

Two French Manuscripts: WLC/LM/6 and WLC/LM/7

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THE WOLLATON LIBRARY COLLECTION INCLUDES two 13th-century French vernacular manuscripts, MSS WLC/LM/6 (Plates 4–5, Figs 8–9) and WLC/LM/7 (Plate 10, Fig. 10). WLC/LM/6 is a lengthy miscellany with 83 illustrations in the form of small framed miniatures in half a text column, of which 68 illustrate the characters and actions in the various narratives and 15 are decorative panels containing hybrid motifs or birds. It has received attention mostly from the various text editors, and has usually been dated late in the 13th century.¹ However, its codicological and decorative features allow this opinion to be radically modified, returning to the date in the first quarter of the 13th century proposed by W. H. Stevenson in 1911 and Henri Omont in 1912.² Here I examine the decorative and artistic context to which the manuscript belongs and concur with Omont's early 13th-century date and with Terry Nixon's view that WLC/LM/6 is 'the earliest fully illustrated romance collection'.³

WLC/LM/7 is an incomplete copy of the *L'estoire del Saint Graal*, the first branch of the popular *Lancelot-Grail* romance in French prose. Although it contains no illustration, codicological features corroborate Ponceau's view that WLC/LM/7 falls very early in the manuscript tradition of the *L'estoire* for which a date in the first quarter of the 13th century may also be posited.⁴ The distribution of its party-bar (two-colour) pen-flourished initials (see Plate 8) shows that a system of markers was developed early in the textual tradition and was expanded upon and accompanied by illustrations in later copies.

MS WLC/LM/6

THE BEGINNINGS of the illustration of literary manuscripts in French are confined to a handful of manuscripts with a limited number of pictures. This is in sharp contrast to Latin texts such as the Lives of the Saints which were copied across Europe as fully illustrated

¹ *La Chanson d'Aspremont: Chanson de geste du XII^e siècle, texte du manuscrit de Wollaton Hall*, ed. L. Brandin, Les Classiques français du Moyen Age, 2 vols (Paris, 1923), 1:vi ('troisième quart du XIII^e siècle'), followed by all the other text editors.

² HMC, pp. 221–34; H. Omont, 'Manuscrits de lord Middleton conservés à Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 73 (1912), 200–6.

³ T. L. Nixon, 'The role of audience in the development of French vernacular literature in the twelfth and early thirteenth century: with a descriptive catalogue of manuscripts' (PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1989), p. 447.

⁴ *L'estoire du saint Graal*, ed. J.-P. Ponceau, Classiques français du Moyen Age 120–1, 2 vols (Paris, 1997), I, pp. xxvii, xlvii, xlviii.

shrine books from the 11th century onwards.⁵ Even Pseudo-Turpin's Latin account of the campaign of Charlemagne in Spain and the Battle of Roncevaux was illustrated from the mid-12th century with narrative pictures, beginning with Santiago de Compostela, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 1, written and illuminated by French craftsmen.⁶ If the early 13th-century *Architrenius* of Master Johannes Havillensis (Edinburgh UL, MS D.b.VI.6), has only a single historiated initial of Xerxes sailing over Mount Athos and crossing the Hellespont,⁷ the late 12th-century Virgil has a series of historiated initials (BNF lat. 7936), and Latin texts continue to enjoy a robust illustrative tradition through the 13th century.⁸

The earliest literary manuscripts in French are only sparsely illustrated. A single historiated initial in the late 12th- or early 13th-century *Tristan* of Thomas (BodL MS Fr. d.16, fol. 10^r) depicts the eponymous hero playing the harp and possibly singing (the paint on the face has flaked, so one cannot be sure),⁹ and the famous 'Guiot' manuscript of Chrétien de Troyes also has a single historiated initial, at the opening of the *Chevalier de la charette*, depicting Marie de Champagne, at whose request the text was written (BNF MS fr. 794, fol. 27^r).¹⁰ The Guiot manuscript has been related to a large number of manuscripts, many of them in French, illuminated or decorated in the style of the Manerius Bible, Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MSS 8, 9, 10.¹¹ Whereas the Bible is beautifully and extensively illustrated with historiated initials, the vernacular manuscripts are considerably more limited in their decoration.

Against this background, WLC/LM/6 marks an exciting new departure since its 83 illustrations are without antecedent among vernacular manuscripts in French.¹² They take the form of small framed miniatures set in half a text column (Plates 5a–m). These replace the first letter of the first word that follows, suggesting that a format of historiated initials rather than miniatures was originally envisaged, as was the case with the *Tristan* and *Chevalier*

⁵ Important examples made in France in the late 11th or early 12th century are the Lives of Saints Martin of Tours, Aubin of Angers, Omer of Saint-Omer, Quentin of Saint-Quentin, the Miracles of Sainte-Foi de Conques, and many others.

⁶ A. Stones, 'Four Illustrated *Jacobus* Manuscripts', in *The Vanishing Past: Studies in Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler*, ed. A. Borg and A. Martindale, BAR International Series 111 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 197–222; A. Stones and J. Krochalis, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela, Critical Edition*, 2 vols (London, 1998), I, pp. 28–30, pl. 19–21.

⁷ C. R. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh, 1916), pp. 30–31, assigning it to England.

⁸ F. Avril, 'Un manuscrit d'auteurs classiques et ses illustrations', in *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, ed. J. Hoffeld (New York, 1975), pp. 261–82.

⁹ The initial marks the introduction of Tristan's musical accomplishments as he sings a lay. For other instances of early Tristan iconography, see A. Stones, 'The Artistic Context of Some North French Illustrated *Tristan* Manuscripts', in *Materiality and Visuality in the Story of Tristan and Isolde*, ed. J. Eming, A. M. Rasmussen, K. Starkey (Notre Dame IN, forthcoming).

¹⁰ See *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. K. Busby, T. Nixon, A. Stones, L. Walters, 2 vols (Amsterdam and Athens GA, 1993). Copied by Guiot in Provins, it is attributed to the second quarter of the 13th century and was perhaps a commission by Thibaut le Chansonier. See also the exhibition catalogues, *Splendeurs de la Cour de Champagne au temps de Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. T. Delcourt and P. Stirnemann (Troyes, 1999), pp. 11 (fig.), 15, 38, cat. no. 34, and *La Légende du roi Arthur*, ed. T. Delcourt (Paris, 2009), pp. 21, 42, 58, 98, 100, cat. no. 23.

¹¹ P. Stirnemann, 'Some Champenois Vernacular Manuscripts and the Manerius Style of Illumination', in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, I, pp. 195–226, and P. Stirnemann, 'Une Bibliothèque princière au XII^e siècle', in *Splendeurs de la Cour de Champagne*, pp. 36–42 and cat. nos. 32–45.

