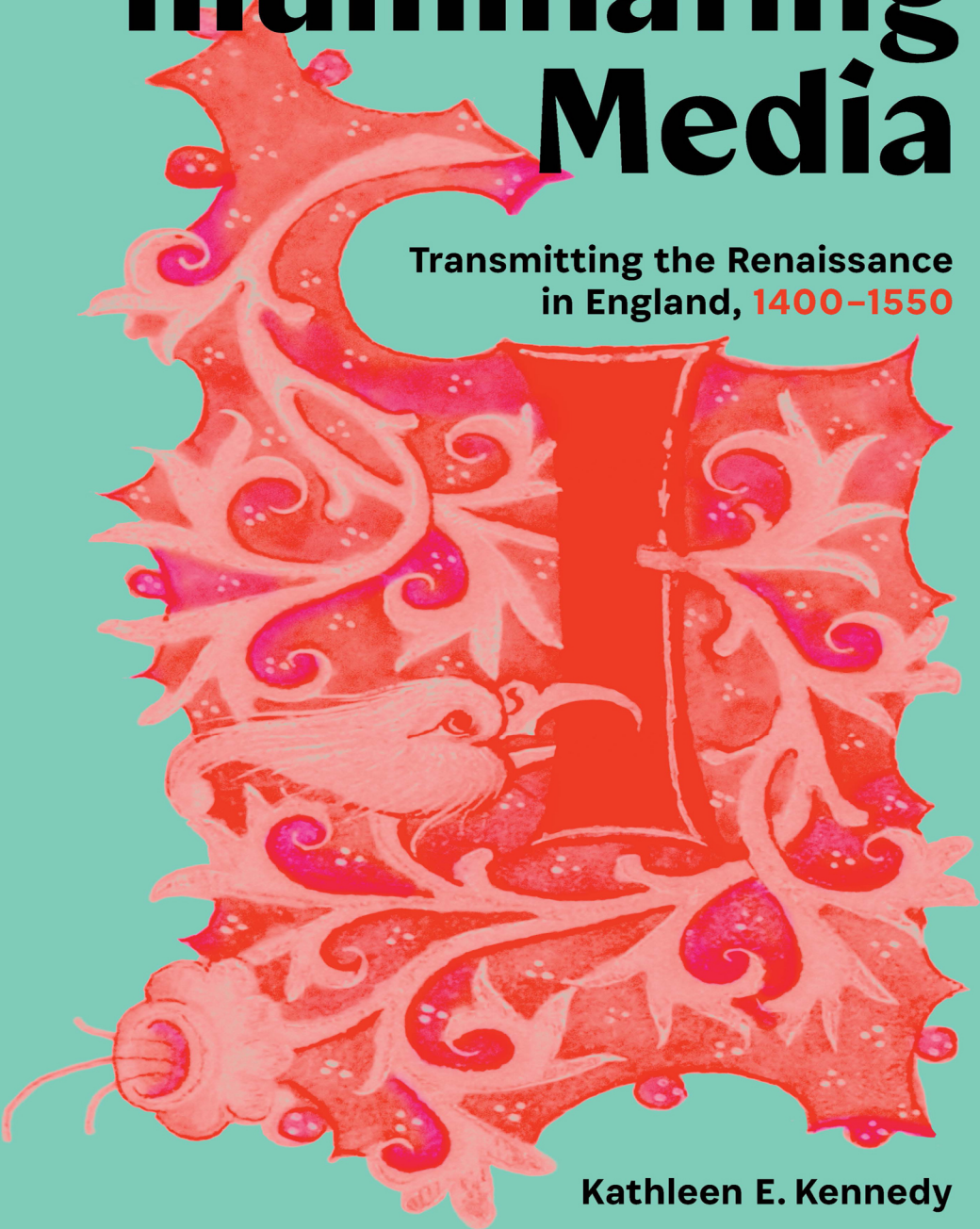


Illuminating Media

**Transmitting the Renaissance
in England, 1400-1550**



Kathleen E. Kennedy

The overlooked art of late medieval English manuscript illumination—its initials, borders, and non-figurative designs—finally receives its first book-length examination. Far from being mere decoration, the designs that adorned manuscripts during the age of Chaucer, the Wars of the Roses, and the rise of the Tudors reveal a dynamic visual culture long dismissed by art historians. In this groundbreaking work, Kathleen E. Kennedy argues that English aniconic illumination—ornament that avoids depicting human figures—offers vital insights into aesthetics, communication, and design in a transformative period of history.

Bridging medieval studies, media studies, design history, and communications, Kennedy demonstrates how these manuscripts embody early Renaissance artistic strategies and anticipate modern notions of user experience. *Illuminating Media* highlights the surprising endurance of these visual strategies in contemporary culture, from the design of passports to the layout of currency. Written in crisp, engaging prose, the book offers a new way of seeing both medieval art and modern design, making a powerful case for the value of interdisciplinary scholarship.

ILLUMINATING MEDIA

Media Before 1800

Media Before 1800 brings cutting-edge discoveries from the disciplines of manuscript and early-print studies into conversation with the interrelated disciplines of media archaeology, infrastructure studies, and media ecology. The “1800” of this series title comes from Friedrich Kittler, whose description of the 1800 discourse network continues to influence the dominant periodizations of media history. Books in Media Before 1800 examine media from the medieval and early modern periods to make challenging and politically efficacious claims that engage with the discourses of critical theory, cultural studies, media history, and media archaeology. In particular, they complicate the established narratives and counter-narratives of periodization to look for alternative configurations of the relation between past and present. The series is edited by Daniel Kline, Fiona Somerset, and Stephen Yeager.

TITLES IN THE SERIES:

Old Media and the Medieval Concept: Media Ecologies Before Early Modernity,
edited by Thora Brylowe & Steven Yeager (2021)

Illuminating Media: Transmitting the Renaissance in England, 1400–1550,
Kathleen E. Kennedy (2026)

Illuminating Media

TRANSMITTING THE RENAISSANCE IN
ENGLAND, 1400–1550

Kathleen E. Kennedy

Concordia University Press
Montreal

Copyright Kathleen E. Kennedy © 2026
CC BY-NC-ND

*Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing
in Publication*

Every reasonable effort has been made to acquire permission for copyright material used in this publication, and to acknowledge all such indebtedness accurately. Any errors and omissions called to the publisher's attention will be corrected in future printings.

Cover: Natalie Olsen, Kisscut Design
Design and typesetting: Garet Markvoort,
zijn digital
Proofreading: Saelan Twerdy
Index: Kathleen E. Kennedy

This book is set in Janson Text, based on seventeenth-century matrices cut by Miklós (Nicholas) Tótfalusi Kis for Dutch typeface designer Anton Janson, with strong main strokes and fine hair strokes inspired by copper engraving. This contemporary version was developed by Horst Heiderhoff for Linotype.

This book is printed on Forest Stewardship Council certified paper and meets the permanence of paper requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Concordia University Press's books are available for free on several digital platforms. Visit www.concordia.ca/press

First English edition published in 2026 10
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

978-1-988111-70-4 | Paper
978-1-988111-71-1 | E-book
978-1-988111-96-4 | PDF

Title: Illuminating media : transmitting the Renaissance in England, 1400-1550 / Kathleen E. Kennedy.

Names: Kennedy, Kathleen E., 1975- author

Description: Series statement: Media before 1800 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: Canadiana (print)
20260129674 | Canadiana (ebook)
20260129739 | ISBN 9781988111704 (softcover) | ISBN 9781988111711 (EPUB) | ISBN 9781988111964 (PDF)

Subjects: LCSH: Illumination of books and manuscripts, English. | LCSH: Illumination of books and manuscripts, Medieval—England. | LCSH: Illumination of books and manuscripts, Renaissance—England. | LCSH: Art, Medieval—England. | LCSH: Renaissance—England.

Classification: LCC ND3128 .K46 2026 | DDC 741.6/47094209023—dc23

Funded by the
Government
of Canada

Financé par le
gouvernement
du Canada

Canada

Concordia University Press
1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd. W.
Montreal, Quebec H3G 1M8
Canada

Concordia University Press gratefully acknowledges the generous support of the Birks Family Foundation and the Government of Canada.

This book has been supported by a British Academy Global Professorship, a Publications Grant from the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, and generous support for image reproduction and open access by the Yorkist History Trust. Special thanks to Balliol College for permission to reproduce a manuscript image.

CONTENTS

Colour images appear between pages 110 and 111

Acknowledgements	ix
List of Figures	xv
Introduction	3
1 The Illumination That Isn't Art	21
2 The Anglo-Italian Humanist Initial, a Variant in an English Medium	41
3 Memorial Documents as Mass Media in Early Tudor England	67
4 Documenting Mid-Tudor Media Strategies and the Invention of Medieval Design	91
5 150 Years of Illumination, Lost and Found	111
Epilogue: England's Lost Early Renaissance	141
Notes	147
References	195
Index	199

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Honestly, this is the book that led me to the coconuts. As in the normal way of things, the idea for this book grew out of an earlier book, *Courtly and Commercial Art of the Wycliffite Bible* (Brepols, 2014). In researching for that project, I saw a great gap in work on later fifteenth-century manuscript art and its relationship to early printed decoration. Trained by Richard Firth Green and David Cressy to always read as widely as possible, I found myself browsing a fine, new edition of the records of the London Goldsmiths' guild looking for small metalware as type comparanda, when I stumbled onto coconuts, and my research took a sudden and unexpected turn. I had been concerned that there was little audience for a book about late fifteenth-century book decoration, but coconuts sold themselves, and I embarked on a fruitful journey into coconut history and the larger history of trade in global commodities in medieval England.

Therefore, it felt a bit surreal when, years later, and in the early stages of a global cataclysm, I received a British Academy Global Professorship in the summer of 2020 to write this very book and return to guild records for my original research purpose. Primary credit certainly goes to Ad Putter at University of Bristol, whose earlier Leverhulme Trust grant, "The Literary Heritage of Anglo-Dutch Relations, c. 1050–1550" (2018), had just begun when we put in our first proposal to the British Academy, and were able to connect my proposed research on the Dutch Masters of the Dark Eyes in England to his grant. The Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of Bristol provided my

institutional home during this strange and sometimes wonderful time, even as the British Academy underwrote my very presence in Britain.

The British Academy Global Professorships were designed to enable foreign researchers to relocate to England to do research that they could do nowhere else in the world, but my grant was awarded in the historic summer of 2020, and changes to the original grant plan became a running joke. I immediately had to delay taking up my grant, as the visa offices in the US were closed entirely at the time, due to the pandemic. I arrived in England between lockdowns, emerging from my fourteen-day quarantine in an apartment furnished with an air mattress and a camp chair to finally go outside, breathe the outdoor air, stretch my legs, run to the grocery store, and then return to my apartment again for the Christmas lockdown that year. My position did not start until January, and so I lived on what savings were left after an international move. The libraries remained closed or with very limited access through the first full year of my grant. In Year 1, I “researched my hard drive” and rewrote my book proposal to imagine a project I could do with limited library access to focus on a history of technology and media studies. In Years 2 and 3, the libraries reopened, and I started work on my grant project properly at last, rewriting my book proposal again in the form you now read. I worked assiduously, and that proved fortunate as, at the end of Year 3, the British Library and all its many attendant websites, from their catalogue and item request systems, to digitizations, to the English Short Title Catalogue, faced a massive cyberattack and had to be slowly rebuilt over the following years. As this book goes to press, the manuscript catalogue and the ESTC have only recently come back online. Most of the formerly digitized manuscripts remain offline. For fully half the duration of my grant I confronted the inaccessibility of the source materials of my research after having crossed an ocean to reach them. It feels almost folkloric that a scholar primed for survival in the twenty-first-century neoliberal academy could churn out a monograph and nearly a dozen articles

(and a short manuscript catalogue) during an otherwise illustrious grant that a pandemic and cybercrime weathered into something from the scratch-and-dent bin—and still face an uncertain academic future afterward.

Recently, at the British Library cafe, a friend from graduate school asked me if my goal was to be the iconoclast of Medieval Studies (thank you, Michael Johnston, the story is too good not to tell). I was rather surprised by this assessment, but he gestured at my record, noting that I'd proven Wycliffite Bibles to have been far less contraband than we had been taught, turned up coconuts and Arabic script all over later medieval England, found the patron of the *Corpus Troilus and Criseyde*, and was now proving that the English joined the Northern Renaissance just after Van Eyck. Accurate or not, his was a striking assessment of my publishing record, if also a joking one. Then I thought back to another staunch supporter, Fiona Somerset, asking me years earlier in a Q&A about how I find these things, like coconuts, that are all over the archival and material record, but are not recognized as important by scholars. I gave her much the same answer I was taught by my parents as a child: to find the animal hidden in the field, see the space around the animal. Yet, as a child I found this instruction impossible to put into practice. What was I doing, giving it to others? Since then, therefore, I have begun working to more deliberately and explicitly trace how and why these things have been elided from modern scholarship. Sometimes, as with the unremarkable nature of Wycliffite Bibles, the answer to why that interpretation was not pursued is relatively obvious, as Lollard history is caught up in histories of the Reformation. Other times, as with the erasure of coconuts, Arabic script, or fifteenth-century English Renaissance art, answers are more complex and can sometimes be disturbing. Moreover, revealing what are essentially new source bases in this way changes the cast of one's scholarship. Being first (or even early) rarely makes one the best interpreter of a source, which is the traditional goal of academic scholarship. But I

think that calling attention to that source, teaching how it came to be ignored in the first place, and offering some demonstration of things that might be done with it now that it is seeable within its cultural habitat, meets a different kind of need. Perhaps at an inflection point in the field's history, there might be space for this kind of scholarship, my kind of scholarship, too (whether or not that makes it iconoclastic).

Since some of my notes reach back to 2009, when I began work in earnest on *Courtly and Commercial Art*, the list of people who have assisted with this project is so long I cannot possibly name everyone individually. Indeed, while some of these helpers remain in post, many are now retired. Further, the field mourns Johanna Green, Will Noel, Anne Hudson, John King, and Mark Ormrod, all of whom enriched my work in different ways. My list of “well-willers” also includes many graduate students and early-career researchers who have not found regular academic employment in our shared field. As Erin Bartram put it so trenchantly, these losses represent “phantom pain where [our] colleagues should be... [we] are suffering from the effects of intentional systemic understaffing.”¹ Our field has become a profession's charnel house, and my own name will be inscribed there sooner or later, perhaps as soon as the end of my grant. There are no festschrifts for such as we. Who will sing *Placebo* and *Dirige* for our careers?

With a source base consisting of early books, in manuscript and print, librarians and archivists have been active collaborators in the preparation of this book. Their work preserving their collections and making them accessible to me quite literally underpins all of the research in the following pages. This volume exists only because they do. Librarians fetched hundreds of volumes off shelves for me across the US and UK. Librarians took time to snap sample photos for me and later assisted me in prioritizing research trips. Staff at the Bodleian Library, British Library, Lambeth Palace Library, and the London Guildhall Library have been especially vital to all the years of research for this book, but the warm welcome I found at college libraries across Oxford

and Cambridge, University of Glasgow, and University of Edinburgh, though during briefer and more rare visits, was also important. Closer to home, during my grant I completed a side project on Bristol-area manuscripts and have worked closely with Sophie Evans (Bristol Central Library) and Anne Lovejoy (formerly Bristol Archives), and I hope that the resulting descriptive catalogue can continue to express my thanks to them for their warm collegiality for many years to come.

Libraries have faced extraordinary times over the past fifteen years, even before the tragic British Library incident. I sweated in Duke Humphrey's Library during heatwaves as librarians laboured behind fans. Chilled by the cut-glass air-conditioning at the RSL reading room during the Weston renovations, I marvelled at the enormous labour occurring behind the desk to make that temporary encampment function at all, much less so nearly seamlessly. Now, the renovated Weston Library is full of every modern convenience, and change-makers have moved on to improving digital catalogues and request systems that increase efficiency in some areas and increase challenges for librarians in others. The British Library's reading rooms may have undergone less dramatic physical changes than Lambeth or the Bodleian during the years in which I researched this book, but like them, changes in contracts and simple count of years have altered staffing too, even before the cyberattack essentially shuttered reading rooms for months. Familiar faces disappear, and their posts are not always filled with new people to meet and get to know. We all contend with doing more with less, including fewer colleagues, every year.

Libraries are spaces of collaboration, and librarians are researchers' collaborators. When we lament the fate of research fields, we must also include libraries and librarians (and the archives and archivists) in that count of woe. This book being published open access is important to me in part because it allows me to put my research expertise at the service of my colleagues and their libraries and archives in the widest way at a time when the need for recognition of these institutions'

importance is acute. I hope to help them further publicize the richness of their collections, as they have helped me in accessing those collections. Therefore, I present to them this book, which is the fruit of all our work: may it be a beginning, rather than a final declaration.

In the end, a few more special mentions are in order. The international National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminars no longer exist, a victim of political change and fiscal belt-tightening, but the 2009 seminar, “The Reformation of the Book,” run by John King, James Bracken, and Mark Rankin, relaunched my work in book history after the publication of my first monograph. Without this seminar, I would not have written what I have. Think of John, and of Mark Ormrod, when you read this book. Thanks to Philip Kovacs and James Loxley for the music. My gratitude to Shauna Roach and Sarah Collinson for warm welcome. Rabia Gregory, Fiona Somerset, Valerie Mendez-Gallardo, Marie Wallin, Sandra Duffy, Jennifer Borland, Nahir I. Otaño Gracia, Virginia Blanton, Katie Hahn, Ryan Barrett, Stephen Yeager, Lawrence Warner, and Sebastian Sobocki have been indefatigable sources of support in a variety of ways over many years, and I thank them all.

LIST OF FIGURES

- 1.1. A sample of traditional English vinework.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 164, fol. 79r. Digitized samples at: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/04454998-b4a9-4e08-ab45-2ed6a20d58e2/surfaces/1a3d02ad-83f1-4e5a-8389-7e1c6ef85a05/>.
CC-BY-NC 4.0, explicitly inclusive of scholarly monographs and e-books under terms here: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/terms/>.
- 1.2. English vinework decorating a document dated 1524.
London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 74939. © British Library Board 2024.
- 2.1. An example of an Italian humanist page and a Florentine-style *bianchi girari* initial, ca. 1450.
New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 953, fol. 42r. Digitized at: <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/11007505>, public domain statement for out-of-copyright items at the link.
- 2.2. Anglo-Cortesian Initial.
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 285, fol. 4r. Image courtesy of The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Digitized at: <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/pw573ct5642>.
- 2.3. Example of the Caesar Master's *bianchi girari*.
Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College Library, MS 48, fol. 1r. Digitized at: <https://bibliophilly.library.upenn.edu/viewer.php?id=MS%2048#page/2/mode/2up>, CC-PDM 1.0 detailed at link.

- 2.4. A second-generation Anglo-Cortesian initial.
New Haven, Beinecke Library, ms Osborn a87, fol. 2r. Samples digitized at: <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/16813266>, public domain statement for out-of-copyright items at the link.
- 2.5. A second-generation Anglo-Caesar initial.
Oxford, Balliol College, ms 286, fol. 3r. Reproduced by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Balliol College.
- 3.1. Indenture decorated by the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England.
London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, 57077, fol. 2r. © Dean and Chapter of Westminster.
- 3.2. Indenture exhibiting heraldic strewn borders.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Barlow 28, fol. 1r. Digitized image available at: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/72803654-c768-4ea3-b4f4-4a510636a954/>, CC-BY-NC 4.0, explicitly inclusive of scholarly monographs and e-books under terms here: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/terms/>.
- 3.3. An indenture painted in Anglo-French style.
Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Library, CCA-DCC/ChAnt/w/48c, fol. 4r. Reproduced courtesy of the Chapter of Canterbury. Digitized in part at: <https://ims.canterbury-cathedral.org/viewpicture.tlx?advsearchid=1699635793&pictureid=29874132506>.
- 4.1. Illumination showing Italianate motifs in a heraldic style from one of the parchment *Assertio* copies.
Manchester, John Rylands Library, 18952, fol. a2r. Image provided by The John Rylands Research Institute and Library, The University of Manchester. Digitized samples at: https://luna.manchester.ac.uk/luna/servlet/view/search?q=reference_number=%2218952%22.
- 4.2. Sample page of the Trinity Guild Register (1546).
Luton, Wardown House Museum, 1984/127, fol. 122v. Courtesy of The Culture Trust.

- 4.3. An embroidered cap showing heraldic strewn motifs, ca. 1600.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.29, Rogers Fund, 1926.
Further digitized views at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/221706>, public domain details at the link.
- 5.1. Owen Jones's plate illustrating his own psalter-hours.
In Henry Noel Humphreys and Owen Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages: An Account of the Development of Illumination as a Distinct Branch of Pictorial Ornamentation from the IVth to the XVIIth Centuries* (London: Longman, 1844-49), 107. Digitized at: <https://archive.org/details/TheIlluminatedBooksOfTheMiddleAges/page/n107/mode/2up?view=theater>, public domain.
- 5.2. Jones uses a border based on his own manuscript to guide the reader through the text in *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*.
Digitized at: <https://archive.org/details/TheIlluminatedBooksOfTheMiddleAges/page/n105/mode/2up?view=theater>, public domain.
- 5.3. Plate 72 from Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*.
Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856), 225. Digitized at: <https://archive.org/details/grammarornamentooJones/page/n225/mode/2up?view=theater>, public domain.

ILLUMINATING MEDIA

INTRODUCTION

Although the period between c.1400 and c.1500 was largely static and conservative in its artistic vision and was in some respects a period of marking time between ages of greater stylistic advances, it cannot be denied its place as an age of experimentation that did not immediately come to fruition.¹

—*Kathleen L. Scott*

Manuscripts identifiably illuminated in England during the final decade of the fifteenth century and the first ten years of the sixteenth await serious study, preferably by someone prepared to enjoy rather than despise their splendid vulgarity.²

—*Janet Backhouse, Curator of Manuscripts, British Museum*

This book addresses a great and antique mystery. The critics quoted above each point to the issue. To put it baldly, scholars do not esteem late medieval English illumination, illumination painted from about 1400–1550, and this material is seldom researched. This remains true today, in the 2020s, and has been true ever since English collectors began valuing medieval illumination in the early nineteenth century. When Janet Backhouse (1938–2004) expressed her reservations, the first detailed survey of fifteenth-century English illumination had not

yet been published, and the previous survey of English painting generally dated to the 1960s. Backhouse was a medievalist and a curator and knew the scale of the unknowns lurking in the British Museum's collections. The following year, Kathleen L. Scott introduced her foundational, meticulous description of 140 manuscripts from the period, but damned the lot with faint praise: the best she could say was that the period demonstrated some experimentation. Today, in the 2020s, there remains no survey of sixteenth-century English limning outside of portrait miniatures. Nevertheless, well over a thousand illuminated manuscripts remain from fifteenth-century England, and more date to the late fourteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries.³ Few scholars know much of this substantial evidentiary archive, or how this painting might influence our understanding of the period in which Chaucer's works were canonized, the Wars of the Roses were fought, and the Tudors came to power and then overturned a millennium of tradition to break with the Church of Rome. Surely such art would offer some insight into the early English Renaissance. Scholars obsessively study the texts that transmitted each of these critical processes, but they rarely take much notice of the illumination conveyed along with these texts.⁴ English illuminated books and documents should offer prized, thoroughly examined remnants of medieval painting that survived the repeated rounds of iconoclasm of the Reformation and Civil War. Instead, this illumination languishes, seldom regarded.

