by nails are reserved as specific to him. Also remarkable is that the Litlyngton Missal is conspicuous in not having Mary Magdalene as at the foot of the cross. In the majority of *trecento* Italian paintings and frescoes and the few English manuscript versions of the Italianate Crucifixion (except the Hours of Elizabeth), Mary Magdalene kneels at Jesus' crucified feet. The motive behind her non-inclusion in the Litlyngton Missal could reasonably be a matter of compositional balance. The Litlyngton Crucifixion miniature is rigidly symmetrical and the introduction of Magdalene at Jesus' feet on the Good side would create a problem in finding a counterpart for her on the Bad side. It could also have been a decision based on the desire to not detract from the Virgin Mary's principal importance in the image. Even John the Evangelist,

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[100] See n. 82.

[101] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 758, 1405, fol. 1(Scott cat 17).

[102] BL, MS Add 50001 (The Hours of Elizabeth the Queen), c.1420-30, fol. 22r. This does have the division between good and bad characters, but omits Longinus, Stephaton, the two thieves, and angels. It also lacks the rigid symmetry of the Litlyngton Crucifixion. Another Crucifixion scene with three crucified figures and the Longinus miracle is on fol. 37v.

[103] Pächt (p. 53) observed that the spread of *trecento* influence in England and France was simultaneous rather than one leading the other.

[104] The crucified thieves are not present in Giotto's *Crucifixion* in the Arena Chapel, nor in Fra Angelico's panel painting: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Accession Number: 43.98.5. They also are absent from the late fourteenth century Despenser Retable in Norwich Cathedral.

equal to the Virgin in so many traditional portrayals, is cast into relative background as he catches the Virgin as she sags in her immense grief.

5.3.3: The Crucifixion Borders

Mary and John are shown in their traditional poses on either side of the cross in the Deposition, one of the border scenes by the Sanctorale Artist which surround the central miniature. As well as knots, evangelist symbols, and patronal marks, there are eight narrative episodes of Christ's Passion. Like the Crucifixion image, scenes of the Passion are present in manuscript art from early times and in various genres of book. One leaf from the twelfth century Eadwine Psalter contains twenty scenes from Christ's Passion.[105] Similarly, almost a century later in another psalter Christ's Passion is shown over two pages divided into six squares per page (Cambridge, Trinity B.11.4, fols. 8v-9r). Generally starting with the triumphal entry into Jerusalem and ending with the entombment, scenes from Christ's Passion were later commonly used to mark the eight offices of the day in books of hours.[106] However, in missals, Christ's Passion is infrequently shown, although a rare set of eight full page miniatures precede the Mass in Henry of Chichester Missals and includes five scenes from Jesus' Passion.[107] William Marx noted the Henry of Chichester cycle in his exploration of the iconography of the Sherbrooke Missal and perceptively remarked that the miniatures emphasise Christ's humanity, incarnation, suffering, and sacrifice in the lead up to the moment of the Canon of the Mass.[108] In the Litlyngton Missal, the positioning of the Passion scenes around the Crucifixion and facing the Canon takes this heightened remembrance of redemption further.

Common as Passion scenes were in all forms of art, finding them surrounding the illustration of the Crucifixion in a missal seems to be an occurrence unique to the Litlyngton Missal.[109] The eight scenes are: The Betrayal and Arrest, Christ before Pilate, Flagellation, Road to Calvary, Nailing to the Cross, Deposition, Entombment, and Resurrection. In what is too neat not to be design, the eight scenes are those used to demarcate the Hours of the Cross as they appear in medieval books of hours; the Crucifixion would normally come between the Nailing to the Cross and the Deposition, but here is the central miniature, therefore the Passion scenes have been

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[105] London, Victoria and Albert Museum, object number 816-1894, Eadwine Psalter, c.1155-1160.

[106] Scott compiled a table of subject matter per office from selected manuscripts c.1390-1480: *LGM*, II, pp. 382-283.

[107] Marx, p. 155.

[108] Marx, pp. 155-6.

[109] The Sherborne Missal has Passion scenes incorporated into the Temporale and the Casanatense Missal has prophets holding scrolls around the edge of the Crucifixion miniature.

extended by one to include the triumphant conclusion of the Resurrection.[110] The pictorial inclusion of the monastic daily offices in a book designed to hold every Mass of the year for a Benedictine house creates a unity of the monastic medieval liturgy on this one page. It also connects this Crucifixion page even more strongly to the complex narrative of Italian frescos that Sandler noted with respect to this folio.[111]

As well as the Passion scenes, the borders of the Litlyngton Missal hold the more traditional creatures of the apocalypse at the corners. The winged man for Matthew is recognisable as the work of the Sanctorale Artist, while the ox, eagle, and lion of the other Evangelists are very poor renditions that sit in awkward juxtaposition with the skill of the miniature. Centrally in the top border and directly above Jesus' head is the 'Pelican in her Piety' pecking her breast to nourish her young with her own blood. The Eucharistic symbolism was traditional and a clear reference to the nature of Jesus' blood which flows in the picture beneath. As with the other animals, the pelican is clumsy in comparison to the surrounding figures, but there is a clever allusion to Christ's wreathed torse, represented directly below, through the green wreathed brim of her nest (fig. 5.29).[112]

Assuredly the Crucifixion page is the most innovative feature of the Litlyngton Missal's pictorial cycle. The precocious use of a newer art style for the central image creates a departure point from missals preceding it, added to which, the novel use of the accepted images of Hours of the Cross places it as a pioneer work of manuscript art. An extra element of innovation comes from the rigid moral symmetry not copied from Italian models. The strong narrative thread courses over the page and intensifies the symbolism of the liturgical sacrifice embodied in the images of the climatic events of Holy Week.

5.3.4: The Penwork Initials

Just as innovative are the nine penwork initials that sit so strangely with the other facets of the Litlyngton Missal's pictorial cycle. Such uncoloured, zoomorphic drawings are not present in any of the other missals or manuscripts of this study and, despite the skill of the draughtsman, could seem out of place in a deluxe painted manuscript. The subject matter of the penwork initials is equally at odds with the tenor of the missal's illumination scheme by its secular nature. Unlike many liturgical manuscripts, the Litlyngton Missal does not incorporate secular or irrelevant

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[110] The hours and their usual images are discussed in Ellen M. Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1997), p. 44-47.

[111] *GM*, II, p.173.

[112] The bottom margin page contains the kissing cross illumination.

pictorial imagery into its initials, borders, or bare margins except for blue lion's heads. From the nine penwork letters, only two have a religious subject matter which probably means that their occurrence is coincidental. The text which each of the zoomorphic letters introduces seems to bear no relation to the initials in all but two, possibly three, cases. Nor is there a relationship between the letter formed and what elements are twisted to form it, except in one case.

The one exception is the first in the sequence, which is also one of the two to have a religious theme: F for St Francis (fol. 208r, fig. 5.30). The letter is created from a tonsured, habited figure and two birds. The man is St Francis of Assisi, recognisable by his stigmata, his habit, and that he converses with two birds: a direct reference to his famous sermon to the birds.[113] In his right hand he holds a long cross while his left is raised towards a large fowl perched on a tree with beak open close to Francis' face. Both birds make up the cross strokes of the F with the saint's body acting as the down stroke. The text reads 'Firmetur manus tua et exaltetur dextera tua' (Let they hand be strengthened and thy right hand be exalted). There is a connection of word and image through 'hand', but the link is rather too tenuous to be pressed to a firm conclusion.

The other initial with religious subject matter is on fol. 217v (fig. 5.31). The letter P is unrelated to the subject matter of the letter which is a narrative zoomorphic vignette of some ingenuity showing the Sacrifice of Isaac. The stem of the P is formed by Abraham, whose left hand is raised and touching the head of his son. Isaac's diminutive kneeling figure forms the outer curve of the P, which is connected to the stem at the top by his father's raised arm and at the bottom by the carefully crafted draperies of both figures. Isaac, vulnerable in his smallness, twists his head towards his father and eyes the sword, his hands together in prayer. The blade of Abraham's sword extends over his shoulder where it is held at the tip by a tiny angel. The angel positioned thus acts as the serif of the P. Even the substitute sacrifice of a sheep, not a ram, has been cleverly included beneath Abraham's bare feet, where it forms the foot of the letter; placing the sheep elsewhere would have muddied the clean lines on the P detrimentally. Abraham has a look of grim determination, whereas Isaac looks wide-eyed and afraid.

Tudor-Craig interpreted this initial as 'a bearded ancient, seated, with his feet upon a recumbent beast' in the action of 'pouring oil over the head of a swaying and suppliant monk.'[114] To her, the angel's intervention and the P for 'Protector' were indicative of the abbey's dependence on the monarchy for protection. I cannot agree with this reading of the image, but, like her, I do think that the connection between the text and image is real. 'Protector noster aspice deus et respice in faciem christi tui' (Behold, O God our Defender, and look upon the face of thine anointed).

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[113] Farmer, p. 173.

[114] Tudor-Craig, p. 114.

The plausible connection between image and text here is through the word 'Proctector', as God, through the angel's intercession, could convincingly be construed as the 'protector nostra' of this scene.

However, the most assured connection between text and image comes in the last initial (fol. 218v, fig. 3.29). A frontal view of a king shows him either erect or recumbent, in robes, tippet, and crown with sceptre in gloved right hand. The choice of a king here is fitting beyond the fact that it is in the coronation order. The text includes the word *rex*: 'Intende voci oracionis mee rex meus et deus meus quoniam ad te orabo domine' (Lord, pay heed to my prayers when I cry unto thee my king and my God). Although the king in the text is God, the reference to king and being heard is apt at this point as an imprecation to a new king to heed the needs of his subjects.[115]

Five of the remaining six penwork initials are formed by morphing one or more animals into letter forms. Swans, eels, bears, and goats are inventively manipulated and contorted to intriguing visual effect but with no real meaning (fig. 3.27). Examining the characteristics afforded to these animals in medieval bestiaries sheds no light on why they might have been chosen beyond expediency of letter configuration.[116]

Perhaps the most curious penwork letter is the most overtly secular one. The initial on fol. 217v (fig. 3.28) is a hairy wildman or wodewose, a stock character from medieval imagery and romances.[117] The down stroke of the D is formed by the standing figure of a hirsute man against a tree trunk and the curve is formed by the body of a lion. The two are connected by the lion's tail (below) and the branch of the tree (above). Although St Jerome was often depicted as unkempt, with a long beard, and accompanied by a lion, the figure in the initial cannot be interpreted as him. Firstly, the man is hairy all over his body as opposed to Jerome's long beard and tattered clothing. Furthermore, rather than a saint's staff, he is carrying a club or large leg bone, a common attribute of the wodewose.[118] As creatures of the wilderness, hairy wildmen

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[115] *MEW,* 716.

[116] E.g. In Hugh de Fouilloy, *De Avibus*, trans. by Willene Clark (1923), p. 266, swans (used three times) are described as hypocritical animals who feign purity to cover sinful characters. Heraldic connections to swans were also unproductive: the swan badge was used by both Henry IV and V (British Museum, 'The Dunstable Swan Jewel', *Burlington Magazine,* 110 (1968), pp. 42-43) yet there is no reason to believe that swans in the king's coronation order created 1383-4 have hidden political significance. Richard II was still a young man and had been king for only six/seven years and married for only one/two.

[117] Famously shown in *bas-de-page* scenes narrating the tale of 'Enyas and the Wildman' in, BL, MS Royal 10 E IV (Smithfield Decretals), illuminated c.1340, and BL, MS Yates Thompson 13 (Taymouth Hours), second quarter of the fourteenth century. There are also wildmen saints such as Onofrius and Chrysostom, but they do not carry clubs and have no connection to lions.

[118] Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York, 1980), p. 2.

were often portrayed as either accompanied by wild beasts, or battling with them.[119] Jerome was befriended by a lion when he removed a thorn from its paw; the portrayal of which action would have been within the scope of the artist without having to change the composition much at all. Thus, it is a wild mythical creature, rather than a penitent saint, who leads the prayer 'Dirigatur oracio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo domine' (Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight like incense, O Lord).

Such unconnected text and image in this section almost certainly occurs due to the penwork initials being accomplished by a different artist to the missal's two main illuminators. In returning to their work we encounter the final thread of iconography examined in this chapter, and it is fitting that it should be a theme that we have encountered strongly in many aspects of exploring the Litlyngton Missal: its strong and specific connection to Westminster Abbey.

5.4: Westminster Abbey in the Litlyngton Missal's Iconography

5.4.1: Saints, Relics, and the Holy Cross

Tudor-Craig briefly explored possible connections between ten initials in the Litlyngton Missal and other art from the abbey. She made insightful observations, some arguments and interpretations being more persuasive than others,[120] and provided a fascinating main concept upon which to build. For example, an evident connection between the abbey's art and the missal's images could be made through the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

The two initials portraying Edward the Confessor (fols. 225v and 277v, discussed in 2.2.1) are examples of iconographic connections to Westminster in the Litlyngton Missal that are more obviously discernible than others. These two feasts are not usually afforded high visual honours in other missals, even from London.[121] However, there are some initials that are not as immediately distinguishable as being linked to the abbey, such as the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the initial for Jesus' Ascension. Again, both are discussed in chapter

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[119] Husband, p. 3.

[120] E.g. Tudor-Craig posited that 'At Westminster Abbey it is safe to suggest that the artist of the Litlyngton Missal Trinity would have seen a real orb' (p.105). If Tudor-Craig intended coronation regalia, knowledge of the coronation order in the Litlyngton Missal shows that an orb was not used at this time, even had the artist been allowed access to view the regalia. At the coronation the king was given two sceptres, which is reflected in the iconography of the coronation miniature. Although not referring to 'real' orbs, the effigies of the kings in Westminster Abbey did not include orbs by the time of the Litlyngton Missal's production either.

[121] C/Trinity B.11.3 does not have an image for the feast of the Confessor, although the Oriel Missal does.

two, with the former being related to Osbert of Clare and the latter having an accentuated reference to the Ascension Mount footprint that was brought as a holy relic to the abbey in Henry III's reign.[122]

Although Tudor-Craig did not discuss the footprint she did explore other of the abbey's relics to make connections to two of the Litlyngton Missal's initials. Through an examination of the list of relics compiled by Flete and an inventory from 1520,[123] Tudor-Craig credibly identified what the five reliquaries portrayed in the initial for the Feast of the Relics (fol. 254r, fig. 5.32). She noted that the 1520 inventory lists the relics in order of importance and that the five pieces in the initial are amongst the greatest treasures. Her compelling interpretation is that they are the relic of the Precious Blood, the arms of SS Bartholomew and Thomas, a piece of St Peter's clothing, and, through the crowned head reliquary, a reference to Edward the Confessor.[124] She also made the connection between this initial and the similar one (previously noted by Sandler) in C/Trinity B.11.3.[125] However, neither Sandler nor Tudor-Craig remarked on the interesting fact that the C/Trinity B.11.3 initial contains a cloth belt or girdle, which is conspicuous by its absence from the relics in the Litlyngton image. In all probability it is a reference to the Virgin's girdle (fig. 5.33), the fourth item on the 1520 list, superseded only by the Precious Blood, the footprint of Christ, and a part of the Holy Cross.[126]

It is also worth highlighting that the initial's composition with representations of individual reliquaries is, in itself, unusual. That a similar composition appears in C/Trinity B.11.3 is a reflection of that book's use of the Litlyngton Missal as a model rather than the fact that the iconography was widely dispersed. That it included the girdle is a further link to Westminster Abbey. More usual at this feast was one trapezoid reliquary (Abingdon Missal, fol. 129v, fig. 5.34, Sherborne Missal, fol. 562).

The Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (fol. 270v, fig. 5.35) was also explored by Tudor-Craig in possible relation to relics. This initial is arresting in its strangeness. A crucifix upon an altar, with lighted candles to either side of it, bears the figure of Christ, but he is clothed; he wears a long-sleeved robe extending down to his shins and is crowned. What is further remarkable is the extraordinary and intentional rigidity of the garment that has no hint of fold or even a slight curve to represent the body underneath. Also particular is that Christ, whilst having nails through his hands, is not nailed by his feet to the cross. Although his feet show nail-entry

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[122] See chapter two.

[123] *FHWA,* pp. 73-75 and Westlake, II, Appendix Four: An Inventory of Relics, November 10th, 1520, p. 499.

[124] Tudor-Craig, p. 109.

[125] *GM,* II p. 171.

[126] See chapter two.

wounds, they are standing upon the polygonal base of the crucifix. Jesus' crowned head sags slightly to the left and the eyes on the well-painted face are closed. A gold, crossed nimbus behind his head prevents us from knowing whether the cross is tau or not, but the arms of the cross are unusually rounded at the ends.

Tudor–Craig suggested that the cross may have been a reliquary, possibly one donated by Edward the Confessor, for sections of the True Cross and Jesus' robe which existed as relics within the abbey.[127] Such a proposal has much to commend it, particularly given the nature of the feast. However, the inventories that she used make specific mention of the vessels of the various relics. For example, the Precious Blood: 'A Cuppe of golde withe stonys with the blood off owre lorde'; and for the Virgin's girdle, 'a long Coffre of Crystall with owre lady's gyrdyll w^t ij casys belongynge to the same girdle.'[128] Yet for the True Cross, the 1520 list simply mentions 'a grete part of the holy crosse' with no expansion on the reliquary.[129]

It is more likely that a cross with such specific points of difference to the norm is better explained by its having been copied from a specific model or conforming to a set type. In form it bears strong similarities to the famed *Volto Santo* crucifix of Lucca, which is processed on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (fig. 5.36: Amico Aspertini, *Volto Santo*, fresco, 1508, San Frediano, Lucca). The crown, rigid ankle-length robe, free-standing feet, and the rounded arms of the cross behind Jesus' hands are all shared features with the Litlyngton image. Even the branches of the letter N that curve around the image emulate the distinctive circle of the *Volto Santo.* As Tudor-Craig stated, such crucifixes belonged to an earlier period. The *Volto Santo*, dates from the eighth century and was a popular pilgrimage destination and a stopping place on the way to Rome, hence the fame of the crucifix spread. Manuscript images of the cross exist, contemporary to the Litlyngton Missal, as do books dedicated to its legend[130] and various copies of the cross were made.[131] The Litlyngton initial is liable to be a copy of one of these, feasibly one specific to Westminster, but quite as possibly a traditional type used on this feast day.[132]

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[127] Tudor-Craig, p. 111-3.

[128] Westlake, p. 499.

[129] Westlake, p. 499.

[130] Rome, Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Lat. 1988 (*Legende du Saint-Voult*), f. 31r has an image of the cross.

[131] Hilary Maddocks, 'The Rapondi, the Volto Santo di Lucca, and Manuscript Illumination in Paris ca. 1400', in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris Around 1400*, ed. by Godfried Croenen and Peter F. Ainsworth (Leuven, 2006), p. 91-122 (p. 113).

[132] The Sherborne Missal has a young woman in fur-lined cloak holding a bare cross (p. 548); the Carmelite Missal has a scene with Emperor Heraclitus and his army (f. 140r).

5.4.1: A Monk's Funeral

It seems apt that discussion on the iconography of the Litlyngton Missal generally, and images connected to Westminster specifically, should end with the last image of the book. A funeral Mass begins on fol. 326r, more correctly a funeral 'pro fratre defuncto', so specifically for a dead monk, and therefore, by extension, for a dead monk of Westminster Abbey. Blocks of black paint in stark contrast to gold leaf make this a powerful image. A catafalque draped with golden cloth bears a candle in a golden holder (fig. 5.38). Four larger gold candle sticks and tapers stand in front of the bier. Behind the bier four black cowled monks are shown in profile in left to right procession. Processional movement is evoked by the lead monk passing out of the frame and the rear monk moving into it. The serifs of the R are elongated so as to include border space within the letter frame. In this created space are two caped monks, who share a book with clearly definable musical notation; the impression is that they are singing over the body of their dead brother.

The borders extend the funeral to the outer edges of the page where between the ornate fretwork and foliage lay mourners are depicted in three corners: two men and a woman are dressed in black and show gestures of sorrow (fig. 5.37). The left and right borders have reflected scenes of two monks, dressed in black habits, facing inwards, and standing before a lectern on which is an open book (fig.4.15). The depiction of monks in black, their normal habits, brings to mind that throughout the missal, the brethren have never been portrayed thus, with the possible exception of the king's funeral.[133]

This last illustrated page (fig. 5.39) works in conjunction as a closing counterbalance to the opening images on the first page, fol. 9r (fig. 2.25). For their different reasons, both pages show a procession of monks and the world beyond the cloisters is perceived through the inclusion of lay figures. On fol. 9r the lay figures are the destination point for the procession and assert the abbey's relationship with the outer world of Westminster town and London, and on the funeral page, they are a reminder of the families and connections of the monks outside the abbey. Also, books are an important aspect of the iconography; on both pages, each of the pairs of monk has a book to share. Not as grandly glorious as the opening page, which would perhaps not be respectable at a monk's funeral, but still highly illuminated, this last occasion of pictorial illumination is another visual self-image of the monks of Westminster and the books that form a part of their existence.

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[133] See 4.4.3.

5.5: Conclusion

By the very nature of its extent, the pictorial cycle of the Litlyngton Missal sets it markedly apart from and above all but two other English missals at least one hundred years either side of its production. It is fair to conclude that judging by what remains of the Carmelite Missal, in its original form it probably would have contained at least as many historiated initials as the Litlyngton Missal, but even so it would still not have come close to the Sherborne Missal's as yet unnumbered images. Yet, it should be remembered that the Litlyngton Missal predates both these other great missals by an estimated twelve to fourteen years. This predating is significant as although the Litlyngton Missal may not necessarily have been a catalyst for the Sherborne Missal and Carmelite Missal, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the knowledge of a new large and extensively illuminated missal with Italianate miniature in Westminster Abbey might not have had an affect on later productions in other religious houses. Certainly the Litlyngton Missal's direct and unmistakeable influence can be easily detected in C/Trinity B.11.3 where the smaller missal's artist came into contact with the Litlyngton Missal's images and used them as a model.

The wider comparative study and then closer analysis of the pictorial cycle of the Litlyngton Missal reveals that within the traditional programme of missal illustration there was ample room for experimentation and expansion. This comes not only through the obvious approach of expanding the range of images, innovative in itself, but also through moulding existing conventions of subject matter so that the iconography becomes innovative in the effects that it creates. Examples of changes of focus or mood in scenes with standardised iconographic forms, like the Nativity, are present throughout the missal alongside images that are wholly conservative and unremarkable in character, such as Mary Magdalene. On some occasions, atypical features within typical iconography have, I believe, been executed to convey a universal message, such as the depiction of an apostolic saint on the threshold of heaven as opposed to between two trees; or Michael's symbolic gesture of throttling the Devil with a shield bearing the heraldry of the Resurrection. On other occasions, the imagery has evidently been managed expressly to communicate meaning that is specific to Westminster Abbey and the monks of that house. Just as the considered placement of Nicholas Litlyngton's patronal marks has its own messages, so too the inclusion of certain rare images for English missals (St Peter *in Cathedra*) or the adaptation of more traditional iconography (Ascension) demonstrates the importance of iconography as a messenger in relaying deeper meaning that is associated explicitly with Westminster.

Pure innovation in iconography is not very frequent. The penwork initials in the king's coronation order appear to be pioneering simply in their unusual nature without deeper iconographic message. Only incidentally are they contextual, and their true significance is that they adorn an occasion of utmost significance to the Benedictine house at Westminster. Whether the function of these penwork initials exceeds adornment is not immediately perceived.

By contrast, the innovative iconography of the Crucifixion page and the Exorcism of Salt and Water is loaded with implications. The Crucifixion, rightfully renowned as a pioneering example of a separate painting in a manuscript, is highly influenced by Italian advances in art, revolutionary in their own right. Furthermore, the page holds innovation in rigid symmetry and its borders, which have hitherto been overlooked in favour of the main attraction of the larger image. Familiar Passion images unfamiliarly placed to form the eight Hours of the Cross around the pivotal Crucifixion image create a visual encapsulation of the monastic day of prayer.

 The importance of the liturgy, and the visual representation of it, also guides the original subject matter chosen for the opening page of the missal on fol. 9r: the Exorcism of Salt and Water. The appearance of high liturgical ritual with an emphasis on books on the opening page of a book concerned with high liturgical ritual is an inventive, nuanced, self-representational technique that resonates with a complexity previously unrecognised in relation to the missal's illustrations.

Conclusion

Nicholas Litlyngton's presence is conspicuous and intentionally manifest in the Litlyngton Missal, inextricably linking the book to the patron. The biographical picture of him compiled in this study has presented a figure whose characteristics impacted upon his role as abbot of Westminster. This greater understanding of the man provides an expanded comprehension of his activities as patron, promoter, and strong leader of Westminster Abbey, thus elucidating an interpretation of the missal and the intentions projected onto it. Litlyngton's benefactions to the abbey were numerous, generous, often bore his patronal devices, and aimed at increasing the abbey's reputation or wealth. The missal fits into this pattern of gift-giving.

One of the aims of this thesis has been to discover in which ways a patron might use a book to convey particular messages, and an examination of the patronal marks has been revealing. The motivations behind Litlyngton's patronal marks are manifold: they identify his generosity, request remembrance and prayers, and denote him as pious patron of the arts. Deeper analysis of the nature and location of their use has given fresh insights into our understanding of how, more exactly, the missal might reflect his patronal intent and agency.

Litlyngton was selective about how he was represented, with his devices signalling the importance he placed on his own lineage or at least his close connection to nobility; this quality is consistent with his self-projection in other acts of benefaction. His arms never appear in conjunction with a mitred figure, nor at any other point is there a figural representation of him, therefore, although unequivocally present, he is never physically portrayed in the missal.[1] Thus, a distinction presents itself between the patron's appearances as Nicholas Litlyngton, the individual, and occasions when representations of mitred figures are symbolic of the office of the abbot of Westminster. This is most obvious on the pages connected to the royal ceremonies. The exceptional inclusion of the royal ceremonies in a mass book is a reminder by Litlyngton of the abbey's pivotal association with the kings of England. This point is further emphasised by the revised text of the coronation order holding heightened references to the abbey and abbot and in which Litlyngton had an authorial hand. While his patronal marks are not present in the iconography of the king's coronation, the arms of the abbot and abbey are. Litlyngton's movement from personal marks to those of the institution's witnessed in the coronation, and the melding of the two in the bottom border of the

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[1] Unlike the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 79 Pontifical and the Sherborne Missal, both from just around 15-20 years later.

opening page (fol. 9r), accords with the belief that aspects of monastic art patronage are communal, not simply personal to the giver.[2]

Indeed, patron and place are often intertwined and this study has highlighted the extent to which Westminster Abbey permeates the missal's iconography. Many of the most sumptuously decorated pages are those directly linked to Westminster and the frequent affiliation of Litlyngton to the feasts of greater consequence to the abbey demonstrates pride in his house and a desire to further promote it. This intention to enhance the house, and in so doing reciprocally extend the glory and status of its abbot, is, again, consistent with Litlyngton's actions outside of the missal as builder, benefactor, and protector.

However, there are personal messages as well as communal ones: the missal reveals Litlyngton's devotion to Mary, in part denoted by his devices on certain of her feast days and certainly in accordance with other of his benefactions, such as his crosier and the two folding painted panels. Perhaps the most interesting example of Marian devotion in the missal is the unintentional testimony left by damaging lips, possibly Litlyngton's own, as they kissed the image of Mary at her Assumption. Just as the differencing marks of *fleur- de-lis* on Litlyngton's heraldry should probably be read as a sign of his exaltation of Mary, so too the iconography of the missal, even on pages where his devices do not occur, centralises attention onto her. The eye contact between the Virgin Mary and St Peter at Christ's Ascension and Pentecost is an atypical feature of those scenes and an example of an intentional deviation from the norm. A conventional scene has been taken and adapted to fit the exigencies of the Litlyngton Missal, showing yet another way of imparting patronal message.

Another main conclusion of this study is that the art in the missal is an amalgamation of tradition and innovation in artistic styles and iconography. The Litlyngton Missal's illumination scheme's departure from the conventions discernible in other English missals is essentially a matter of the degree to which it has been decorated, rather than the subject matter of the images that adorn it. However, the analysis has shown that there is more innovation in the illustration of the missal than it has previously been given credit for and that there is often a deeper purpose to images beyond marking feast days. Throughout the book there are moments of innovation within convention: as one example, the unique addition of prophets to the king's coronation page broadens the message of the iconography and relates to the text of the coronation order. Similarly, the mainly traditional depiction of an apostolic saint atypically shown on the threshold of heaven, as opposed to by trees, alters and intensifies its message. Judging the iconography of the

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[2] Luxford, *Art and Architecture,* p. 51.

missal on the quality of artistic technique and style alone misses the intelligence behind instances where traditional iconography has been amended or enhanced to intensify mood and message.

The missal does contain some originality in artistic style; the previously rather overlooked zoomorphic penwork initials seem to be an exclusive inclusion in English missals. Even so, the famed Crucifixion miniature justly remains the best example of innovative illumination. Yet, looking beyond the show-stealing originality of the Italianate miniature, the less well-executed border scenes of the Passion hold their own innovative significance. The ubiquity of Passion scenes in medieval art masks their unique extant inclusion around the Crucifixion in an English missal and occludes their significance there. The scenes form the eight divine offices of the monastic day of prayer. Thus, crucially, the liturgy of a monastic day is pictorially expressed in an ingenious combination of iconography from Books of Hours and the Canon of the Mass. Thus, this page alone could function as an independent devotional image as well as being an axiomatic part of a larger iconographic cycle.

A comparative study with other English missals leads to the conclusion that, at least as far as surviving manuscripts allows a realistic judgement, the Litlyngton Missal is a pioneering work: through its size, sheer quantity of figural illumination, and employment of a separately commissioned sophisticated full page miniature influenced by the Italian *trecento*. These qualities were to be enhanced in the Sherborne Missal where the art is of an incomparably higher standard. Also the Carmelite Missal, in its undamaged state, would probably have exceeded both the size of the Litlyngton and the number of illustrations found therein. However, the Litlyngton Missal predates the illumination of these other works by more than a decade and it is feasible that the existence of the Westminster book, with its extensive illumination cycle and Italianate miniature, might affect later productions in other religious houses.

The relationship between word and image is varied. The comparison of the Litlyngton Missal with other surviving illuminated service books reveals that the subject matter of the figural illuminations of the feast days is broadly traditional, and as such the connections between the images and the text of the service were already standardised by the time of the Litlyngton's production. These traditional images themselves vary in the degree to which they relate to the text: John the Baptist's birthday is celebrated through words of his nativity but very often by an image of him as an adult in the wilderness. Conversely, at the Vigil of an Apostle, images usually show an apostle close to a tree due to the text reference to the 'fruitful olive' occurring in the introit to that Mass. However, on the few occasions where the iconography of the Litlyngton Missal does not follow convention, as in the ceremonies of the king's coronation and funeral, the images appear to have a far closer link to the text.