¹² The texts and subjects of the illustrations are listed in the Appendix below.

de la charette referred to above.¹³ The historiated initial format was also chosen for the two earliest illustrated Arthurian manuscripts in prose, Modena, Bibl. Estense, MS E 39 (*olim* α L 9 30) (Robert de Boron's *Joseph* and *Merlin* in prose, followed by *Perceval* in prose, *Mort Artu* and a *Lapidaire*, ending incomplete, Plate 6f), and Rennes, Bibl. mun., MS 255 (*L'estoire del Saint Graal*, *Merlin*, and a fragmentary *Lancelot* in prose; Plates 6a–e).¹⁴ These are the two literary manuscripts which, despite many differences, offer the closest parallels for WLC/LM/6. Other literary manuscripts mentioned below are much more sparsely illustrated.

Both Rennes and Modena are larger in format than WLC/LM/6: Rennes measures 434 × 310 mm, and is written in three columns of 45 lines; Modena measures 310 × 215 mm and is written in two columns of 38 lines. Both Rennes and Modena were written above top line,¹⁵ in large elegant scripts (several related scribes wrote Rennes 255) with few abbreviations. While WLC/LM/6 was also written above top line it is a smaller, more oblong book, measuring only 297 × 200 mm, written in two columns of 48 lines, and its scripts are correspondingly smaller and more compressed. All three manuscripts have minor decoration consisting of pen-flourished initials in red and blue, alternating, with flourishing in the other colour. In Rennes these initials are rare but elegant, in gold and blue, in a single quire in the *Lancelot* section (quire T, fols 145–152^v; Plate 6d); in Modena (Plate 6f) and WLC/LM/6 they are used throughout, although in WLC/LM/6 there are two flourishers at work, a major decorator who uses a light shade of blue and does extremely neat if exuberant flourishing, and a second decorator who uses a darker shade of blue and whose flourishing might be described as sloppy (in the *Ille et Galeron* section, quires Q, R, S, fols 157–187^v; and half-way through the *Aspremont* section to the end of *Raguidel*, quires AA–GG, fols 313–335^v, with the exception of fols 306 and 314 (Fig. 8) which may be the work of a third pen-flourisher). Of interest in WLC/LM/6 is the occasional use of flourished descenders in the ink of the scribe, a feature which suggests that the scribe may have also been the primary flourisher (especially noteworthy on fols 153^v, 161^v–164 [Plate 4], 224^v).

Rennes 255 has 57 historiated initials, several initials with animal motifs drawn from the bestiary (Plates 6a–b), similar to the animal initials in WLC/LM/6 (Plates 5a, h and j).¹⁶ All the illustrations to *L'estoire* and the opening historiated initials of *Merlin* (Plate 6c) and *Lancelot* are narrative in content and depict subjects that depend closely on the text, but there is only one more illustration in the *Merlin*, and most of the initials in the rest of the *Lancelot* section are by a lesser artist, working in a smaller format (four-line initials as opposed to seven or eight lines), often depicting a single figure with little or no relation to the text. There are also several changes of decorator in the *Lancelot* section of Rennes. Modena E 39 has 15 historiated initials and two gaps where initials have been removed. The illustrations, though tiny in scale and poorly preserved, are all closely dependent on the text.

¹³ There are many letters written in leadpoint in the margins of WLC/LM/6, corresponding to the letters displaced by the miniatures. They may have been guide letters, put in at the planning stage, or they may have been added later.

¹⁴ A. Stones, 'The Earliest Illustrated Prose Lancelot Manuscript?' *Reading Medieval Studies* 3 (1977), 3–44.

¹⁵ That the text is written above the top ruled line suggests that it was written before c. 1240. See N. R. Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line": A Change in Scribal Practice', in *Richard Irvine Best Memorial Volume*, ed. M. Dillon [*Celtica* 5] (Dublin, 1960), pp. 13–16.

¹⁶ Illustrated on <http://www.lancelot-project.pitt.edu>. See S. Cassagnes-Brouquet with M. Clouzot, *Les Romans de la Table ronde: premières images de l'univers arthurien* (Rennes, 2005).

Modena lacks initials that are painted in full colour but are non-narrative in content. This is a feature that Rennes and WLC/LM/6 have in common. In both manuscripts these initials are the work of the main artist.¹⁷

Whereas the Rennes manuscript was most likely made in royal circles in Paris c. 1220 and is stylistically related to the cluster of royal psalters and to the early Moralised Bibles and other books, the Modena manuscript is extremely hard to place stylistically, and parallels are not readily forthcoming. I tentatively suggest the region of Champagne or north France, the former because it provided an important patronage base at the turn of the 12th to 13th century, although none of the manuscripts discussed by Stirnemann look quite like Modena; on the other hand, the characteristic shape of the historiated initials with borders designed in a rectilinear step-pattern arrangement is similar, for instance, to the format of the initials in the noted missal of Arras, Bibl. mun., MS 888 (13th century, second quarter?) and in the Bible, Arras, Bibl. mun., 561(1)/Boulogne, Bibl. mun., MS 4 (mid-13th century?).¹⁸ But the small-scale figures of Modena remain unmatched. Among the Chrétien manuscripts, the sparsely illustrated (two historiated initials) and poorly preserved manuscript Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 354, written above top line, perhaps offers the closest stylistic analogy.¹⁹ Terry Nixon compared it with the *Roman de Troie* written (also above top line) in 1237, Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 3340, with a single historiated initial at the beginning, depicting the walls of Troy.²⁰

As noted above, Rennes is similar to WLC/LM/6 in its choice of decorative initials containing non-narrative motifs unrelated to the text – birds, harping animals, a centaur (Plate 6b), lions, eagles (Plate 6a), a sciapod (Plate 6e) – some of which are motifs borrowed from the bestiary tradition. Occasionally the choice fits the text, so that an eagle initial is placed at a passage where blindness is discussed in the text. In WLC/LM/6 these initials are distributed across all the texts, according to a rationale that is now difficult to reconstruct. Some are hybrid creatures, not derived from the bestiary, but others depict an eagle (fol. 227^r; Plate 5j), a pelican apparently ripping its breast, but without its young (fol. 218^v; Plate 5h), a griffon biting its tail (fol. 217^r); a lion with flowering tail (fol. 213^r). There are more of these motifs in the *Roman de Silence* than in the other texts, suggesting that textual markers were needed but subjects from the text had not been planned for that section.

In terms of numbers of illustrations, WLC/LM/6 contains many more than either Rennes or Modena, and they differ in format, as noted above. Overall they are considerably less specific to the text than those in Rennes and Modena. While most of them are broadly appropriate to their textual context, the depiction of particular details from the text is rare – Emenidus

¹⁷ In WLC/LM/6 they seem to me perfectly consistent with the work of the miniaturist in framing, draughtmanship, and colour palette, contrary to the opinion of L. Thorpe, *Le Roman de Silence: Thirteenth-Century Arthurian Verse Romance by Heldris de Cornuälle*, (Cambridge, 1972), p. 6, and M.-R. Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France au Moyen Age*, Romanica Helvetica 114 (Basle, 1996), p. 131.