Both epigraphs offer remarkable testaments to how thoroughly dismissed late medieval English illumination is in art-historical circles. The epigraphs illustrate that even experts in precisely this kind of art deny their own interest, deny the quality of the art, even while spending their careers specializing in it. Counterintuitively, Scott's disparagement of late medieval English illumination lies at the beginning of a monumental work devoted to precisely these materials. At the same time, that very body of scholarship gives weight to Scott's modest assessment: her statement implies that scholars can thank her for devoting so much attention to such unimportant material and saving others

from an unenviable task. Indeed, the reader must wonder what Scott found to sustain her through this great work if the art really was so unexceptional. Unimpressed as she is by the illumination of the early Tudor period, at least Backhouse issues a call for research into it, and, importantly, by researchers who will enjoy the illumination. Such folk must need be radicals, clearly. The research gap is actually much wider than Backhouse's desire for work in early Tudor illumination. With Scott's project a major exception, the lacuna extends from the later fourteenth century straight through the mid-sixteenth century. The mysterious absence of research into nearly two centuries of English illumination punctuates late medieval art history.

Admittedly, the history of late medieval English illumination challenges simple periodization. Illumination, what the medieval English called "limning," featured crushed pigments in a light, water-based suspension, particles often held by the same gum arabic used in scribal ink, brushed on thickly enough to develop a dense, opaque finish.⁵ When the same materials and techniques used in book limning came to be employed for Tudor portrait miniatures, however, the resulting artworks are today identified (and usually displayed in museums) as watercolours, rather than illumination. Confusing things further, limners painted, but were emphatically not painters. In England, "painters" and their linked artisans, "stainers," worked with heavier, oil-based paints. The painters had their own guild, which amalgamated into the Company of Painter-Stainers in 1502.⁶ The limners had also amalgamated with another guild a century earlier in 1403, but this was a broad company made up of the limners, the writers of text hand, *textualis*, bookbinders, and booksellers, and remains unfortunately poorly documented.⁷ By the second half of the fifteenth century, members of these crafts called themselves stationers, long before the better known, better documented Stationers' Company incorporated in 1557. Craft distinctions between limners (or stationers) and painters are not always readily apparent in the scholarship. Certainly, we know that some Tudor artists worked in both oils and watercolours, but the fact that Holbein

likely learned limning in England underscores the separation between the crafts, a separation that begs both scholarly recognition and further research. The history of sixteenth-century limning deserves to be investigated both before and after 1557.

The need for this research is especially acute now, as specialists in English painting, oil painting, develop a consensus that England was already among the European mainstream as it entered the sixteenth century. Stephen Deuchar, Director of Tate Britain, describes an “increasing understanding of the strands of continuity between native late-medieval art and the artistic achievements of the Tudor and Stuart periods.”⁸ Susan Foister, Deputy Director of the National Gallery and Curator of Early Netherlandish and German Painting, remains in the vanguard of developing this understanding, firmly stating that “there is arguably nothing distinctive or different about native and foreign [artistic] practice in England in this period,” in a milestone edited volume dedicated to establishing that fact, *Painting in Britain, 1500–1630* (2015).⁹ In it, for example, Frederick Hepburn argues convincingly that English monarchs traded portraits just as their continental relatives did.¹⁰ While most of the chapters of *Painting in Britain* remain devoted to European artists working in England, Foister’s contribution forcefully argues for English parity. Most of these revisionist scholars work within the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, however, and few reach further back into the fifteenth century than the first Tudor monarch.¹¹

This rising tide of art historical revisionism has oddly left limning behind, despite art historians pointing out that “miniature painting... [has] been a particular feature of the English renaissance tradition.”¹² Yet, specialists in portrait miniatures frequently fail to connect this art with book or document limning even in the sixteenth century, much less with its heritage in the fifteenth. Some discussions of sixteenth-century limning make no reference to anything but portrait miniatures, as though no book limning occurred in the period at all.¹³ Katherine Coombs, Curator of Paintings at the Victoria and Albert Museum offers a rare insistence that, “an account of limning in the

sixteenth century that focuses solely on the development of portrait limning is too partial. Medieval English limning did not die out... The English limner found a role particularly in the service of the government.”¹⁴ Yet, in 2009, Coombs references a lone scholar from the 1950s to support her claim.¹⁵ Art historians working on heraldic painting largely avoid the topic of the illuminated grants of arms issued throughout the period, even when some Elizabethan heralds practiced both painting and limning.¹⁶ Such sidesteps must be forgiven when scholars look backward from their own period of specialization and attempt to craft a narrative for later sixteenth-century limning without adequate published research from which to work.

This present book begins to explain how and why late medieval English illumination has not attracted the interest that its painting or portrait limning has, and offers support for Coombs’ claim, evidenced with hundreds of manuscripts, printed books, and documents, reaching back into the early fifteenth century. Further, it begins to move the study of late medieval English limning into alignment with later Tudor art history, which has turned away from issues of attribution, and from “totalizing narratives which provide answers to questions that imply there is a definitive set of answers.”¹⁷ In no way can this slender book fully fill so vast a research gap, but it seeks to pave the way, improving on the trail charted by the few scholars to work in this field before now, in the hopes of increasing access to this topic in the future.

Before I proceed, I should include a few housekeeping notes. As Kathryn Rudy has explained, publishing illustrations in scholarly books is expensive, and so this volume bears fewer images than an art historian might expect.¹⁸ Even as recently as my last book, I had to pay the library for a publishable image and then pay again for permission to publish this image. Quality digital photography and changing copyright laws have decreased some of these costs in some countries, but not others. The legal landscape and its application by libraries, archives, and museums in the UK remains particularly complicated.¹⁹ Meanwhile, due to rising material costs of printing materials and digital maintenance,

I must also pay the press to publish images, especially if I wish it to be published open access and in colour. Taken together, even publishing sixteen images easily mounts to thousands of dollars that I must fund out-of-pocket during a cost-of-living crisis. The British Academy grant that has generously provided for me to do this research formally prohibits me using its funds to assist in publication charges. Therefore, each illustration contained here is truly illustrative and will do as much work as I can possibly force it to do. To minimize publishing costs and maximize number and quality of images, I have grouped all of them in a section of numbered illustrations. Happily, this arrangement also facilitates their use by readers, as many of these illustrations are referenced in multiple chapters. Meanwhile, I concentrated on using illustrations that also exist in digitized formats, hosted on institutional websites, and I have included as many links as possible to additional digitized images in the notes. Especially for those reading an open-access digital copy of this book, finding quality illustrations will then be a swift, two-click process. Even so, the majority of the sources I employed while researching this book have not been digitized. Therefore, while I have examined as much as possible in person, and used digital surrogates where that was not possible, I cannot share a link to everything. Further, while the British Library has begun reposting their digitized manuscripts following the cyberattack of October 2023, the majority of this material remains offline as this book goes to press, and it is not yet clear whether their Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts will be revived or not. I have therefore footnoted when British Library digitized manuscripts used to be available, in the hopes that they will be again. I realize that this is not an ideal situation.

Likewise, this book will look strange to many readers familiar with other manuscript studies and book history monographs. As Stephen Yeager, Fiona Somerset, and Daniel Kline put it, “manuscript studies and early modern book history have a somewhat deserved reputation for being fields that are focused primarily on...the analysis of minutiae,” and there is less of that here than some readers will expect.²⁰

Nevertheless, nearly every chapter examines sources lacking much prior analysis. Rather than bury my book's readers in hyper-specialist detail while at the same time introducing theory applied in novel ways, I have hived off the granular codicology into a series of articles published in relevant scholarly journals and volumes. Each chapter cites these articles, which have been peer-reviewed by specialists and are replete with detail. The articles remain methodologically traditional, and I urge any interested reader to continue their reading in these. When I read those now-established sources through media theory in this book I am able to "make synthetic claims that intervene in larger political and philosophical conversations beyond the discipline[s]" of book history and art history both.²¹ At the same time, this method enabled my editor at Concordia University Press to concentrate on finding peer reviewers able to assess the book as a whole, rather than theory and a wide range of nearly unknown art historical primary sources. In the end, this must be a book about media at the same time as this book is itself media: both the medium and its message reflect the shifts art is forced into by politics and commerce. This will not satisfy some, but I hope the rest will take the wheat and leave the chaff with goodwill.

Art Theories for Technē: Introducing Possibilities

Late medieval English illumination may partly fall between disciplinary cracks because so much of it strikes at the distinction between art and design, because this illumination tends toward aniconicity, that is, much of it lacks pictures, illustrations, or what art historians call representation. Therefore, late medieval English illumination simply did not feature much of the kind of art in which traditional art history specializes. In other words, much late medieval English illumination did not *represent* things, did not *picture* things in the world, but instead consisted of decorative lettering and vinework. In the next chapter, we will see how, far from simple aesthetic decoration, these designs provided a complex array of services for medieval readers. Thus, in a real

sense, late medieval English illumination *worked*. Its aniconic tendency together with its utilitarian function suggest an opportunity to examine such decoration through new lenses, as design and as media.

Attempts exist to discuss medieval art, including illumination, using methodologies developed for modern abstract art, but this approach has not yet been adopted for use with late medieval English illumination. As early as 1937, art historian Meyer Schapiro wrote about abstract art, though he compared it to Renaissance art, rather than make any direct comparisons with medieval art.²² More recently, decolonial studies have pointed out that non-figural art traditions rendered this art illegible, invisible, to art critics as early as Dürer.²³ This invisibility extended into the twentieth century, and only with the development of modernism, that is, modern European abstract art, did some art historians connect non-European art directly with medieval European art.²⁴ These efforts did not reach for artistic parity, however, as art historians point out that European modernists saw themselves as choosing abstraction, and believed that medieval European and non-European peoples of any era were limited to it.²⁵ Art historians since Schapiro have also occasionally looked for abstraction in early Northern Renaissance art, in the depiction of textiles, for example.²⁶

Nevertheless, as Aden Kumler has recently pointed out, most art historical interest in medieval abstraction concentrates on earlier periods and avoids the late Middle Ages entirely.²⁷ Yet, there may be growing hints at a wider interest among medievalists in challenging any notion that “abstraction is an emphatically post-medieval phenomenon,” particularly among manuscript specialists.²⁸ Jean-Claude Bonne has developed a substantial argument concerning ornament (i.e., non-figural images), in medieval manuscript art.²⁹ Yet, Bonne, too, concentrates on early medieval examples, and often on the relationship between border and figural art, rather than aniconic art on its own. Moreover, none of these efforts have yet considered late medieval English manuscript art.

Developing a different revisionist angle, art historian Svetlana Alpers declares England to have been a place “without any notable tradition

of images.” And yet, her evidence suggests that medieval English artists and the Dutch still-life artists she studies shared similar views, which would support examining limning as design.³⁰ For thirteenth-century English scholastic Roger Bacon, as for seventeenth-century Dutch artists, Alpers argues that art was “a *technē* or craft.”³¹ Although there is nothing visually similar between the art of seventeenth-century Holland and that of fifteenth-century England, the later Dutch critics laud the utilitarian potential of art, a potential that was clearly also appreciated in late medieval England.³² In the field of art history, Alpers is recognized for pointing out “the inadequacy of methods of inquiry designed for the understanding of Italian Renaissance painting to the ocular appeal of Dutch painting,” and her structural critique of the foundations of art history bears on English illumination history too.³³ Meanwhile art historian Christopher Wood trenchantly claims that Italian Renaissance art critic “Vasari’s theoretical justification for the superiority of modern art established the hierarchy between the applied or decorative arts and the fine arts, which is the basis for the modern system of art and prevails to this day.”³⁴ Aniconic, decorative, utilitarian, much of late medieval English illumination certainly functions as applied art or design, rather than fine art, according to this articulation.

While this present book considers substantial amounts of aniconic, non-figural art that could be viewed as abstract, I believe that design and media theory provide fresh lenses through which we can approach late medieval English illumination, thanks to their dual nature: design and media can be visual, and they can function technically. Like design, media *works*. Nevertheless, the fields of both design history and theory and media studies tend to concentrate on the present era. Yeager, Somerset, and Kline may equally have been talking about design history as media theory when they pointed out that media studies is “commonly so focused on the present that in its current usage, the term *old media* rarely looks back before print and sometimes even refers to technologies like film.”³⁵ It is therefore remarkable that media theory,

and the design theory out of which it partly grew, was developed with late medieval English illumination specifically in mind, as we will see in Chapters 1, 2, and 5. This study also provides more evidence for Thora Brylowe and Stephen Yeager's contention that "the seemingly technical and local concerns of medieval studies have always been part of a larger conversation about media technology," even further back in history than these critics may expect.³⁶

In media studies, fifteenth-century English illumination's aniconic tendency does not count against it, as definitions of media are capacious. Though one should begin with John Guillory's "Genesis of the Media Concept," definitions of media vary so widely that essentially every media theorist develops their own.³⁷ Now considered a foundational media theorist himself, Friedrich Kittler credits first-generation media theorists Marshall McLuhan and Harold Innis with developing "the concept of the medium in the technical sense" as well as the now-truism that "the content of a medium is always another medium."³⁸ Siegfried Zielinski attempts as broad a definition of media as possible, claiming that "media are spaces of action for constructed attempts to connect what is separated."³⁹ Lisa Gitelman counters that media are "socially realized structures of communication, where structures include both technological forms and their associated protocols, and where communication is a cultural practice, a ritualized collocation of different people on the same mental map."⁴⁰ Kittler and Gitelman are emphatic about the scope of *technē*. As media theorist Jussi Parikka puts it, technical media are any that "involve techniques of regulating the body and teaching it certain patterns and institutional relations."⁴¹ Neither electricity nor the microchip is necessary for media, in other words, and the Middle Ages could be as replete with media as any other period.

In thinking about late medieval English illumination as design in media, this project takes part in a larger, ongoing reexamination of what some call "Book Studies," loosely from the German *Buchwissenschaft*. Much of this revisionism supports Yeager, Somerset, and Kline's

description of book history as “the analysis of minutiae,” and concentrates on what is sometimes called the “material text.”⁴² Here we might include recent in-depth study of book supports in England, both paper and parchment.⁴³ Paleography, the minute examination of script, has been a traditional area of medievalist research, and has experienced a resurgence of interest in Middle English literary criticism since Linne Mooney’s claims to have identified Adam Pinkhurst’s hand galvanized the field in 2006.⁴⁴ Early print history, too, has experienced a growth in minute analyses of copy-specific features, including decoration and types.⁴⁵ Fragmentology, or the study of manuscript fragments and leaves, often with the goal of identifying separated materials, also springs from a similar materialist foundation.⁴⁶ Over a series of monographs, Kathryn Rudy has raised a new bar for physical analysis of the material text.⁴⁷ This paragraph and its notes can only gesture to a much wider, deeper field of research, but all of this important work is methodologically conservative, concentrating on careful description and taxonomizing of the physical artifacts themselves. My research, too, takes part in this practice. As I pointed out earlier in this introduction, the articles that establish the sources on which this present book is based all feature entirely traditional, conservative methodology.

A smaller, but perhaps growing, group of scholars seek to theorize the practices of book history. Elaine Treharne was among the few manuscript scholars to bring manuscript studies into conversation with object-oriented ontology and seek to recover both the “agentive power of the inanimate [book]” and the sensorium of the medieval book.⁴⁸ Bruce Holsinger considered briefly what an “ecocodicology” of the parchment book might look like.⁴⁹ Matt Cohen has explored indigenous knowledge systems for approaches to books and media (and books-as-media).⁵⁰ Notably, Cohen emphasizes both the fragmentary, and alternatively lost, nature of the corpus of Book Studies, together with the importance of emotional responses to books and media as fundamental to their study. As we saw in the epigraph, even Backhouse urges scholars “prepared to enjoy” late medieval illumination to this

work. Researchers risk running afoul of many pitfalls when we do not take our emotional responses to our work, and the books on whose bodies we work, into account. J.D. Sargan masterfully examines what an emotional resonance can bring to codicology through embodied knowing and affect theory in order to develop a theory of trans codicology.⁵¹ Sargan pushes back against the assumption of codicological objectivity to uncover and recover affective responses to the archive. Whether individual readers find examples of late medieval English illumination to enjoy in these pages or not, thanks to media theory, all readers should find new ways to understand the work that it achieves in medieval books.

Media studies offers another path into this kind of theorization of codicology. Working on early medieval texts and early print respectively, Martin Foy and Bonnie Mak are some of the first pre-modernists to do so.⁵² My earlier experimental work leveraged media archaeology in order to compare medieval and modern rhetoric concerning information and intellectual property.⁵³ Erik Born is one of the few to apply the German media theorists to medieval media, though not uncritically.⁵⁴ Using largely textual evidence combined with both German and Anglo-American theoretical traditions, Ingrid Nelson has even proposed a fully medieval definition of media.⁵⁵ Uniquely, Scott A. Trudell has applied both sonic and textual media theory to music in early modern England.⁵⁶ The contributions in the collection *Old Media and the Medieval Concept* (2021) and the publication of Nelson's book *Medieval Media* (2025) may suggest that such repeated attempts to apply media theory to medieval sources may finally be gaining some traction within the larger field.⁵⁷ Working in a Foyian mode, Michelle R. Warren's *Holy Digital Grail* puts Gitelman's media theory directly in conversation with critical bibliography.⁵⁸ Most recently, Tom White bracingly applies media theory to the medieval technical genre of ink and pigment recipes.⁵⁹ Finally, working in the manuscript and early print periods, Hannah Ryley and Whitney Trettien both invoke media archaeology as shaping their exciting recent codicological and

bibliographic projects, but for the most part they engage theory more implicitly than explicitly.⁶⁰

Indeed, the field of media studies commonly explores physical and emotional responses to media. Therefore, the following chapters explore the enjoyment this painting may have brought to late medieval English users and chart the pleasure early media theorists found in late medieval English illumination. Lastly, not unlike Cohen's decolonial bibliography and Sargan's trans codicology, Bridget Whearty's Caswell Test demands that researchers not only cite but directly engage scholarship by librarians and curators. Each of these critics develops methods that poignantly and powerfully emphasize the overwhelming force of communities.⁶¹ Media technologies send and receive, with community built into the heart of media protocols. As we study the illumination in each of the following chapters, we too become receivers, reading ourselves (hopefully pleasurably) into these late medieval media communities.

Manuscripts Are the Medium, Mostly

The following chapters will explore what we might gain by examining late medieval English illumination through design and media theory. This is not a survey, and I make no claim to comprehensiveness. Nevertheless, in the process, such an examination will explode a number of common narratives that turn out to be merely convenient myths that grew and prospered in the absence of research into these sources. Each of the following chapters examines specific examples of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century English illumination functioning as design or media, while tracing an art history for this illumination in premodern commercial art and design. Media and design theory help us see how this illumination functioned, how it worked, in medieval culture. Moreover, its utility drew the attention of nineteenth-century designers, as well; in this way, England's forgotten illumination continues to influence extremely unlikely corners of contemporary culture.

Chapter 1, “The Illumination That Isn’t Art,” considers late medieval English border art as design and demonstrates that design theory was, in fact, invented with this art in mind. The motifs change slightly and the colours vary, but from around 1400 until well into the sixteenth century, English vinework remained unusually static—Scott’s epigraph is not incorrect in that point. However, thanks to the overwhelming importance of design manuals like Owen Jones’s foundational *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), we can today consider how these borders and initials function as information technology, as the user experience (UX) that guided English readers through sometimes extremely complex books. Any foreign influence on English illumination would have to match or exceed the utility of this English system for English audiences. This chapter also introduces the importance of decoration to medieval documents, demanding that we reflect on how this kind of art functions in legal media. As utilitarian art, as design, these facets of English manuscript illumination have not been taken into account before, either as design or as media.

Chapter 2, “The Anglo-Italian Humanist Initial, a Variant in an English Medium,” explodes the notion of English tardiness to join the artistic Renaissance by demonstrating that they were, instead, leaders in Europe. (Indeed, in this book the term “Renaissance” refers not to any chronological period, but to art associated with a classicizing aesthetic.)⁶² The chapter considers the rather surprisingly well-known English adaptation of Italian humanist *bianchi girari* (white vine-stem) initials and traces English artistic Italophilia back into the 1430s while introducing the concept of media archaeology. Italian humanist artists developed *bianchi girari* initials to decorate manuscripts copied in the new, humanist scripts that had been invented in the early fifteenth century. Almost immediately, initials blending Venetian limner Cristoforo Cortese’s *bianchi girari* with English motifs begin to appear in England. Over the next fifty years, artists adapted Anglo-Italian initials further, amplifying some elements, stripping out others. Jonathan J.G. Alexander notes that England is the only country outside of Italy to

adopt *bianchi girari*, and the only country to adapt them to their own artistic history.⁶³ Most of these initials have been known about since the 1960s or before, but have been viewed as anomalous, due to their Englishness. The extended use of Anglo-Italian *bianchi girari* and the initials' development over time suggest otherwise. This chapter asks whether this Anglo-Italian art was pervasive enough in England to have developed its own media stratum—to have created the conditions in which Tudor interest in Italianate Renaissance art developed—or whether it marks instead a thriving variant, that is, a medium that emerged but did not succeed in replacing other alternatives.

If Chapter 2 reaches into the 1480s and demonstrates extended English engagement with Italian humanist art, then Chapter 3, “Memorial Documents as Mass Media in Early Tudor England,” moves into the 1500s and argues that the first Tudor monarch was deeply engaged with Renaissance art styles and invested in transmitting this art both across England and through time. The chapter concentrates on nearly one hundred decorated indentures relating to the founding of the Tudor memorial chapel in Westminster Abbey, all dated 1504. About a third of the extant documents demonstrate the work of Dutch court artists the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England, hired specifically for their lush borders in the fashionable Ghent-Bruges style. The indentures also illustrate two variants of this style. One is derived from a popular French border style of the day, one that Henry VII himself enjoyed. I call the other border style in the indentures “English heraldic strewn.” These chapel indentures were shared among London officeholders and religious institutions across the country. They were physically part of memorial masses that were to be said in perpetuity. Therefore, I believe that the deployment of these three styles, recognizably Flemish, French, and English, was a mass-media strategy intended to communicate Tudor magnificence to English audiences through the ages. This chapter employs Marshall McLuhan’s theory of hot and cool media as developed further by comics theorist Scott McCloud, to explain how the Anglo-French and English heraldic strewn variants were especially

effective at transmitting their messages of Tudor power through these documentary designs.

Chapter 4, “Documenting Mid-Tudor Media Strategies and the Invention of Medieval Design,” compares, for the first time, the decoration of documents at two different points in Henry VIII’s reign: around 1521, when he won the title “Defender of the Faith” for his published diatribe against Luther, the *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, and then again in the 1540s at the very end of his life. Outside of royal circles, decorated guild documents of these eras provide evidence of the continued importance of traditional English vinework blended with European decoration. Within Henry’s government, however, the media tides began to change. Increasingly, purely continental decoration was selected for royal documents, with few stylistic changes, heralding a new, adapted English version: here is the foundation of the myth that the Tudors forced England into the artistic Renaissance. Meanwhile, outside of royal circles, English vinework continued in regular use into the 1520s and gradually disappeared through the 1540s until the final known examples date to the early 1560s. By Elizabeth’s reign, traditional illumination had become rare indeed. Elizabethan media had adopted continental design perfectly, just as England fully entered the global stage as a political, military, and colonial authority. Medieval media no longer communicated that power in Elizabethan England.

The final chapter, “150 Years of Illumination, Lost and Found,” provides the extended solution to the mystery presented at the beginning of this introduction. This chapter traces interest in illumination in England from its origin in the early nineteenth century through the twentieth century and finds two reinforcing reasons for the dismissal of late medieval English illumination. On one hand, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century collectors, dealers, and curators whose taste and education developed out of post-Elizabethan, continental, Renaissance artistic traditions were not “prepared to enjoy” this art, as Backhouse would say, and created a canon of English illumination without it. On the other hand, traditional illuminated design came to

be appreciated by an influential, but surprisingly unrecognized group: architects. These skilled technicians promoted traditional English border design in illumination surveys and, above all, in design manuals like Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament*. As active practitioners, the designers emphatically refused to canonize their influences, however, resulting in another layer of obscurity cocooning late medieval English illumination outside the narratives of art history. This complex occlusion compounded further thanks to the complicated identities of those scholars who finally applied modern research methods to late medieval English illumination: largely women, often foreign, on contingent appointments, frequently outside of art history departments. Thus late medieval English illumination remained liminal even after its canon has been recognized. I hope that insisting on this art's position within design and media history, and beginning to situate the history of its study within feminist book history, may help to find an audience for late medieval English illumination at last.