Within the context of the wider visual culture generally, it is natural to consider the Litlyngton Missal's place in terms of its Crucifixion miniature. It stands out as one of the early surviving examples of English art, in any medium, to display the rise of new styles in art originating from the Italian tradition. In extension of this, another conclusion must be that the location of the missal's production is significant. Westminster Abbey, through its proximity to London and the royal court at Westminster, was excellently placed to absorb and stimulate forms of artistic innovation. Indeed, a precedent of Italian influence in Westminster was to be found in the royal St Stephen's chapel in the abbey's grounds. Connections to royalty and Westminster also meant that the Litlyngton Missal's art not only absorbed artistic ideas, but, once created it became a model to emulate. Various initials in Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.3 are directly copied from the Litlyngton Missal. The royal ceremonies also have their own wider artistic influence with the images of the Litlyngton folios being the model upon which the Pamplona Manuscript's images are based. That at least the funeral image in the Pamplona Manuscript is decidedly more sophisticated and accomplished than its model is an excellent legacy.

An ultimate conclusion, based on the evidence from the different strands of investigation incorporated into this study, is that the Litlyngton Missal was conceived as a vehicle for Nicholas Litlyngton to commemorate and celebrate his life at Westminster. In 1383/4 Litlyngton was an elderly man who had spent his entire adult life as a Benedictine in the service of Westminster Abbey. As well as having the daily monastic offices held on the one page of the Crucifixion, the Litlyngton Missal, as a book, holds the complete annual cycle of worship specific to Westminster. This cycle is glorified through meaningful images and glittering decorative borders, all of which could be perceived as an encapsulation of the years that Litlyngton passed in performing the liturgy in the splendour of the abbey. Added to this is the missal's unusual inclusion of the royal ceremonies, which he had not only helped to create, but each of which he had attended as officiating abbot. Finally, the missal undoubtedly reflects devotion to Mary and promotion of Westminster Abbey: two strands that are present in so many aspects of his life and evident even in his epitaph. Seen in this way, the Litlyngton Missal, more than being an expedient suffrage for prayers after his approaching death, represents the life he devoted to Westminster Abbey in a book that he then donated to the very same institution.

Appendix A:
Description of the Litlyngton Missal

Collation and Binding

Bound in two volumes in 1806 by John Bohn under Dean Vincent.[1]

341 original leaves and 5 modern from rebinding.[2]

Volume 1: 157 leaves of vellum including 3 blank leaves which are more modern.

Volume 2: 189 leaves including 2 blank leaves which are more modern and one leaf (157*v) which is the crucifixion page. 157*v is blank on recto and full page miniature on the verso.

Formula:

$$(* \, *) \, 1^6 \quad 2\text{-}19^8 \, 20^4 \, (*) \quad \text{-} \, \text{-} \quad (*)(*) \, 21^4 \, 22\text{-}26^8 \, 27^4 \, 28\text{-}29^8 \, 30^4 \, 31\text{-}43^8 \, 44^4 \, 45^8 \, 46^2 \, (*)$$

Volume 1	Volume 2
157 FOLIOS	189 FOLIOS

Text Divisions

1. fols. 3r-8v: Calendar

2. fols. 9r-144r: Temporale

3. fols. 145v-157*: Ordinary of the Mass

4. fols. 157r-161v: Canon

5. fols. 161r -205r: Benedictions

6. fols. 206r-224v: Coronation services and funeral of a king

7. fols. 225r-288v: Sanctorale

8. fols. 289v-311v: Commune Sanctorum

9. fols. 312r-325v: Votive Masses and Commemorations

10. fols. 326r-331v (332 blank both sides): Office for the dead

11. fols. 333v-342v: Other offices

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[1] Ker, p. 411.East personally re-bound the book in 1984.
[2] For quiring and catchword diagrams see East, p. 18ff.

Dimensions and Text Layout

Pages: 525 x 360 mm

Area prepared for writing is 368mm x 267mm; 2 columns of 32 lines, apart from fols. 157r-161v where there are twenty-seven lines for the larger text of the Mass.

Script

Gothic Textura in black ink with rubrics; Calendar and Mass have bi-coloured letters in blue and gold and blue and red; champ letters appear throughout; two sizes of writing: 5mm and 7mm.

Provenance

Westminster Abbey, 1383-84 (WAM 24265*).

Appendix B:
Transcriptions and Translations

B.1. Translation of the pardon granted to Westminster Abbey regarding escapees from the gatehouse prison

Translated from the Latin in *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis* 1346-1367, ed. James Tait (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914), p. 103.

And since the convent of Westminster, while the king was acting in lands across the sea, they devotedly visited weekly on the fourth and sixth day the places of the saints barefooted praying for the same man (king) and his people and their expedition, the Lord King graciously granted pardon of escapes of all temporal and spiritual prisoners by his charter, dated at Calais, to mediator brother Nicholas Lithington [sic] monk of the same convent, who through his negotiations for the church always procured the best but sometimes unrewarded, however so it is hoped he will be enriched in heaven with a greater reward who worked very hard here.

B.2. Translation of the Queen Philippa and Cors Affairs from the anonymous middle section (1325-45) of the Westminster Chronicle in Cotton MS. Cleopatra A. XVI

Translated from the Latin taken from: *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis* 1346-1367 ed. by James Tait, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914), pp. 87-88.

[1.] In the year of grace 1344 in the second year of Pope Clement and the 18th year of King Edward III, immediately after Christmas, the same king granted to his lady queen the vacancy of Westminster which by the intervention of Brother Nicholas Litlyngton of the same convent, who always provided them [his fellow brothers] with good things, he bought it from the hand of the queen for 500 marks.

[2]. And since for a long time Lord Despenser, by wrongful permission or licence of the abbots, the said places having beasts and prey in the forest of Corfe/Cors, by full hereditary rights belonging to the aforesaid church of old, fraudulently using first entertainments and soothing, and afterwards threats and terror as his plan, the knight himself forced the tenants and men of the aforementioned abbot and other inhabitants, having introduced deceitful custom, as if in the name of the abbot of Westminster to meet in his court. Consequently he prevented as often as possible the abbot himself and his men from felling timber, wood and kindling/faggots for their needs as before they had done, and carried out crimes against other men and animals.

Therefore the monks of the aforementioned church, the knight being present, complained to the lord king and to the queen about the injuries being incessantly inflicted on their church, them and their men through the lord and his servants. To whom the lord king indignantly ordered him to thereafter abstain from deceitfully begun undertakings/enterprises ordering, through a brief, to the escheators of these parts and the born servants of the convent of Westminster that the abbot will exercise full right and dominium henceforward as they were used to do and will continue to so do. Which in brief both out of love and fear he ceased doing it.

B.3. **Transcription W.A.M. 9474: Nicholas Litlyngton's letter to Richard II**

Line 1.Tres excellent et tres redoute seigneur/sieur. Je me recomande a vostre roiale mageste eu quanque je say on puisse come vostre humble chapellein e suppliant prest a voz comandementz et mon tres redoute

2.siegneur/sieur. ieo envoie a vostre haute seigneurie mes confres le Prieur et deux moignes de vostre esglise de Westm ouesque (ovesque with/avec) le noble relik lanel seint Edward que fuist en la garde seint

3.Johannes le Wangeliste en ciel. solonc voz mandementz contenuz en voz graciouses lettres et euse venne en proper persone sil fuest agreeable a vostre excellence non obstant lenfer-

4.mite et feblesse de mon corps humblement empriant a vostre roiale mageste par dieu et on ceur de charite qil plaise a vostre graciouse excellence doner pite si bien

5.de ma feblesse come de voz dites Prieur e chappeleins a graciouse restitution. issi qil no(us) purrons aver de quoi viure pur dieu server et prier pur vous et les almes

6.de voz nobles progeniteurs. solonc lentent et ordinance de voz foundeurs et qi nous ne seioms trop endamagez ne puniz pur nostre trespass que vient de semplesse de sen et

7.ment en entente rien avoir fait en desplesance de vostre roiale mageste mes en espoir de sauvacion les droitures de vostre esglise et que vous pleise tres graciouse

8.seigneur aver le plus graciouse et merciable consideracion a mon grande age et feblesse que ieo espoir sera breue a la volunte de dieu et a temps que ieo ai en la garde

9.de vostre esglise ai mys ma diligence et poner a gouvenance de la dite esglise en la meilleur moner que ieo saiuoir. come ieo espoir les porteurs de cestes vo(us) purrount

10.pleinement enformer sil pleist a vostre roiale mageste leur doner estoutet credence. Autre chose tres redoute seigneur ne vous ose estruire en present. mes ieo pre et priera

11.tancome ie serra en cestse vie a lun tant puissant dieux qil vous ottroit par sa grace bone vie et longe a bone governaunce de voz subgetz et victorie de voz

12.enemys. Escrite a Westminster le ix jour d'august.   Vostre humble chappelein e suppliant labbe de Westminster

B.4: *De exequiis regalibus* from the Litlyngton Missal

The following translation is of the rubricated text on f.224r of the Litlyngton Missal. The Latin is taken from the edition of the missal undertaken by John Wickham Legg and first published in 1891 by the Henry Bradshaw Society and later reprinted in one volume: *The Westminster Missal* (*Missale Ad Usum Westmonasteriensis),* ed. John Wickham Legg (Woodbridge: Boydell Press., for Henry Bradshaw Soc., 1999), 734-5.

Concerning rites of kings when these happen to leave this earth.

When the anointed king has departed from this earth. First the body of the same must be washed by his chamberlains by hot or tepid water. Then it is rubbed all over with balsam and perfumes. And after it is wrapped in a waxed linen cloth. This however in such a way that only his face and beard are apparent. And around his hands and his fingers the said waxed cloth shall be arranged in such a way that each of his fingers and his thumb of both hands will be sewn individually as if his hands were covered with linen gloves. Of the brain and viscera however the aforementioned servants should make provision. Then the body should be dressed in a tunic of ankle length and on top should be a royal cloak. Certainly the beard is to be becomingly arranged over his breast. And afterwards the head together with the face is covered with a silk kerchief and then the royal crown or diadem is placed on the head of the same. Afterward his hands are dressed with ornamented gloves with gold fringes (aurofragiis). And on the middle finger of the right hand is put a golden or gilded ring. And in his right hand is placed a round gilded orb in which a gilded rod is fixed and reaches from his hand to his chest on the top of the rod will be the sign of the cross of our lord which on his chest of the same prince must becomingly be placed. Truly in his right hand he will have a gilded sceptre fittingly reaching to his left ear. And the feet and legs are to be dressed in silk stockings and sandals.

In such a way the said prince is dressed, with the bishops and magnates of his reign and with all reverence he will be carried to that place which he had chosen for his burial and with regal rites he will most befittingly be handed over to burial.

Appendix C: Litlyngton Missal Figural Illumination Summary

Table C.1: Summary of the Figurative Illuminations of the Litlyngton Missal

Folio	Office	Height in lines	Illumination	Notes	Artist
NB. Unless otherwise stated the background is gold leaf, usually tooled. Only figurative illumination details are included in this summary; knots, foliage, and floral decoration are discussed in chapter three, section 3.4.10.					
9r	Blessing of Salt and Water	7	**VOLUME ONE** Initial E: tonsured priest and acolyte involved in the ritual of blessing salt and water before an altar and lectern Borders: patronal heraldry and monogram, abbey arms, tonsured and caped figures, musical angels, acolytes with *situla* and *aspergillum* Bottom border: four roundels depicting procession with relic/Eucharist	Only occasion of *bas-de-page* scene Opening page after the calendar	Temporale Artist
10r	First Sunday in Lent	7	Initial A: lay-figure praying before an altar with God's head featured above in a cloud		Temporale Artist
20r	Nativity	7	Initial D: Mary, Joseph, and Jesus in a stable interior with ox and ass Border roundels: Six seraphim and one prophet		Temporale Artist
21r	St Stephen's feast	5	Initial E: Stephen with robes and the stones of his martyrdom Border roundels: four NL monograms, four busts of Stephen, eight smaller roundels with blue and red beast/lion heads		Temporale Artist
22r	Nativity of John the Evangelist	5	Initial E: John stands between trees holding a palm frond and a golden book, upon which sits an eagle		Temporale Artist
23r	Day of the Holy Innocents	5	Initial E: a woman attempts to fight off armoured soldiers while Herod, seated, watches as naked infants are slaughtered	Badly oxidised silver paint/leaf	Temporale Artist
24r	Thomas Archbishop and Martyr	5	Initial D: seated archbishop with crozier Border roundels: two busts of St Thomas	The initial figure and the text of the office have been comprehensively erased	Temporale Artist

25r	Christ's Circumcision	6	Initial D: Mary, accompanied by Anne and Joseph, hands Jesus to a mitred priest; Joseph carries a basket with offering of turtle doves Border roundels: four baskets with turtle doves	The paint of the priest's robe is badly deteriorated	Temporale Artist
26r	Feast of the Epiphany	6	Initial E: Adoration of the kings: the eldest king kneels bare-headed before the reclining, crowned Virgin as Jesus dips his hands into the proffered chalice		Temporale Artist
73r	Palm Sunday	4	Initial D: Arma Christi	Red paint background rather than gold leaf	Temporale Artist
95v	Easter Sunday	7	Initial R: Christ steps from a tomb guarded by four soldiers	Oxidised silver on the soldiers' armour	Temporale Artist
106v	Ascension Sunday	6	Initial U: Mary and nine disciplines stand around a hillock bearing Christ's footprints; Christ's feet are visible in the upper register as he ascends		Temporale Artist
111v	Pentecost	7	Initial S: Mary is surrounded by twelve disciples, two of whom hold red books, while the Holy Spirit as a dove flying above imparts tongues of fire Border roundels: four Litlyngton shields	It is possible to discern 'vent' (*ventus* being Latin for wind) in one book: a reference to rushing winds and tongues of fire, the indicators of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:2)	Temporale Artist
120r	Trinity Sunday	7	Initial B: God the Father blesses the Son as they are seated on a bench throne, the Holy Spirit flies between their heads and a large golden orb is at their feet		Temporale Artist
121r	Corpus Christi	7	Initial C: A mitred figure under a canopy holds the *corpus Christi* and moves with a procession of tonsured clerics. Border roundels: two musical angels, two crowned men, four beast/lion heads		Temporale Artist
122v	Octave of Pentecost	4	Initial D: Litlyngton shield	Sole examples of initial for an octave and heraldry for an initial	Temporale Artist
144r	Dedication of a church	6	Initial T: A mitred figure and acolyte stand outside a church with aspergillum and situla		Temporale Artist
156r	Orinary of the Mass (Per omnia)	6	Initial P: tonsured celebrant elevates the host before an altar while acolyte holds his robe and a lit taper Borders: two busts of mitred figures	The initial decorates a musical stave	

157*v	Canon of the Mass		Whole page	**VOLUME TWO**
				Whole page miniature of the Crucifixion surrounded by a frame border with scenes of the passion:
				    1. Betrayal in the garden
				    2. Judgement of Christ
				    3. Flagellation
				    4. Via Crucis
				    5. Nailing to the cross
				    6. Deposition
				    7. Entombment
				    8. Resurrection
				Also in the border frame, each corner holds a symbol of the evangelists with identifying scrolls (eagle, winged man, winged ox and winged lion); top centre has a pelican feeding her young with blood; the bottom border holds a Litlyngton shield and one NL monogram.
					Bound in as a singleton and blank on one side.
					
					The Crucifixion master's work appears on this one page only.
					