¹⁸ These may be consulted on the website Mandragore: <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html>.

¹⁹ Bern 354 has been assigned variously to northern Champagne, Nièvre, Allier and Haute-Marne (summary in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*, cat. 10).

²⁰ Ibid. See also C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, 7 vols (Paris, 1959–85), I, pl. 12; and, for the iconography, A. Stones, 'Seeing the Walls of Troy', in *Manuscripts in Transition*, ed. B. Dekeyser and J. Van den Stock (Leuven, 2005), pp. 161–78.

lacing up his mail chausses (fol. 240^v; Plate 5k) and Hector's squire attaching the lacing on Hector's helmet (fol. 84^r; Plate 5c) are both exceptional. Many illustrations depict a single figure, a portrait of the author, shown writing (fol. 126^v), holding his text (fol. 188^r; Plate 5g), pointing to the text (fol. 137^v), or the hero of the story (Alexander, fol. 224^r; Charlemagne, fol. 244^v; King Manuel, fol. 277^v). Occasionally single figures seem to be misunderstandings, as Emenidus at the end of the *Fuerre de Gadres* (fol. 270^r). Standard scenes are two figures talking; two or three riders riding; a pair of lovers (fols 170^r, 195^v, 333^v; Plate 5l). Overall there is a general avoidance of the complexity of battle and the drama of death, even in the *Roman de Troie* and the *Chanson d'Aspremont*, and many colourful events narrated in the various texts are not depicted in the illustrations – Girart having Agolant buried and his head (still in its helmet) embalmed at the end of *Aspremont*, Namles' fight with the giant bird and killing the bear and leopard earlier in the story.

Nevertheless, the number of miniatures marks an impressive beginning to what would develop in the course of the 13th century into a serious interest in illustrating French texts with captivating details of the stories. The miniatures in WLC/LM/6 were considered (at an uncertain date) precious enough to be protected with silk, of which the sewing holes may still be seen on many folios (e.g. fol. 244^v). It is notable that there are no traces of preliminary notes or sketches as is often the case with the invention of a new set of illustrations, as in the late 13th-century *Roman de la rose*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 376,²¹ or Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, San Marino CA, Huntington Library, MS HM 3027.²² Rennes 255 and Modena also lack such guides, although they, too, appear to stand at the beginning of their respective illustrative traditions.

Questions remain as to when and where WLC/LM/6 was made, and for whom. Whereas later ownership by the Laval family is attested by the 14th-century inscription on fol. 249^v, 'cest liure est Madame de la Val', the notion that an ancestor of the couple, such as Gui de Laval and Béatrix de Gavre (married in 1286), was responsible for the commission, must remain speculative. Certainly 1286 is far too late for the making of this manuscript. Similarly, the dedication to Thibaud de Blois, count of Champagne (d. 1191) in the epilogue of *Ille et Galeron*, unique to WLC/LM/6, is most likely too early for this manuscript and was probably copied from its exemplar.²³ If Rennes and Modena, dating in all likelihood at the end of the first quarter of the 13th century, offer some analogies for WLC/LM/6, neither is stylistically comparable. The palette of WLC/LM/6 with its bright colours and an emphasis on orange, white, green and blue shading from dark to light tones is not matched in either Rennes or Modena.

I suggest that WLC/LM/6 may be related to a cluster of very distinguished psalters made in monastic circles in northern France at the end of the 12th century, not in Champagne but further north, on the border of Artois and Flanders. Two manuscripts in particular offer a similar palette of light bright colours on gold in which an orange/light green palette is

²¹ E. König with G. Bartz, *Der Rosenroman des Berthaud d'Achy: Codex Urbinatus latinus 376* (Stuttgart, 1987).

²² J. J. G. Alexander, 'Preliminary Marginal Drawings in Medieval Manuscripts', in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*, ed. X. Barral I Altet (Paris, 1990), pp. 307–20 (at pp. 308–9, fig. 2); A. Stones, 'Indications écrites et modèles picturaux, guides aux peintres de manuscrits enluminés aux environs de 1300', in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique*, pp. 321–49 (at pp. 328–9, fig. 13).

²³ *Gautier d'Arras, Ille et Galeron*, ed. P. Eley, Kings College London Medieval Studies 13 (London, 1996), p. xv.

prominent. Both are now housed in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague. One is the so-called 'Fécamp Psalter' (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F 13). It is very fully illustrated, with 36 calendar miniatures depicting the Labours of the Months, 27 full-page miniatures of the Infancy and Passion of Christ, an unidentified lay female donor, presumably the patroness, and 11 historiated initials illustrating the major divisions of the psalter.²⁴ Walter Cahn outlined reasons why this psalter could well have been made for use at the Augustinian house of Ham (county of Artois, diocese of Thérouanne) – the relics of St Waningus, who is prominent in the calendar, were transferred there from Fécamp in the 9th century.²⁵ There may also be stylistic connections to a second manuscript, the 'Saint-Bertin Psalter', The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76 F 5.²⁶ Often called a 'Picture Bible', it has a remarkably extensive series of 45 full-page prefatory miniatures in two registers, depicting scenes from the Old and New Testaments and the Lives of the Saints. The manuscript was owned by the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer, also in the county of Artois and diocese of Thérouanne, and was most likely made there. Both these manuscripts have been attributed to the last quarter of the 12th century. They are, of course, very much more copiously illustrated than the miscellany WLC/LM/6, but an early literary manuscript with illustrations is likely to have emanated from a cultural context in which distinguished devotional books were being produced for wealthy monastic and lay patrons.²⁷ Saint-Omer is mentioned by name in the *Chanson d'Aspremont* (line 295 in Brandin's edition) and Saint-Omer continued a productive centre throughout the 13th century. Many distinguished books were made there for lay, clerical, and monastic patrons alike.²⁸

As a coda I mention another remarkable set of small rectangular miniatures in a French literary manuscript, which may stand in some kind of relationship to WLC/LM/6: the Provençal Chansonnier H, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 3207. It contains a series of eight portraits of *trobaritz*.²⁹ They are repetitious, all showing the poetess standing in three-quarter profile and declaiming, gesturing in the direction of the adjacent text, the figures set against a patterned background in red, blue, green or yellow and outlined in black. Attributed to the end of the 13th century and to the region of Padua or Treviso, these simple illustrations, however, display a striking similarity to some of the portraits in WLC/LM/6, suggesting that a re-examination of the date and cultural context of Chansonnier H is called for.