The Illumination That Isn't Art

As this book's introduction suggested, late medieval English illumination has been left out of the art-historical narrative. In order to redress this omission, and to thereby advance a new understanding of illumination's historical meaning and its relevance today, we must consider how it functioned as media, how nineteenth-century designers understood this function, and how that understanding continues to influence our everyday lives in the twenty-first century. This chapter demonstrates how the mass of fifteenth-century English book art functions as technology. Then, it goes on to show how the founder of modern design theory, Owen Jones (1809–1874), found great utility in late medieval English border design. As design, this illumination conveys important practical and cultural information to readers in the media in which it is embedded. In most cases, border and initial art functioned very similarly to what we today call UX, user experience, as it guided readers through texts. In other cases, however, especially on documents (records generated by institutions, including governments, the Church, and guilds), such decoration participated instead in authorizing and authenticating the document itself. As we shall see, Jones understood that design was not simply decorative but did psychological work and, as explained further in Chapter 5, he took fifteenth-century English illumination into special account as he developed his design theory in the mid-nineteenth century. Thus, illumination characteristic of late medieval England lies at the base of modern design theory, and such illumination is therefore primed for examination using media theory.

Establishing how fifteenth-century English border and initial art functions in media as design requires several steps. To begin, we will consider a sample of traditional English vinework illumination, learn about its development through the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and see how it functioned codicologically to guide readers through a complex text. Next, we will return to look again at the sample illustration to see how this specific style of border and initial art fit Jones's groundbreaking paradigm. We will then consider the page of English vinework a third time, through modern UX design, to see how well the practicalities of medieval and modern information design align. Although most UX designers today are not aware of Jones's role in their field, nineteenth- and twenty-first century designers grapple with similar challenges, and the theories employed today build on those that Jones proposed. The final section adds a second illustration of English vinework, decorating a document, and turns to media theory to begin to understand it. The rest of the chapters of this book feature many decorated documents, and this brief exploration introduces documents as media and establishes the work that design accomplishes on medieval documents. Therefore, this chapter marks the first time a medieval page has been read through contemporary design theory and the first time such a contemporary reading has been compared to that resulting from Jones's original theory.

Traditional English Vinework

Traditional English vinework (illustrated in fig. 1.1) furnishes an artistic baseline for English book decoration from before 1400 until 1550. While English vinework of any generation remains recognizable, it was not a fully static design, nor was it hermetically sealed off from continental influences. In the second half of the fourteenth century, its characteristic vines were wide and fleshy.¹ They did not curl much at all, and a relatively narrow range of small motifs hung from those vines.² The palette was limited to a rather pale, buff rose and brighter blue,

with white and gold used in highlights.³ This began to change early in the fifteenth century. Orange was added, and then green.⁴ By the second quarter of the century, vines had narrowed and grown fringes of green lobes, all of which began to wave and curl.⁵ As the century wore on, a wider range of greens and pinks came into use, including vivid emerald and fuchsia tones.

In the middle quarters of the century the range of motifs hanging on these vines exploded.⁶ Some motifs grew so common that they became functional additions to the traditional vinework design. Other motifs appear for a time and then disappear. Lily-like forms that art historians call “aroids” arrive and grow popular, remaining part of English vinework until its use ended at last in the mid-sixteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter 4.⁷ Deeply curled acanthus leaves also appear and then settle into regular use until the end, though their relative size and precise shapes and colours might vary by artist or decade.⁸ Flowers depicted naturalistically enough to be recognizable begin to occur around mid-century too, and while they continue in use straight through the sixteenth century, they do not appear in all borders: representational illumination, even individual motifs, remained a deliberate choice for the English until well into the sixteenth century.⁹ Other motifs experienced shorter vogues. Small lobes added like petals to gold balls that were dashed with bright rose or blue appear in the third quarter of the century, proliferate, but then mostly pass out of use before 1500.¹⁰ Some motifs, such as small gold forms that appear like the centre of peacock feathers or a fringed half-moon, seem to have been employed by certain groups of artists, but never spread much beyond them.¹¹

In fig. 1.1 we can see many of these characteristically English features as they were painted in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The full bar border features mid-point decoration on each side, both breaking up and balancing the design, and each corner also receives special attention. Acanthus leaves and the vinestem itself twine and curl, playing on dimensionality. Most “sprays,” vines that extend away from the bar or initial, feature motifs found only in one or two sprays,

multiplying motifs used on the page. A range of large aroids feature prominently. Sprays extend from midpoints into the central gutter, nearly creating a fifth border and highlighting the importance of the page visually. The very small fuchsia or blue lobes set like petals at the base of some of the gold motifs suggest a date for this particular border in the second half of the fifteenth century, but overall, designs very like the one on this page continue to be painted straight into the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The text that the border in fig. 1.1 cradles is that of a missal. Missals are often quite large books, as the handwriting needed to be large enough for a priest to see while standing at an altar. They are also quite lengthy, as missals provided the text of the mass that the priest had to speak and instructions for the various gestures the priest needed to make, rather like a script for the gravest play ever performed, containing both the actors' lines and stage directions. Moreover, missals provided all of this information not only for daily mass, but for special masses, feast days and saints' masses, and oftentimes an additional range of blessings and ceremonies.¹² Therefore, missals were not only large and lengthy, but they were also complex volumes. A priest might need several parts of the long volume on any given day. Tables of contents were still developing in the later Middle Ages in Europe and were not yet in standard use. Page numbers were almost unheard of. Instead, book designers and readers used art and design to navigate their books.

Fig. 1.1 shows the *Te igitur*, the beginning of the core of the mass and the functional heart of any missal. This page contains the words and gestures a priest used to effect the great liturgy of the Eucharist leading to the miracle of transubstantiation, the foundation of medieval Christianity and modern Catholicism. The priest could afford no errors in his performance of this page and the book artisans provided a tour-de-force in book design. As is common in missals, the text of the *Te igitur* begins on the right-hand page. The facing page would have originally borne a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion above a cross. (That leaf was removed from this manuscript at some point in its

history.) Calling attention to itself, this *Te igitur* page shows a full bar border, the only remaining full border in the volume, making it easy to find for anyone paging through the missal while preparing to say mass. The original layout would have been even more eye-catching: the *Te igitur* border probably matched the border originally surrounding the missing Crucifixion miniature. Further calling attention to the vital importance of this text is the six-line, foliate initial “T” beginning the words to be recited. The other initials on the page are all two lines high, though they alternate blue ink lombards (plain lettering) flourished with red and champs (gold initials on rose and blue grounds) without sprays. These each indicate a subsection of the liturgy of the mass. Smaller, one-line lombards in blue or red ink signal the first letters in the names of saints. One-line crosses in blue and red ink indicate places in the script where the priest was to make the sign of the cross, and rubricated text written in red ink gives instructions to the priest, rather than words for him to speak.

The complex layout identifies and divides the text, facilitating correct use. Above all, thanks to the full bar border and extra-large foliate “T,” this vital text is easy to find roughly halfway through the nearly 400 pages of this missal, despite the lack of page numbers or a table of contents. Then, the priest did not simply read from start to finish, but had to read script out loud, raise eyes and hands away from the page in order to gesture (raising up the host or the chalice as instructed, for example), and return to the script, in the correct place, again and again. What could easily be a confusing wall of text, leading a priest to lose his place, and then misspeak the words of this all-important moment of the mass, comes instead into focus in visually separated chunks, with instructions clearly indicated in a different colour than the text.

Following chapters will introduce other designs also painted in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, but traditional English vinework remained the mainstay of the limner’s repertoire and attracted customers at all purchasing levels for over 150 years. Though it has not attracted collectors or scholars much in the centuries since, the

elegant utilitarianism of English vinework impressed a select group of later theorists: architects.

Reading the Illuminated Mass through The Grammar of Ornament (1856)

As we will learn in more detail in Chapter 5, late medieval English illumination found an unexpected champion in architect and designer Owen Jones. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* uncharacteristically effuses that “Jones was to become one of the most influential, prolific, and well-known designers of mid-nineteenth-century Britain...he made a major contribution to the development of design theory and education...And his spectacular architectural schemes and designs for consumer goods catered to the needs and desires of a growing and increasingly affluent and leisured middle class.”¹³ Today, design historians cannot overstate the importance of Jones’s *The Grammar of Ornament*. As a recent critic argues, “it is impossible to exaggerate the authority and stature of Owen Jones during the middle of the nineteenth century or to overestimate the influence of his theory and designs on his contemporaries and on subsequent generations.”¹⁴ Jones’s “was the first attempt to encompass the world’s ornament in a single work” and to connect this with general principles of design.¹⁵ In *The Grammar of Ornament*, Jones commenced by laying out thirty-seven “Propositions” that he titled “General Principles in the Arrangement of Form and Colour, in Architecture and the Decorative Arts.”¹⁶ As discussed further in Chapter 5, the hundred plates originally illustrating these propositions were each formed from a collage of pieces of visual art drawn from throughout history and from around the globe. These illustrations, together with brief essays offering basic art-historical narrative, provided evidence for the propositions. Drawing from his research in Egypt and Spain during his travel abroad in the early 1830s, half of Jones’s chapters concentrate on Islamic art, together with chapters on Asian and Pacific art.¹⁷ Far from a contemporary global

approach, however, Jones leveraged non-European art in an imperialist way, as proof of the universality of his proposed design principles.¹⁸ Nevertheless, his prioritization of design principles as primary and his representation of nature as a secondary process proved to be revolutionary: “Jones never used techniques like shading and perspective.... He was adamant about respecting the flatness of the medium and... always translated floral or natural motifs into two-dimensional abstract forms.”¹⁹ That is, Jones’s own approach to design emphasized a strict linearity, and this investment may have called fifteenth-century English vinework to his attention.

In short, Jones’s *The Grammar of Ornament* essentially founded the modern field of design theory and, in it, Jones laid down a series of principles of good design that he derived from global and historical architecture and decoration. Although predating modern psychology, Jones’s principles show full awareness of how the eye travels across its field of view, and express a relationship between the eye, mind, and emotional states. Although Jones highlighted the psalter-hours he himself owned in *Grammar*, as we shall see in Chapter 5, Henry Humphreys and Jones listed the manuscript illustrated in fig. 1.1 among positive examples “in the style of Mr. Owen Jones’s Psalter” in the earlier *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages: An Account of the Development of Illumination as a Distinct Branch of Pictorial Ornamentation from the IVth to the XVIIIth Centuries* (1844–49), and so it, too, was fully approved by Jones.²⁰

We can consider fig. 1.1 again in light of Jones’s design theory and immediately see his priorities made manifest. This border clearly illustrates Jones’s Proposition 11, founded in Islamic art, that “all lines should flow out of a parent stem” and “every ornament, however distant, should be traced to its branch and root.”²¹ In fig. 1.1, the two blue vines that form the initial, one growing out of the letterform and the other beginning at its base, serve as the vines extending around most of the border, until the pink vine interlaces with both. Aroids or acanthus leaves finish each vine naturally. Smaller sprays extend from the tips

of aroids. As in Jones's Proposition 6, "beauty of form is produced by lines growing out one from the other in gradual undulations."²² Breaking Jones's principle, however, in fig. 1.1, sprays also extend artificially from the lower mid-point interlace and the acanthus leaves above the initial. As Jones admits in his brief introductory essay for *Grammar's* sixteenth chapter, "Mediaeval Ornament," sprays with inorganic, ad hoc origin points become more common throughout the second half of the fifteenth century in English vinework. The example in fig. 1.1 offers just a few instances of this tendency. However, the border also illustrates English vinework's preference for geometry: each border is subdivided in half with midpoint decoration, and these halves may be further halved visually. Indeed, the border in fig. 1.1 fully illustrates Jones's principle that "all ornament should be based upon a geometrical construction."²³ In this missal, aroids function like flowers, but in accordance with Jones's Proposition 13, do not attempt to resemble any flowers in nature.²⁴ As it does among Jones's propositions, linearity reigns supreme in such English vinework.

Medieval and Modern Design

It remains to assess whether or not fig. 1.1 also illustrates principles of contemporary design that have evolved over the past 170 years from those expressed in *The Grammar of Ornament*. As we saw earlier in this chapter, among manuscript specialists, border and initial art are commonly understood as important elements of *mis-en-page*, or layout, and part of the fundamental structures that guided readers through the text.²⁵ Indeed, in media studies, the page itself has been theorized, as Bonnie Mak put it, as "a technological device" and "an interface" that functions "as a careful integration of physical and cognitive architectures."²⁶ Not only the page, but the border illumination itself serves as an interface, "part of the fundamental architecture of graphic design."²⁷ In modern design terminology, border and initial art act fundamentally as graphical user interfaces (GUIs) allowing access to that page, and very

much as culturally located interfaces, as media theorist Lev Manovich understands the term.²⁸ Border and initial art did not form static structures, but were capable of great nuance and complexity, and a medieval reader needed to be thoroughly familiar with their own literate culture in order to correctly interpret and manipulate them. (This deep situation within medieval information culture is why we must teach and learn specifically how to navigate medieval manuscripts today, too.) From ink to pigment to gold leaf and from initial to spray to borders, every decorative element conveyed a visual value or weight to medieval readers, and so each could be deployed to visually guide readers. Codicologists refer to these values as hierarchies of decoration, which could be one or a half-dozen levels deep or more in any given volume, and helped to visually identify a wide range of textual elements on the page. Therefore, for example, borders might be full, surround all four sides, or partial, visually alerting readers to major textual divisions. Variation in script size might also indicate changes in the text. Today, designers note that “visual hierarchy controls the delivery and impact of a message.”²⁹

Even more flexible than borders were initials, and medieval book designers leveraged these in a remarkable range of ways to convey information to readers. Decorated initials functioned like GUI icons, both functionally (a “B” was read as “B”), and as an icon representing the importance of a given unit of text. Decorated initial sizes could vary from a single line to dozens of lines high and these size differences indicated relative textual importance, or changes in the text. Even the design of individual initials might convey information about textual specifics. Champ initials were the most basic pigment initials used in fifteenth-century England, despite the gold leaf required. The next level up were foliate initials, in which the letterforms were painted in colours against a gold ground. Over these vines twined. The highest level of initial was historiated, which contained narrative art inside the letterform. Each of these initial types could bear border sprays of vines of various complexities and lengths that further upgraded the initials to various

degrees. English artists also leveraged the array of ink initials employed in England to expand and nuance the visual hierarchy further when pigment initials were too expensive to use exclusively, or when the complexity of the text required more levels than pigment alone could achieve. As designers like Owen Jones recognized, medieval designers developed textual interfaces that were simultaneously highly decorative and extremely utilitarian.

We can return to fig. 1.1 and see that this *Te igitur* page illustrates principles of good media design that we teach students today. Like many designers, Donald Norman, author of the essential *The Design of Everyday Things* (in print since 1988, available in an expanded edition, and translated into multiple languages), emphasizes that old technologies can demonstrate principles of good design and user experience (UX) just as well as the newest digital technologies.³⁰ In part, this is due to the nature of design as “an act of communication between the designer and the user, except that all the communication has to come about by the appearance of the device itself. The device must explain itself.”³¹ The artist decorating the page in fig. 1.1 knew that the missal had to communicate the necessary workflow to the priest clearly, even by dim candlelight. In the Middle Ages as today, visual cues are vital to this communication task. In the missal in fig. 1.1, visual “technology might provide aids to reduce the mental load” of a priest juggling the array of texts necessary to say mass in sometimes trying conditions.³²

Fig. 1.1 even demonstrates that medieval book designers displayed a grasp of elements of good design that we could not explain scientifically until quite recently. Consider chromostereopsis, the depth effect created by the combination of certain colours when viewed by human eyes. In combination, red and blue create the strongest chromostereopsis effect, making it “hard and tiring to look at or read.”³³ Certainly you would not want to make an entire manuscript with red ink on blue leaves. However, if you wanted to call a reader’s attention to a specific point on the page, you might well use a combination of blue and red, literally straining the eye. Today, scientists consider engaging

cognitive features such as chromostereopsis a solution to the process of signal detection, helping us notice what is most necessary to notice.³⁴ Or, as media theorist Friedrich Kittler put it, “technical media...were developed strategically to override the senses.”³⁵ The priest was surrounded by sensory input: the sounds of people rustling in the church, the scents of incense, candles, and mold, the itch of fleabites, and the tactile sensations of the chalice, host, and paten, the pages of the missal itself, and many other things. Among all of this he had to pick out the correct signals from the missal, the parts he needed to read, and the instructions he needed to follow, in the correct order. If he failed, the transubstantiation miracle at the heart of the liturgy did not occur. Fig. 1.1 shows blue lombards with red flourishing, champs with their standard rose and blue grounds, and even the foliate letterform is blue and rose. Thanks to chromostereopsis, each of these initials calls attention to itself, not only through being larger or more colourful than the text, but also in selecting colour combinations that literally stress our brains. Moreover, the red/blue colour combination is entirely standard in late medieval English book decoration and is not an invention of the artist who painted the manuscript in fig. 1.1. This decoration served as fundamental medieval information technology, as UX, as design, and not, in its scholarly sense, as art. Further, the entirely normal, though never invariable, application of chromostereopsis in medieval manuscripts fully contradicts the “assumption...that...the material and technological conditions of communications media were invisible to writers and thinkers” of the Middle Ages.³⁶ As we will see also in Chapter 3, medieval scribes and artists did not need to know *how* these cognitive tricks worked (neurologists continue to debate these issues today), only that they did, and implement them.

In fact, the entirety of medieval page layouts fits how we think about UX today. A page like the one in fig. 1.1 highlights elements that remain core design challenges today, including interface design and navigation design, and how both of these influence information design.³⁷ All three are interrelated and must be planned out carefully

if a user is to easily manage a tool. A principle of signal detection is to assist people in making good user decisions and to prevent them from failing, and interface and navigation design aim to make signal detection as flawless as possible.³⁸ In a medieval book the interface is, simply, a page of a book. In the missal's case, the information is the text and instructions to say mass. The priest could manage these effectively thanks to a range of design decisions made to help him navigate the page. People read long lines faster than short lines, and the priest had the best chance of not skipping words (and failing in the liturgy) if he read slowly.³⁹ So the two-column layout, and even the art that further separates the two columns, quietly assisted the priest in doing his job, showing good interface design.⁴⁰ As already noted, fig. 1.1 demonstrates the preference for using chromostereopsis induced by red and blue initials to grab a reader's attention. However, this is also a canny move in other ways that contribute to good navigation design. The human visual cortex only processes one or two elements at a time.⁴¹ All of the initials are more or less the same colours and they alternate by material, that is, pigment and glittering gold alternating with ink. This careful arrangement enables the reader's brain to process each initial as quickly and surely as possible, assisting the priest in keeping track of his place in the complex text while saying mass. Further, to get a quick sense of a given situation, humans use peripheral vision more than our detailed, central vision.⁴² Thus, the borders and initials indicating textual divisions occur on the edges of manuscript pages and columns and efficiently catch someone's attention who is reading discontinuously, paging through an unpaginated medieval book without a table of contents while looking for a specific section.

Decorated Documents as Media

Knowing that medieval illumination exhibits some of the same principles as modern design theory, we can begin to consider medieval manuscripts as media with less surprise. In fact, in modern media studies we

find medieval manuscripts at every turn. As early as 2000, foundational media theorists Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin could assert that medieval manuscripts functioned as hypermedia and not bother to explain how or why.⁴³ Even medievalists sometimes offer little explanation or theorization when referencing a media-studies concept like hypertextuality.⁴⁴ This casualness further supports the notion that “memories of the medieval period have supplied much of the symbolic vocabulary we use to think about media technology.”⁴⁵ Beginning in this section, and continuing in the rest of the chapters, this book seeks to examine manuscripts as media in greater detail.

Decorated documents can be especially useful in this effort, as they highlight distinctions between design and media. We can recall Lisa Gitelman’s definition of media quoted in the introduction, that media are “socially realized structures of communication...where communication is a cultural practice.”⁴⁶ By their very nature, then, situated within specific legal and bureaucratic cultures, documents function as uniquely technical media. For example, unlike most medieval English books, documents are usually dated, because the legal information transmitted in them was time-dependent, in one way or another. Also unlike books, documents are often quite brief, and rarely require the complex visual hierarchies maintained over hundreds of pages that were necessary to guide priests through the missal in fig. 1.1. In other words, in books, design solved technical problems and assisted the medium, the book, in conveying its information to its audiences. As media, documents face different challenges than non-documentary codices, and so design accomplishes different work in them. While we can truthfully generalize that most documents are plain, decorated documents were not rare in the Middle Ages, any more than they are now. As we have already seen, design suggests utility, use. In contrast, media suggests audiences. Therefore, decoration demands that we ask questions about the audiences and use of documents that we do not usually ask about government records. Moreover, the media format, the document, accomplishes such a wide range of functions that the

operation of each specific category of document must also be taken into account when considering how its decoration engages the political control expressed in the document.⁴⁷ This section of the chapter begins to explore the work of design in the media format of decorated documents.

Though not directing reader engagement as elaborate UX, decoration on documents is not passively decorative, but utilitarian, and supports a document's function as media. As Gitelman succinctly points out, "documents exist in order to document," or, as Guillory phrases it, "the document is the carrier of information and so the object of knowledge rather than knowledge itself."⁴⁸ Documents are defined by the "know-show function, since documenting is an epistemic practice: the kind of knowing that is all wrapped up with showing, and showing wrapped with knowing."⁴⁹ Guillory concentrates on the transmission goal of documents: except for moments of transmission, many are archived and not actively used.⁵⁰ Gitelman likewise clarifies that some documents are "no-show" items, designed to record and be filed, and perhaps viewed only in their moments of creation.⁵¹ Unsurprisingly, then, for Gitelman "the know-show function is context-dependent in space and time" and also dependent on "power—or, more properly, control."⁵² Partly, this context inheres in what Cornelia Vismann calls the "complicated duality" of documents, which are both "physical entities and recorded data."⁵³ Context is especially important because the text on a document does not even always have to be read for the document to be powerful: "social processes...have made them useful as the impersonal instruments they are, so that the [text] on them 'has seemed to disappear.'"⁵⁴ That is, some documents "wouldn't function if they didn't have [writing] on them, yet few people would describe their functioning in terms of reading, unless in the context of controversy."⁵⁵

As we shall see in Chapter 5, few Victorians appreciated late medieval England's illuminated books and fewer yet noticed its illuminated documents. And yet, in the popular Victorian guide to illuminating,

Lessons in the Art of Illuminating (1880), Reverend William Loftie offered an extremely rare acknowledgement of the decoration of legal documents in medieval England and also an unusual appreciation for English vinework, hinting to us that *The Grammar of Ornament* offered a path to such appreciation that had been lacking before. Loftie said of English vinework that it “was as peculiar to our insular artists as the Perpendicular style in architecture. It was used for all kinds of manuscripts, and even law deeds are sometimes to be seen thus ornamented.”⁵⁶ Despite the illumination of the medieval missal in fig. 1.1 functioning a lot like UX, not all medieval textual media functioned the same way, and documents demand to be singled out, as Loftie did, for their own consideration.