					There is a small pen and light colour wash 'kissing cross' in the bottom margin showing Christ crucified, possibly by the Sanctorale Artist
						Main image: Crucifixion Master
						
						Border scenes and angels of main image: Sanctorale Artist

157r	Canon of the Mass (Te Igitur)		6	Initial T: Abraham prepares to sacrifice Isaac on an altar, an angel stays his sword and points to a ram Borders: six musical angels appear full length in cartouches	The text of the Canon includes gold leaf crosses and blue and gold letters	Temporale Artist
158r	Order of the Mass		4	Initial P: Head of Christ with long hair and a Jewish topknot	Red background rather than gold	Temporale Artist
164r	Blessing on first Sunday of Advent		6	Initial O: a mitred figure pronounces a blessing from an open book held by an acolyte. A caped and tonsured figure attends.		Temporale Artist
206r	Coronation Order	One column width and 7 lines high		Miniature: a king on a bench throne is being crowned by two mitred figures; Two tonsured figures and a layman holding a sword are also present Borders: ten prophets with identifying scrolls, two shields of the English arms, two abbey arms and two abbot of Westminster arms	Work of the Temporale Artist	Temporale Artist

Images appear on folios 208r – 218v	Coronation Order	All initials are c.4 lines (musical stave)	**The Penwork Initials in the Coronation Order** Initial F: Anthropo-zoomorphic letter of St Francis and two birds (gold background with painted leaf edges) Initial M: zoomorphic letter of two animals (goats?) eating from a twisted tree(gold background) Initial G: zoomorphic letter of two swans folded into a G. The largest holds a scroll in its beak (gold background with daisy bud edges and central blue and red foliage) Initial V: one swan in the form of a V holding a scroll in its beak (red background with gold frame and central blue leaf) Initial P: anthropomorphic letter formed by Isaac about to be sacrificed by Abraham (gold background with daisy bud and leaf edges) Initial D: anthropo-zoomorphic letter formed by a wodwose and a lion (no background) Initial E: two swans and eels combine to make an E (gold background with central blue and red leaves) Initial D: two bears/or one bear and a dog (gold background with central blue and red leaves) Initial I: Standing king (no background)	These nine initials in the coronation order are pen work only. Most have finished gold backgrounds, some with floreat additions	Unknown, possibly the musical notation scribe
221v	Queen's Coronation Order	One column width and 7 lines high	Miniature: coronation of a queen by two archbishops attended by two tonsured crucifers Borders: full length figures of three noblewomen and six musicians with various instruments	Borders and miniature completed by the Royal Miniatures Artist who completes just two folios of the missal: this one and the funeral obsequies of a king	Royal Miniatures Artist
224r	Funeral Obsequies of a King	One column width and 6 lines high	Miniature: a dead king lies on a gold-covered funeral bier while two mitred figures and their tonsured acolytes perform liturgical rites. Two lay mourners and seven hooded taper-bearers surround the bier Border roundels: eight side profile busts of hooded mourners	Red background to both the miniature and the border figures	Royal Miniatures Artist

225r	St Silvester's feast	7	**Commune Sanctorum** Initial D: St Silvester is seated on a throne Border roundels: six busts of St Silvester with papal tiara with red background and eight with hybrid creatures	This folio sees the beginning of the main body of work of the Sanctorale Artist. The face of St Silvester in the initial has been erased	Sanctorale Artist
225v	Feast of St Edward the Confessor	6	Initial G: Edward the Confessor seated on a throne holding a ring and sceptre Borders: two shields with the Confessor's arms (also the abbey arms), two with St Edmund's arms and four roundels with the patron's monogram	Edward the Confessor's shrine held within the abbey	Sanctorale Artist
230r	Purification of the Virgin	5	Initial S: Mary hands Christ across the altar to a Jewish priest; Joseph holds a lit taper and basket with three turtle doves Border corner roundels: repeated motif of the doves in the basket		Sanctorale Artist
232v	St Peter *in cathedra*	4	Initial D: St Peter stands holding key and book	Patron saint of the abbey church	Sanctorale Artist
235v	Annunciation	5	Initial R: Gabriel, holding a scroll kneels to Mary who herself is kneeling before a lectern with open book		Sanctorale Artist
241v	St Dunstan's Feast	4	Initial D: the saint, with no inclusion of identifying symbol, bestows a blessing		Sanctorale Artist
247v	John the Baptist's feast	5	Initial D: John, placed between trees and wild animals and dressed in skins, holds a book upon which a small haloed lamb is seated		Sanctorale Artist
249v	Shared Feast of SS Peter and Paul	6	Initial N: tonsured Peter holds a book and keys and Peter holds a sword Border roundels: four patronal monograms	Peter is patron saint of the abbey church	Sanctorale Artist
250 v	Commemoration of St Paul	4	Initial S: Paul with sword and book between two trees		Sanctorale Artist
254v	Feast of the Relics	4 (+ 2 for the tail)	Initial P: an albed cleric stands behind an altar/table upon which are five reliquaries		Sanctorale Artist
255r	Feast of Mary Magdalene	4	Initial S: the saint stands between two trees holding an ointment jar		Sanctorale Artist
258v	St Peter ad Vincula	6	Initial D: St Peter with a one crown tiara is seated on a throne with a double cross staff		Sanctorale Artist

261r	Feast of St Lawrence	4	Initial C: martyrdom of Lawrence in a loin cloth on the griddle; two tormentors tend the fire and goad him Borders: three full length representations of the clothed saint and two bust representations.		Sanctorale Artist
263r	Assumption of the Virgin Mary	6	Initial G: Mary is guided upwards from an open coffin by four angels to where Jesus awaits and reaches down to her Borders: eight patronal monograms, six Litlyngton shields and two red beast/lion heads	Mary's face is damaged	Sanctorale Artist
265v	Feast of St Bartholomew	4	Initial O: the saint stands holding a red book and a knife with his flayed skin draped over his outstretched right hand		Sanctorale Artist
269r	Nativity of the Virgin Mary	6	Initial G: Anne holds the infant Mary while an elderly Joachim indicates to them; all three figures are within the bed curtains		Sanctorale Artist
270v	Exaltation of the Cross	4	Initial N: a clothed crucifix stands between two lit tapers on an altar		Sanctorale Artist
272r	Commemoration of St Matthew	4	Initial B: Matthew stands with red book and an identifying scroll rolls behind him		Sanctorale Artist
274r	Michaelmas	5	Initial B: St Michael, with sword and shield, slays a two-legged dragon Borders: nine full length seraphim angels, probably repeat representations of the saint		Sanctorale Artist
277v	Translation of St Edward the Confessor	6	Initial G: the saint is shown reclining on the slab of his shrine with the cover represented offset Borders: Litlyngton shield in each corner and four full-length representations of the Confessor in life	Edward the Confessor's shrine is at Westminster and this was one of the abbey's major feasts	Sanctorale Artist
279v	All Saints	6	Initial G: Christ, with orb, is seated within an arc of fourteen kneeling saints Borders: four lozenges in the left margin contain groups of saints with two or three front figures, these for-figures are described below from top to bottom: 1. pope and two mitred men 2. two older women with red books 3. one bearded and non-bearded (female?) saints with red books 4. two young women/maiden saints with red books		Sanctorale Artist

284r	Feast of St Katherine	4	Initial D: two swords from heaven strike down Katherine's tormentors and destroy the two wheels as Katherine kneels praying between them Border roundels: five bust representations of Katherine with sword and/or wheel		Sanctorale Artist
285r	Feast of St Andrew	5	Initial M: Andrew is lashed to a saltire cross by two tormentors Border corners: four roundels with representations of the tormentors		Sanctorale Artist
286r	Feast of St Nicholas	4	Initial D: St Nicholas mitred and with crozier stands centrally bestowing an episcopal blessing against a red and blue knot on a gold background	The only example of the work of the Temporale Artist in this section of the missal. The figure has been painted over an already completed knotted initial	Temporale Artist
286v	Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary	5	Initial O: SS Anna and Joachim embrace outside of the golden gates Borders: five patronal monograms, two musical angels, three blue beast/lion heads, one red beast/lion head in a corner diamond	This feast has a particular connection to Westminster Abbey through Osbert of Clare's promotion of it in 12th Century	Sanctorale Artist
289r	Vigil for an Apostle	4	Initial E: a male apostle , pointing to a red book that he holds, stands in a golden gateway Borders: one Litlyngton shield, one patronal monogram, left margin has a full-length figure of St Peter with keys and a book, the right, a full-length figure of St Paul with a sword; both saints have a red background.		Sanctorale Artist
302r	Feast of a Confessor	4	Initial S: mitred figure with crozier bestows a blessing		Sanctorale Artist
308v	Feast of a Virgin	4	Initial G: a young woman stands with a red book between two trees		Sanctorale Artist
312r	Commemoration of the Holy Trinity	4	Initial B: the throne of mercy Trinity Borders: four censing angels and two blue beast/lion heads		Sanctorale Artist

314r	Commemoration of Advent and the Nativity	3	Initial R: the Annunciation same composition as fol. 235v on a smaller scale		Sanctorale Artist
326r	Mass for the Funeral of a Monk	4	Initial R: a catafalque draped with gold cloth, four hooded mourners stand on the far side and five large tapers are lit in large candlesticks Borders: three corners contain two laymen and one laywoman in mourning garb both borders have two monks in black reading from lecterns with open books immediately to the left of the initial, as an extension to the scene, the coped and tonsured figure share an open book with musical notation		Sanctorale Artist

Appendix D:
Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.3

The illumination is the work of one artist with notable stylistic similarities to the Litlyngton Missal Artists, particularly the Sanctorale Artist, and dated as 1380-1400. Folio 36r is an imported page: the style is slightly later and continental; the script and ink are different, but the number of lines is the same. The Crucifixion page is missing.

Contents as noted in M.R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge : A Descriptive Catalogue* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900),p. 329:

i.	Kalendar in black, red, blue, crimson		fol.1
ii.	Benediction salis et aque etc.		7
	Proprium de tempore		90
	(Canon of the Mass)		123
	(In ded. Ecclesie)	180	(189b)
iii.	Proprium sanctorum	184	(193)
iv.	Commune sanctorum. Missae votivae etc.		(244)
	Ending with the Missa Pro defunctis	290	(308b)

Collation: 2 fly-leaves |Kal^6|1^8-14^8 15^4|16^6 17^8-20^8 (wants 3)-36^8 37^{10} (wants 10 blank) 2 fly-leaves. Wrongly foliated.

29cm x 19.5cm with 315 folios of 39 text lines per page (27 for Canon of the Mass).

Commentary of the initials:

- Gold background to all apart from Epiphany (the imported page, fol.36)
- Palette of red, blue, white, and pink with black for outlines
- Measurements are given height by width
- .: represents a white pattern of 3 dots in a triangle form
- Similarities to Litlyngton Missal marked with *

fol. 7r   E 1 stave and 2 lines   20 x 20 mm   Blessing of Salt and Water

One cleric at lectern wearing an alb with blue apparel. A same height acolyte in white with blue under garment. The tonsured cleric holds open a book on the lectern that has a situla at its base.

*Border: single gold bar with gold & blue fret knots, carnations, daisies and red & blue leaves; very similar to Litlyngton Missal

fol. 9v   A 7 lines   35 x 40 mm   First Sunday in Advent

A praying lay figure kneels and in his praying hands he holds aloft his small, naked soul to God who appears as a half head in the top right, surrounded by a red cloud.

*Similarity in facial features of main figure to Sanctorale Artist's faces.

fol. 30v   P 7 lines   39 x 39 mm   Nativity

Reclining Mary (head left) holds baby swaddled in reddish/orange cloth, cross-banded in black. Her dress is red, and a blue cloak with .: covers her legs. Joseph, not nimbed, is opposite in red, hooded garment. He looks on and leans his right arm on the manger. Behind him are a donkey and the ox in on the left.

*Similar composition to Litlyngton Missal

fol. 34v   P 7 lines   35 x 40 mm   Circumcision

Mary, the tallest figure, wears a blue hooded cloak with .: She supports Christ as he is seated on the altar (the cloth is white with a black pattern). The priest is young (therefore no confusion with Simeon for the Purification). The priest holds a large knife (badly oxidised blade). He has no beard and curly brown hair. Jesus is in a red/orange buttoned robe and has his legs apart. Joseph stands behind Mary.

fol. 36r   E 8 small lines 41 x 41 mm   Epiphany

The style, palette, background and floral/foliate border are all markedly different to the resstt of the missal's illuminations. A three-sided contained border holds fantastical flowers with no ground colour. The margin next to the binding is undecorated.

In the initial, a blonde Mary (no headdress) is seated to the right with a naked baby Jesus on her lap. He dips his hand into the chalice, containing gold coins that the kneeling elderly king proffers. The king lifts the top from the chalice. The two younger kings exchange glances as they

stand behind their elderly peer with their gifts in golden receptacles with lids. The king to the left is black and wears a light green robe with blue pelisse.

Mary is seated to the right of the picture and wears a blue cloak with gold decoration; her under garment is also gold.

fol. 121v   P 2 staves and 2 lines   31 x 35mm   Preface to the Mass

Three clerics before an altar, dressed in albs and blue chasubles with .: The bare altar with white cloth is to the right of the composition. The nearest of the three figures raises his eyes. The hand gestures of the three are all different.

fol. 123r   T 6 lines (larger writing) 42 x46 mm Canon of the Mass

Abraham is about to sacrifice Isaac before an altar, but an angel stays his sword and points to a sheep near a tree.

* Very similar to the Litlyngton Missal composition but with some differences. The major difference is here Isaac kneels. The figure of Abraham holds similarities to the Sanctorale Artist's renditions of Joseph of Arimathea and the Jewish priest in the Litlyngton Missal.

fol. 131v   R 7 lines   36 x42 mm   Easter Day

Two sleeping soldiers in front of the open stone sarcophagus in which Christ's figure is shown, with raised knee, as if he is about to step out. His torso is bare and he wears a red-lined blue cloak with white .: His right hand is blessing and he holds a white resurrection staff, with white pennant, in his left hand. Neither wounds nor crown of thorns are shown.

* Similar scaled down version of the Resurrection scenes in the Litlyngton Missal.

fol. 145v   V 7 lines 36 x 40mm   Ascension

Mary stands central with three apostles on either side of her. Her arms are crossed over her breast as she looks straight ahead out of the picture. The hem of Jesus' robe and his feet are either side of Mary's halo in the uppermost register. The attention of the apostles is divided between Jesus's feet and the Blessed Virgin Mary.

* Similar scaled down composition to Litlyngton Missal.

fol. 149r   G 7 lines 36 x40 mm   Pentecost

Mary is central with 2 apostles on each side of her. Above her head is the dove of the Holy Dove with tongues of fire. Her arms are crossed in the same way as the Ascension and she looks out of the picture. Three of the apostles are looking up and the fourth at her.

* Similar scaled down composition to Litlyngton Missal.

fol. 155r   C 7 lines 37 x 42mm   Corpus Christi

A tonsured cleric processes from right to left holding a gold ciborium surmounted with a cross. He is under a canopy which is held by three laymen. The cleric wears a blue cape with gold edging and gold hood over a white and red under garment.

*The similarities in the clothing of the laymen here to those in the Litlyngton Missal are very striking.

fol. 189v   T 7 lines 36 x40 mm   Dedication of a Church

A gold mitred figure holds a large spoon in his left hand with which he applies water to the grey roof of a white church (no tower). The abbot/bishop wears a blue cope with white .: and a gold hood. An acolyte in white surplice and blue under garment stands before the cleric holding open a book from which the senior figure is reading. Between the two figures is a large barrel filled with water.

fol. 193r   D 7 lines 36x40mm   Saint Andrew

St Andrew in a robe of blue with white .: and a red central panel is being lashed to a saltire cross by two men.