²⁴ Fully reproduced on the Koninklijke Bibliotheek website (<http://www.kb.nl/manuscripts/>).

²⁵ W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, 2 vols (London, 1996), 2:160–1, no. 134, pl. 328–32.

²⁶ Fully reproduced on the Koninklijke Bibliotheek website. See also Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 2:165–67, no. 138, pl. 336–8 and colour pl. XVI.

²⁷ See A. Stones, 'L'enluminure au temps de Jeanne de Constantinople et Marguerite de Flandre', in *Jeanne de Constantinople, comtesse de Flandre et de Hainaut*, ed. N. Dessaux (Paris and Lille, 2009), pp. 177–89 (at p. 189).

²⁸ Many are discussed in *Saint-Omer Gothique, les arts figuratifs à Saint-Omer à la fin du Moyen âge, 1250–1550: peinture, vitrail, sculpture, arts du livre*, ed. M. Gil and L. Nys (Valenciennes, 2004); see also A. Stones, 'La Production de manuscrits littéraires aux environs de 1300: entre Cambrai et Saint-Omer, les mécènes et les liens stylistiques de leurs peintres', in *L'Invention littéraire autour de 1300*, Colloque international de la Fondation Charles Bally, ed. H. Bellon-Méguelle (Turnhout, forthcoming).

²⁹ J. Anglade, 'Les Miniatures des chansonniers provençaux', *Romania* 50 (1924), 593–604; A. Rieger, "Ins e.l cor port, dona vostra faisso", *Image et imaginaire de la femme à travers l'enluminure*

MS WLC/LM/7

Although it lacks historiated initials or miniatures, WLC/LM/7 is decorated with pen-flourished initials both small (three-line) and large (eight-line, with party-coloured bars in red and blue). The large initials are placed at narrative switches which match the placing of illustrated markers in other copies of the *L'estoire*. Several of the other unillustrated *L'estoire* manuscripts adopt a similar format of large pen-flourished initials.³⁰ What makes WLC/LM/7 particularly important is that, unlike the other pen-decorated *L'estoire* manuscripts, it was written above the top line of ruling as were WLC/LM/6, Rennes 255 and Modena E 39 discussed above. WLC/LM/7 is comparable therefore to the very earliest manuscripts transmitting the long version of the story of the early history of the Holy Grail. It is one of the control manuscripts collated by Ponceau with Rennes 255, his base manuscript for the second half of the text. WLC/LM/7 is likely to be comparable in date to Rennes 255 for which I posit a date c. 1220, as noted above. The question remains as to which of the two came first, and whether, therefore, illustrations were planned from the start, or whether the set of textual markers (in the form of large decorated initials) were forerunners to full-scale historiated initials or were merely a cheaper way of including textual breaks. Both kinds of initials served to enable the reader/viewer to find his or her place and to break up the narrative into sections for reading in several stages, while the historiated initials and miniatures depicted highlights of the story as well.

A comparison among WLC/LM/7 and other *L'estoire* manuscripts dating around 1285 or earlier suggests that WLC/LM/7 was in fact a trend-setter in terms of how the text was broken into readable or viewable sections. Compare its use of large party-bar initials with those of another pen-flourished copy, BL MS Royal 19 C.xii, and with three illustrated copies, Rennes 255, Le Mans, Médiathèque Louis Aragon, MS 354 and Paris, BNF MS fr. 770 (Plates 6d, 7b, 8). Royal 19 C.xii is of indeterminate north French provenance, perhaps Paris because its small neat script is quite like that of Paris, BNF MS fr. 339 (containing *Lancelot*, *Queste*, and *Mort Artu*), which I attribute to Paris, c. 1250.³¹ Le Mans MM 354 (written by Walterus de Kayo) and BNF fr. 770 are both likely to come from Douai or its region since their illustrator also worked on two important manuscripts made for use at Douai: the Martyrology and Obituary of Notre-Dame-des-Prés, Douai

dans les chansonniers de troubadours', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 28 (1985), 385–415; M. Careri, *Il canzoniere provenzale H* (Vat. lat. 3207): *Struttura, contenuto e fonti* (Modena, 1990); M. Careri, in 'Intavolare' *Tavole di canzonieri romanzati ... I ... Canzonieri provenzali*, 1. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Città del Vaticano, 1998), pp. 293–371; E. W. Poe, *Compilatio: Lyric Texts and Prose Commentaries in Troubadour Manuscript H* (Vat. Lat. 3207), *The Edward C. Armstrong Monographs on Medieval Literature* 11 (Lexington KY, 2000); J.-L. Lemaître and F. Vielliard with L.-D. Arnould, eds, *Portraits de troubadours. Initiales du chansonnier provençal A* (*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Vat. lat. 5232, *Studi e Testi* 444 (Città del Vaticano, 2008), annexe, pp. 97–103, figs. 46–52; U. Peters, *Das Ich im Bild: Die Figur des Autors in volkssprachigen Bilderhandschriften des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Pictura et Poesis* 22 (Cologne, 2008), p. 23 n. 14, p. 25 n. 19, p. 26, p. 27 n. 27, p. 38 n. 85, p. 47.

³⁰ BL MS Add. 32125; Cambridge UL, MS Additional 7071 (both English, late 13th or early 14th century); BNF MS fr. 12582 began in the first quire as a pen-flourished manuscript to which miniatures were added in margins; after the first quire small miniatures in half a text column accompany party-bar pen-flourished initials (from Metz? c. 1275?); BL MS Royal 19 C.xii, BNF MS fr. 747, Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 2997 (all north French, c. 1250).

³¹ See *La Légende du roi Arthur*, ed. T. Delcourt (Paris, 2009), cat. no. 72.

(OCist), Valenciennes, Bibl. mun., MS 838, and the psalter-hours of the use of Saint-Amé, Douai (OSB), Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS BR 9391; many other manuscripts cluster around these.³²

There are no places marked with a large initial or a miniature in Royal, Rennes, Le Mans, or BNF fr. 770 that are not also marked by a large pen-flourished initial in WLC/LM/7. On the other hand Rennes, Le Mans and BNF fr. 770 all lack a prominent marker at the opening of the section corresponding to WLC/LM/7, fol. 1^r, at *Molt durererent longuement cil arbres en cel color* ... This is a place that is not commonly marked in later manuscripts; exceptions are Berkeley, University of California Library, MS 106 (c. 1250–75 ?), Paris, BNF MS fr. 24394 (c. 1275–85 ?) and BL MS Add. 10292 (1317), but not MS Add. 10292's sister manuscripts, BL MS Royal 14 E.iii and Amsterdam, Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica, MS 1.³³ The initial of MS Add. 10292 seems unprepossessing, but it is an important marker, as this is the only case in the manuscript where a champ stands on its own without an accompanying miniature, whereas in Rennes the small champ is the type of initial generally used for paragraph breaks, so the place is not specially singled out for attention.