Only a few scholars have explored the art of medieval English documents specifically. Most recently, Jessica Berenbeim considered charters, primarily, and relates the images of kings and supplicants in charters to similar images in religious books such as the Sherborne Missal.⁵⁷ Like Erna Auerbach and Anthony Musson before her, Berenbeim concentrates on charters with narrative art, that is, including the human figure.⁵⁸ It remains to be seen how aniconic art, decorative art, functioned on legal documents.

Almost alone, Elizabeth Danbury has spent decades exploring decorated English documents of many kinds. Danbury notes that, in England, royal charters and letters patent were the most likely types of documents to be decorated, but that non-royal charters, religious indulgences, grants of arms, and a range of more private documents might all occasionally be decorated.⁵⁹ Danbury laments both the lack of surveys of decorated documents, and the difficulty in locating them, as catalogue records frequently make no mention of decoration.⁶⁰ Based on her long experience with these records, Danbury asserts that the English began to decorate documents in the mid-thirteenth century, that the amount of space devoted to decoration increased into the Tudor period, and that it appears to have begun as a local practice,

rather than as an artistic trend imported from abroad.⁶¹ Usefully, Danbury considers both figural and aniconic decoration, and both pen and pigment embellishment in her assessments.

Danbury finds a significant shift in English document decoration occurring around 1400, coinciding with rise of the Lancastrian regime. After this point, though paid for by recipients, royal charters seem to have been decorated in Westminster or London, were more frequently penwork than pigment, and began to include a steadily widening array of royal insignia drawn in a uniform style, a tendency that persists through the early modern period.⁶² The same was true of the decoration of the Plea Rolls of the Court of Common Pleas, which began in this period.⁶³ Chapter 3 concentrates on documents that fully support Danbury's contention that "one of the most skillful exploiters of such artistic propaganda was Henry VII."⁶⁴

Fig. 1.2 offers an example of a document decorated with traditional English vinework in the 1520s, and we can see immediately how differently this illumination functions than in the missal in fig. 1.1. This is a grant of arms, the document issued by what became, in the 1550s, the Royal College of Arms, to an individual or corporate entity that granted them the right to bear a specific coat of arms or confirmed their use of specific heraldry. The colours on this grant's spray border are bright, but relatively few motifs are used, and each is frequently repeated. The motifs are also larger than in the previous century, and very soft, with few hard points and little complex modelling. Jones would notice immediately how isolated the initial is, with vines emerging from almost anywhere but the initial: the lower left margin, the chicken's wing, or the base of the looped-belt design indicating the Order of the Garter. The crowned Tudor rose encircled by the Garter might bisect the upper margin, and the vine waves on the right attempt geometrical balance, but the arms dominate the left-hand margin and there is little overall geometry visible. From a modern design perspective, red and blue are used heavily, but do not seem to call attention to anything in particular, except perhaps the coat of arms itself.

In the absence of UX design, context can help us understand the work that decoration accomplishes on some kinds of document in order to activate control. The decoration itself offers clues to the know-show function, as it “might hinge triply on what documents said, on their format...and on their formatting.”⁶⁵ While Gitelman refers specifically to printed paper documents of the nineteenth and early twentieth century in this quotation, we shall see that this process holds for some medieval decorated documents, too. Danbury even notes that English monarchs continue to have some documents illuminated to this day.⁶⁶ Indeed, considering decorated documents as media offers an unusual body of evidence with which to study “proliferating techniques of control, as subjects know and show within and against the demands of an increasingly dense overlay of institutions and institutionalized realms” in late medieval and early Tudor England.⁶⁷ In fig. 1.2, the illustrated arms on the left and the official wax seals that hang from the lower margin activate the control conveyed through this individual grant of arms.⁶⁸

In a media sense, grants and confirmations of arms like the one in fig. 1.2 are examples of the medieval English “trying to know and show themselves to themselves.”⁶⁹ Importantly, the heralds were tasked with keeping track of coats of arms and authorizing new ones, but the decorated grants themselves went to the grantees.⁷⁰ The heralds kept copies of the text of grants, together with albums of small illuminated or tricked (drawings with colours labelled) illustrations only.⁷¹ Thus the archived document and the distributed document were not identical, or even close copies. Put differently, the knowledge recorded in the grant of arms, the “know” part of the know-show function, was filed and archived in one format, and the “show” part was transmitted in a different, more highly decorated format.

Grants of arms were a necessarily illustrated medium, as they had to bear illustrations of the arms being granted: thus, illustration performed some of the work of the document.⁷² As Martin Roland puts it, “the quality and execution of the composition...matters...the image is

not ‘just pretty,’ but fulfills the task at hand.”⁷³ In England, the arms were usually illustrated in the left-hand margin or initial, reminding us that UX theory teaches us that the peripheral vision catches attention first. Nevertheless, even when displaying the required illustration, grants of arms doubled their authorizing imagery, and the grant’s text contained a verbal description of the coat of arms as well. The description often refers explicitly to the illustration in this genre of document, as fig. 1.2 says, “si comme la picture en la marge cy devant le demonstre,” or, as phrased in English on another grant, “as in the margene depykt more pleynty apperyth.”⁷⁴ The heralds did not hold final authority to make the grant, of course, but enacted the power of the crown itself, and so the Tudor insignia frequently also appeared on grants from Sir Thomas Wriothesley’s tenure as Garter King of Arms onwards (1505–34).⁷⁵ Under Henry VIII and Edward VI, these tokens generally included the crowned Tudor rose, sometimes encircled by the Garter, and sometimes also the fleur-de-lys. Such royal badges visually authorized the heralds, at the same time as the heralds’ seals hanging from the lower margin literally activated their control over the process of granting arms. Likewise, many existing Tudor grants of arms made under Wriothesley and his successor as Garter, Sir Christopher Barker (1536–50) feature historiated champ initials depicting the heralds themselves pointing to the heraldry in the margin, visually representing their own authority.

If the know-show function activated control through the illustrated heraldry, Tudor insignia, and sometimes the historiated initials, what work was left for the border decoration to do? First, we can demonstrate that it was a decision and not simply whim. Grants of arms did not always feature such dense, illuminated borders until the advance of Wriothesley to the position of Garter in 1505. For example, Wriothesley’s father, Sir John Wrythe (Garter King of Arms, 1478–1504 with a brief break under Richard III), repeatedly employed the same artist to paint foliate initials with sprays, in addition to the necessary armorial

illustration, but Wrythe's artist did not always include a full border, royal insignia, or image of the herald.⁷⁶

Second, as the illustrative elements demonstrate, grants like these are among the categories of documents that leaned heavily on the "show" part of "know-show." That is, they were not exclusively archival, but designed for at least occasional display before audiences containing both family members and at least some members of the wider community. The busy borders of grants made under Wriothesley and Barker echoed heraldic designs that were more complicated than either earlier coats of arms or later Elizabethan heraldry, suggesting perhaps a half-century of interest in an aesthetic of plenitude, which we will consider further in Chapters 3 and 4.⁷⁷

I think we must consider that *any* ornament on a document becomes part of the authorizing process, as the decoration itself becomes interpellated into the visual and textual bureaucratic structures generating the document. Wriothesley seems to have worked with a series of specific border and initial artists, as his father had, hiring the same artists on more than one occasion over time.⁷⁸ Barker too often sealed grants decorated with borders in similar styles.⁷⁹ Thus these artists' designs came to be at least partly associated with the authority of these grants. Such deliberation in layout strongly suggests that the heralds themselves saw these border designs as taking part in the work that these documents achieved. That is, the border and initial art was part of the showing, if not necessarily part of the knowing.

As Gitelman says of documents, "corporate authorship is less about property than it is about liability and responsibility" and it "structure[s] hierarchies of authors and readers ('workflow') that depend on documents."⁸⁰ The elaborate borders favoured under Wriothesley's and Barker's tenures filled the marginal space and essentially rendered the grants fixed: no additions could be made without scraping the parchment and starting over, or purchasing a new grant. This contrasts with the heralds' own archived volumes of coats of arms, which were replete

with blank space and ready for the addition of more heraldry through time.⁸¹ The heralds controlled access to heraldry, and in turn accepted a responsibility to maintain this expanding archive of coats of arms, in part, perhaps, by making grants difficult to modify. Thus the grant of arms, including its border decoration, literally “help[s] triangulate the self in relation to authority: the authority of documents, on the one hand, and the authority of specific systems and bureaucracies, on the other hand.”⁸²

We are unsurprised to find UX central to our media experience today and perhaps should not be surprised that it was so in the Middle Ages, as well. Decoration-as-UX continues to surround us as thoroughly as it did people in fifteenth-century England. While successive iterations of video game franchises may be the most complex versions of this phenomenon, we are universally frustrated when a phone update changes the icons in a phone’s GUI or alters how or where we tap, modifying the UX. Documents continue to deploy decoration to activate and authenticate their know-show functions today. Whenever we are reminded to look for a hologram or other specific design feature on a piece of paper money or credit card to ensure its authenticity, art has been deployed for bureaucratic ends. Every passport displays decoration on its paper and cover and, as these change over time, these changes are commonly recognized as reflecting national narratives of power and authority.⁸³ From missals to literary works, medieval readers manipulated visual interfaces to navigate complex volumes. Border and initial art played a role in authenticating and activating the power behind medieval documents, too. Perhaps the one real surprise is that these two eras of media decoration, medieval and modern, remain directly connected thanks to the enormous success of Owen Jones and generations of graphic designers reaching back, as we shall see in Chapter 5, to specifically fifteenth-century English design for inspiration.

The Anglo-Italian Humanist Initial, a Variant in an English Medium

Most of us have heard of “the Renaissance,” but for all the term’s easy recognition, what it actually means is rather difficult to pin down. In art, it usually refers, at least in part, to a return to the use of perspective in representation after centuries of linearity. Indeed, even my use of the word “return” demonstrates my own acculturation in a post-Renaissance world, proving that I have learned as I was taught. Renaissance artists and writers themselves argued that they were returning to aesthetic values of ancient Greece and Rome and, in reviving them, breaking with what came between, what we know as the Middle Ages.¹ Thus, in both art and literature, the “medieval” past was quite deliberately constructed, and by people who stood to gain from distancing themselves from that linear, unfashionable era. In fact, the construction of “the medieval” was so artificial that it was not even truly in the past, as the linear late Middle Ages persisted around Renaissance tastemakers for many decades after they began their great promotional work. Nevertheless, in the end, Renaissance artists and writers were so extremely successful that even today Anglo-American audiences tend to value high Renaissance art, and representational art generally, over styles that do not reflect Renaissance aesthetic values.

This chapter will consider one small facet of the construction of the Renaissance: illuminated initials in manuscript books. The initials that this chapter examines will demonstrate how difficult the profound

success of the familiar Renaissance narrative has made it for scholars to recognize evidence for the earliest phases of the English artistic Renaissance. Recently, Clémence Revest has thoroughly demonstrated how the self-promotional activities of papal chancery clerks played major roles in inventing one early Renaissance subculture, humanism, during the early fifteenth-century.² In Italy, humanists attempted to marry their pursuit of better editions of classical texts and improved Latin rhetoric with a revised page design that reflected, even if it did not precisely reproduce, earlier models. The new, humanist page featured a spacious layout without running heads or other paratexts that risked pulling attention away from the text. This layout was complemented by a newly invented “retro” script and antiquarian illuminated initials. Meanwhile, David Rundle has proven that English scribes, including papal chancery clerks, took part in this novel humanist subculture from an early date, crafting and copying visually unique scripts that reflected the handwriting of earlier periods, just like their Italian peers did.³ That is, English scribes played active roles in constructing the story of the Renaissance, too. While less copiously documented than the scribes, artists also participated in crafting a humanist book aesthetic. Artists strove to invent initial designs that conveyed antiquity as clearly as the newly invented humanist scripts did. This chapter shows that English artists adapted and refined Italian antiquarian initial designs throughout the fifteenth century.

In a stroke, then, the existence of these initials disproves any myth of English reticence to join the artistic Italian Renaissance. Likewise, the activities of these scribes and artists demonstrate English involvement in a modernity that “has consistently refused to admit continuity with the medieval period.”⁴ Anglo-Italian humanist initials remained popular decoration for certain types of texts through much of the fifteenth century but did not spread much beyond elite circles. Importantly, the English vinework introduced in Chapter 1 never reoriented itself in a humanist direction. Therefore, according to the traditional, promo-

tional Renaissance narrative, the Anglo-Italian initials cannot mark an English Renaissance. I believe that media theory can accommodate these challenging initials better than the traditional narrative can.

In this chapter I will consider Anglo-Italian initials using media archaeology, a heterogenous, sometimes contradictory approach to media founded in Foucauldian genealogy but determined to escape its comparatively rigid taxonomies. One product of media archaeology has been “variantology.” One of the founders of media archaeology, Siegfried Zielinski, raises the point that most media do not succeed and do not lead to new developments. As failures to propagate, by definition, they fail to develop genealogies. Zielinski calls these failures “variants” and argued that they may be even more revealing about their cultures than successful media, as identifying the failure points and tracing their origins can say a great deal about the cultures that invented them. After introducing media archaeology, I will redeploy the English vinework that I introduced in Chapter 1 to illustrate its practice, showing how this design serves as a sort of media stratum, a baseline design. Then, I will introduce Anglo-Italian humanist initials derived from the Venetian style popularized by Christoforo Cortese’s workshop as an example of a media variant. These Venetian initials arrived in England the moment they were invented in the mid-1430s and English artists immediately began modifying them. Generations of English artists continued to develop these initials into the 1480s. I also consider a small feature that proliferates in English vinework after the 1430s that may trace its popularity, if not its origin, to these Venetian initials. This evidence, together with a survey of the patrons of this art and the genres in which it appears, does not reveal a swamping of English vinework with Italian Renaissance designs. However, the evidence strongly supports viewing these initials as a thriving design variant in Lancastrian and Yorkist England, preparing the ground for the eventually overwhelming Tudor adoption of continental design explored in Chapter 4.

Media Archaeology and Variantology

The heterogenous collection of approaches known loosely as “media archaeology” stretch back to histories of media first sketched by Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan and developed out of theorists’ recognition that *all* media was new media at some point, and that all media builds on older media forms.⁵ Therefore, theorists have sought theory and method through which to historicize new media from the past to the present. As Jussi Parikka puts it, “media archaeology is...a way to investigate the new media cultures through insights from past new media.”⁶ However, the diversity of media archaeology’s practice, and resistance to codification by its practitioners, has tended to prevent simple narratives concerning media archaeology from being written.⁷ With justification, Thomas Elsaesser goes so far as to suggest that media archaeology functions more as an ideology than a method.⁸ Indeed, with one foot in critical media studies and another foot in archival studies, rather than a simple derivative of Foucauldian archaeology of knowledge and genealogy, as its name suggests, we might view media archaeology instead as a challenge to Foucault, influenced heavily by other thinkers, from Friedrich Kittler to Walter Benjamin to McLuhan. Importantly, early media theorists drew from the work of medievalist art historians, including Aby Warburg and Erwin Panofsky, but developed their theory in different directions.⁹ Media archaeology’s most well-known advocates today include Erkki Huhtamo, Siegfried Zielinski, and Parikka, whose work underpins this book.

Theorists have applied the geologic, stratigraphic premise built into media archaeology in a variety of ways, at times deviating substantially from the term’s Foucauldian origins.¹⁰ At its foundation, however, “media archaeology sees media cultures as sedimented and layered, a fold of time and materiality” which can be manipulated by theorists to reveal the past in such a way that it would help explain more about the present.¹¹ Parikka suggests that media archaeologists might view time

as “pleated.”¹² That sedimentation feeds into each theorist’s terminology differently. Whatever vocabulary they use, the discussion reveals ways in which “new media remediates old media,” so that “new media might be here...but old media never left us. They are continuously remediated, resurfacing, finding new uses, contexts, adaptations,” a process already introduced in Chapter 1.¹³ As Parikka puts it, “as a media-archaeological excavation of what was left out and what has been considered the anomalous...we need to look at the underbelly of communication,” and in the context of this present book, I would add, the underbelly of art: media design.¹⁴

Zielinski applies the geologic model inherent in media archaeology about as literally as anyone, and cites paleontology to demonstrate that “the history of the media is not the product of a predictable and necessary advance from primitive to complex apparatus.”¹⁵ In engineering today, the simplest functional solution is called an “elegant” one, and complexity is not always privileged in media technologies, nor has it ever been. Yet, even Zielinski might not go as far as I would in thinking that the science behind geologic stratigraphy offers media theorists a model providing substantial nuance. Parikka’s expressions quoted above hint at such application, but I think we might usefully be emphatic about it. In geologic stratigraphy, as layers build up over time, lower layers of rock and sediment are older than higher layers. Moreover, different kinds of rock are deposited through different processes (material settling onto a lakebed creating limestone, or a volcanic eruption throwing down basalt, for example). Within sedimentary and some metamorphic layers certain types of material from the past can be preserved into the present, while other kinds of layers destroy much surface evidence entirely. Only in exceptional circumstances, like amber or glacial ice, are early materials preserved in more or less complete condition: paleontology is a kind of fragmentology. Further, geologic layers are naturally mobile. Young, top layers recede into the crust at subduction zones, while older layers may suddenly

be thrust up to the surface during earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, or artificially through archaeological investigations. Thus, while doing so might leave Foucault and the mathematically minded media theorist Wolfgang Ernst distressed, stratigraphy can provide a potentially rich framework through which to think about media history reaching back through time.

For Zielinski, media archaeology requires cutting through media strata, revealing the complex history that underlies the surface layer of contemporary media. Therefore, like an archaeologist, a media theorist must select where to dig carefully. Zielinski says:

If the interface of my method and the following story are positioned correctly, then the exposed surfaces of my cuts should reveal great diversity, which either has been lost because of the genealogical way of looking at things or was ignored by this view. Instead of looking for obligatory trends, master media, or imperative vanishing points, one should be able to discover individual variations. Possibly, one will discover fractures or turning points in historical master plans that provide useful ideas for navigating the labyrinth of what is currently firmly established. In the longer term, the body of individual anachaeological studies should form a *variantology* of the media.¹⁶

Such a practice provides scholars with a clear view of the variety of media in history. Rather than a simple teleological narrative, media archaeology illustrates historical “anarchy,” in Zielinski’s terms. This mode of analysis highlights “past situations where things and situations were still in a state of flux.”¹⁷ Elsaesser even explicitly frames media archaeology as a form of fragmentology: “archaeology is the opposite of genealogy: the latter tries to trace back a continuous line of descent from the present to the past; the former knows that only the presumption of discontinuity and the *pars-pro-toto* of the fragment can hope to give a present access to a past.”¹⁸ Particularly when considering the

early Renaissance, any technique that increases the visibility of historical moments “where the options for development in various directions were still wide open, where the future was conceivable as holding multifarious possibilities of technical and cultural solutions for constructing media worlds” holds enormous potential.¹⁹

There is more urgency to such investigations into the history of media obscured by time, including the early English Renaissance, than might first appear. As our brief consideration of chromostereopsis last chapter reminded us, there are cognitive, neurological consequences to engaging media. Media theory can be “a crucial aide that helps us to conceptualize and critically manoeuvre through the immense impact media technologies have on our cognitive and affective capacities.”²⁰ Since Kittler, if not before, media theorists have understood that media frame how we experience and remember the world, not only affectively and emotionally, but also multisensorially, and even pre-consciously.²¹ The degree to which we physically engage media means that “we need to understand the particularities of each mode of transmission, processing, and storage in our culture to have a real grasp of what media is doing to us.”²² When late medieval English border and initial art came to be occluded from scholarly memory, when Renaissance promotion won, we lost a piece of Anglo-American cognitive history, too. We now think only through the Renaissance. Media archaeology may offer not only a scholarly, but also a cognitive, rerouting to regain that medieval archive in a form that will stick at last.

If unintentionally, media archaeology may even have been developed in ways that suit it for studying the Middle Ages. Although theorists agree that media archaeology enjoys especially interdisciplinary methods, it is less widely acknowledged that medieval studies—and even medieval art history, specifically—underpins much of this theory.²³ Panofsky’s championing of medieval iconography remains a pillar of art history, and Panofsky is cited by media theorists.²⁴ Warburg’s institute persists to this day, and his late, unfinished work, *Mnemosyne Atlas* influences Huhtamo and others.²⁵ McLuhan’s doctoral thesis concerns

sixteenth-century literature, but does so through the lens of the medieval scholastic *trivium*, and art historian Alexander Nagel goes so far as to label McLuhan's *Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1962) as a work of "medievalism."²⁶ Kittler finds the development of linear perspective in fifteenth-century Italian art vitally important because it required folding mathematics into artistic technique for the first time.²⁷ Huhtamo's primary evocation of media archaeology takes Ernst Robert Curtius' *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (1948) as its base text, a work which media theorist John Guillory also quotes.²⁸ Perhaps the necessarily interdisciplinary medieval studies assisted media archaeology in becoming "bravely transdisciplinary" in finding "alternative histories for media cultures...sought somewhere on the fuzzy borders of art/science/technology" in the first place.²⁹ An-archaeologically, even the absence of the medieval shows strongly in media archaeology, as when Elsaesser traces cinematic history back to Renaissance Italy's "secularization of image making and the establishment of a market for pictures" by examining "the move from fresco walls to portable pictures [i.e., oil paintings]" with startling disregard for the portable watercolour painting marketed throughout the Middle Ages: illumination.³⁰ There are always earlier strata to explore (as Elsaesser recognizes).³¹

Moreover, media archaeology's interest in the medieval may be no accident. Parikka situates McLuhan's capacious definition of media in his living through "a similar situation to the one we are in now, concerning a media cultural change: having to rethink many of the institutional but also aesthetic contexts of seemingly familiar media technologies," like the book, "to rethink familiar media technologies in new material constellations and in ways that lead to new modes of using, consuming and institutionalizing media."³² Clearly, the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were another of these moments when media change forced audiences to reconsider the notion of the book: as in both the 1960s and today, in the early twenty-first century,

media publics and artists in the late Middle Ages had to reimagine the book and its decoration, in “new material constellations.” In this sense, media archaeology can serve as a form of, in Elsaesser’s words, “crisis-management.”³³

Further, media archaeology’s interest in “what is missing or has been suppressed and left out in our genealogical chart” positions it exceptionally well to assist us in excavating late medieval English book decoration.³⁴ As introduced in Chapter 1 and discussed in detail in Chapter 5, Owen Jones’s integration of late fifteenth-century English border art into *The Grammar of Ornament* suggests that this particular archive may have suffered “the fate of media that became too effective in what they do” so as to “vanish from view,” becoming invisible.³⁵ In particular, because so much of this art decorates documents, its absence from art historical narratives has obscured the degree to which this design served as political media. Most of the chapters of the present book therefore reinject political urgency into our understanding of late medieval English illumination, and thus actively avoid “losing the political contexts in which technology [and media] takes part in governing bodies.”³⁶ Such an anarchic (in Zielinski’s terms) ideology (in Elsaesser’s terms) suits the proliferating, messy, media landscape of the late Middle Ages especially well. The fifteenth century shows no Foucauldian progression from simple to complex. As this and later chapters will demonstrate, and as Zielinski predicted, the aesthetic anarchism of this period was overlooked by scholarship lacking the theoretical models to revel in it.

English Vinework Through Media Archaeology

The characteristically English vinework discussed in Chapter 1 (figs. 1.1 and 1.2) fits easily into a media archaeological model, and maps onto a stratigraphic column of illumination. In sedimentary deposition, layers of sediment collect over time (for example, in a lakebed), and undergo

chemical processes as time and pressure mount, as layers deepen. Eventually, dirt and organic bits like bone and feather become stone. In Zielinski's anarchoeology, those bones and feathers are traces of media, some of which genealogically influence media today, and others of which do not, but die out as variants. If the perspective of the analogy shifts, however, we might view media that develop into current media forms as strata, and variants as geologic incursions (called "inclusions") within those strata. Variants fail to expand and create new baselines, new strata.