*Seems to be a direct copy of the Litlyngton Missal initial.

fol. 201v   S 7 lines 40 x 42mm   The Presentation

Joseph, far left, holds a basket with doves in his right hand and a tall lit taper in his left. Joseph's hood has the central top knot found as a mark of Jewish headwear. Mary passes Jesus, who is

clothed in an orange/red robe, across the altar to the priest whose hands are covered with his shawl. The priest is more youthful than usual, clean-shaven and wears a red Jew's hat.

fol. 205r   D 7 lines 34x36mm   The Annunciation

There is some damage to this initial, which appears worn in places.

Gabriel, left, kneels before Mary who holds her hands in a gesture of surprise. In his left hand he bears a scroll with *Ave gta plena De' '* upon it in black. Gabriel has no wings.

*Seems to be a direct copy of the Litlyngton Missal initial.

fol. 213v   D 7 lines 36 x 40mm   Nativity of John the Baptist

Elizabeth reclines and holds a very small baby and she gently cradles his bare feet. She wears a wimple (sign of older age and fashion) and is nimbed. A young girl in red looks at her adoringly. To the right sits her husband who is portrayed as elderly with a white beard. His arms are crossed, almost as if leaning upon a stick which is not there. A section of sky is represented above them.

*Apart from the presence of the girl, there are similarities in pose and composition to the birth of the Virgin in the Litlyngton Missal.

fol. 215r   N 5 lines 25 x30 mm   Saints Peter & Paul

The saints face each other with Peter, holding keys, left and Paul, holding a sword, to the right. They also both hold a red book.

*Seems to be a direct copy of the Litlyngton Missal initial. This composition is the same as the Litlyngton Missal version, simply smaller. The facial features of both are very distinctive and easily recognisable as those used in the Litlyngton Missal.

fol. 218r   P 7 lines 36 x 40 mm   The Feast of the Relics

A tonsured figure with a V of red under garment showing at the neck beneath a white robe, points to a reliquary of a head on a table. There are six reliquaries: three ciboriums, one hand,

one head, and one girdle. They rest upon a table covered with a short cloth, rather than an altar. We can see the figure's lower half behind the table.

*The similarity to the Litlyngton Missal is obvious, made even more so by the fact that it is such a distinctive picture anyway. There are some differences however; the cleric is pointing in a different direction; whilst some are exactly the same, others of the relics are different and the Litlyngton Missal only has 5; the Litlyngton image seems to have an altar cloth on the table.

fol. 225v   G 4 lines 25 x25 mm   Vigil of the Assumption: Madonna and Child

Seated on a bench throne, Mary, crowned, suckles the infant Christ who is dressed in his usual red robe.

N.B. There is no equivalent to this in the Litlyngton Missal.

fol. 225v   G 7 lines 36 x40 mm   Assumption

Mary, in a robe of blue with white buttons, stands with hands in prayer, erect in her tomb and facing us. Four angels (in bust form) support one each of her limbs ready to lift her.

*The angels are very similar to those in the Litlyngton Missal although there is no Jesus above this Virgin and she faces straight out rather than looking up. She is dressed in a different colour.

fol.230v   S 7 lines 36 x40 mm   The Nativity of the Virgin Mary

The wimpled St Anne (left) reclines with the child, swaddled in white cross bands over red, on her lap. Joachim gestures towards his wife with his right hand, while his left rests on his knee. His clothing is a bi-coloured robe with buttons.

*The poses and clothing in the composition are very similar, although here there are no bed curtains.

fol. 234v   B 7 lines 37 x3 8mm   St Michael's Day

St Michael is portrayed with six wings and holding a pair of scales. His head is bent slightly to the left and his left hand is on his breast. He wears a white scarf around his neck and his face, hands

and feet are bare. Otherwise, apart from the chains holding the scale cups, the whole initial is gold. The feathers on his wings and body are outlined individually in black.

fol. 240r   G 7 lines 35 x38 mm   All Saints

Christ is seated in majesty and makes a blessing with his left hand and his right rests upon a golden orb in his lap. He looks directly out towards the viewer. The artist has indicated the saints by having heads coming out of the sky as there is not room for full figures. The heads are in three strata on either side of Christ/God. The top have papal tiaras, the middle have mitres, and the lowest are bareheaded. The heads are not nimbed.

*Seems to be a direct copy of the Litlyngton Missal. This composition is the same as the Litlyngton Missal version, simply smaller. See discussion in 3.5.

fol. 244r   E 7 lines 36 x40 mm   Vigil of an Apostle

A male saint, facing left, holds a book open in his left hand and points to it with his right. He is placed behind the bar of the E and stands on grass between two trees.

*Although the initial for this feast day in the Litlyngton Missal has the saint entering a gateway, there are many elements of similarity between this initial and other portrayals of saints within the larger missal (trees, clothes, face).

fol. 277r   O 4 lines 25 x 25 mm   Mass for Bride & Bridegroom

The bust of a man & woman in lay clothing. He has a beard and she has a square framed headdress.

*The headdress in particular is very like those used for laywomen in the Litlyngton Missal.

fol. 281r   R 7 lines   35 x 40 mm   The Annunciation

Gabriel kneels, left, before Mary who shows her surprise with hand gestures. The position of Mary is ambiguous regarding her kneeling or not. The angel holds a scroll with *Ave gra plena dm* on it. Mary is dressed in a red under garment with a blue cloak with white .: Her cloak comes

covers her head. A mistake has been made and a section of her cloak has been gilded. Gabriel has blue wings and a red cloak with the same white dots.

Differences to previous Annunciation from this missal: Gabriel has wings, Mary's head is covered and it is better executed.

*There is no reading stand and her head is covered, but otherwise it is very like the Litlyngton Missal Annunciations.

fol. 290v   O 4 lines 21 x30 mm   Benediction

A bust portrait of a man with a brown cap, blue tippet and white cowl.

fol. 299v   R 7 lines   37 x 42 mm   Mass for the Dead

A funeral bier fills the initial and is covered with a blue & red stripped cloth with white dots and dividing lines. In front of the bier are four tall gold candle sticks which hold lighted tapers. Behind the bier another 4 tapers are visible. A smaller candlestick and taper stands on the bier next to an indistinct gold object.

Appendix E:
The Abbey in the Rubrics in King's Coronation

This is a complete record, in order of appearance, of each reference to the abbey church, abbot, or any other abbey member that occurs in the order. These appear in both the original Latin and are translated into English. Also recorded are any differences that occur between the rubrics of the Litlyngton Missal and *Liber Regalis,* and the Litlyngton Missal and Rawl.C.425. Unless otherwise stated, all Latin and English references are taken from Leopold Wickham Legg s *English Coronation Records* (Westminster, 1901) and also all page numbers. Although the text is that of the *Liber Regalis*, it is almost identical to that of the Litlyngton Missal and note has been made of where differences occur.

Rawl.C.425 has a much shorter opening rubric which omits most details and mentions the abbey/abbot only once: see *MEW,* 681, n. 5. The Rawl.C.425 text is collated in *MEW* and differences noted below are detailed in the notes of that edition (see relevant column numbers below).

Key:

MEW **with column number** indicates where the Latin appears in J Wickham Legg s edition of the Litlyngton Missal, *Missale Ad Usum Westmonasteriensis,* ed. by John Wickham Legg, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, for Henry Bradshaw Soc., 1999).

ND = no major differences between the Litlyngton Missal and *Liber Regalis* (there might be variety in spelling or word ending).

D = difference, followed by the relevant details.

References in the Rubrics

p. 81   *In primis preparetur pulpilum aliquantulum eminens inter magnum altare et chorum ecclesie beati Petri westmonasterii.*

p. 112 First there is to be prepared a stage somewhat raised between the high altar and the choir of the church of St Peter at Westminster.   *MEW*, 673   ND

p. 83 *Et quia oportet principem antedictum de hiis et aliis obseruanciis que ad dictam spectant coronacionem plenius informari : abbas westmonasterii qui pro tempore fuerit in hiis et consimilibus principis erit eruditor : ad ipsum uero hoc officium solummodo spectat.*

Et si dictus abbas de medio fuerit sublatus. et alius in abbatem eiusdem loci nondum fuerit confrmatus qui dictum officium rite non poterit adimplere : aut dictus abbas aliunde fuerit impeditus quominus illud officium ualeat exequi : tunc eligatur unus ex assensu prioris et conuentus dicti monasterii qui per omnia sit ydoneus dictum principem in huiusmodi obseruanciis informare secundum modum et constietudinem. ab antiquissimis temporibus hactenus usitatum.

p. 113-4 And since it is well that the prince should be informed about these and other observances which have to do with the coronation, the Abbot of Westminster of the time being shall be the prince s instructor in these and other matters; and this office belongs to him alone.

And if the said Abbot be dead, and another have not yet been raised to be Abbot of the same place to fulfil this office, or of the Abbot be for any reason prevented from doing the office, then one shall be chosen with the consent of the Prior and Convent of the said monastery, who shall be in all things fit to instruct the prince, according to the manner and custom in use from the earliest times to the present.   *MEW,* 675-6 ND

p. 83 *Hiis debite peractis ordinetur in ecclesia per archiepiscopos episcopos abbatem et conuentum westmonasterii processio in capis sericis cum textibus et thurribulis et aliis que processioni conueniunt : et sic induti processionaliter occurrant in palacio antedicto. Etenim regni prelatis et conuentui westmonasterii solum pertinet Regi future cum processionis sollempnitate occurrere : et ipsum in ecclesiam predictam psallendo antecedere : ea decantantes que in recepci/one regum debent decantari.*

p. 114 When these thing [bathing & vesting] have been duly performed, a procession shall be arranged in the church by the Archbisops, Bishops, and the Abbot and Convent of Westminster in silken copes with textus, censers, and other things suitable to the procession, and so vested they shall go in procession to meet the king in the palace. And the right of meeting the king that is to be in solemn procession belongs to the prelates of the realm and the monastery of Westminster alone, and they go before him to the church singing and chanting those anthems which are usually sung at the reception of kings.   *MEW,* 677 D = *cum capis sericis* is omitted from the *Liber Regalis*

p. 84 *Pars autem panni illius uirgulati siue burelli que per dictum elemosinarium ut prefatum est sub pedibus regis incedentis extenditur infra ecclesiam cedet semper in usus sacriste. loci, et*

reliqua pars tota que est extra ecclesiam, distribuetur pauperibus per manus elemosinarii.
supradicti.

p. 114 But that part of the ray cloth or burell spread out by the aforesaid almoner, as is described above, under the king s feet as he goeth, which is inside the church, is given always to the use of the sacrist, and the rest, which is outside the church, shall be distributed to the poor by the hands of the aforesaid almoner.   *MEW,* 678 ND

p. 84 *Regem igtur coronandum dictis prelatis ac monachis precedentibus Episcopus Dunelmensis*
videlicet et Bathoniensis

p. 115 The king therefore that is to be crowned shall be preceded by the said prelates and monks. (i.e. when he enters the church and makes his way down to the platform) JWL WM 678-9 D=Westminster *Liber Regalis* has *Sustentatore Regis* instead of naming the bishops of Bath and Durham as happens in the Litlyngton Missal (LWL has adapted his edition to accommodate this).

p. 84 *Cancellarius uero si fuerit episcopus cum calice lapideo sancti edwardi qui est de regali*

p. 115 The Chancellor, if he be a Bishop, shall go immediately before the king, vested in pontificals, with the stone chalice of St. Edward from the regalia. *MEW,* 679 ND

 N.B. this relic is not mentioned in the coronation regalia inventory of Edward III made in 1356.

p. 84 *Que quidem calicem patenam septrum et uirgam tradet abbas westmonasterii uel prior si*
abbas non fuerit dictis dominis infra palacium antedictum

p. 115 And the Abbot of Westminster, or the Prior, if the Abbot be absent, shall deliver the chalice, paten, sceptre and rod to the said lords in the palace *MEW,* 679 ND

p. 85 *sed haste cum campanellis debentur ecclesie westmonasterii ac pulpitum et omnia tapeta*
infra
eundem una cum pannis sericis et quissinis ibi ut predictum. Est per ministros
regis collocata. remanebunt penes ecclesiam in qua dictus Rex coronatur
ex iure antiquo et consuetudine.

p. 115-116 but the lances and bells belong to the church of Westminster; so do the stage and all the carpets on it, with the silken cloths and cushions placed there by the king s servants, as is above described. These are to remain in possession of the church where the king is crowned in accordance with ancient right and custom. *MEW,* 681 ND

(N.B. J Wickham Legg notes that in the Litlyngton Missal a hand points to this line)

p. 85 *est que processioni conueniunt rite ordinatis episcopi et alii prelati una cum regni*
proceribus et predicto conuentu westmonasterii   prefatum regem coronandum. a palacio suo
westmonasterii
in ecclesiam beati petri westmonasterii ducant.

p. 116 the Bishops and other prelates with the nobles of the realm and the said Convent of
Westminster shall lead the king that is to be crowned from his palace at Westminster to the
Church of St. Peter at Westminster. *MEW,* 681

(N.B. Rawl.C.425 has a much shorter rubric to carry us to this point and mention the
abbey/abbot is made only once: see *MEW,* 681, n. 5.)

p. 86/7 *cum abbate westmonasterii uel alio monacho eiusdem monasterii ut prescriptum est ad*
hoc electo qui semper lateri regis adherendo presens debet esse dicti Regis informacione in hiis
que dicte coronacionis concernunt solempnitatem. ut omnia modo debito peragantur de dicto
pulpito usque ad magnum altare honorifice deducent.

p. 116 with the Abbot of Westminster or another monk of the same monastery elected for this
purpose, as is above described (who must be always at hand at the king s side to instruct the
king in matters touching the solemnity of coronation, so that everything may be done aright),
shall lead the king with honour from the said stage to the high altar. *MEW,* 683

 (N.B. Rawl.C.425 misses out the details of who does which things)

p. 93 *Et preuideatur a sacrista quod ampulle tam de oleo quant de crismate. quarum /una*
deaurata est et in se continens sanctum crisma. altera uero solum argentea et in se continens
oleum sanctum sint ad altare preparate.

p. 119 And the sacrist is to provide that the phials for the oil and for the chrism be ready, of
which one is to be gilt and to contain the holy chrism. But the other is to be only of silver, and to
contain only the holy oil. *MEW,* 695 D = *Nota sacristi Westmonasterii* is in the margin of the
Liber Regalis

p. 93 *Rege igituv sic undo, connectantur ansule aperturarum propter unccionem ab abbate*
westmonasterii uel uicem eius gerente.

p. 119 When therefore the king has been thus anointed, the loops of the openings are to be
fastened on account of the anointing by the Abbot of Westminster or his deputy. *MEW* 695-6

(N.B. shortened version of Rawl.C.425 means that mention of the abbot of Westminster s role is omitted.)

p. 94 *Dictis itaque ornajmentis benedictis prefatus rex a westmonasteriensi abbate uel alio loco ipsius ut prehabitum est induetur uestimentis.*

p. 119 And after the ornaments have been blessed, the king shall be clothed in his vestments by the Abbot of Westminster or his deputy. *MEW,* 698

(N.B. Rawl.C.425 this part does not appear along with the following section which deals with the details of vestments; these latter are important to Westminster.)

p. 99 *Et preuideatur a sacrista westmonasterii quod ornamenta regalia cum magna corona prius sint super magnum altare honorifice collocata. Vt omnia fiant sine impedimenta propter maximam plebis /confluenciam*

p. 121 The sacrist of Westminster is to take care that the royal ornaments and the great crown be early set with all honour upon the high altar, so that everything may be done without hindrance from the very great concourse of people which there is sure to be at such coronations. *MEW,* 707 D= *nota sacrista* has been written into the margin of the *Liber Regalis*

p. 99 *que in huiusmodi coronacionibus indubitanter solet euenire. Coronatu autem rex. et regalibus prius indutus per abbatem westmonasterii caligis sandariis et calcaribus coaptatis. osculabitur episcopos...*

p. 121. The king thus crowned and vested with the regalia by the Abbot of Westminster, and wearing the buskins sandals and spurs, shall kiss the Bishops.... *MEW,* 707-8

(N.B. Rawl.C.425 has a much briefer rubric which mentions the bishops but not the abbot.)