There are two additional cases where Rennes lacks historiated initials to correspond with breaks in WLC/LM/7 (fols 43^v, 52^v), and one case where Royal 19 C.xii lacks a corresponding initial (between fols 41 and 46^v). Thus WLC/LM/7 has more major markers than the other manuscripts, suggesting that the others are reductions of an earlier, more fully marked, format. At the same time Rennes, Le Mans and BNF fr. 770 offer a more extensive level of decoration for the markers they do include, so that one or both of the final episodes at Josephé's tomb and Celidoine's departure are marked in WLC/LM/7 and Royal and illustrated in Rennes and BNF fr. 770, and marked with large champs in Le Mans (Plates 7a–b). Le Mans has less historiation than either Rennes or BNF fr. 770, using champs in eleven cases where Rennes and BNF fr. 770 give a historiated initial or miniature. This suggests that Le Mans was a cheaper product, but one which nonetheless respected established section breaks. It remains to correlate these findings with the other unillustrated and illustrated copies. Several later copies, notably BNF MS fr. 344 (late 13th century); Amsterdam, BPH MS 1; and BL MS Add. 10292 (dated 1317), BNF MSS fr. 105, 9123 (c. 1320–30), include more illustrations than the early manuscripts referred to here. They pictorially emphasize parts of the text which are left without markers in WLC/LM/7 and the other early copies, such as Josephé's second Grail Mass and the King Crudens/King Agrestes events in England and the final episode about the murder of King Lancelot. This suggests that a simpler set of markers was devised at the start and that the makers or patrons of later copies elaborated upon it in various ways, expressing interest in different parts of the text through their pictorial choices. These are preliminary findings, however, and full confirmation of the sequence of development in *L'estoire* illustration would require consideration of the other copies, illustrated and unillustrated, a task which is beyond the scope of the present essay.³⁴ So far the results

³² Ibid., nos 34 and 35, with reference to dating arguments made more fully in *Les Manuscrits de Chrétien de Troyes*.

³³ Other manuscripts that mark this place in the text are (in chronological order) BL MS Add. 32125; BNF MSS fr. 19162, fr. 95, 1426. See A. Stones and E. Kennedy, 'Signs and Symbols in the *Estoire del saint Graal* and the *Queste del saint Graal*', in *Signs and Symbols*, ed. J. Cherry and A. Payne, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 18 (Donington, 2009), pp. 150–67 (pp. 158–9).

³⁴ Illustrated *L'estoire* manuscripts dating before c. 1275 are BodL MS Douce 303; Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 476(644), which also includes an *Image du monde* written by Jaquemin d'Acre in 1271; and Berkeley, University of California Library, MS 1106 (see 'Signs and Symbols', pl. 12).

suggest that careful thought was given from the beginning to the question of marking, with WLC/LM/7 positioned at that beginning.

Where and when WLC/LM/7 was produced is not an easy matter to determine. It contains only one hint among the marginal notes – the tantalizing reference to the Abbess of Fontevrault (Fig. 10). Was the inscription an indication that the book was a loan from the abbess to the person who wrote the note, or had it written? Why was the note written on a middle folio and not on a first or last page, or a flysheet? Questions remain. Monastic manufacture has been suggested for Berkeley 106 as noted above, painted perhaps by an artist of Jumièges (OSB), Normandy, c. 1275.³⁵ I further suggest that the pen-flourishing in an early (written above top line) copy of the *Lancelot*, BNF, MS fr. 1430 (Plate 7c), might have links to production and/or ownership by the Abbey of Pontigny (OCist).³⁶ More might eventually be made of an ecclesiastical context for the making and owning of the *Lancelot-Grail* manuscripts. So it is worth drawing attention to WLC/LM/7 and its decoration, in the hopes that eventually the dating, placing, and understanding of the manuscript and its position in the tradition of the *L'estoire* and the *Lancelot-Grail* romance may emerge more clearly.

APPENDIX

The Illustrations of WLC/LM/6

ILLUSTRATIONS are numbered continuously, with a following folio number to indicate the place of the illustrations. Editions are listed at the beginning of each text. Many of the images are damaged where paint has either flaked or been removed at an uncertain date; this is especially unfortunate on the faces of figures.

Benoît de Sainte-Maure, *Roman de Troie* (fols 1^{ra}–156^{rb})

Line references are to *Le Roman de Troie par Benoit de Sainte-Maure*, ed. L. Constans, SATF, 6 vols (Paris, 1904–12); summaries follow M.-R. Jung, *La Légende de Troie en France au Moyen Age*, Romanica Helvetica 114 (Basle, 1996), pp. 124–33.

33 half-column miniatures in coloured frames, of which four contain decorative motifs. Heraldry occasionally is depicted with a correct combination of metal (with white for *argent*) and colour; but is often shown as colour on colour, disregarding basic rules of heraldry, and is therefore described below in general terms.

No title.

- 1 fol. 12^r Hesione, wearing a white robe and orange cloak, stands holding a flowering branch (v. 2183: Hercules sets out against Troy).
- 2 fol. 14^v (Plate 5a) A dragon with tail ending in a foliage motif. (v. 2601: In the battle outside Troy, Castor is assisted by Pollux).
- 3 fol. 20^v Hector stands before King Priam, addressing him (v. 3771: Council of the Trojans).

³⁵ The attribution is by F. Avril, reported in ‘Signs and Symbols’.

³⁶ For Pontigny manuscripts, see M. Peyrafort-Huin, P. Stirnemann and J.-L. Benoît, *La Bibliothèque médiévale de l’abbaye de Pontigny (XII–XIX^e siècles): histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits, Documents, études et répertoires publiés par l’Institut de recherché et d’histoire des texts 60* (Paris, 2001).