Introduced in Chapter 1, traditional English vinework offers a durable example of a design stratum, developed steadily over nearly 200 years and the baseline for any discussion of late medieval English illumination. While English vinework of any generation remains recognizable, it changed over time. Like the muddy ground, it could be shaped, and new material laid on top. In the second half of the fourteenth century, for example, its characteristic vines were wide, fleshy, and stiffly straight, with few small motifs suspended from the vines. That early palette was limited to a buff rose and blue, with white and gold used in highlights. This began to change early in the fifteenth century when new material was laid down, covering the older, though still similar design.

In the middle quarters of the century the range of motifs hanging on these vines expanded suddenly and dramatically, and these too help us to think about the different theoretical utility of strata and variants.³⁷ Some motifs, like aroids and deeply curled acanthus leaves, grew so common that they became functional additions to the stratum of traditional vinework design. Other motifs function as variants, appearing for a time and then disappearing, or appearing only sporadically, including flowers depicted naturalistically enough to be recognizable, coloured lobes added to gold balls, or gold peacock-feather and fringed moon motifs. These inclusions into the vinework stratum might enjoyably complicate it but did not become regular additions to the design

and did not influence later development of English vinework as a new stratum.

Research remains to be done on exactly where all of these motifs came from, and the processes through which they changed over time. The group employing peacock-feather motifs for several decades seems to have borrowed them, together with a few other characteristic gold motifs, from the French repertoire.³⁸ Some of the naturalistic flowers may have originated in playing cards also imported from the continent.³⁹ Curled acanthus and aroids may well also have originated on the continent, but if so, they anglicized quickly and settled down to form a permanent part of the larger stratum of English vinework. As is well known, the English imported substantial quantities of illuminated books throughout the late Middle Ages. Yet, they did not often adopt this art for English books, or even adopt individual motifs and techniques into traditional English vinework.

When Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, acquired a book decorated in a specific Italian style called *bianchi girari*, usually translated as “white vinestem,” in 1436, he and the artists in his network of book producers interacted with such imported media from within this stratum of traditional English vinework. This chapter offers a case study in analyzing the process by which such Italian initials became absorbed into English design—but without directly influencing English vinework. Anglo-Italian initials appeared shortly after Humphrey’s acquisition arrived in England.⁴⁰ The emergent English initials were not exact replicas of the Italian designs, however, but featured English motifs and colours. Moreover, these Anglo-Italian initials continued to develop and change further over the next fifty years. Nevertheless, it seems that they remained distinct and accomplished different work in their humanist media than did English vinework in the bulk of English books. Put simply, the rest of English vinework does not become similarly Italianate. Moreover, after the early 1480s there is a gap: the next clearly Anglo-Italian illumination I can identify dates to 1521, and it

does not remediate these earlier designs, but interprets entirely different sources. This chapter explores how media archaeology might make sense of such fragmentology.

Bianchi Girari *and Humanist Design*

To understand how English artists redesigned Italian initials to create their own variant, we first need to understand how and why the Italians constructed them in the first place. As Rundle argues, the early humanists sought a renovation of the entire page as part of their great project of inventing what was arguably a new form of media: the humanist book.⁴¹ Compared to traditional English manuscripts, replete with illuminated UX as in fig. 1.1, the overall effect desired for humanist manuscripts was: “simple and sober...[leaving] the text and the script to make their own aesthetic impression....the text, not the decoration, was of predominant importance.”⁴² While Rundle concentrates on studying the archaizing scripts that these scholars developed, humanist design went beyond the script. As seen in fig. 2.1, humanists severely restricted decoration, to the extent that they even radically collapsed traditional visual hierarchies. The spare humanist layout limited illuminated initials to the highest levels of hierarchy, and usually eschewed both borders and sprays, especially early in the period. As the illustration shows, page margins were wide and were often left clear of decoration. Some volumes even lacked running heads. Scribes reduced the number of larger pen initials they employed and drew the remainder as simple, single-coloured lombards without flourishing, and often in red alone. Compared to most fifteenth-century decorated manuscripts, the humanist design illustrated in fig. 2.1 was stark and even forbidding.

This visual plan was not entirely original, however, but deliberately antiquarian, remediating earlier UX design. The ascetic page design derived from the humanists’ twelfth-century models, predating the de-

velopment of complex visual hierarchies and a range of other apparatus that assisted most fifteenth-century readers in navigating their books.⁴³ That is, the humanists sacrificed functionality in order to return to earlier designs, a bit like someone in the 2020s riding a fixed-gear bicycle. For the humanists, this bare, spare, and stripped-down layout conveyed classical aesthetics better than the busier late-medieval page, just as the bare, spare fixie conveys retro cool to some groups today better than a geared mountain bike or ebike. Indeed, in limiting coloured ink initials, they even abandoned the utility of chromostereopsis that was already standard practice in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, if such design restructuring decreased the technical utility of these books, it facilitated other kinds of work. Such radically limited UX created an efficient means of social and cultural gatekeeping (not unlike fixie bikes): either you knew humanist literature well enough to navigate a volume of it with very little apparatus, or you were not a humanist. Indeed, even among scholars, such a page design could only function in volumes containing a single canonical work, or a small collection of works. A more complex volume, a different kind of media, required more dynamic UX, or any reader would be entirely lost.

Even in Italy, humanist page design did not fully replace other UX during the manuscript era. Eventually, patrons who did not fully share the humanists' vision, and those who simply wanted to be able to find their way around more complicated volumes, demanded more elaborate initial and border designs. By the third quarter of the fifteenth century the early humanist initials, together with the strictest humanist page designs, had gone out of fashion in Italy in favour of more elaborate, and therefore more utilitarian, UX.⁴⁴

With every element of the page under renovation, from script to margins, it is little surprise that artists also developed new initial designs to suit the new, humanist medium. Illustrated in fig. 2.1, the Italian decoration known as *bianchi girari* did not develop organically (or genealogically) from the initials common to early fifteenth-century

Italy. Instead, artists selected every element deliberately from a stock of designs hundreds of years old. In the 1950s, the art historian Otto Pächt first argued that twelfth-century designs provided the models for the initials in early humanist books in the early fifteenth century, and he defined white vinestem thusly: “a form of interlacing plant scroll in which the emphasis is on the stalk, not the leaves or fruits.”⁴⁵ Therefore, Pächt credited the new *bianchi girari* initials as both “a humanistic and antiquarian invention.”⁴⁶ Since Pächt, Melania Ceccanti has shown that fifteenth-century artists more closely represented their twelfth-century models over time as the humanists developed better catalogues of dated examples.⁴⁷ Philippa Sissis documents an even more complicated remediation, in which humanist artists did not simply copy initials from their high medieval exemplars, but selected certain features and rejected others.⁴⁸ As we shall see, this is precisely what the English would do beginning in 1436: the English did not widely adopt humanist illumination, but nevertheless proved themselves fully conversant in humanist artistic praxis. Italian or English, humanists redeployed these selected designs to represent the past, and to remediate the classical (and classicizing) texts through which the initials guided readers.

In Italy, *bianchi girari* developed into a design stratum that varied over time and across space and came to be used outside of early humanist circles. The seat of early humanist manuscript production, Florence, gave birth to the strictest, most austere humanist design. As humanist book decoration spread across Italy, other responses to it, other variants, developed that added to that stratum. Florentine-style *bianchi girari* like that in fig. 2.1 made it to Venice by the 1430s, where the design engaged an entirely different initial aesthetic popularized by the workshop of Christoforo Cortese.⁴⁹ Cortese’s workshop “dominate[d] the art of illumination in Venice for nearly half a century,” and Cortesian *bianchi girari* was far busier (and more golden) than its Florentine models.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, while *bianchi girari* grew popular across Italy, artists outside of Italy did not add the style to their repertoires, except in England. It bears stressing, as a point that has so seldom been

recognized in scholarship: England was the *only* country outside of Italy to adapt *bianchi girari*.⁵¹

Cortesian Bianchi Girari Goes to England

The arrival of Cortese's initials into England was only recently recognized, a process that had remained obscure, as the original book is now lost.⁵² Paleontology leverages stratigraphy to assist in just these conditions, where a "missing link" must "connect what is separated," in Zielinski's terms.⁵³ The case study discussed in this section sketches out what that missing media contained using media archaeological methods, connecting the now-separated Cortesian *bianchi girari* and variant initials developed in England based on Cortesian and other Italian designs.

In England, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry V (a king with imperial ambitions), strove to develop a court worthy of a European prince. As did European nobles, Duke Humphrey patronized scholars and literary figures, and famously left the bequest that resulted in Duke Humphrey's Library, the heart of the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford. Gloucester also hired a series of Italian secretaries who were practiced in the new humanist scripts, and the duke equally required his humanist books to be decorated with appropriately humanist *bianchi girari* initials. The exclusivity of this media form and its corresponding design served his cultural and political needs very well.

Some of Gloucester's humanist books were imported directly from Italy, but a select group were copied and decorated in England. Both author Tito Frulovisi and his successor, Antonio Beccaria, served as Gloucester's secretaries and copied humanist manuscripts for the duke. In the mid-1430s in Venice, Frulovisi and the foundational humanist scribe Michael Salvatico collaborated on several humanist volumes and had them decorated with Cortesian *bianchi girari* initials.⁵⁴ Frulovisi arrived in England to serve as Gloucester's secretary in 1436, and

returned to Italy in 1440. Beccaria left in 1446. Manuscripts copied by both Italians in that decade were decorated in England with what Jonathan J.G. Alexander called “a streaked white-vine which is reminiscent of that employed by...Cortese,” pictured in fig. 2.2, and that I call Anglo-Cortesian *bianchi girari*.⁵⁵ Fig. 2.2 highlights how much brighter and busier these Venetian designs were compared to the original Florentine designs of fig. 2.1. Such similarity strongly suggests that Frulovisi brought the missing link with him to England: a Salvatico-Cortese manuscript. Almost all of the manuscripts decorated with Anglo-Cortesian initials were decorated for Gloucester himself, including one volume that the duke gave to the young Henry VI.⁵⁶ The gift copy especially highlights that the Englishness of these initials was as politically important as their Italianness. In this, they accord well with art historian Margaret Rickert’s view that the English “might not express the original artist’s intention exactly, but it would certainly be the English artist’s interpretation of the underlying facts or ideas in the representation before him.”⁵⁷ As Rundle puts it, even more positively, British scribes and artists actively contributed to humanist design: “the appearance of the volumes, conscious of Italian fashion but assertively distinct from them, [became] part of the message.”⁵⁸ In these illuminated manuscripts, the medium was the message in a quite literal sense. These English manuscripts transmitted Renaissance art as well as text.

Stratum or Variant? Anglo-Bianchi Girari

While Gloucester’s interest in humanism is well-known, less recognized is the fact that English artists continued to employ and develop three different styles of Anglo-*bianchi girari* long after the duke’s death, and perhaps into the early Tudor period. Moreover, these initials reveal self-sustaining English media communities, rather than continued influence from abroad, as after mid-century, Italian customers generally preferred other, newer initial designs.⁵⁹ Considering the Anglo-*bianchi*

girari initials provides evidence for the active development of English humanist manuscripts as a media variant for several generations.

Each of the three Anglo-*bianchi girari* styles emphasized slightly different elements of the Italian designs, and each added different English elements. As fig. 2.2 demonstrates, Anglo-Cortesian initials employed a restricted Italian palette, rather than the brighter, more diverse English palette of the mid-fifteenth-century, seen in fig. 1.1. As in the Venetian *bianchi girari*, but not frequent in English initials before this point, the vinestem often pierces the letterform. The English mined Cortesian zoomorphs heavily—herons and dragons appear in nearly every volume—but they rendered them in more rounded English forms rather than sharper Venetian ones. Indeed, zoomorphs and grotesques were decades out of fashion by this period in England, so the English artists revived them in their Anglo-*bianchi girari* for their archaism as well as their humanist associations.⁶⁰ English artists also added fringes of rose and blue lobes to Anglo-Cortesian initials and, in England, such lobes were even more archaic than the grotesques by the 1430s.⁶¹

Other variants expanded on the model in different ways. An artist who Kathleen L. Scott has called the “Caesar Master” may or may not have been English, but they painted straightforwardly Venetian *bianchi girari* in England in the later 1440s and 1450s, as fig. 2.3 demonstrates.⁶² However, the Caesar Master also added sprays of French and Flemish motifs to these initials in a decidedly hybrid, non-Italianate manner. They also worked with some English motifs, even in their *bianchi girari*, and painted English acanthus, quadrilobes, and English aroids in their initials. While the naturalistic motifs hanging among the Caesar Master’s sprays may well have broadly influenced English illumination, as Scott suggests, more of their volumes contain *bianchi girari* than naturalistic motifs, arguing that their patrons hired them most often for these Italianate initials.⁶³

Moreover, individual variants recognizably developed over time, sometimes in ways that strain any clear genealogy. There is no

question that second-generation Anglo-*bianchi girari* initials are influenced by the originals, as they distill the original designs to their essence in manuscripts made from around 1450 until the 1480s.⁶⁴ The second generation of Anglo-*bianchi girari* initials vividly illustrate the “amplification through simplification” principal discussed in depth in the next chapter. In brief, this media dictum derives from McLuhan’s theory that lower definition, or less detailed, media demand greater audience participation than higher definition media, and that this occurs regardless of enjoyment.⁶⁵ According to this theory, viewers engage more deeply with the designs in figs. 2.4 and 2.5 than those in figs. 2.2 and 2.3 because they have been simplified compared to the originals, whether we today enjoy the earlier better, or the later. As figs. 2.4 and 2.5 demonstrate, the colour scheme remained strictly limited throughout this period. The only fully English design showing such a narrow range was the utilitarian rose, blue, and gold champ initial seen in fig. 1.1, which these second-generation Anglo-*bianchi girari* initials clearly evoke.⁶⁶ Even the vinestem, modelled in colour or gold in the earlier designs, generally reduced in this second period to a monochrome yellow or buff. Cortesian grotesques persist. However, instead of packing the vinestem with grotesques as in fig. 2.2, limners of the second period wove smaller numbers of larger zoomorphs into each initial, prominently featuring these dynamic design elements.⁶⁷ In being simplified to their base, constitutive elements, the second-generation Anglo-*bianchi girari* designs were amplified and these later initials continue to contrast boldly, almost shockingly, with the traditional English vinework patterns of the same decades, as illustrated in fig. 1.1.

Taken together, these Anglo-Italian variants on *bianchi girari* might suggest a media stratum developing over time. A range of limners developed initials evoking *bianchi girari*, and these designs continued to furnish models for future generations of artists. Those based on the Caesar Master’s designs pursue amplification through simplification to an extreme degree, rendering the initials as formulaically as possible,

emphasizing strict linearity, to an even greater degree than the second-generation Anglo-Cortesian initials. Anglo-Italian humanist initials attracted buyers for fifty years. Nevertheless, fuller context shows that these initials survive as traces of a vigorous variant, rather than an emerging stratum of new media.

Assessing the Spread: Patrons

If Gloucester alone purchased these initials in the 1430s, as the century progressed, a wider range of patrons can be shown to collect Anglo-Italian initials, and this diffusion offers another way to assess whether these initials mark variants or a stratum of Anglo-Italian design. There is no question that the majority of known patrons throughout the period were clergy with an interest in humanism. All the same, Gloucester was far from the lone layman: a select group of nobles purchased these initials, and they were given as gifts to two kings.

The Caesar Master painted for a diverse group of patrons and seemed to frequently work for John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (1427–1470). They decorated a miscellany, their earliest dated English work, for the Greek medical doctor Thomas LeFranc in 1447.⁶⁸ Probably in the 1460s, they painted two copies of Caesar's *Gallic War* from a copytext owned by Tiptoft, and one or more of these copies may have been intended for Francesco Contarini (ca. 1421–1475) or Bernardo Bembo (1433–1519).⁶⁹ Indeed, these copies and more seem to have been owned in Italy by a very early date: the Caesar Master's hybrid designs were desirable not only in England, but also in the very seat of the Renaissance.⁷⁰

In contrast to the original Anglo-Cortesian manuscripts commissioned by Gloucester for himself and Henry VI, the second generation appears to have appealed only to clergy. A mid-century volume reached William Warham (1450–1532), archbishop of Canterbury, by the early sixteenth century.⁷¹ John Pacy, the copyist of another of these volumes,

worked sometimes for a serjeant-at-law, but also for the upper clergy.⁷² George Neville (ca. 1432–1476), archbishop of York from 1465, received one copy, and an abbot of St. Albans Abbey another (either William Alban, s. 1465–75, or William Wallingford, s. 1476–92).⁷³

Compared to the patrons of the second-generation Anglo-Cortesian initials, the patrons and owners of the second-generation Anglo-Caesar volumes were a more mixed group. Unsurprisingly, Tiptoft owned a volume of these, just as he had the original Caesar Master's work.⁷⁴ Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers (ca. 1440–1483), presented the manuscript copy of Caxton's 1477 *Dictes and Sayinges of the Philosophers* with its Anglo-Caesar initials to Edward IV.⁷⁵ Yet, Anglo-Caesar initials were also valued by erudite clergy, including Bishop William Gray of Ely (d. 1478) and Cardinal Thomas Bourchier (1404–1486).⁷⁶ Robert Sherborne (ca. 1453–1536), future bishop of Chichester, copied the final addition to one volume himself, and selected initial decoration in this style for it, probably in the 1480s.⁷⁷

Activating Yorkist Power Using an Anglo-Italian Initial

A third style of Anglo-*bianchi girari* developed in the 1440s and 1450s and, like both other styles, it was also refined in a second generation. However, this third style was the only one to be applied to a legal document: a remarkable example dated 1462. Given the generally restricted application of Anglo-*bianchi girari* to decorate works of humanist interest, it seems that in England, *bianchi girari* were part of the medium of the humanist book. Therefore, the application of such an initial to a legal document bears some scrutiny, as this design could not be doing the same work there that it did in humanist texts.

This second-generation style derived from one developed by the Followers of the Corpus Master. Named for the resemblance of their style to that of the artist who painted the famous, French-influenced frontispiece to the Corpus Christi College copy of *Troilus and Criseyde*

(ca. 1419), the Followers of the Corpus Master are known from nearly two dozen manuscripts, which are almost exclusively religious in nature.⁷⁸ The decoration of their handful of humanist works therefore stands out.

It is not difficult to imagine that the Followers were encouraged to develop *bianchi girari* to decorate humanist works for repeat patrons.⁷⁹ Perhaps, therefore, it is not so surprising that they developed *bianchi girari* without deviating too far from the Francophile style of initial and border design that they had already popularized for a decade. The Followers' own artistic interest did not seem to lie in humanist initials. In the initials themselves, the Followers resisted the constraints of the *bianchi girari* form at every step: they limited their palette only slightly, rarely pierce the letterform, and painted French zoomorphs into their vinestem. Further, just like the Caesar Master's sprays, the signature sprays of the Followers are all but untouched by humanist influence.

The lone example that extends the Followers' *bianchi girari* to another generation decorates a document, a confirmation of rights, dated 1462, which stands out as an unusual legal example of Anglo-Italian interest.⁸⁰ The initial design is similar to the Followers' Anglo-Italian designs from the 1440s and 1450s, if at an enormous scale (nearly eight centimetres per side), and is inhabited by two large zoomorphs, including a bird similar to one employed previously by the Followers. The pale, slender Italianate aroids that the Followers occasionally painted in initials decorate the sprays (which are over twenty centimetres long), updated for the 1460s with rose and blue lobes. Demonstrating the hybridizing between Anglo-*bianchi girari* variants frequent in the second-generation examples, white dots border the inside of the initial, as on Caesar Master initials.

Functionally, this document served both as a normal marker of political transition and a bulwark in a time of radical change, and this unique initial played a role. A generation earlier, Henry VI had declared Nottingham a county, and the town had gained additional rights

of self-determination in that decision. In the normal way of things, every time thereafter that a new ruler was crowned, like other towns and institutions, Nottingham would pay for a restatement and confirmation of those rights by the new monarch. Had Henry's son Prince Edward succeeded his father as expected, this is what Nottingham would have done. However, instead, Edward of York took the throne from Henry VI and crowned himself Edward IV, demanding that nearly everyone reapply for any rights his predecessors had granted. All the more reason for Nottingham to purchase this confirmation, and do so splendidly.

The selection of *bianchi girari* for a document of such importance to the city remains so unusual that it may even point to the association of Anglo-*bianchi girari* with the Yorkists, at least by the 1460s. Documents like this one were large (Nottingham's easily covers a large table) and often included ink designs associated with the new monarch. Illumination was rarer, and the choice of illumination may well reflect the unsettled times. Nottingham had to make a very clear statement of loyalty to the Yorkist regime. Therefore, choosing an illuminated initial, and perhaps even selecting Anglo-*bianchi girari*, may have been part of that piece of political theatre. After all, a number of the manuscripts displaying second-generation Anglo-*bianchi girari* were owned by Yorkist lords, including John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers. George Neville, in addition to being archbishop of York, was also kin to Edward IV. Moreover, at least by the later 1470s, Woodville thought Edward IV himself would appreciate art like this. As we saw in Chapter 1, Gitelman argues that documents activate control, and this confirmation clearly achieves that goal. However, this specific art may also serve as a stamp of knowing and showing loyalty, a golden confirmation of that activated control.

The previous usurpation, in 1399, remained an all-too-recent memory in 1462, and Nottingham had every reason to protect themselves as thoroughly as possible. Both the incoming and outgoing

mayors of Nottingham in 1462, Thomas Alestre and Thomas Thurland, served multiple terms, and Thurland was a wealthy merchant and sometimes mayor of the Calais Staple.⁸¹ These men had reason to be familiar with both courtly and continental trends. Further, Thurland had enjoyed close dealings with the earlier Lancastrian government, and would have understood the political moment and pressing need to assert Yorkist loyalty. This Anglo-*bianchi girari* document may well mark a trace of a wider interest than now remains in the manuscript record. At the very least, together with interest shown by other Yorkist lords, the document suggests that Yorkist authority might be activated, and its activation confirmed, through Anglo-Italian decoration.

Assessing the Spread: Changes in English Vinework

Following Frulovisi's introduction of Cortese's *bianchi girari* in England in 1436, the majority of English limners did not tone down the palette of their own vinework. Nor did they generally readopt motifs of earlier eras, creating retro initials full of zoomorphs, fringed in rose and blue lobes. Outside of the community of intellectuals clearly interested in supporting Anglo-Italian design, then, did these Venetian designs add any layers to the tradition of English vinework at all? Scattered bits of evidence hint that attempts at further integration were made, but perhaps none successfully resulted in deeper influence.

Indeed, the most pervasive Italianate addition to the English repertoire in this period may be the Venetian tendency to pierce the letterform with the vinestem, seen in its *bianchi girari*. Yet, this influence can only be tentatively suggested. On one hand, I know of no dated or datable English initial before 1436 that shows such piercing, and, as fig. 1.1 illustrates, by mid-century it is not an uncommon feature in initials without any other trace of Italophilia. Such pierced letterforms become quite normal by the Tudor era. On the other hand, if the English were enchanted by this Venetian technique, it must have been

partly due to its relative familiarity, as it expanded on an older, English tradition of vinework piercing the gold ground under vine borders (rather than initials) that persisted well into the fifteenth-century.⁸² Therefore this one small feature may signal not only the limited reach of Italianate designs into English vinestem but also the sole example of wider English antiquarian interest in the fifteenth century. Even then, the suggestion must remain speculative.