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There follows the coronation of the queen (where appropriate), where the abbot does not seem to have a role. She has ladies in waiting. After her coronation a mass is carried out for the king/royal pair.

****

p. 105 *Corpore uero domini a rege recepto. ministrabit ei uinum ad utendum post percepcionem sacramenti. Abbas westmonasterii uel is qui uicem. eius pro tempore gerit prout dictum, est de calice lapideo de regalibus. ac eciam, regine post regem de eodem calice. predictus abbas ministrabit in signum uidelicet unitatis.*

p. 126 And when the king has received the Body, the Abbot of Westminster, or his deputy as aforesaid, shall minister wine to him to be used after receiving the sacrament from the stone chalice in the regalia, and the said Abbot shall also minister to the queen after the king as a sign of unity. *MEW,* 720-1 D = Rawl.C.425: This is missing. Therefore some of the most important moments of the abbot are not mentioned at all. In fact, after the post communion prayer the Rawl C.425 king s coronation finishes.

p. 106 *Deinde magnus camerarius anglie exuet regem regalibus antedictis que per dictum camerarium singillatim sicut a rege auferuntur tradentur abbati westmonasterii.*

p. 127 After this, the royal party go to the shrine of Edward the Confessor where their crowns are removed.   Then shall the Great Chamberlain of England strip the king of his regalia, which shall be given severally to the Abbot of Westminster or his deputy, as is often aforesaid, to be laid on the altar as they are taken from the king. *MEW,* 722 ND

p. 107 *deponet eciam rex dictas caligas et sandaria que a dido camerario predicto abbati westmonasterii uel locum eius tenenti integre restituantur.*

p. 127 And the king shall lay aside also the shoes and sandals which the Great Chamberlain shall restore entire to the Abbot of Westminster or his deputy *MEW,* 723 ND

p. 107 *Et sciendum quod exterius indumentum quo didus rex illo die ante coronacionem fuerat indutus. pertinet ad monachum qui habet pro tunc custodiam uestibuli didi monasterii.*

p. 127 The king is re-clothed in other garments And note that the outer garments which the king wears that day before his coronation belong to the monk who is then keeper of the vestry of the monastery *MEW* , 723 ND

p. 107 *Et prouidebitur illo die conuentui westmonasterii per regios ministros quod dictus contientus percipiet die eodem de rege centum similas et modium vini etc eciam de piscibus quantum conuenit dignacioni regali. Quid uero sit modius uini et que mensura ex uerbis papie in suo elementario in .M. littera hac diccione mo/dius. et in .S. littera hac diccione sextarium. manifeste declaratur.*

p. 127-8 And provision is to be made by the king s servants on that day that the Convent of Westminster receive on the same day from the king a hundred/ bushels of corn and a modius of wine, and of fish, as much as the king thinks fit. What a modius of wine is, and what the measure, may be seen from the words of Papias in his Dictionary under the letter M at this word. And a gallon under the letter S at this word clearly means a Sextarium. *MEW,* 723-4 D = NB: *vidilicet iiij. viii. lagenas vini*   is added in lower margin of Litlyngton Missal.

p. 107 *Dicta uero sceptra liberabuntur statim finito prandio. et rege thalamum ingresso abbati westmonasterii siue alio monacho ad hoc assignato per manus dictorum regis et regine ut una cum aliis regalibus in dido monasterio prout per bullas papales et regum cartas ac antiqua et semper obseruata consuetudine plenius habetur. quod sit locus regie institucionis et coronacionis. ac eciam repositorium regalium insignium imperpetuum. Sub hac enim. racione in rescriptis papalium priuilegiorum et regalium cartarum ecclesia prefata scilicet ecclesia beati petri westmonasterii diadema regni nominatur. Capud pariter et corona tanquam ea que sola inter ceteras anglie ecclesias speciali prerogatiua prefulget.*

p. 128 Now the sceptres are to be delivered immediately after breakfast, when the king has gone into his chamber, to the Abbot of Westminster or another monk appointed for this purpose by the hands of the king and queen to be kept in the said monastery, as it is appointed to be the place of institution and coronation of kings and the repository of the royal ensigns for ever, by papal bulls king s charters and old custom always observed. For this reason the said church of Westminster, that is the church of St Peter at Westminster, is called in rescripts of papal privileges and royal charters, the diadem of the kingdom, the head and crown, as it is the church alone which shines forth amongst the other churches of England by special prerogative. *MEW*, 724 ND

Appendix F: Tables 1-3 Comparative Study of Missals in Chapter Five

Common Name	Location and Reference	Folios	Date	Fi... in...
Sherbrooke Missal	Aberystwyth, National Library Wales MS 15536 E	fols. 343	c.1310-1320	1
Tiptoft Missal	New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library MS M.107	fols. 360	1311-1332	1
O/Trinity MS 8	Oxford, Trinity College MS 8	fols. 292	end of C14th	1
Litlyngton Missal	London, Westminster Abbey MS 37	fols. 341	1383-4	6
Carmelite Missal	London, BL, Add MS 29704-5	fols. 212	1395	5
C/Trinity B.11.3	Cambridge, Trinity College Missal MS B.11.3	fols. 297	c.1380-1400	2
Sherborne Missal	London, BL, Add MS 74236	fols .347	c.1400	?
Valencia Missal	Valencia, Biblioteca Capitular MS 166	fols. 299	1370-80	1
Hatton 1	Oxford, Bodleian MS Hatton 1	fols. 229	late C14th	1
Oriel Missal	Oxford, Oriel College MS 75	fols. 320	c.1405-1415	3

Table F.1: Temporale Illumination in Missals

Missal	Exorcism of Salt & Water	1st Sunday in Advent	Christmas Day (ox & ass present in all)	Feast of Stephen	Feast of John the Evangelist	Holy Innocents	Feast of Thomas Becket	Circumcision	Epiphany: Each scene is Adoration of the Kings	Palm Sunday	Easter	Ascensi...
Sherbrooke	(Atypically found at end of the missal, see Sanctorale table)	**1.**Two clerics read from lectern **2.**Kneeling priest offers his praying soul at altar, Christ in cloud watches	Joseph seated, Mary reclining, Christ in a manger								Resurrected Christ steps from tomb witnessed by an angel (2 sleeping soldiers)	Mary & below J (no mo
Tiptoft	Priest with situla reads from book held in left hand	Two kneeling men either side of a church pray to Christ in Majesty	A midwife hands Christ to Mary, Joseph sits								Christ, with angel, arises from a high tomb under which are soldiers (2 sleeping, 1 awake)	Mary ar apostles the lowe of the a Christ No mou
O/ Trinity MS 8	Priest at desk lectern with acolyte who holds a ball of salt and stands by a situla	Priest and acolyte kneel in prayer before altar	Joseph seated, Mary reclining, holds Jesus; ox & ass eat from the fodder-filled manger						Elder king bareheaded, Mary not crowned; elder king touches and kisses Christ's arm; 2nd king points to non-visible star		Resurrected Christ steps from tomb onto a waking soldier (1 sleeping soldier, 2 awake,1 smiling/laughing)	Mary (n central) on eithe mount v apostles Ascendi mount h footprin
Litlyngton	Priest at lectern before altar and acolyte with salt and situla.	Kneeling lay figure praying at empty altar with speech scroll; Christ's/God's head appears in cloud, top right	Joseph seated, Mary reclining, Christ in a manger; Joseph holds a gift (?)	Stephen vested as deacon, holds cloth and stones	John with book, eagle, and palm	Massacre with Herod, seated on throne, as witness	Thomas Becket seated defaced	Mary's Presentation [sic] of Christ with St Anne, holding a taper, and Joseph with turtle doves	Elder king bareheaded, Mary crowned; 2nd king point to a star	Arma Christi	Resurrected Christ, with banner, steps from tomb onto a sleeping soldier (2 sleeping soldiers, 2 awake)	Mary (c apostles mount b Jesus' a feet; mo footprin
C/Trinity B.11.3	Priest and acolyte at lectern with situla	Kneeling lay figure offers up naked, praying soul to God's head shown in a cloud	Joseph seated, Mary reclining holds swaddled Jesus					Mary and Joseph with Christ (clothed) at the circumcision	Elder king crowned and Mary not No star (C15th page bound in later)		Resurrected Christ steps from tomb (1 sleeping soldier , 1 awake)	Mary (c apostles Jesus' fe No mou
Valencia,	Priest reads from book at lectern		Nativity (no details)						Adoration (no details)		Christ steps from the tomb (no details)	Ascensi details)

Table F.2: Mass Illuminations in Missals

	Position of the Mass	Where in the first Mass image occurs	Ordo Image subject matter	Crucifixion	Beginning of the Canon of the Mass (*Te Igitur*)
Sherbrooke	After the Temporale, following the anniversary for Dedication of a Church	At the end of the *ordinarium Misse* at *Per omnia secula* before the Common Preface to the Canon of the Mass	**1.** A priest washing his hands before Mass: an acolyte holds the bowl while the covered chalice is on an altar behind the priest **2.** V of *vere dignum* in this same section contains a small Christ's head	No	Abraham stayed from sacrificing Isaac who is on an makeshift altar of faggots of firewood in an exterior setting
Tiptoft	In the Temporale, before the service for Easter	At the end of the *ordinarium Misse* in P for *Per omnia secula* but **pre** that of the Common Preface to the Canon of the Mass	**1.** Celebration of Mass: tonsured cleric, stands behind another tonsured cleric, who has his hands on shoulders of 3rd, who blesses a chalice on an altar **2.** Abraham stayed from sacrificing Isaac who stands before an outside altar	Missing	A priest elevates the host with two attendant tonsured priests; above, Christ crucified, flanked by Mary and John Rright border, John the Evangelist and John the Baptist
O/Trinity MS 8	In the Temporale, before the service for Easter	No Images: floral initials in the Preface to the Mass	No images	Missing	Replacement Canon with space left for Te igitur initial
Litlyngton	After the Temporale following the anniversary for Dedication of a Church	At the end of the *ordinarium Misse* at *Per omnia secula* before the Common Preface to the Canon of the Mass	Elevation of the host by priest at altar, a kneeling acolyte holds a lighted taper	Full page Italianate Crucifixion miniature Passion scenes, evangelist symbols and heraldry in the border; Kissing cross beneath	Abraham stayed from sacrificing Isaac on an interior altar;angel points to ram Angel musicians in borders
C/Trinity B.11.3	In the Temporale, before the service for Easter	At the end of the *ordinarium Misse* at *Per omnia secula* before the Common Preface to the Canon of the Mass	Three tonsured clerics before an altar: one priest and two deacons; the altar is empty	Missing	Abraham stayed from sacrificing Isaac who kneels before an outside altar; angel points to the ram
Valencia	In the Temporale, before the service for	Te Igitur at the Canon of the Mass	None	None/missing?	Sacrifice of Isaac (no details)

Table F.3 Sanctorale Illumination in Missals   * In the Litlyngton Missal the Sanctorale begins with Silvester, therefore the three feasts marked with * (below) actu...

Table F.3 part 1	Andrew	Nicholas	C'ption of Virgin Mary	Silvester	Edward C'ssor	Purification of the Virgin	St Peter in cathedra	Annunciation	Dunstan	John the Baptist	Peter & Pa...
Sherbrooke	Andrew crucified on saltire cross					Mary hands Christ to man with covered hands, Anne holds a basket of turtle doves Joseph not present No altar or taper					
Tiptoft	Andrew being lashed to the saltire cross by 2 men					Mary hands Christ across an altar to a priest who has covered hands; Joseph holds a basket with turtle doves No St Anne or taper		Exterior scene with both figures standing: Gabriel, left, with a scroll indicates the dove of the spirit to Mary who holds a small book; between them is a vase of lilies		John in poor clothes is shown with a disc upon which is the lamb of God with banner	
O/Trinity MS 8	Andrew being lashed to a saltire cross by 2 men					Mary hands the infant to a mitred priest. Anne holds a basket with turtle doves. Joseph is not present				Nativity of the saint: Elizabeth holds the baby while Zechariah watches and writes in a book	
Litlyngton	* Andrew being lashed to a saltire cross by 2 men	*Nicholas as bishop with mitre & crosier	* Anna & Joachim embrace outside golden gates	** First feast in the L'ton S'ctorale Silvester on throne wears tiara	Edward on throne holding ring	Mary hands Christ across an altar to Jewish priest who has covered hands; Joseph holds taper and basket with turtle doves No St Anne	Peter stands holding key and book	Gabriel, left, holds scroll and kneels to Mary who is kneeling at an open book on a lectern	Dunstan vested and mitred	John, between trees, holds a book on which is a lamb; other animals are present	Tonsured Pe... with keys a... book is oppo... Paul with sw...
C/Trinity B.11.3	Andrew being lashed to a saltire cross by 2 men					Mary hands the child across an altar to a Jewish priest who has covered hands; Joseph holds a taper and basket with turtle doves		Gabriel, left, holds scroll and kneels to Mary who is kneeling No lectern		Nativity of the saint: Elizabeth holds the child and Zechariah watches with arms across his breast; a young girl (midwife?) looks at the mother	Tonsured Pe... with keys a... book is oppo... Paul with sw...