- 4 fol. 40^v Hector stands wearing a red tunic and holding a blue cloak over his arm, gesturing towards the text (v. 7641: List of the chieftains of the second battle).
- 5 fol. 44^r Hector couching his lance, riding to the right, holding a blue and white shield, his horse's housing orange with three black lions rampant (v. 8329: Hector sets out to kill Patroclus).
- 6 fol. 55^v Blue bear on gold ground (v. 10561: Beginning of the third battle).
- 7 fol. 66^v Knight riding out of city of Troy (v. 12691: Beginning of the sixth battle: a single knight stands for the Trojan army: 'Mais de la vile s'en eissierent/E cil de l'ost les recoillirent ...').
- 8 fol. 68^v Priam's forces (three men, representing 'li duc, li prince et li conroi Prianz') ride out (v. 13065: Agreement between Greeks and Trojans resulting in the exchange of Antenor for Thoas).
- 9 fol. 69^r Hector and Achilles, on horseback, address each other, raising hands in speech (v. 13135: Interview between Hector and Achilles).
- 10 fol. 73^r (Plate 5b) Hector (housing and shield *argent* [white] *semé of lions sable*) and two of his men ride out of Troy, all holding their lances aloft, with small white banners attached (v. 13907: Beginning of the eighth battle).
- 11 fol. 78^v Hybrid with three heads: serpent, bird, human head, wearing a hood (v. 14977: Truce before the ninth battle).
- 12 fol. 84^r (Plate 5c) Hector (surcoat, shield and housing *argent* [white] *semé of lions sable*) and a squire riding; the latter adjusts the helmet of the former (v. 16007: [H]ector escoute et or et uoit ... en son cief a son heaume asis/lacie ia uns damoisiaux.' This, I think, is a literal depiction of the following lines describing a damoiseil lacing up Hector's helmet and not, as Jung thought (129), an illustration of the death of Hector according to the *Histoire ancienne* model as depicted in BNF, MS fr. 20125 fol. 133v, where Hector leans over to remove the helmet of a knight he has killed and is speared in the back by Achilles as he does so. Cf. fr. 20125, reproduced on the website, Mandragore).
- 13 fol. 85^v King Priam, holding a sceptre, points to the text (v. 16317: Beginning of the lamentations).
- 14 fol. 88^v Palamedes and two companions riding; Palamedes points (v. 16881: Council of the Greeks and election of Palamedes).
- 15 fol. 92^r Winged mermaid (v. 17489: Anniversary of the death of Hector; Achilles falls in love with Polixena. Jung (130) wonders if the siren might be a reference to Polixena).
- 16 fol. 98^v Paris, wearing a petal-shaped helmet, aims his bow; no adversary is shown (v. 18841: In the middle of the 12th battle, Paris has just killed Palamedes with an arrow).
- 17 fol. 100^v Two knights ride. The one in front has a housing orange with two black battle-axes and couches his lance; the other holds his lance vertically, with a small white banner attached; his shield is *azure a fleur de lis argent* [white] (v. 19207: Beginning of the 13th battle).

- 18 fol. 106^r Two groups of Greeks addressing each other, one extending his arm in speech (v. 20341: Council of the Greeks before the 16th battle).
fol. 107^r In the bottom margin, a box-like drawing in leadpoint with eight compartments with a standing figure (?) in one of them.
- 19 fol. 109^r Achilles, arm extended, pointing with his finger, addressing a man who listens, raising his hand (v. 20865: This corresponds only generally to the text since there is no mention of a particular conversation between Achilles and another person; however, the image could refer to Achilles ordering the dead to be buried, as in lines 20875–8, ‘... seveli furent/Solonc lor lei, si come il durent./N’i remest cors a enterrier/Ne chans ne place a delivrer’).
- 20 fol. 113^r Inside Troy, shown as a crenellated structure, two men [*sic*] grieve, holding heads on hands (v. 21687: Priam grieves; Hecuba laments Troilus).
- 21 fol. 115^v (Plate 5d) Achilles raises his sword and extends his hand draped in a green cloth to two men (Antilocus, who also raises his sword, and Paris? or *vice versa*?) (v. 22187; Death of Achilles: the picture illustrates lines 22189–90, ‘Son braç molt tost et molt isniel/A ien entors de son mantiel ...’).
- 22 fol. 118^r Paris rides, holding a green shield, raising his lance which has a long white pennant attached (v. 22635: Paris rides out to the 20th battle, in which he will be killed).
- 23 fol. 121^v King Priam tells Queen Penthesilea (grieving, head on hand), that her children are dead (v. 23395: Penthesilea’s grief).
- 24 fol. 124^r Two Greek knights ride, holding lances with pennants raised; the one in front carries a shield *argent* [white] *a bend gules* (vv. 23843–4: ‘... Bien ordené e bien devis/Se sont tuit a la veie mis’).
- 25 fol. 126^v The Author Dictis seated, writing (v. 24397: Dictis rewrites Dares’ story).
- 26 fol. 128^v King Priam’s men ask the king to make peace (v. 24801: Priam and his men discuss terms for peace).
- 27 fol. 133^v (Plate 5e) King Priam orders three men to move the reliquaries (‘les saintualires’) (shown as a cross on a column/altar) (v. 25809: The reliquaries transported out of the city, an exceptional image, as noted by Jung (131)).
- 28 fol. 136^r Cassandra, in white, holding a ring (?) stands before Agamemnon who sits cross-legged holding a sceptre (his crown defaced) (v. 26299: Cassandra given to Agamemnon).
- 29 fol. 137^v The Author, pointing to the words of the text (cf. Dictis on fol. 126^v) (v. 26591: ‘[E]nsi com io uos ai conte/Onques en lestoir ai troue ...’. After the death of Hecuba, the introduction of the disputation of the Palladion).
- 30 fol. 144^r Four men riding: Ulysses, Diomedes and Palamedes and a fourth man riding towards the well in which Palamedes will be stoned (v. 27847: The miniature is placed in the middle of the account given to Nauplius of the death of his son Palamedes, illustrating lines 27849–51).
- 31 fol. 146^r Orestes rides back to Athens (badly rubbed) (v. 28295: Orestes returns to Athens).

- 32 fol. 147^v King Menelaus gives Hermione (wearing white) to Orestes (seated), in marriage (v. 28533: King Menelaus recognises Orestes' valour).
- 33 fol. 153^v A man (a *devin*), sitting cross-legged, listens to Ulysses telling his dream (v. 29815: Beginning of the second and last episode of Ulysses, illustrating v. 28923).

As Jung has noted, there is no interest in depicting full-scale battles, and the deaths of heroes are similarly absent, represented only by a lead-in scene (in the case of Hector) or a follow-on scene (Paris with his bow, having killed Palamedes, whose death is not shown). On the other hand, the detail of the helmet-attaching on fol. 84^r and the lead-in to the death of Achilles on fol. 115^v are instances where the pictures follow exactly what the text says. The 'io' of line 26591 (fol. 137^v) is rendered as an author-portrait. Notable is the Christianisation of the sanctuary motif on fol. 133^v.

Gautier d'Arras, *Ille et Galeron* (fols 157^{ra}–187^{va})

Line references are to *Gautier d'Arras, Ille et Galeron*, ed. F. A. G. Cowper, SATF (Paris, 1956).

List of subjects of the illustrations on p. xv, n. 3.

No title.