Anglo-Italian humanist initials highlight the degree to which the study of fifteenth-century English illumination is a process of fragmentology. The scatter of Anglo-Caesar initials, and the decision by Nottingham to decorate the record of its freedoms with Anglo-Italian *bianchi girari*, especially, teases us with the possibility of a larger Yorkist interest in Anglo-Italian art than what remains. It is certainly not impossible that we have simply lost all further evidence of an Anglo-Italian stratum connecting the final second-generation Anglo-Italian initials in the 1480s to the next English Renaissance illumination dating to 1521, which we will explore in Chapter 4.

However, I think the evidence as it stands argues most strongly for Anglo-Italian initials as a thriving variant, an artistic inclusion into the deep and rich stratum of traditional English vinework. After all, English vinework persisted throughout the century and after, and developed essentially independently, with little apparent influence from Italian design. In contrast, Anglo-Italian initials innovated through several generations of artists, in several sub-variants, each with their own genealogies. No other nation in Europe adapted, or even adopted, *bianchi girari*, only England. Moreover, fifteenth-century Italians appear to have been pleased to receive the Caesar Master's Anglo-Italian initials as gifts, a stunning point that on its own should give the traditional art historical narrative pause. To reduce these Anglo-Italian initials, desired by the most educated men of England and bookish Italians alike, to failures of Renaissance art strains credulity.

The facts are simple and clear. Though frequently transmitted through clerical networks, the Lancastrian court purchased (and pre-

sumably enjoyed) Italianate Renaissance art painted by English artists. Then, the Yorkist court purchased (and enjoyed) Italianate Renaissance art painted by English artists, possibly to such an extent that Anglo-Italian initials came to be associated with the regime. However, all media variants die. They create no enduring genealogies. This successful media variant died out, apparently following the Tudor conquest, and this extinction prevented a direct line of continuity between these dynamic approaches to *bianchi girari* and the Renaissance architectural borders commissioned by the Tudor court that we will consider in Chapter 4. Chapter 3 turns to a new imported style, and variants of it, that captured the interest of the earliest Tudor court instead.

Memorial Documents as Mass Media in Early Tudor England

Chapter 2 introduced the notion of the “variant” from media archaeology and explored how it could be a useful way of thinking about English engagement with Italian Renaissance art. Anglo-Italian initials enjoyed recognition for decades among certain audiences, but never gained general popularity, and never challenged the primacy of traditional English vinework. This chapter considers another continental design, the illusionistic Ghent-Bruges strewn border, its introduction into England, and what I believe are two English variants of this style. The use of all three border designs to decorate a single set of documents, the indentures associated with Henry VII’s new memorial chapel in Westminster Abbey, enables us to apply further media theories to gain insight into how these different designs functioned in Tudor society, and for Henry VII in particular. As we shall discover, Ghent-Bruges borders were “hot” media in multiple senses: these borders were (and remain) extremely popular, and they also align with Marshall McLuhan’s conception of hot media, as they require little viewer participation. That is, they are so illusionistic that viewers have to do little cognitive work to recognize them. The English variants demonstrate McLuhan’s theory of “cool” media instead, forcing viewers to unconsciously practice visual closure, connecting the dots, as it were, to recognize the whole, and cognitively engage each work of art more deeply than the illusionistic original. Henry’s indentures show a mix of media,

then. Hot media astonished and demonstrated continental taste and an ability to attract fashionable artists to the Tudor court. In choosing cool English variants to decorate the majority of the memorial indentures, however, the dynasty forced audiences to engage both textually and visually in documentary mass media intended to be used for decades across England. These borders are the very “splendid vulgarity” to which the epigraph beginning this book calls attention, and I believe that media theory can “prepar[e us] to enjoy” these designs at last.

First, I must briefly introduce the late medieval practice of memorialization of the dead and Henry’s plans for a Tudor memorial chapel in which the indentures played a role. Enshrined in documents that were part of religious ceremonies across England, on the same days at the same times, these variant borders took part in a very early mass media campaign. Next, applying the variantology we explored in Chapter 2, I introduce the illumination of the indentures. Two of the three border designs receive attention as variants of the first, which was imported directly from the continent and painted by Dutch artists living in England. Next, I explore another media theory, McLuhan’s old distinction between hot and cool media, and how each engages audiences differently. The notions behind hot and cool media are perhaps most widely employed today in the version popularized by comics artist and theorist Scott McCloud. Viewed through McLuhan and McCloud’s lenses, while remembering Gitelman’s assertions about how documents function as media (which we considered in Chapter 1), the different work that each border variant achieves becomes clear. The memorial chapel indentures, viewed as hot and cool media, demonstrate the Tudor dynasty deploying new variants in order to better balance high-status, less-engaging media with perhaps lower-status, but higher-engagement media. Such a blend could not be achieved in a single border design, and so the entire group of indentures display several designs, ensuring that the overall effect balanced European taste with a clear English preference for engagement.

The Tudor Memorialization Project

Late medieval English memorialization, what medievalists sometimes call the “cult of the dead,” rose out of the concept of purgatory and a fervent desire to ensure that souls suffered for their sins as briefly as possible in purgatory before ascending to heaven.¹ Preparations for death in the late Middle Ages could be elaborate.² In younger, healthier days, people of all classes bought indulgences or prayed prayers with indulgences attached to them that reassured devotees that they would suffer fewer years in purgatory.³ The wealthy prepared tombs and memorial brasses far in advance of their elder years. Deathbed confessions and absolution were also attempts to ensure that souls reached judgment as spotlessly as possible. Increasingly throughout the fifteenth century in England, wills included payments ensuring priests said intercessory prayers or masses at the main altar, or small side chapels sometimes called chantries, on behalf of the deceased.⁴ Wealthy people might construct and endow a chantry with a priest intended to pray in perpetuity for specific people. Late medieval English wills are dense with explicit instructions regarding memorialization. Above all, intercession of all kinds found the living begging forgiveness for the dead, solid in their faith that in the future, others would pray for them similarly.

As a monarch who won the crown on the field of battle, Henry VII had reason to think carefully about memorialization, both for himself and for his fledgling dynasty. This pressing need may explain the uncharacteristically expansive (and expensive) plans he developed.⁵ His early effort focused on St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, but in 1498 shifted to the Lady Chapel at St. Peter’s Abbey, Westminster.⁶ Henry’s goal was comprehensive: the abbey’s Lady Chapel was entirely rebuilt, and Henry intended spaces for his own and family members’ tombs in the new construction and its side chapels. At the time, Henry VI’s canonization seemed both assured and imminent, and so the royal holy man’s popular shrine was also to be moved from St. George’s chapel to

the Tudor chapel, ensuring prayerful visitors. The king also negotiated with the pope to arrange a fine indulgence for anyone purchasing a mass at the Tudor chapel: the instant release of a soul from purgatory.⁷ Such was the complex economy of salvation in the early sixteenth century. Visitors would be visually reminded to be grateful for this signal opportunity, and the walls and windows of the Lady Chapel were to be covered with Tudor colours and insignia. As Henry phrased it in his will: “the walls, doores, windows, archies and vaultes, and ymages of the same our chapell, within and without, [should] be painted, garnished, and adorned with our armes, bagies, cognisaunces, and other convenient painting, in as goodly and riche maner as suche a werk requireth, and as to a kinges werk apperteigneth.”⁸ The dynasty would insert itself into even the abbey’s liturgy. The great abbey and its religious life would become physical and religious arms of the Tudor machine.

Architecturally, Henry’s chapel design may well be classed as a failure. The chapel was fully rebuilt, but most of the construction and outfitting ended up occurring during Henry VIII’s reign, rather than his father’s, and the second Tudor monarch had his own agenda. Likewise, the original familial tomb plans were not completed as Henry VII had envisioned. In the end, Henry VI was never sainted, and his tomb remained in Windsor. Henry VIII’s reimagining of the Tudor memorial chapel has frustrated scholarly attempts to assess Henry VII’s artistic interests, as this is one of the grandest remaining projects that the first Tudor monarch embarked upon.

In the face of a fully completed Lady Chapel that was as much or more Henry VIII’s than Henry VII’s, the indentures detailing the liturgical memorialization that was intended to complement the chapel’s construction offer the most comprehensive remaining glimpse into the elder Henry’s original designs.⁹ Probably arranged by one of the Masters in Chancery, William Malhom, the indentures lay out the intended plan for memorial prayer for the dynasty.¹⁰ As John King explains, the indentures “describe in close detail the collects, obits, masses, prayers, sermons, ringing of bells, burning of candles, and distribution of alms

to be conducted in perpetuity in the Tudor shrine,” and “anniversary masses, obits, and prayers for the royal family” at institutions across the country.¹¹ That is, the indentures laid out in exhaustive detail who prayed what and when and where, and who handled payment for these services and when. The liturgy and routine of Westminster Abbey itself was to be most heavily impacted, on an essentially daily basis. Yet, other religious institutions across London, and nationwide, also took part in these prayers. Both universities compacted agreements. The oligarchy of the city of London was also institutionally involved.

All of these legal agreements were drawn up in three interlocking sets of indentures dated 1504, known today as the bipartite, septipartite, and quadripartite indentures. Those between the king and the abbot remained primary; however, the London mayor and aldermen and the bishop of London were also centrally involved. Together, these indentures formed a body of nearly a hundred documents detailing the arrangements for Tudor memorial prayer. The agreements were declared in perpetuity, and the indentures themselves were part of the memorial ceremonies. Therefore, each document was indented (its top cut in a wavy line in theory the fitted pair of another, physically proving validity), finely sealed, and bound, in careful gradations according to the level of indenture. The ceremonial, semi-public role of the indentures also explains the care to have all of them illuminated. About half of the indentures survive, although not all of these retain their original bindings or illumination.¹²

Remarkably, the indentures also fit the definition of mass media, if scaled for a premodern world, and thus the art deployed on the indentures becomes early mass documentary propaganda. According to McLuhan’s definition, in mass media, “the source...and the process of experiencing it are independent in space, yet simultaneous in time.”¹³ It is this geographical distance between producer and consumer, and simultaneity of experience, not the scale of consumption, that creates mass media.¹⁴ From their central government origins, the indentures with their illuminated borders fanned out across the city and country,

and then they were employed on the same days, at the same liturgical hours, in each of the institutions that received one. The indentures fit Gitelman's definition of media especially neatly: "socially realized structures of communication, where structures include both technological forms and their associated protocols, and where communication is a cultural practice, a ritualized collocation of different people on the same mental map."¹⁵ If the function of media is to "store and expedite information," then these indentures stored and transmitted both the legal agreements to pray for the Tudors contained in their texts, and also the visual demand for astonishment, and for engagement with the dynasty.¹⁶ Thus the indentures also illustrate Parikka's definition of technical media, as they certainly "involve techniques of regulating the body and teaching it certain patterns and institutional relations."¹⁷

An Imported Design and Two Variants: Modifying Strewn Borders in England

As we saw in Chapter 1, traditional English vinework did not remain static over the stretch of the fifteenth century, but added and dropped motifs over time. The Caesar Master discussed in Chapter 2 popularized the addition of naturalistic motifs, from flowers to animals, and through the rest of the century and into the sixteenth, some artists adopted these designs for use in English vinework borders. Likewise, some artists began stippling borders' white grounds with black or coloured dots, a technique borrowed from French and Flemish border designs. Nevertheless, the naturalistic motifs or stippled grounds remained choices, never required, and examples of entirely English traditional vinework continued to be produced decades into the sixteenth century, as we saw in fig. 1.2. That English vinework design stratum remained unsurmounted until the middle of the sixteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter 4.

About the time that the Anglo-Italian initial variants discussed in Chapter 2 lost their currency, new influences from the continent ar-

rived and developed into new variants, one of them quite persistent. In the later 1470s a new style of border design developed and quickly spread through Europe, called today Ghent-Bruges style, featuring what are called “strew,” “strewed,” “strewn,” or “scatter” borders (fig. 3.1). Otto Pächt coined the term, “strew,” for the style in 1944, arguing for its fundamentally aniconographic purpose: the new style served instead as “a purely ornamental border pattern...Here [flora] no longer has any descriptive or narrative function whatsoever.”¹⁸ Pächt also noticed the antiquarianism of these borders: at their advent, their “analytic naturalism” was already fifty years or more out of date in miniature and panel painting.¹⁹ Despite, or perhaps thanks to, their retro sensibility, these borders entranced European consumers.

As seen in fig 3.1, Ghent-Bruges borders feature lushly illusionistic flora and fauna scattered across flat grounds, either rendered in simple colours or patterned textile designs.²⁰ Thomas Kren argues that these new borders “became the hallmark of the new style that defined Flemish manuscript painting for a growing audience,” and that “the illuminators’ mastery of these pictorially rich borders demonstrated the high level of craftsmanship of the Flemish book industry.”²¹ Kren points out that artists began adopting and adapting these borders outside of Flanders by the end of the fifteenth century, and that by the beginning of the sixteenth, Ghent-Bruges borders “had triumphed across Europe,” with varying results in different places.²²

Although invented for the Burgundian court, England was well-placed to enjoy early access to Ghent-Bruges borders. Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy and sister to both Edward IV and Richard III, was one of the first patrons of manuscripts decorated in this style.²³ A gradual and breviary that Margaret gifted to English institutions mark some of the earliest datable examples of Ghent-Bruges strewn borders anywhere.²⁴ Yorkist courtiers also owned some of the earliest prayerbooks decorated in this style in England.²⁵ Until 1485 at least, England was as quick to import this strikingly new border art as anywhere else in Europe, or quicker.

Yet, it may well be that Ghent-Bruges borders were so strongly associated with the Yorkist monarchy that after the defeat of Richard III, English willingness to collect this art cooled for a time. Henry VII seems to have deliberately begun ordering Ghent-Bruges borders only after resistance to the new regime was quashed and it was time to arrange marriages for his eldest children, Arthur and Margaret, in the later 1490s.²⁶ By this point the design was no longer new, and it may have finally shed any early association with the Yorkists. By 1500, the royal family or inner court enticed a few members of the prominent Dutch team known as the Masters of the Dark Eyes to migrate to England, where they were the first painters to work in this style, and where they remained, painting for the Tudors, their inner court, and the government, until at least 1517.²⁷ Thus, with the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England, illusionism arrived in England. Arguably, it has never left, despite Owen Jones railing against such naturalistic design.

As court artists renowned for a popular style like Ghent-Bruges strewn borders, it is not surprising that Henry's stationer hired the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England to work on the chapel indentures, and eleven extant indentures show their signature border and initial work.²⁸ Yet, despite the Masters' decoration of a range of English documents throughout their careers in England, the "exuberant" borderwork for which they were famous fit relatively poorly into the extremely strict layout design selected for the indentures, as fig. 3.1 demonstrates.²⁹ No less than the Lady Chapel walls, here were Tudor "armes, bagies, [and] cognisaunces," and the geometric balance that Jones advocated reigns supreme.³⁰ The Beaufort portcullises centre each border. Clearly encouraged to restrict their motif selection, the Masters' indentures often feature just roses and their trademark golden acanthus. Alone in individual border segments, in the indentures these individual motifs can appear a bit strangled compared to the Masters' usual lively Ghent-Bruges borders, especially when the Masters chose to split corner segments in half, further breaking up the border and compressing motifs, as in fig. 3.1. When the Masters occasionally added additional elements

to their indenture borders, the design appears immediately crowded.³¹ The Masters' famous branch initial looms large on the page in fig. 3.1, easily encircling the royal arms, the only feature that casts the illusionistic shadows characteristic of Ghent-Bruges style.

The Masters of the Dark Eyes are considered the finest Dutch artists to paint in the Ghent-Bruges style, and their indentures proved to posterity that the Tudors kept these artists in their court. Memorializing the Tudors using these indentures would forever document the dynasty's European artistic tastes. However, there is no doubt but that this was one of the more awkward deployments of the Dutch artists' skills, and such infelicity suggests the true purpose of the selection of their work for the indentures. The point of hiring the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England for the project was the existence of their art in it, not the artistic quality of each document.

If the existence of Ghent-Bruges strewn borders among the indentures was part of the point, then it remains even more noteworthy that Malhom selected two variant strewn styles, which I call here "Anglo-French strewn" and "heraldic strewn," for the rest of the indenture borders, and he may even have directed an artist to develop the Anglo-French strewn style specifically for this project. As did the Anglo-Italian initials, both border variants support art historian Margaret Rickert's view that the late medieval English deliberately adapted foreign styles, rather than adopting them outright.³² First on stippled white grounds and later sometimes on gold, in the mid-1490s, the English developed their own variant strewn style, which I call "heraldic strewn." Jonathan J.G. Alexander notes what he calls a "heraldic" quality to much fifteenth-century English illumination, by which he means a bold colour palette and lack of illusionism, or even finely detailed modelling, and these borders bear out that description.³³ Certainly the heraldry in figs. 1.2 and 3.1–3 displays this very linear quality and an almost primary colour palette. Moreover, we should recall that heraldry was nearly omnipresent in early Tudor society. Heraldry was carved into stonework, painted on stained glass, woven into and embroidered

and even painted onto textiles of every description, and heraldry was cast into housewares. Therefore, it is striking that, at first glance, it would appear that the heraldic strewn variant was less important than the other variant used for the memorial indentures, as only ten extant copies of the quadripartite indentures display this variant.³⁴ Yet, the most important of the indentures were the bipartite indentures, and heraldic strewn was chosen to decorate both of these.³⁵ Some time ago, Scott noted the resemblance of this border type to Ghent-Bruges borders, and more recently has argued for the same artist to have worked on all of these indenture initials, and that may be so.³⁶ In any event, one can demonstrate that the same design variant appears in ten quadripartite and both bipartite indenture borders, among other examples.

Heraldic strewn borders appear in English books by the later 1490s, and so in 1504, Malhom chose to include an already established strewn variant among the indentures. The earliest datable example of heraldic strewn remains in a statute collection made for the King's Remembrancer (and therefore at least in theory, for the king himself) in 1496 or just after.³⁷ By 1499, the court astrologer, William Parron, was purchasing this style to decorate annual prognostications made for the king and crown prince.³⁸ A London mayor ordered a small psalter partly in this style between 1497 and 1502.³⁹ As we will see in more detail in Chapter 4, as the sixteenth century wore on, artists continued to paint in the heraldic style, sometimes working heraldic motifs around English vinework bar borders, and did so into the mid-sixteenth century.

As fig. 3.2 demonstrates, heraldic strewn creates more harmonious borders within the indenture format than does the Masters of the Dark Eyes' more formal Ghent-Bruges design. The portcullis segments at the centre of each border continue to create geometry, but in the heraldic borders, the gold field is so unifying that even the initial floats on it, rather than inhabiting a compartment of its own as in either other indenture style. In the heraldic borders, whether on red line or thick green stems, sprays of two large floral motifs fill each corner segment. Even the motifs in heraldic borders tend to be arranged in a geometric

fashion, and the heraldic indentures feature careful symmetry on either side of the centre line, with a single contrasting spray providing deliberate variation.⁴⁰ The artist selected from among a severely restricted set of motifs for the heraldic indentures and reduced their palette even further. The heraldic indentures feature green, red, and occasional blue motifs against the gold grounds. Heraldic strewn motifs invariably bear self-shaded modelling to emphasize a sense of roundness and geometry. Once freed from the confines of the strict indenture program, both motif selection and palette expand in heraldic strewn, yet they both frequently remain restricted when compared to traditional vine-work borders. Here is the linearity, the conventionality, and the palette that Alexander notices was so characteristic of late medieval English illumination generally, and in the heraldic indentures these features were heightened about as far as possible.

The third of these strewn variants may actually have been developed specifically for use on the indentures, demanding that we consider the work it was doing especially carefully.⁴¹ These Anglo-French borders derive from borders in a style that art historians today call “Rouennais” or “French” (since not always painted in Rouen) that feature a wide range of small, characteristic motifs against patterned grounds. While books containing these borders were certainly not limited to the royal collection, Henry VII had a demonstrable personal interest in this style. English artists, possibly encouraged directly by Malholme, seem to have adapted the pre-existing heraldic strewn technique for use with the French border designs. The limners borrowed the tiny French motifs, not otherwise used in England, and expanded them to the feature-size employed in heraldic strewn borders, much as earlier limners had done with the second-generation Cortesian initials examined in Chapter 2. The English artists then scattered these fewer, larger, but still recognizably French motifs against simplified ground patterns, inventing a hybrid Anglo-French strewn variant. As fig. 3.3 demonstrates, the delicacy of the French motifs functioned better in the indentures’ restricted layout than the dense, solid Flemish forms of the Masters’ borders.

The portcullises are left to anchor the page's geometry, while the floral motifs lie strewn against the corner segments. Generally speaking, as in heraldic strewn, two or three different motifs were allowed per corner segment. Yet, the range of motifs across all the Anglo-French indentures is greater than either the Masters' indenture borders or the heraldic strewn indentures.⁴² That motif breadth is noteworthy as it suggests that the French *motifs* were the especially attractive part of the French style for the English who invented this Anglo-French strewn style, just as the Masters' Flemish illusionism was the essential reason they were hired. The palette is also wider than that of heraldic strewn, though it was applied so lightly that the underdrawing frequently remains visible. The Anglo-French motifs were also modelled with less detail even than heraldic strewn, and the hatching and self-shading that created a sense of dimension were kept to a bare minimum. Contrasting with the popularity of French imports, the extremely narrow reach of the adapted, Anglo-French strewn variant may suggest that it was not especially popular, and that the use of these borders in the indentures spoke directly to Henry's interest in French design.

Sixteen of the remaining quadripartite indentures show such Anglo-French borders, substantially more than either of the other strewn designs; yet, there is little evidence of this variant expanding beyond the indentures.⁴³ An Anglo-French style so like the indentures as to surely be by the same artist features in a book of hours made in 1503.⁴⁴ Yet, the prayerbook's borders are more emphatically French than the indentures, frequently employing patterned grounds, and a larger number of smaller-scale motifs appear on each page, though still larger and less densely packed than in actual French borders. Another book of hours seems to model the border design and palette of the book of hours, but does so using the motifs of heraldic strewn.⁴⁵ French motifs turn up in two further grants of arms painted in 1509, but the effect is quite different from the indentures, suggesting that this was another parallel and perhaps equally narrow effort.⁴⁶

Ghent-Bruges borders were not a variant: they were a brand new import, and were destined to eventually become a design stratum of their own. Moreover, unlike the naturalistic motifs introduced by the Caesar Master, English artists do not seem to have adopted the illusionistic Ghent-Bruges style until perhaps as late as the second decade of the sixteenth century. In contrast, both the Anglo-French and heraldic strewn borders were variants of Ghent-Bruges designs. The Anglo-French variant appears to have died out quite quickly. In contrast, the heraldic strewn variant proved durable. Yet neither it nor the original Ghent-Bruges style succeeded in surmounting traditional English vinework until well into the sixteenth century. As we shall see in Chapter 4, both the imported design and English heraldic variant come to be worked into vinework borders into the 1540s and later. In the end, illusionism overcame the English vinework border, but even heraldic strewn may have persisted in design history, if not in illumination, longer than usually thought.

If the purpose of the Ghent-Bruges borders in 1504 was to invoke the prestige of the artists and their leading style, and their presence around the English court, one guesses that something similar may have been behind the selection of the Anglo-French borders as well. Yet, while Dutch artists were hired to paint Flemish borders, French artists were not hired, nor were French borders reproduced (though French initial designs were, if not especially elegantly). Therefore, these indentures were visibly French, but equally visibly not French. The documentary purpose of these borders, then, must have included both showing their Frenchness and showing their Englishness in ways that did not translate well outside of the indentures. While the next section of the chapter will consider ways in which the heraldic and Anglo-French styles cognitively functioned differently than the style of the Masters of the Dark Eyes, for now we might wonder whether Malhom was looking for ways to highlight direct English involvement in continental artistic developments with these borders, as the patrons of Anglo-Italian

initials had done. Malhom hired the Dutch artists to do what they did best, but he also hired English artists to adapt both French and Flemish border designs for Tudor use. Nevertheless, even sympathetic contemporary art historians have struggled with these indentures. As noted earlier, these borders are the very “splendid vulgarity” that curator of the British Museum, Janet Backhouse, called out in this book’s epigraph.⁴⁷ As it happens, the enjoyment that Backhouse invoked may be vital to understanding how the indenture borders functioned for their Tudor audiences, and for viewers today.