Table F.3. part 2:	Lawrence	Assumption	Bartholomew	Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary	Exaltation of the Cross	Commem' of Matthew	Michael	T'slation Edward Confess'	All Saints
Sherbrooke		Lost?							
Tiptoft		Mary, in a mandorla, is lifted by two angels towards God, top left, who reaches towards her

No tomb | | Anne reclines while the midwife washes the naked child | | | | | Christ, with book stands on gra amid saints with their symbols |
| O/Trinity MS 8 | | Mary, in a mandorla, is lifted from her tomb by 2 angels | | A midwife hands the baby to Anne who reclines on a bed

Joachim not present | | | | | Christ with orb blesses, surrounded by seated saints |
| Litlyngton | Lawrence on a gridiron over a fire is goaded by 2 tormentors | Mary is guided upwards from her tomb by 4 angels; Christ reaches down to receive her | Bartholomew stands with book, knife and flayed skin over his arm | Within a curtained bed, Anne holds Mary and Joachim points to them | Clothed crucifix stands between 2 tapers on an altar | Matthew stands with red book and scroll with his name | Michael slays a dragon; his shield has the red cross on white back ground | Edward shown reclining on tomb slab, feretory above | Christ with orb blesses within ar arc of seated saints

Borders show the hierarchy of saints |
| C/Trinity B.11.3 | | Mary is lifted by 4 angels from her tomb

No mandorla or Christ | | Anne holds the child and Joachim points to them | | | Michael as a golden seraph holds weighing scales | | Christ with orb blesses; the hea of 3 tiers of saints are on either side of him. |
| | | Mary in mandorla | | | | | | | Christ with cross flanked by bus |

Table F.3. Part 3	Vigil for an Apostle	Martyr	Feast of Confessor	Feast of a Virgin	Commemoration of Trinity	Office for Advent	Funeral	Other at this
Sherbrooke	Figure holding a palm							Blessing of s lectern with
Tiptoft	Peter with key and Paul with sword							
O/Trinity MS 8	Apostle holds a tree outside a sheltered shrine							
Litlyngton	Male saint holds red book and stands in a golden gateway. Pater & Paul in borders		Mitred figure with crosier bestows a blessing	Young woman stands between 2 trees with a book	*Gnadenstuhl*	Annunciation	Bier draped with gold cloth. 4 hooded mourners on far side. 5 lit tapers stand near and on bier	
C/Trinity B.11.3	Apostle points to an open book and stands between 2 trees					Annunciation	Bier draped with striped cloth surrounded on both sides by tapers	Marriage: H
Valencia								
Hatton 1								
	Male saint holds a fruiting tree and points to it	**1** Beheaded martyr & executioner **2**	1 Mitred figure with crosier bestows a	1 Virgin martyr with saw 2			Priests at draped bier Damaged	

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IMAGES

Chapter One
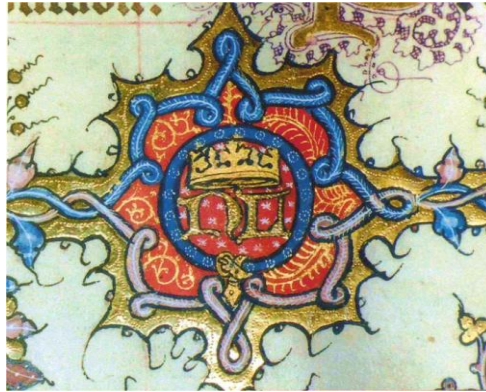
Fig. 1.1: Nicholas Litlyngton's personal monogram, fol. 289r

Fig. 1.2: Nicholas Litlyngton's coat of arms, Litlyngton Missal, fol. 289r

Fig . 1.2a: Despenser arms in stained glass, Dewsbury Minster, North Transept

Fig.1.3: Bishop Henry Despenser's s*ecretum*
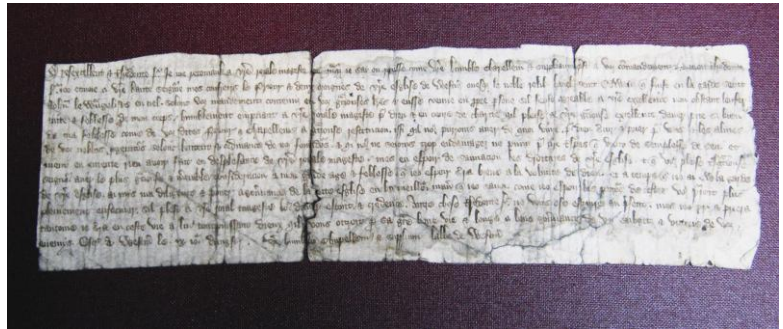
Fig. 1.4: Litlyngton's letter to Richard II. W.A.M. 9474
(Transcription, Appendix B.3)

Fig. 1.5: Decorated rafters of the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster
Abbey.

Fig. 1.6: Despenser shield with mitre bordure, Abbot's Dining
Hall, Westminster Abbey.
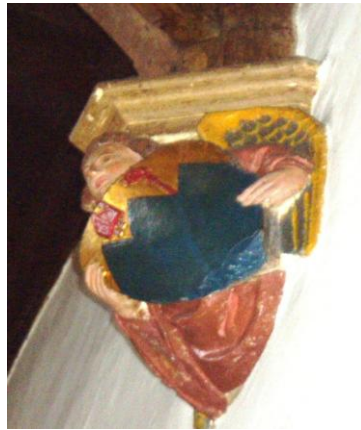
Figs. 1.7: Corbel with abbot of Westminster Abbey's arms, Abbot's Dining Hall, Westminster Abbey. The mitre and crosier are in relief.

Figs. 1.8: Corbel with erroneous Despenser arms

The fretwork lines are in relief.

Fig.1.9: R. Ackerman's 1816 depiction of the Abbot's Dining Hall
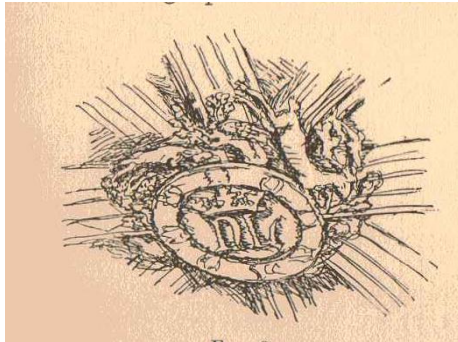
Fig. 1.10: Lethaby's 1925 sketch of the boss at the cloister entry, *Westminster Re-examined,* p. 145

Fig. 1.11: Present day condition of the boss where the coronet is just discernible.
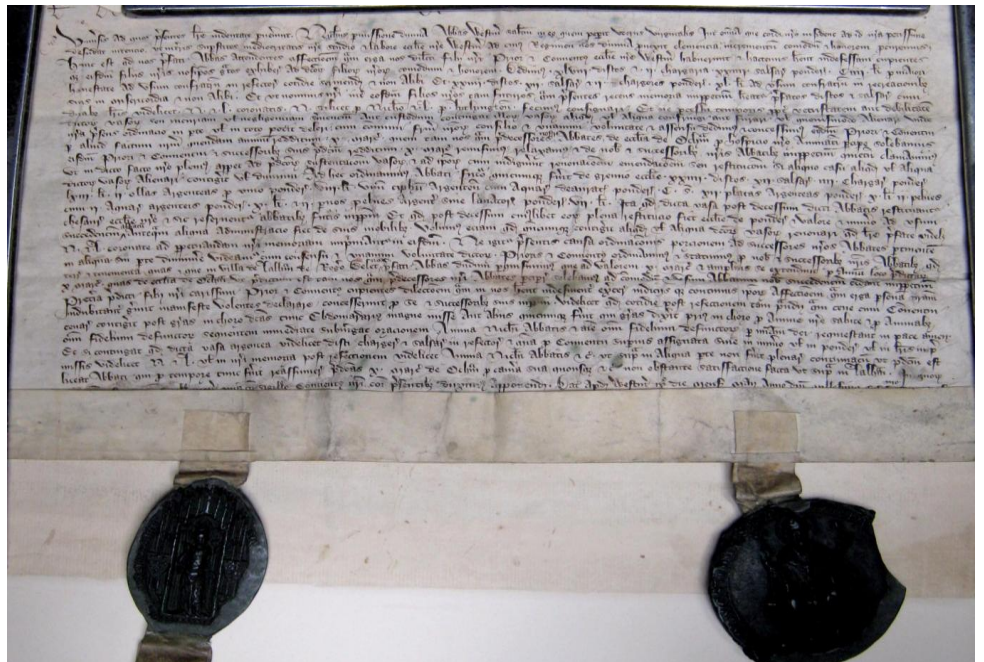
Fig. 1.12: W.A.M. 9471: original letter of Nicholas Litlyngton's benefaction of plate to Westminster Abbey. The seals are of Nicholas Litlyngton (left) and the abbey.

Chapter Two

Fig. 2.1: Edward the Confessor initial, Litlyngton Missal, fol. 225v

Fig. 2.2: Whole page, Translation of Edward the Confessor, Litlyngton Missal, fol. 277v

Fig. 2.3: Edward the Confessor Translation initial, fol. 277v

Fig. 2.4: Edward the Confessor's Shrine, Westminster Abbey

Figs. 2.5 and 2.6: Whole page and initial of Feast of SS Peter and Paul, Litlyngton Missal, fol. 249v

Fig. 2.7 and 2.8: Whole page and border detail of the Vigil of an Apostle, Litlyngton Missal, fol. 289r