- 34 fol. 157^r Agnus with cross staff and banner with small red cross; orange-red frame (line 1).
- 35 fol. 158^r (Plate 5f) Male hybrid holding small black bow (not Ille as a child, as per Cowper; line 205).
- 36 fol. 160^r The vilein Rogelyon as a knight riding, couching his lance and holding a shield orange a C-shaped crescent white; his horse's housing *azure semé of crescents* (C-shaped) *argent* [white] (line 591).
- 37 fol. 164^r (Plate 4) Ille addressing the emperor of Rome, who stands, pointing a finger at him, holding a loop of his vair-lined cloak with his right hand and a fleur-de-lis sceptre in his left; Ille asks for a modest place in the Roman army (line 1342).
- 38 fol. 170^r Ille and Ganor, daughter of the emperor, holding hands (line 2496).
- 39 fol. 175^v Ille, now appointed seneschal, asks permission of the emperor (seated, holding sceptre) to return to Brittany to search for Galeron (line 3354).
- 40 fol. 185^r (Plate 5m) Portrait of Ganor, wearing a ringlet in her hair and a vair-lined cloak (line 5392).

As Cowper has noted, the illustrations privilege the Roman component of the story and Ille's relationship with Ganor, to the exclusion of Galeron.

Heldris de Cornuälle, *Le Roman de Silence* (fols 188^{ra}–223^{rb})

Le Roman de Silence, Thirteenth-Century Arthurian Verse Romance by Heldris de Cornuälle, ed. L. Thorpe (Cambridge, 1972), from this unique manuscript; the frontispiece reproduces fol. 188^r, and the subjects of the illustrations are described on pp. 6–8.

No title.

- 41 fol. 188^r (Plate 5g) The author Heldris de Cornuälle seated, one hand on open book on desk, the other holding fold of cloak; wearing a grey hat. Guide letter C [*sic*] in left margin (line 1)

- 42 fol. 195^v The Count of Chester addressing Eufemie, daughter of Count Renalt de Cornuälle and handmaid of Queen Eufeme, wife of King Ebains. He holds a red fleur-de-lis sceptre and raises his hand to Eufemie who is robed in white with a ringlet in her hair, holding the cord of her blue cloak (line 1433).
- 43 fol. 199^r This badly rubbed miniature probably shows the nurse wearing white and holding the baby Silence, girl child of Cador and Eufemie who is to be brought up as a boy if Cador is to retain his rights to the County of Cornwall, facing Eufemie who points her finger – or *vice versa* (line 2127).
- 44 fol. 201^r Thorpe (p. 7) read this as two men, possibly the seneschal and Cador, in conversation, presumably about Silence being brought up with the seneschal's son. One figure (face rubbed) is seated, holding the fold of his cloak and pointing a finger at the other figure who stands. However, the miniature precedes the passage where Nature and Environment debate this decision and disagree with each other, so an alternative reading would be the two personified (although such personifications would normally be shown as female figures). Shortly after this, Cador explains to Silence why he has had her brought up as a boy, so a third possible reading is that the seated figure is Cador and the standing one is Silence dressed as a boy; against this is the depiction of Silence as a child in the following image (fol. 203^r), although line 2500 gives her age as 12 years old at this point (line 2497).
- 45 fol. 203^r Two (female ?) jongleurs with Silence, one of whom holds her hand. Here she is shown as a child (line 2921).
- 46 fol. 206^v Cador, crowned, standing, holding the fold of his cloak, addresses an old man (or is this Silence dressed as a man, on her return from the jongleurs ?) (line 3593).
- 47 fol. 209^r Queen Eufeme and Silence sitting together on bench; Eufeme addresses Silence with whom she has fallen in love (badly rubbed) (line 4027).
- 48 fol. 211^r Silence, her foot outside the picture frame, kneels and hands a scroll to the King of France; this is the letter originally written by King Ebains asking that Silence be well received at the French court, but for which Queen Eufeme has substituted a letter requesting the immediate execution of Silence; the exchange of letters is revealed upon the king's request to Ebains of confirmation of its contents (line 4459).
- 49 fol. 213^r Lion (not a dog as per Thorpe) with flowering tail (line 4781).
- 50 fol. 214^v King Ebain's chancellor, his foot on the miniature frame, explains to the King how the letter was exchanged. The chancellor holds emblems of his office – a staff with a belt and small pouch attached to it (line 5069).
- 51 fol. 217^r Griffon biting its tail (line 5557).
- 52 fol. 218^v (Plate 5h) Pelican ripping its breast (but not, as is usually the case, feeding its young); as a symbol of Christ, this image relates to the following lines which refer to God (line 5879).
- 53 fol. 221^r Merlin as man (badly rubbed) sitting on red mound; Merlin is playing a madman and is asked to explain his laughter or his head will be chopped off. (He laughs for several reasons, including that Silence is a woman in disguise and that a disguised nun is Queen Eufeme's lover.) (line 6299).

- 54 fol. 222^v Silence stands naked before King Ebains, whom she will marry once Queen Eufeme and her disguised nun-lover have been executed (miniature badly rubbed) (line 6582).

C'est d'Alixandre (*Le Fuerre de Gadres*) (fols 224^r–243^{vb})

The Medieval French 'Roman d'Alexandre', ed. E. C. Armstrong *et al.*, SATF and Elliott Monographs in the Romance Languages and Literatures 36–41, 6 vols (Princeton NJ, 1937–42), esp. vols II and V, to which reference is given, following D. J. A. Ross, *The Illustrations of the Old French Alexander in Verse*, ed. M. Simon and A. Stones (forthcoming). It should be noted that this manuscript gives a variant version in which the laisses are sometimes out of sequence in relation to Armstrong's edition.

- 55 fol. 224^r Alexander crowned, enthroned, facing frontally (face rubbed), seated on a faldstool with dragon-head knobs and claw feet (II, 74, laisse 1, line 1).
- 56 fol. 227^r (5j) An eagle, wings spread, head turned to the right, possibly a theriomorphic capital (II, 84, laisse 23, line 488).
- 57 fol. 229^v Gadifer riding to the right, wearing mail (showing the lacing of the 'chausses', a pot-helm, prick spurs, and a shield shown from the inside). The horse's housing is striped red and yellow with a narrow white line between the stripes (II, 100, laisse 52, line 1189).
- 58 fol. 231^r Salatin riding to the right, in full armour, holding a shield *gules* with an erased charge. The horse's housing is *argent semé of martlets sable* (II, 91, laisse 38, line 787).
- 59 fol. 232^v A grey-blue canine creature, male and with a bushy tail and lop ears, advancing towards the left, looks back to the right; possibly a theriomorphic capital (V, 20, Version B, laisse 61, line 1).
- 60 fol. 234^v The riderless horse of Duke Betis of Gadres (unhorsed in the two previous laisses), with reins broken and trailing, a saddle and cloth, and a white housing with a faint pattern of two leaves hanging from a central stalk (II, p. 112, laisse 73, line 1740).
- 61 fol. 237^r Gadifer again, riding to the right, holding a shield *gules a bordure argent, in dexter canton a cinquefoil voided argent* (not the same charge as on fol. 229^v). His horse's housing is the opposite: *argent semé of cinquefoils voided gules* (V, 46, Version B, laisse 85, line 1).
- 62 fol. 239^r A grotesque green two-legged monster with claws, a canine head and foliate prolongations like a forked tail, looking back over its shoulder to the left (II, 106, line 1476).
- 63 fol. 240^v (Plate 5k) Emenidus, wearing full armour, seated on a green bank, faces left and laces up the mail of his left chausse (V, 60, Version B, laisse 104, line 1). As Ross noticed, this depends directly on line 8 of the text, 'A terre est descendus pour ses cauces lachier ...'.