Marshall McLuhan, Scott McCloud, and Hot and Cool Media

If anyone has ever had insight into “splendid vulgarity,” it was Marshall McLuhan, and if anyone ever deconstructed that phrase in print, it is Scott McCloud. Having released the landmark *Gutenberg Galaxy* in 1962, founding the field of media studies underpinning all of the media archaeology we have applied so far, McLuhan followed up with *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* in 1964, which has seen regular reprinting ever since. Once again displaying his roots in Innis’s earlier work on communication technologies and nation-building, McLuhan sought to understand shifts in technology and media over time.⁴⁸ Just as McLuhan founded a field, Scott McCloud’s *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (1993) launched the sustained, critical examination of comics—those hybrids of text and image—as media.⁴⁹ For the first time, “*Understanding Comics* gave artists, scholars, and students a formal apparatus for analyzing the comics medium, and McCloud’s formal categories and wide-ranging historical survey of comics art gave emergent comics studies scholars many paths forward.”⁵⁰ McCloud directly credits McLuhan’s discussion of comics in his own thinking, and *Understanding Comics* reignited interest in McLuhan’s theorizing in scholarly circles.⁵¹ Like McLuhan before him, McCloud looks for general structures through which his audience can attain greater understanding about how comics function. Importantly, McCloud

writes specifically about comics, but in a way that can be applied more widely to visual art.⁵² For this reason, we can apply McCloud's proposals regarding comic structure to medieval border art which surrounds text, but features text-image interaction that functions differently than that in twentieth- and twenty-first century comics. As we saw in the introduction, media theory is rarely applied to medieval books and documents, and we can now add: McCloud's comics theory has never before been applied to medieval illumination.

On account of its foundational nature, McCloud's work, like McLuhan's, has received critical examination. Later research has easily found exceptions and holes in both theorists' claims of universality. Like McLuhan, McCloud frequently oversimplifies.⁵³ Both critics avowedly pursue teleological, even genealogical narratives.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the utility of McCloud's vocabulary has made it durable over time, if in sometimes adapted forms. Rachel Miller and Daniel Worden admit that, like McLuhan's vocabulary in media theory, McCloud's terms have "become standard references and assumptions in comics studies today."⁵⁵

It was in pursuit of new ways to discuss media teleology that McLuhan hit upon the notion of "hot" and "cool," media and, in the decades since, those terms have developed beyond his original formulations. According to McLuhan, a hot medium "is one that extends one single sense in 'high definition.'"⁵⁶ High-definition media are "well filled with data," and therefore require little audience participation in order to decode the message transmitted.⁵⁷ McLuhan's examples of hot, high-definition media are the photograph or radio. In contrast, one of his examples of a low-definition medium is the cartoon. Cool media, low-definition media, "leave so much to be filled in or completed by the audience" that they are "high in participation."⁵⁸ Counterintuitive as it might seem, we have to work at cartoons more than we do photographs to decode their content.

Critical skepticism about the hot and cool paradigm persists in the face of ongoing application. As one critic recently put it, "whether

photography, film, and radio (i.e., ‘hot’ media) actually do carry a higher amount of information in relation to...‘cool’ media—is disputable at the very least.”⁵⁹ Nevertheless, game studies continues to make use of hot/cool distinctions despite other claims that “the hot/cool dichotomy...simply appears to be obsolete in the digital age.”⁶⁰ As Corey Anton puts it, “the main value of the hot–cool distinction...is to help people grasp how particular forms are naturally adapted for certain kinds of content and/or are suited to certain structures of interaction.”⁶¹ Like definitions of media, then, definitions of hot and cool media are not fully fixed, but can vary depending on any given critic’s terminological needs.

In what is now just as traditional a narrative as McLuhan’s, McCloud distills McLuhan’s theory of hot and cool media into the visual dictum “amplification through simplification.”⁶² Reframing McLuhan’s paradigm for visual art, McCloud argues that removing detail from images, that is, cooling them down, heightens them, so that the messages they convey are amplified through the very simplification of the lines drawn.⁶³ In the process, this method also transforms a hot image into one that looks more “cartoon-like” to a twenty-first-century viewer (and more “iconic” in McCloud’s terminology).

We can see hot and cool media at work easily in figs. 3.1 and 3.2. The *trompe l’oeil* illusionism characteristic of Ghent-Bruges borders (fig. 3.1) compares to the detail of a photograph. Both Ghent-Bruges borders and photographs therefore function as hot media, in McLuhan’s terms. Further, McCloud would highlight that borders painted by the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England, like that in fig. 3.1, or the twenty-first century photograph of that border (fig. 3.1 itself) conveys “the beauty of nature” to the viewer better than an amplified, simplified cartoon of a rose would.⁶⁴ Likewise, McCloud would claim that the English artist amplifies the visual impact of the rose in fig. 3.2 by choosing to paint it in the heraldic strewn style, which we might also call a “cartoon” strewn style, rather than in the Ghent-Bruges style of the Masters shown in fig. 3.1. In making this decision, the limner

emphasized the “rose-ness” of the cartoon rose, rather than a rose’s natural beauty.

According to McCloud, the amplification of the simplified, heraldic rose occurs in part because, instead of looking *at* cartoons as they would photographs or illusionistic painting, viewers are drawn *into* them. McCloud argues that decoding the stripped-down visual vocabulary of cartoons and other cool visual media requires the Gestalt cognitive process called “closure,” or inference.⁶⁵ While McCloud and most of his critics concentrate on closure in the gutter between panels of a comic, Gestalt theory actually relates to a similar process within individual images, as viewers solve the visual puzzles necessary to decode “low-definition” images in less time than it takes to blink.⁶⁶ According to McCloud, viewers mentally fill in the gaps, engaging in the artistic and narrative process itself—in essence, becoming collaborators with artists. In a hotter medium like a photograph, or the Ghent-Bruges panels of fig. 3.1, so much information is conveyed, the detail is so dense, that there are few gaps for a viewer to fill, and therefore the period of active engagement with a photograph is necessarily brief, even though a viewer might spend some time enjoying the easily decoded image. In contrast, when reading a comic, puzzling out a coat of arms, or viewing fig. 3.2, audiences are part of the creative team: as McCloud puts it, comics “demand our participation to make them work.”⁶⁷ In a contemporary example, McCloud would say that closure is one reason airplane safety cards can convey emergency instructions successfully to such wide audiences: passengers must complete the simplified images in their own minds, and in the process they essentially mentally practice the emergency procedures so quickly that they are not even aware of having done it.

It is within this framework of hot and cool media, and amplification through simplification, that McCloud implicitly views colour in comics. Colour adds detail, of course, “hotting up” the medium, as McLuhan would say, and reducing engagement. Yet McCloud typically finds use for, and value in, detailed, complex colour *and* limited,

simplified palettes in comics. As we might expect from his invocation of the natural beauty depicted in realistic images, McCloud links detailed colour with emotion.⁶⁸ Likewise, McCloud says that less-detailed use of colour tends to “emphasize the shape of objects.”⁶⁹ Certainly in heraldry, colour emphasizes the shapes making up coats of arms.

While the Tudor indenture limners had wide palettes available to them, they made decisions about colour that aligned with the degree of detail they wished to capture in each strewn style. The Masters of the Dark Eyes in England applied a complex range of hues in order to craft their illusionistic borders in fig. 3.1, emotionally conveying the beauty of the natural world and gesturing to the power and might of the Tudor house that was part of that world. The variant strewn borders strip their palettes down for their own purposes. As we saw, the Frenchness of the Anglo-French strewn variant was part of the point. Genuine French borders applied a simplified palette without much shading. The English artists copied this strategy in their Anglo-French strewn variant in fig. 3.3 and, in so doing, further emphasized the French shapes of those motifs. The heraldic strewn variant in fig. 3.2 took all of these techniques to the extreme. While the palette was the most restricted of the three, artists shaded the uniquely simplified, amplified motifs to a greater degree than the French motifs. Form, shape, and volume appear on the page at their purest in these heraldic strewn borders, as McCloud leads us to expect.

Opinionated about most things, McLuhan did not spare hot and cool media. He reinforced the general mid-twentieth-century disparagement of cool media, a position with which comic artist McCloud existentially disagrees. McLuhan contrasted comics and cartoons with “genteel art.”⁷⁰ Identifying late medieval woodcuts as “crude,” he compared them directly with “our [earlier] twentieth-century comics.”⁷¹ Therefore, generalizing a great deal, we might say that according to twentieth-century prejudices, hot media like photographs and high Renaissance art can hang on the walls in museums and galleries, but cool media like comics hang instead on spinner-racks full of beach

reading. In recognizing these prejudices, we may begin to understand why these indentures could be viewed as “splendid vulgarity” in the later twentieth century.

McCloud’s late-century reformulation vigorously pushes back against this narrative, arguing instead for the value of comics intentionally drawn in both hotter and cooler styles, each achieving different ends.⁷² “Sure,” McCloud begins, “comic books were usually *crude, poorly-drawn, semiliterate, cheap, disposable kiddie-fare,*” but he continues, “they don’t HAVE to be!”⁷³ For McCloud, cool, amplified images and hot, higher resolution images represent artistic techniques chosen by artists to convey the content in specific ways. If one wishes to convey the beauty of nature, or to advertise one’s ability to convey the beauty of nature, then a photograph or illusionistic painting like fig. 3.1 might be the best possible artistic decision. If, on the other hand, one wanted to communicate instructions for various aircraft emergencies, a comic like those on airline seat-pocket safety cards would be the most effective option. Whatever we think of them today, the evidence suggests that the Tudors valued both hot and cool designs highly.

In fact, Malhom’s selection of especially engaging variants and Tudor enjoyment of heraldic strewn borders may also reflect how caricatures function cognitively, raising another contrast with common post-Renaissance, twenty-first-century aesthetic values. Minds store unique information (that is, features departing from the norm) in a heightened form, and therefore the heightened features of a caricature more directly match mental models: our minds “[amplify] perceptually significant information while reducing less relevant details.”⁷⁴ In McLuhan’s terms, therefore, minds cool down images for ease of storage and retrieval. Human eyes even search out these unique features, showing a “preference for extremes,” because those features are central to our memory function.⁷⁵ Thus, the human mind identifies caricatures faster than photorealistic images.⁷⁶

Though lacking modern neuroscience, even sixteenth-century artists found that caricatures captured the world around them in a unique way

and wrote about the “realer than realistic” quality of caricatures.⁷⁷ Of course, uniqueness, variation from the norm, is not a fixed quality, but is at least partly culturally determined. Thus, if Tudor artists’ selection of heraldry-like geometric, dimensional shapes and restricted, bright palettes picked out features they noticed as unusual in Ghent-Bruges style, we might ask whether heraldic strewn functioned cognitively for the Tudors as a caricature of Ghent-Bruges strewn style. That is, in amplifying Ghent-Bruges style by simplifying it in their heraldic variant, were Tudor artists caricaturing it? The answer may be so culturally located that we may not be able to answer the question with any certainty today, but we should consider the possibility, especially given how commonplace actual heraldry was.

Tudor Documents and Compelling Closure

In Chapter 1, Gitelman reminded us that the know-show function of documents activates the document’s institutional control, and I propose that the variants employed to decorate the memorial chapel indentures may offer unique insight into the operation of that activation. Gitelman admits that the know-show function might hinge on the design of the document, including its decoration.⁷⁸ The memorial indentures so neatly echo Gitelman’s comments, in fact, that we can replace her topic, “Americans,” with “Tudors” seamlessly: the memorial chapel indentures were a “‘documentary expression’ of [Tudors] trying to know and show themselves to themselves,” in both a collective and an individual sense, as the king kept a copy of each agreement.⁷⁹ The text of these documents recorded the liturgical requirements that Henry VII demanded of the institutions, and the documents themselves activated that control in perpetuity, their very shape, the indentations along the top (as on all indentures), serving as a visual, physical reminder of the copies held by the other members of the agreement. Gitelman’s suggestion that the decoration assisted with that activation offers more evidence for the deliberate deployment of Ghent-Bruges borders and

the two English variants. McLuhan's theory of hot and cool media further supports this thesis, as we have seen that each of these border styles cognitively engages viewers differently.

Indeed, in their activation of governmental power, documents offer new insight into a tension that critics have found in the nature of viewer participation in cool media. McCloud describes viewer participation in positive, collegial terms: "the McCloudian reader is the agent of closure," they are "active and empowered."⁸⁰ Charles Hatfield goes so far as to claim that "the elevation of the reader to the status of co-creator" marks McCloud's "biggest contribution to comics theory."⁸¹ Hatfield emphasizes how canonical this understanding of the active comics reader has become and, as one example, at least one contemporary design manual cites McCloud directly to support its section on closure.⁸² In contrast to the active agency of McCloud's readers, McLuhan's experience compulsion. "Comics," says McLuhan, "being low in definition, are a highly participatory form of expression" in which "the viewer, or reader, is *compelled* to participate in completing and interpreting the few hints provided by the bounding lines" (emphasis mine).⁸³ Hatfield expands on the critics exploring this tension between empowerment and compulsion and suggests that, in the end, McCloud himself is inconsistent on reader engagement: "McCloud seems to be arguing that the involuntary automatism of 'identification' enables the voluntary work of attaining closure."⁸⁴ Citing a range of psychological studies, Stuart Medley frames this tension in a relatively positive light, saying, "on the one hand pursuing illustrations that remove some of the visual details found in the real world might better allow closure, and on the other create scenes that can powerfully seize the attention of the eye and literally excite it."⁸⁵ The relationship between consensual participation and compulsion (and the ethics thereof), however, remains actively debated in the field of comic studies.

None of the critics concerned with viewer agency in comics have attempted to historicize reader engagement with cooler media, or address the issue of genre, and so it is worth pointing out that compelling

engagement with the indentures was precisely what Malhom and Henry VII sought to achieve. The compulsive engagement characteristic of cooler media certainly “involve[s] techniques of regulating the body and teaching it certain patterns and institutional relations” when faced with a cartoon-like document.⁸⁶ The know-show function of documents activates institutional control, and a visual element which cognitively forced viewers to engage that control would have been highly valued in the early sixteenth century. Indeed, compelling viewers to engage a design in specific ways continues to be a valuable strategy in UX today. Airlines certainly wish to compel passengers’ understanding of emergency procedures, among many other possible examples. Andy Hertzfeld, one of the early developers of the Macintosh computer’s revolutionary GUI, said of *Understanding Comics* that it remains “...one of the most insightful books about designing graphic user interfaces ever written, even though it never discusses the subject directly.”⁸⁷

Henry VII’s Hot and Cool Mass Media

In short, forcing audiences into Tudor commemoration was precisely what Henry VII desired. From a graphic design and media studies perspective, the decision to select, and even develop, non-illusionistic strewn styles for most of the chapel indentures looks very canny indeed. The indenture initials and borders already bore heraldry, were already going to be engaged and read using closure, and therefore a heraldic strewn border arguably created a more complete visual narrative than the Masters of the Dark Eyes’ Flemish strewn indentures did. As we saw, McLuhan himself understood comics as a medieval medium associated with woodcuts, and, always alert for potential historical ruptures, he also asserted that the “sudden appeal” of a comic-like “form of expression and experience...is a sure index of deep changes in [a] culture.”⁸⁸ Tudor England certainly might qualify as such a moment of profound change.

Designed by Henry or Malhom to launch the Tudor memorial chapel, the indentures suggest that this early Tudor media strategy was artistically capacious, extending from the hottest of hot designs to the coolest of cool. Henry VII had already invested in the popular European Ghent-Bruges style on behalf of Arthur and Margaret. The Tudors welcomed the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England as early Renaissance court artists, who worked for members of the royal family and inner court and administration from about 1500 until nearly a decade into the next reign. Their exuberant, illusionistic panels remain the very definition of hot media, deftly conveying the beauty of the natural world. Yet, with every possible detail conveyed in pigment, the Masters' borders demand only the briefest audience engagement, and viewers become "less immersed in the narrative than in the spectacular image-situation."⁸⁹ Astonished by the illusionistic borders cradling Tudor insignia in fig. 3.1, viewers might take great enjoyment viewing these designs without engaging deeply with them. In Gitelman's terms, the art helped to activate these documents by loudly proclaiming the Tudor appreciation for the finest possible examples of this very European aesthetic, and Tudor ability to hire European artists to paint it. Moreover, the Masters' hot Renaissance style eventually took over the English media landscape, as we shall see in Chapter 4. To this day, we associate this painterly style with the Renaissance, and with fine, "genteel," art itself, as McLuhan might say. We are enculturated to like this hot media, and even to value it as finer art than its "cartoony" peers.

If the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England were "splendid" then the rest of the indentures show "vulgar" art. Our twenty-first-century bodies (and minds) continue to be taught Renaissance media patterns, as Parikka would put it.⁹⁰ The variety within the indentures suggests deliberate deployment of the Masters' borders for propagandistic purpose, as the majority of the indenture borders instead feature vastly simplified, and therefore amplified, almost caricatured, variants of the Ghent-Bruges style. Reflecting the king's partiality for French border design, the Anglo-French strewn borders of fig. 3.3 remained clearly

French, at the same time as they equally clearly referenced the Flemish strewn style—and they accomplish all of this with remarkably little modelling, even at the larger strewn scale. These borders were cooler than Ghent-Bruges borders, and demanded viewers engage them more deeply in order to decode the shapes, and perhaps also to recognize their Frenchness.

Perhaps influenced by the visual distillation of heraldry itself, the English heraldic strewn borders of fig. 3.2 “recall a time when shape preceded meaning.”⁹¹ Severely narrow in their colour palettes and motif range, these borders instead devoted attention to modelling the dimensionality of each motif, and careful mirroring across the visual plane. These bright, balanced, and shapely borders drew viewers in as surely as the heraldry inside the initials and borders did, and the selection of this style for the bipartite indentures underscores the value of this viewer engagement. Compelled, viewers *will* fill in what they do not see and may enjoy doing so.

Certainly it appears that the English enjoyed practising closure in art. In a world saturated with heraldry, the English developed a uniquely amplified, caricatured strewn design variant and employed it for decades, even integrating it eventually into their traditional English vinework, as we will see in Chapter 4. As with the chromostereopsis discussed in Chapter 1, the limners did not need to know how closure or cool media worked neurologically to understand that this colourful, linear design engaged people in a special way. Surrounded by heraldry, such an understanding would have been entirely natural to them. Unlike the Anglo-French strewn style, Malhom does not seem to have launched this style for the indentures specifically, but selected a new design that had begun circulating in the London area a decade or so earlier. Nevertheless, only all three designs together, hotter and cooler, European and English, astonishing and engaging, finally marked the indentures’ art as being “in as goodly and riche maner as... to a kinges [media] apperteigneth.”⁹²

Documenting Mid-Tudor Media Strategies and the Invention of Medieval Design

The appreciation for stylistic plenitude—hotter and cooler designs massed together—that was demonstrated in the memorial chapel indentures examined last chapter persisted well into the sixteenth century, but traditional, medieval English motifs eventually gave way to an imported, continental, Renaissance set, including illusionism and classicizing architectural motifs. This chapter traces that broad appreciation and interest in both hotter and cooler designs, including Renaissance Italianate (whether originally imported directly from Italy or via France) and medieval English, from 1521 to their end in the middle decades of the century. The Tudors did fully embrace continental, Renaissance artistic styles, as the traditional narrative claims, but it took the dynasty decades to reach that point—enough time for what had begun as fully imported designs to spread and accrete into a media stratum dense enough to cover the medieval designs that came before. Moreover, though they did eventually abandon medieval English vine-work, the Tudors remained partial to cooler designs and continued to employ them alongside hotter ones. It is worth stressing that, due to the imported origin of Ghent-Bruges borders, and the persistence of both hot and cool designs, there could be nothing genealogical about this process: only archeology provides a sufficient analogy. This chapter marks another strategic cut to reveal the complex hybridity that existed before late medieval English illumination was covered by the more familiar Renaissance stratum. There it has long lain, largely forgotten.

This chapter will explore three case studies and end with a fragment of a fourth. In 1521, Henry VIII and what we would today call his communications team selected an emphatically cosmopolitan range of designs to decorate the copies, both manuscript and print, of the king's best-selling anti-Lutheran manifesto *Assertio septem sacramentorum* (1521), given to the pope and other foreign heads of state. For this, they chose continental designs and painted them in both hotter and cooler techniques, including developing a new heraldic style using Renaissance architectural motifs rather than the earlier heraldic strewn style's florals. From kings to commoners, the mid-sixteenth-century English confronted change at a dizzying pace, as the second case study suggests. In Henry's final years, Queen Katherine Parr served as part of the king's public-relations machine, producing translations that supported royal policies. Moreover, she had many printed copies decorated to be given as gifts, distributing this propaganda to specific audiences, and for this purpose she also chose Renaissance motifs executed in a cool, heraldic style, not unlike the *Assertio* copies made decades prior. Outside the court, however, general audiences might still appreciate design plenitude, or, more provocatively, might be interested in nascent medievalism, as the third case study highlights. For a guild in a London suburb, the artist and scribe John Shippey painted riotous borders featuring not only exquisitely hot Renaissance initials and border segments in fine Ghent-Bruges style, but also cooler traditional English vine-work. In the end, English vine-work and heraldic strewn designs can be found on documents through the 1550s, but by Elizabeth's reign, book and document decoration featured continental, Renaissance designs alone. By the 1560s, the stratum of the medieval book was fully below ground. Nevertheless, the chapter ends by looking briefly at Elizabethan and Stuart embroidery patterns that seem modelled on English heraldic strewn motifs, showing how medievalism might have become a design variant within this new Renaissance stratum.

Two Royal Media Campaigns

PART I: ASSERTIO SEPTEM SACRAMENTORUM (1521)

The royal media agenda continued to demonstrate the stylistic flexibility characteristic of the chapel indentures until at least a group of *Assertio* copies made in 1521, but a continental Renaissance design stratum was beginning to fossilize. The anti-Lutheran position Henry trumpeted in 1521 and his waffling between Catholic and Protestant policy in the mid-1540s called for concerted media/communication strategies, including document decoration guided by royal policy (if not necessarily by Henry himself). These two Tudor media campaigns also demonstrate a complex shift from illuminated manuscripts to printed books to transmit royal policy. The nearly 100 chapel indentures discussed in Chapter 3 pushed hand-produced mass media about as far as it could go, and scaling up further required the printing press. Yet, even as the Tudors fully adopted print as a means of mass communication of government policy, they did not stop decorating documents. The practice of decorating printed documents, or even early printed English books, has received little scholarly attention before now, and it presents unique challenges. Such artifacts demand to be considered simultaneously as documents, as early print, *and* as illumination, and require a nuanced scholarly approach.

At their most traditional, early printed items consist of black type or woodcut designs on white paper, but this iconic combination proved to be only one of the possible options. Bicolour printing, in black and red, began early and was widely adopted in England before 1500, despite the additional labour and expense it required.¹ Early printers also printed on parchment, a laborious and expensive process that nevertheless remained an important part of some publishers' catalogues throughout this period.² Further, and importantly, whether on paper or parchment, some printed material continued to be decorated by hand in ink or pigment.³

Recent media theory has largely avoided decorated early print, despite how well it suits an archeological approach. McLuhan derided this decoration as a “misconceived and misapplied” effort, characteristic of a temporary “horseless-carriage” phase.⁴ Nevertheless, hand-decoration of print persisted through the second half of the fifteenth century and throughout the sixteenth century, suggesting that Tudor viewers found that decoration added value to their media. Meanwhile, McLuhan viewed woodcuts as “low definition,” and therefore as cooler, more engaging media, and he related the operation of woodcuts on viewers directly to cartoons.⁵ With hot Renaissance naturalism available and spreading across the artistic landscape, we should remain sensitive to the simultaneous accretion of a cooler deposit of woodcuts and heraldic design. It is the coexistence of the two that most characterizes earlier Tudor art, and media archaeology enables their analysis.