Fig. 2.9: Ascension initial, Litlyngton Missal, fol. 106v

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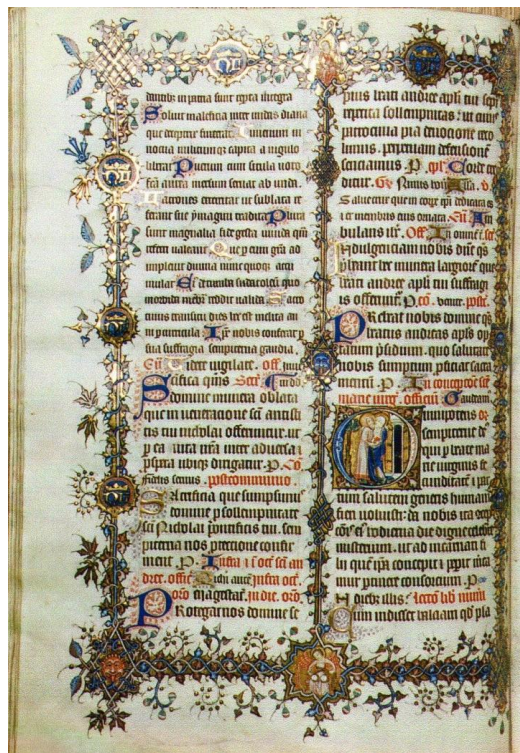
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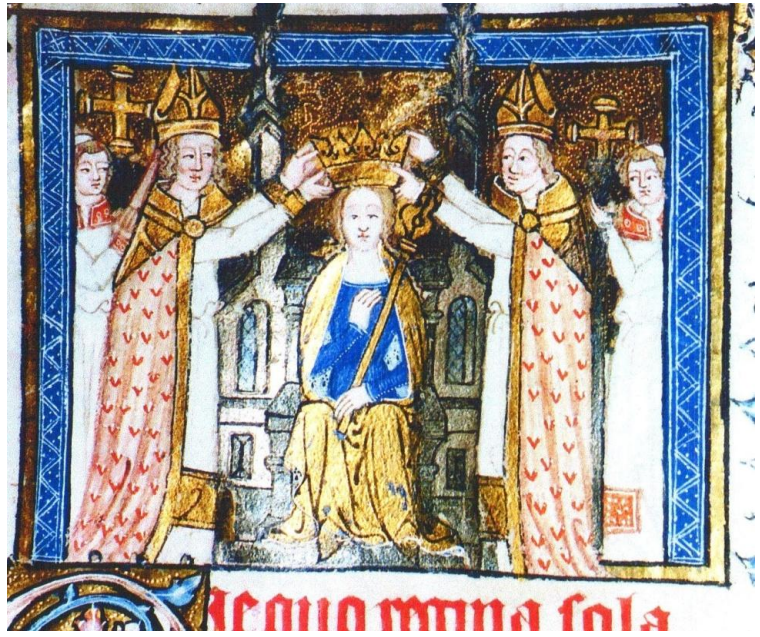
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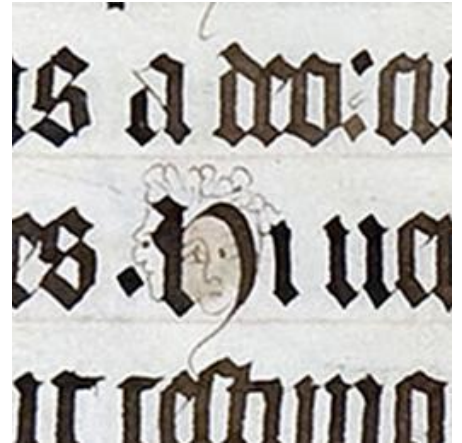
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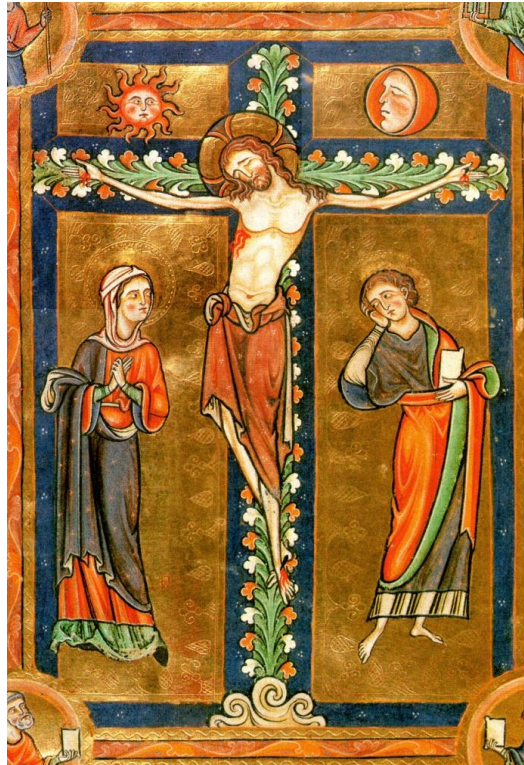
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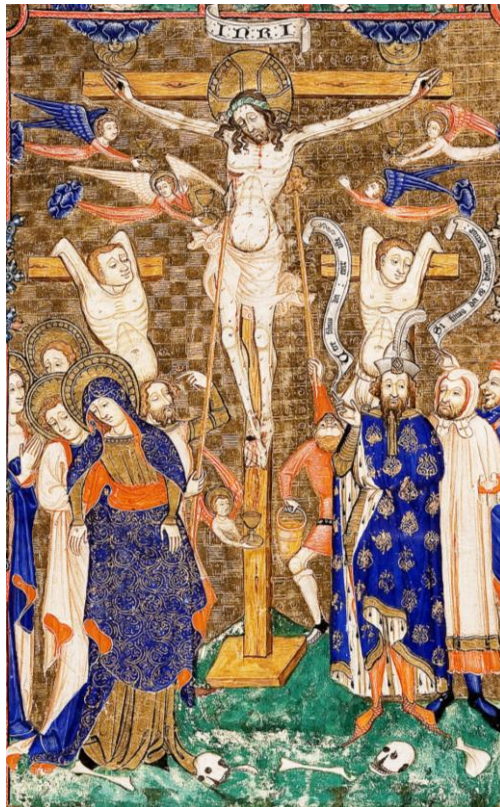
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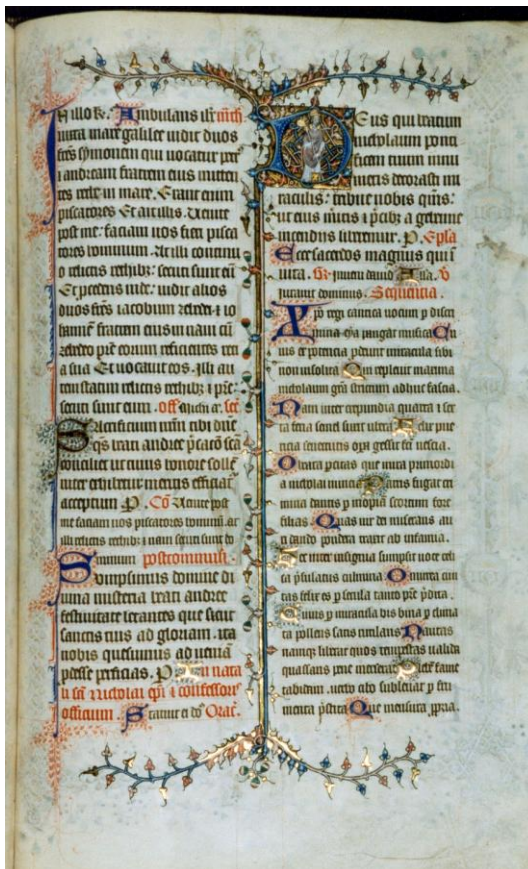
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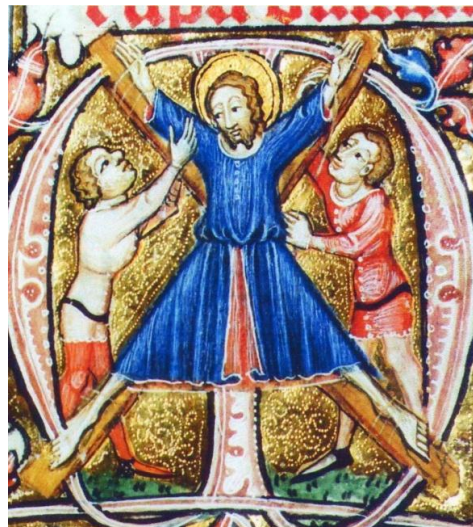
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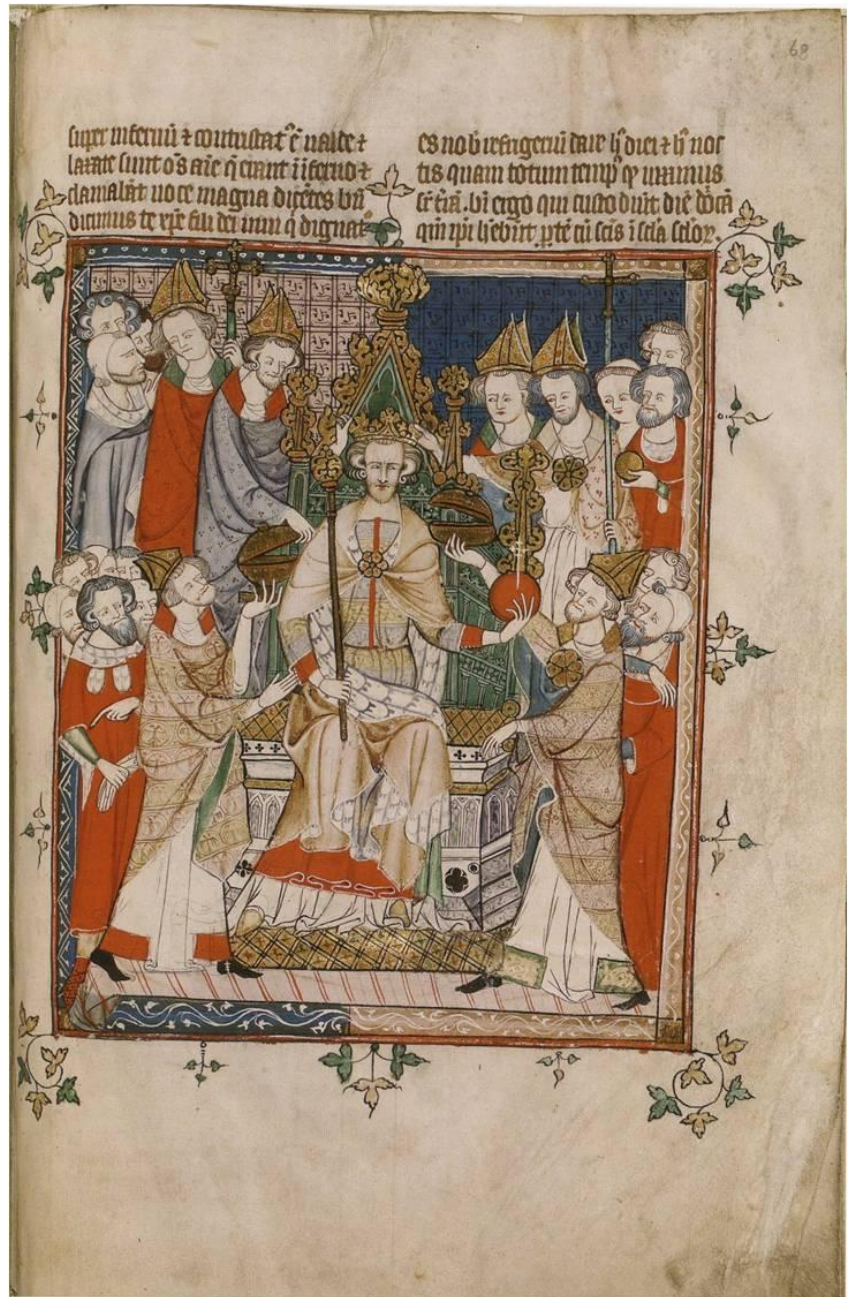
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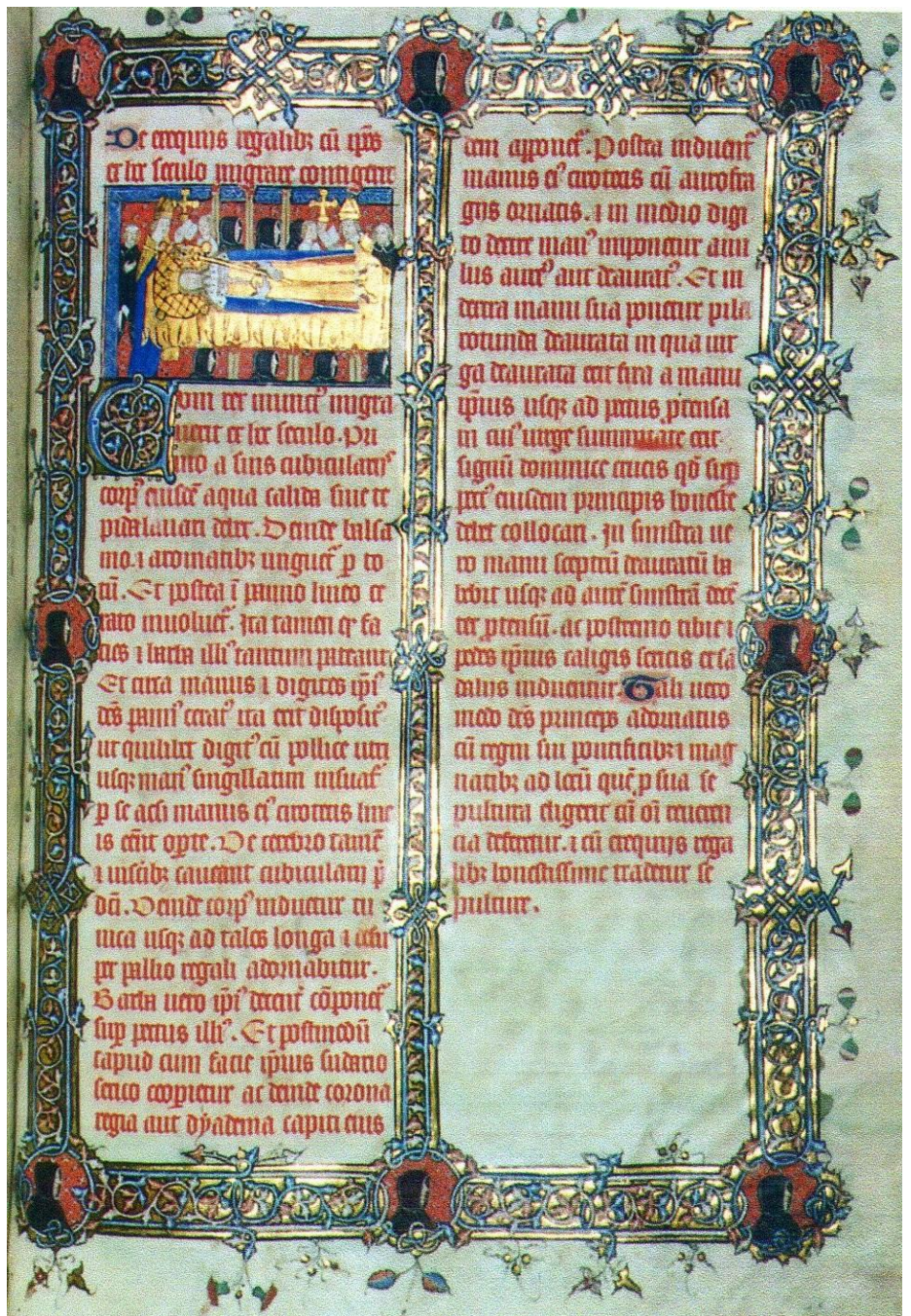
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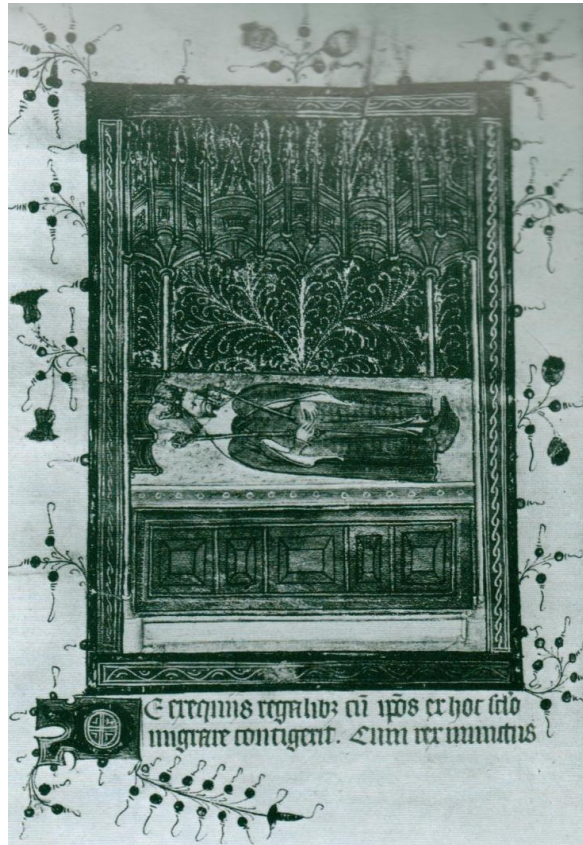
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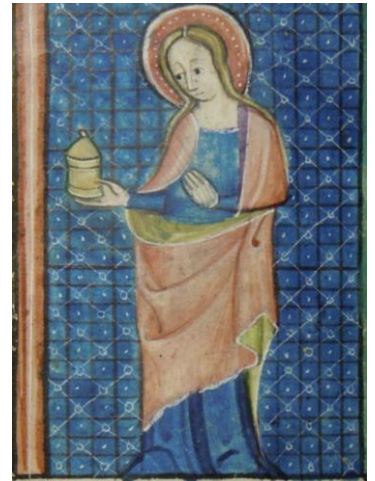# Chapter Five

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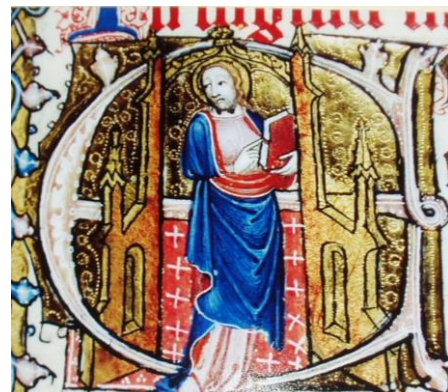
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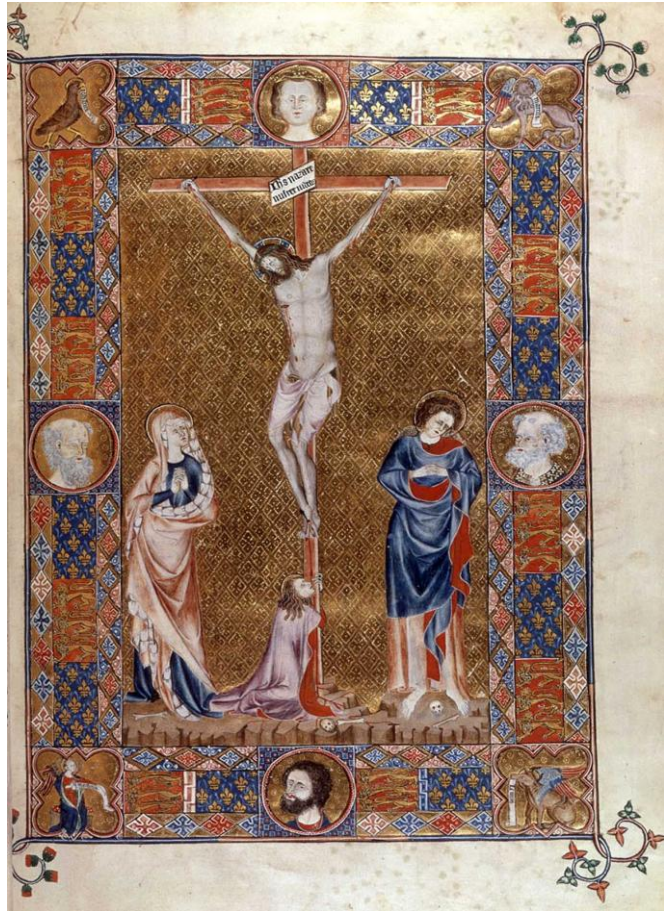Fig. 5.23: Sanctorale Artist's Purification of the Virgin initial, fol. 230r

Fig. 5.24: Crucifixion, Gorleston Psalter, BL, MS Add 49622, 1320-30, fol. 7v

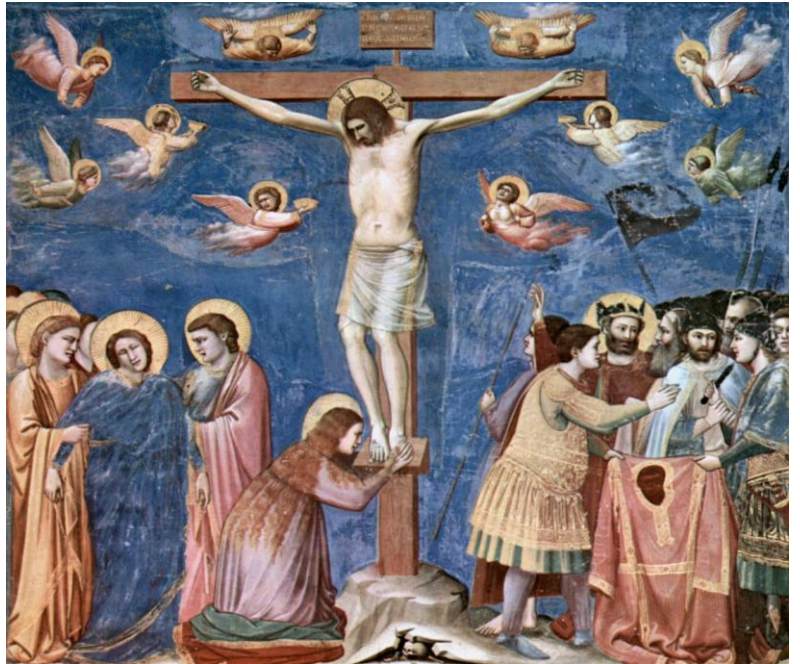Fig. 5.25: Paolo Venziano, *Crucifixion* tempera on panel, c.1340, National Gallery, Washington D.C.

Fig. 5.26: Giotto di Bondone, *Crucifixion,* fresco, 1305, Arena Chapel, Padova

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Fig. 5.31: Abraham and Isaac, penwork initial , Litlyngton Missal, fol. 217v
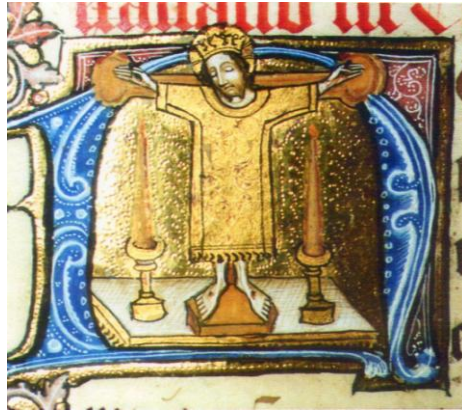

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