- 64 fol. 243^r Emenidus (face rubbed), wearing civilian clothes of a long green robe and a red cloak, holds out his left hand, wrapped in his cloak, and makes a gesture of speech with his right hand; at this point Emenidus urges Alexander to leave him and the other wounded behind and ride on and take vengeance on the enemy (V, 82, Version B, laisse 124, line 1).

As Ross noted (*The Illustrations*), miniature 9 is the only one that really depicts what the text says. Furthermore, Ross detected no iconographical parallels with any other illustrated version of Branch II of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, nor with any other illustrated manuscripts of this part of the *Roman*.

La Chanson d'Aspremont (fols 244^{va}–303^{vb})

L. Brandin, ed., *La Chanson d'Aspremont, Chanson de geste du XII^e siècle, texte du manuscrit de Wollaton Hall*, 2 vols. Les Classiques français du Moyen Age (Paris, 1923). Brandin gives a list of miniatures but does not identify the subjects.

Title: C'est d'Iaumont et d'Agoulant

- 65 fol. 244^v Charlemagne enthroned holding sword and orb (laisse 1).
- 66 fol. 246^v Standing youth holding fold of cloak, hand to face. Cf. BNF MS fr. 2495, fol. 71^r, red capital A (laisse 23: Charlemagne entertains Balan, the envoy of the pagan king Agolant, at dinner).
- 67 fol. 253^r Two knights ride, one in helmet, one in chain mail coif. The one in front has an orange surcoat, a shield *argent* [white] *a fess gules*, a housing orange semé of cinquefoils sable; the other has a green surcoat and housing. Cf. fr. 2495, fol. 88^r, with variant (laisse 96: Charlemagne and his men ['Cent miliomes', not two] ride to Aspremont).
- 68 fol. 255^r Between two trees, Duke Namles stands in front of his horse, which dips its head behind frame (drinking?) (laisse 117: Namles dismounts under a tree at night time; he encounters bear cubs and a bear, which he kills; another bear and a leopard appear; he kills the leopard, whereupon the bear runs off).
- 69 fol. 257^r The Saracen Gorhans leads Namles before the Saracen king Agolant, who sits with legs crossed, pointing at them; cf. fr. 2495, fol. 97^r, D, red capital (laisse 138: Having spared the life of Gorhans, Namles is led by him before Agolant).
- 70 fol. 259^r (Page is badly torn and sewn; miniature badly erased.) Namles stands before Charlemagne, recounting his adventures at Aspremont. Cf. fr. 2495, fol. 102^v S, red capital (laisse 153: Namles presents Charlemagne with the claw of the huge bird that had attacked his horse; A. Jeanroy, 'Sur un épisode de la *Chanson d'Aspremont*', *Romania* 60 [1954], 85–8, derives this episode from the *Descriptio itineris Hierosolymitani*).
- 71 fol. 260^v Knight on horse, couching lance, housing *argent* [white] *semé of fleurs de lis* (rubbed) *azure*. To judge by the heraldry, this is one of Charlemagne's knights, representing the army who at this point advances towards King Aumons (laisse 165: Aumons asks Hector, king of Val Penée, whose army is advancing towards them).
- 72 fol. 269^r Griffon with flowery tail (laisse 262: Ansquetin the Norman comes to the rescue of Ogier, who is fighting Aumon).

- 73 fol. 270^v Knight rides, lance held diagonally in hand, housing *argent* [white] *bendy sinister sable*; presumably this is Girars, who delivers an encouraging speech to his men in *laisse* 272.
- 74 fol. 274^r Hybrid man wielding large axe, wearing red cap (*laisse* 294: Aumon son of Agolant weeps for his dead men; one of them, Sinagon, is wounded by Namles).
- 75 fol. 277^v King Manuel, seated frontally holding sceptre; his other hand holds fold of cloak as he pleads for peace (*laisse* 322).
- 76 fol. 282^v Charlemagne standing, holding sceptre and fold of cloak (*laisse* 363: Guitekins suggests a strategy to Charlemagne).
- 77 fol. 288^r Seated man (Agolant) sits cross-legged, holding fold of garment and pointing to standing knight wearing chain mail and helmet and holding his lance point up onto the frame of the miniature; Agolant is here addressing his (dead) son (*laisse* 419).
- 78 fol. 294^r Roland and Graelans ride, holding a white banner ('*Cascuns d'aus ot sa lance sus levee/La grant enseigne avoit desvelopee ...*', lines 9509–10); the rider in front has a housing orange semé of fleurs-de-lis *sable* (*laisse* 463: Roland and Graelant enter the battle; Graelant attacks Calides).
- 79 fol. 299^v The author, standing, hand on hip, pointing to text ('[S]egnor baron plaist uos a escoter/Por qoi l'en doit le duc Girart amer ...') (*laisse* 508: because Girart founded an abbey [Vézelay is not named] and had the body of Agolant buried in the palace and the head, still in its helmet, embalmed so that it could be viewed).

La Vengeance Raguidel (fols 304^{ra}–335^{vb})

Raoul de Houdenc, *La Vengeance Raguidel*, ed. G. Roussineau (Geneva, 2004), based on WLC/LM/6. Illustrations listed on p. 66 and reproduced on pp. 138–41.

Title: De roi Artut

- 80 fol. 304^r Kings Engenor and Aguisait addressing King Arthur who sits holding a sceptre, other hand resting on his knee, his legs uncrossed (l. 1).
- 81 fol. 318^r Gauvain and le Chevalier Noir conversing together (l. 2703).
- 82 fol. 328^r Hooded male hybrid with long tail and wings (l. 4595).
- 83 fol. 333^v (Plate 51) In a crenellated room, Gauvain, holding a sceptre, lays his hand on the shoulder of Greviloïne, thus expressing his assent to her marriage to Yder. (l. 5621; cf. lines 5934–6; as noted by Roussineau [67], Gauvain holds a sceptre as the future inheritor of his uncle, King Arthur).

Gautier le Leu, *Fabliaux* (fols 336^r–345^{vb})

Ending incomplete. Unillustrated.