Henry’s *Assertio* gift-copies mark an extraordinary media campaign. Martin Luther released his famous ninety-five theses in October of 1517 and, over the following years, Europe would be blanketed with printed pamphlets arguing for or against Lutheran ideas. From January of 1521, the Diet of Worms began to solidify official positions on Lutheranism across Europe. In response, Henry released the *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, a defense of orthodoxy that would win him the title Defender of the Faith. In a now-traditional recounting of events, Richard Rex suggests that the *Assertio* took shape between April and June when Thomas Wolsey (1473–1530) collected a group of humanist theologians in London who “composed or at least revised” the *Assertio* that Henry had drafted so that it was ready for publication by mid-June.⁶ As Rex puts it, “although it is clear that Henry began the task unaided, contemporary rumour supports the theory that he received a considerable amount of help.”⁷ In the event, the *Assertio* seems to have succeeded on every possible metric, and Lucy Wooding calls it “outraged, articulate, theologically intelligent, and politically shrewd.”⁸ The king (or Wolsey) immediately posted specially produced copies to the Pope, members of the papal court, and other European heads

of state, ensuring that his message was received at the highest levels. Indeed, no printed copies were circulated for public sale until the Pope had approved of the project, which he did not do until October.⁹ In the event, the pamphlet sold exceptionally well in many editions printed in England and across Europe, and did so for years: it was “the first widely selling book against Luther.”¹⁰

Clearly, all of the copies of the momentous *Assertio* that were sent to the pope, cardinals, and European royalty had to be prepared with extraordinary care. The pope himself received a manuscript copy, and immigrant scribe Peter Meghen (1466/7–1540), eventually Writer of the King’s Books, was tasked to produce it.¹¹ Meghen wrote in a highly regarded humanist script, and he continued to copy deluxe manuscripts, even quite long ones, until 1540.¹² Meghen’s copy of the *Assertio* received an illuminated title-page border in a Ghent-Bruges strewn style and major initials in French or Flemish style, though the artist has not been identified.¹³ Such an approach offers evidence that this forty-year-old hot border style continued to be viewed as impeccably current in 1521, as it would for the remainder of the century. These designs heralded the new stratum developing atop that of older, cooler medieval English designs.

The printed gift copies were a study in contrast with the pope’s manuscript, highlighting how the addition of print resulted in a cosmopolitan stylistic plenitude even more complex than that of the earlier chapel indentures. Rex notes that thirty printed copies were sent for papal approval, and from there onward to their respective ecclesiastical and royal addressees.¹⁴ The King’s Printer, Richard Pynson (1449–1529), was trusted with the printing, and the gift copies all seem to have been printed on costly parchment.¹⁵ Scholars herald the title-page woodcut as designed and signed by Hans Holbein (ca. 1497–1543); however, he did not make it for Henry, but for Johannes Froben (1460–1527), the Basel-based humanist printer with whom Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) and Thomas More (1478–1535) had such close dealings.¹⁶

Julia Smith calls the technique of decorating multiple printed copies similarly, if not identically, “batch-colouring,” and the gift copies of the *Assertio* clearly show a batch-colouring strategy not unlike the method used in the chapel indentures.¹⁷ Because of the importance of these documents and the careful attention to decorative programs required in batch-colouring, the differences visible among copies can be instructive. All extant copies begin with Holbein’s woodcut title-page border. There is no surprise that this border features a range of Renaissance motifs that had originated in Italy decades earlier but were by this point spread across Europe in a wide range of media. The woodcut border includes putti, for example, and also other Italianate motifs. McLuhan would already identify this as a cooler border, being a woodcut. However, the preference for cooler decoration received added emphasis in the gift copies. These title pages were illuminated in a technique that treated the woodcut like underdrawing, more or less closely reproducing the woodcut design beneath in pigment. The colours are bright and the palette limited, with the woodcut underneath providing some hatching showing through the pigment, and shell-gold washes adding final modelling above the overpainting. The effect is certainly amplified, in McCloud’s terms, and creates a very bright, heraldic effect over the woodcut. Nevertheless, Henry’s officials understood these painted woodcut borders to be attractive to the most refined tastes in Europe. Just as the Caesar Master’s hybrid Anglo-*bianchi girari* found partisans in Italy, this Tudor “horseless carriage” was to find noteworthy success across Europe.

At the same time, thanks to Holbein’s characteristically continental Renaissance motifs in the woodcut underneath, these title-page borders literally feature English artists painting continental designs, and they continue to do so freehand in various ways across the extant gift copies. After the batch-coloured title pages, subsequent pages of the *Assertio* gift copies were not printed with woodcut borders, and the bare borders could be illuminated in ways that demonstrate English interest in seeing Renaissance designs rendered in a heraldic fashion.

Not unlike the chapel indentures, the variation among different copies' borders suggest that artists were given a choice within a stipulated range. One copy works to match the style of the illuminated woodcut borders of the Holbein title page, retaining the gold ground, heraldic, bright colours, putti, and the range of Italianate Renaissance motifs, while adding an imaginary scene of Henry presenting the *Assertio* to the pope.¹⁸ Fig. 4.1 illustrates another copy, which also displays Italianate, Renaissance motifs painted in a cool, heraldic style, but set against an antique, Flemish-style dotted white ground.¹⁹ Henry himself seems to be depicted as King David in a monochrome roundel in the lower margin, an unusually early example of the royal Davidic iconography that would become so common from the 1530s onward.²⁰ Meanwhile, like the dotted white ground, the design of the acanthus and red roses included among the continental motifs are borrowed directly from English heraldic strewn. We might call such a border "heraldic Renaissance," and consider using the term for fully overpainted woodcuts like the title pages, as well.

Just as English artists developed the cooler heraldic strewn variant from the hotter Ghent-Bruges original, so did these English artists develop a cooler heraldic Renaissance variant, whether their models were woodcuts that were already cool or other, hotter media imports. This return to what had originally been Italianate design marks a special moment of English engagement with continental models. Chapter 2 demonstrated that the English were unusually interested in *bianchi girari* and, alone in Europe, adapted their own version. However, the chapter ended in noting that this Anglo-Italian design variant died out and that English artists did not adapt newer Italian styles that were becoming popular on the continent. Suddenly bursting onto the scene in 1521, these gift-copies of the *Assertio* show what I believe are the first Italianate Renaissance borders painted in England, whether we consider the overpainted woodcuts or the freehand illumination on bare parchment. Such classicizing antiquarian designs had been known since the mid-fifteenth-century in Italy, and spread from there, but

they are not recorded in English limning before this point.²¹ Nevertheless, despite the Renaissance motifs, the English rendering on the *Assertio* copies firmly eschews naturalism and instead attests to a persistent interest in cool, linear heraldic design.

The visual messages Henry VIII sent with this hybrid art in 1521 matched the cosmopolitanism of his father's memorial indentures. Fully Flemish, copied by a European scribe and decorated with Flemish art, the Pope's manuscript copy was essentially a striking, hot, imported product. Like the Masters' indentures, the pope's *Assertio* manuscript spoke to Henry's ability to retain the finest artisans in Europe. The illuminated, printed, parchment copies for European royals replicated continental motifs, but remain stamped with heraldic Englishness even when they included painted Renaissance border designs. Although transmitted outwards to Europeans, rather than inwards, to English institutions, cosmopolitan royal messaging in 1521 may not have diverged too far from that of 1504.

PART II: HENRY VIII'S "GOOD CAPTAIN," KATHERINE PARR²⁰

The English generation after 1521 certainly lived through the curse of interesting times. Within a decade, the Defender of the Faith put aside his first wife to marry a second and began a long, drawn-out, and sometimes recursive process of breaking with the Church and medieval Christianity. Religious policies came and went with dizzying speed. Politically and practically, Henry's cycling through queens threatened stability and lives across the court. These national political and religious shifts also forced repeated alliance changes in the wars spreading across Europe, complicating the last decades of Henry's reign further. Instability seemed to be the only constant.

In recent years, scholars have begun to understand how directly Katherine Parr's (1512–1548) published religious translations supported Henry VIII's late religious and military policies. During her short period as queen consort from 1543–47, through to Elizabeth's reign, Parr's translations continued to sell and to resonate with English

audiences navigating tumultuous decades. Micheline White has highlighted the importance of Parr's strategy of preparing specially decorated and bound copies of her works as gifts for specific people. It takes no great stretch to think of all of Parr's publishing as a media campaign on a more local level than the *Assertio* effort. In this section, after summarizing the evidence showing Parr to be an important mid-Tudor media figure, I will underscore how Parr's decorative plan for this campaign was thoroughly continental. By 1545, Italianate Renaissance motifs were the order of the day, though often executed in a cool, engaging heraldic style. Like Henry VII and Henry VIII, Parr wished to compel attention.

Kimberly Coles sums up the importance of Parr's works thusly: "the transitional spirituality in the work of Queen Katherine Parr reflects an England moving tentatively between the old faith and new," and she credits Parr's willingness to position herself within her works as a transitional figure.²³ Coles argues for Parr's career as a best-selling author: huge numbers of copies of many editions of her works were printed during Parr's lifetime and long after her death.²⁴ Janel Mueller claims that Parr's works "[register] as an ambitious, even an autonomous attempt to provide English readers—first among them, it seems, King Henry—with a private counterpart" to the officially released reformed religious texts like Thomas Cranmer's (1489–1556) *Litany* and the substitutes for traditional books of hours.²⁵ For White, Parr's literary and editorial activity in her *Psalms or Prayers* (1544), *Prayers or Meditations* (1545), and editorial direction of the translation of Erasmus's biblical *Paraphrases* (1548), mark a stunning break with royal tradition: "Katherine's bold foray into the realm of scholarship and religious debate attracted a great deal of commentary: her household was described as a place of learning and textual production, and she was imagined as a queen-writer whose literary activities had implications for the nation."²⁶

More locally, as part of the queen's "active role in the reform agenda," Parr distributed significant numbers of her own works herself, and she had many of these gift copies decorated and finely bound.²⁷ White

considers the gift books to be “media that promoted political bonding and reciprocity,” and points out that this practice means that Parr “engaged in an important form of social authorship that involved the personal distribution of her works to select readers.”²⁸ In May 1544, just as they were published, she ordered fourteen finely bound and gilded copies of the *Psalms or Prayers* from the King’s Printer, Thomas Berthelet.²⁹ Speaking about Berthelet, Christopher Warner claims that “Henry’s subjects...would have understood that the [royal printers were] doing official service: proclaiming new laws, stating the king’s views, representing the king as he wanted others to see him.”³⁰ At times, it seems, this representation included the queen’s translations, and perhaps their decoration. At the end of war in France, in 1546, Parr ordered four more “books of psalms,” likely more copies of *Psalms or Prayers*, ruled and finely bound.³¹ The stipulated ruling, substantial sums paid, further documentary evidence, and extant copies all suggest that some of these volumes were printed on parchment and illuminated.³² According to White, and reminiscent of Gitelman’s assertion about the work that decoration accomplished on documents, all this customization “activate[d] political relationships” between Parr (as a member of the Tudor monarchy) and the courtly recipients.³³

The decoration of the gift copies features a batch-colouring strategy like that of the printed *Assertio* gift copies, but with different techniques and motifs. The three extant gift copies of Parr’s 1544 *Psalms or Prayers* display illuminated woodcut title pages that highlighted the woodcut underneath, rather than covering it almost entirely as in the *Assertio* title pages.³⁴ The versos display freehand illumination in the form of striking Renaissance coats of arms, fixed to curled-cylinder shields, held by lions, and hanging against curtains held aloft by putti, all painted in a cool, heraldic style. Given the motifs and the palette employed, immigrant court artist Levina Teerlinc (d. 1576) may have painted these pages soon after her arrival in England, or an artist whose work has been identified as Teerlinc’s in the past.³⁵ There was nothing English about the motifs used in the decoration of the gift copies of the

Psalms or Prayers, but the technique was heraldic rather than naturalistic. Teerlinc is often derided for a poor technique—a “loose, washy manner,” as one critic put it—but if this is viewed as intentionally heraldic, then she may in fact have made a canny commercial decision.³⁶

It seems increasingly clear that, with the arrival of the Flemish Horenbout family in the 1520s, Hans Holbein’s visits in the 1520s and 1530s, and the migration of Simon Bening’s daughter, Levina Teerlinc, in the 1540s, the Tudor regimes shifted their patronage to foreign artists, or to English artists who could work entirely in foreign styles. Long gone was the period in which Henry VII had hired both the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England and English artists who could render foreign styles in English ways, offering audiences both hot and cool art. By the 1540s, continental Renaissance designs suffused the Tudor court entirely, whether painted in hotter, more naturalistic, or cooler, more heraldic modes.

The End of English Vinework, the Beginning of English Medievalism?

English vinework lasted longer outside the court, but even there it may have begun to be viewed as antique, or as deliberately old-fashioned “retro,” or “medievalism,” if you will, by the 1540s. The town of Luton lies just north of London and in the late Middle Ages it sponsored a religious guild dedicated to the Holy Trinity. Founded by royal licence in 1475, the guild boasted the ceremonial membership of royals from Edward IV to Henry VIII (missing only Richard III), their queens, and a range of high ecclesiastics, together with the wealthy of Luton and beyond, who gathered funds to organize the memorialization of community members.³⁷ While the local nobility maintained control over the town, the guild’s master and wardens tended to be drawn from locally prominent individuals.³⁸ The guild’s altar in the parish church, and its hall, where members would gather for worship and for feasts, provided focal points for pre-Reformation civic life relatively independent of

the noble political hierarchy.³⁹ Nevertheless, the Reformation arrived in Luton, too, and in 1547, the second Chantry Act dissolved parish guilds like Luton's and their real estate and moveable goods were taken into government hands. For seventy-two years, however, the Luton guild served as the memorial centre of the town, a local, communal version of what Henry VII had set up for the royal family with the indentures discussed in Chapter 3. It is therefore worth considering the Luton guild book as documentary media in which Luton knew and showed itself to itself, as Gitelman would say.

Unlike the two previous case studies, which concentrated on the decoration of special printed volumes, the Luton guild register remained emphatically manuscript, and may on this basis alone have served as vintage media by the 1540s. The register regularly enrolled members' names, and considerable expense was put into this project, as the volume itself was brought out for memorial occasions (just as Henry's indentures were).⁴⁰ Each new enrollment began with an illuminated initial and borderwork of some type. Fig. 4.2 shows how ornate the borders could be, including the town's rebus of lute and barrel or "tonne," and large initial historiated with the royal arms. Even the copying was unusually elaborate, as from 1475 to its final entry, the Trinity guild commissioned the scribes to write in a script, *textualis*, that was both formal and slow (and therefore expensive) to write. *Textualis* had been traditional for liturgical (like fig. 1.1) and Latin devotional books (like fig. 5.1) in 1475, but by 1547, and the final register entry, vanishingly few books were copied by hand at all in England, much less religious works in *textualis*. When John Shippey quickly inscribed a final leaf that he had "wrytten [and] lymmed" the previous pages, he was acknowledging that he was expert in a dying craft.⁴¹ Shippey employed multicoloured ink, as well as gold and sometimes silver lettering, in copying this antique and technically demanding script.

In fig. 4.2, we can see immediately that traditional English vinework persisted as late as the mid-1540s, if added to what Christopher de Hamel calls a "high Renaissance" border.⁴² Guild records, together

with documents like the one pictured in fig. 1.2, remind us that entirely traditional English vinework continued in use into the 1520s. While the tremor visible in the vinework in fig. 1.2 may mark an older artist, other examples painted in the 1520s in the London area demonstrate a similar attachment to traditional design.⁴³ Indeed, the Luton Trinity Guild continued to purchase traditional vinework for at least some of its register borders into the 1520s.⁴⁴ Not far from Luton, the Dunstable fraternity of St. John the Baptist maintained a register that employed borders including segments of traditional English vinework from at least 1506 until the 1530s.⁴⁵ The London Skinners' Company supported two different fraternities, one devoted to the Assumption, and the other to Corpus Christi. The Skinners' Corpus Christi guild also bought vinework borders for their registers until the mid-1520s.⁴⁶ While we cannot know whether these decisions reflect patron preference or the skillsets of the individual artists hired, it is clear that the more-than-century-old English style continued to convey, and even activate, institutional authority among diverse audiences into the 1520s. After this point, however, English vinework becomes rarer, increasing the likelihood that Shippey deliberately selected these traditional designs as medievalism in the 1540s. Indeed, Shippey filled in the top and gutter borders with sprays of green lobes and gold balls, designs that had been in constant use in England by this point for nearly 150 years.

Rather than letting them stand on their own, as they would have just decades prior, however, Shippey folded English vinework into extremely complex borders, including a harbinger of the new stratum slowly settling over the medieval designs. Prominent in fig. 4.2 are two carefully boxed panels. One contains entirely traditional Ghent-Bruges strewn motifs of carnations and pansies against a flat, gold background. As we saw in Chapter 3, books decorated in the hot Ghent-Bruges illusionistic style began to be imported into England from 1480 onward, beginning with the Yorkist court. Next to this Ghent-Bruges panel sits a nearly identical strewn panel in gold, only this one contains cooler, heraldic red roses, painted with no illusionism.

We still do not know precisely when the English artists themselves began to paint Ghent-Bruges borders. The Luton guild had hired the same Masters of the Dark Eyes discussed in Chapter 3 to paint borders in their register toward the end of the Masters' careers in England, in 1516–17.⁴⁷ Yet, we do not know if the Dutch artists trained any English limners in their signature techniques. Nevertheless, by the 1530s, there are enough guild registers from the London area decorated with the hot Ghent-Bruges style that I think we have to accept that English artists were doing the work themselves by then, and likely earlier. The Skinners' Assumption guild switched to this type of border—sometimes in the hot, Flemish original design, and other times in a cooler, English heraldic strewn variant—in their register in 1529, and their Corpus Christi guild adopted it in 1532.⁴⁸ Dunstable seems to have hired precocious artists, as they included cooler heraldic strewn border segments from 1522, though these were possibly painted later.⁴⁹ Unlike the white, dotted grounds common in government documents decorated with heraldic strewn borders, the registers nearly universally display a preference for gold or yellow grounds beneath the flora. Certainly, by the mid-1540s, Shippey shows no hesitation in rendering either the original illusionistic technique or its heraldic variant. It is even possible that both illusionism and heraldic strewn may have appeared traditional by the mid-Tudor period, in some circles at least. Traditional or not, illusionism proved lasting, and the Skinners continue to employ illusionism in their registers (secularized after 1545) into the seventeenth century. There was nothing English about such illusionism, and it did not mark a variant of anything: mid-Tudor English artists reproduced Ghent-Bruges borders as-imported.

Shippey paid special attention to illusionism in painting the royal arms in the initials, just as the Masters of the Dark Eyes had in their heraldic initials in the indentures discussed in Chapter 3. De Hamel calls Shippey's coats of arms in the Trinity register "exquisite heraldic painting."⁵⁰ Just as the Masters' heraldic supporters cast the only shadow in fig. 3.1, in fig. 4.2, Shippey ensured that the white stripes

appear illusionistically raised against a green field like a lattice, and the body of the initial and coat of arms appears to rest on top of the Tudor colours. For both artists, the royal dynasty casts shade over the field, and this hot detail packs a punch—as the Tudors no doubt preferred.

In the Trinity register, Shippey crammed his borders full of features, both hot continental Renaissance and cooler English vinework; none of the other guild registers continue to showcase such hybridity into the 1540s. It is therefore worth considering that Shippey deliberately crafted a vintage border style, a medievalized border, to harmonize with the borders of the rest of the volume stretching back to the 1470s. There is some evidence to support this. The height of popularity of the monochrome band borders and centre-point interlace around which Shippey builds the border in fig. 4.2 lay in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, over a century before Shippey's day.⁵¹ Both features may have seen a resurgence of interest in the earlier sixteenth century.⁵² Yet, the closest model for the antiquarian additions to the fig. 4.2 border may be found in the register's 1527 border, which features monochrome band insets and faux-interlace designed the same way as Shippey's.⁵³ Nevertheless, if the earlier border provided Shippey some inspiration, he did not copy it: the 1527 border surrounds the monochrome bands with heraldic strewn features rather than the Ghent-Bruges strewn segments and English acanthus and aroids out of which Shippey constructs his own antiquarian borders.

Marked by decorated pages painted over decades, guild registers offer examples of media archaeology in miniature, practiced by medieval artists themselves. The limners hired by the guilds made cuts through the strata of individual volumes, and the work of the past directly influenced their own, contemporary designs. As Jussi Parikka describes it, “media artists have been able to use themes, ideas and inspiration from past media too in order to investigate what the newness in ‘new media’ means.”⁵⁴ While Parikka prefers steampunk “as a good symbol for the media-archaeological spirit of thinking the new and the old in parallel lines,” in the guild registers we can draw from an earlier referent and

call it “medievalism.”⁵⁵ Such Tudor cosmopolitanism spoke to communities’ appreciation both for styles from across Europe and English styles from their own day, stretching back, like the members whose names the registers preserved, into the previous century.

An Elizabethan Design Settlement

By now, it should be no surprise that the last vestiges of traditional English vinework disappeared early in Elizabeth’s reign. Her government had to develop a new media strategy to forge as unifying a path forward as possible, and even documentary medievalism could be too easily divisive. Royal media had already turned solidly toward continental motifs by the 1540s, and by the 1560s English traditional vine-work was essentially gone—that design stratum fully covered over with illusionism and a host of Renaissance designs borrowed wholesale from the continent. Yet the English preference for cool media persisted. At least one English portrait miniaturist continued to amplify by simplifying his lines. The story of English heraldic strewn designs persisted, too, but in an entirely different medium that may strain the media-archaeological model to its breaking point: embroidery.

The latest traditional vinework motifs I know of that activate public documents appear on two illuminated grants of arms of 1560, though one nearly hidden specimen remains in ink on the headpiece of a roll of the Court of King’s Bench in 1565.⁵⁶ With little audience, one of the King’s Bench artists continues to draw these motifs on court-roll headpieces through 1569.⁵⁷ Even on grants of arms, borders seem to have simplified under Elizabeth, and came to most frequently concentrate on the necessary heraldic illustration, together with royal tokens or narrow filigree borders, though exceptions certainly existed.⁵⁸ Even the foliate borders that were painted on some grants drew inspiration from other sources: artists were not reaching back to the medieval English tradition any longer.⁵⁹ By Elizabeth I, “the medieval” had receded fully

into the rearview mirror (which means, as McLuhan reminds us, that it was closer than it appeared).

Yet, gone was certainly not forgotten—medieval design and early Tudor interest in cool media persisted in a variety of ways to which I can only gesture. Christina Faraday demonstrates an Elizabethan interest in cool media, emphasizing that Elizabethans thought simplified design was just as capable of conveying likeness as illusionism, and perhaps more. Today, art critics often characterize Nicholas Hilliard's (1547–1619) portrait miniatures as cartoony and less realistic, even using the term “heraldic” to describe them.⁶⁰ Hilliard himself may have agreed, in part, as he wrote explicitly about the importance of not capturing every line in a sketch.⁶¹ His approach paid dividends, however. According to Faraday, it was thanks to, not despite, that lack of illusionism that his technique was highly valued by his contemporaries for the special “liveliness” of its renderings. In short, Hilliard's audience approved of amplification through simplification, and of his uniquely spare execution of it. As we saw in Chapter 3, this Elizabethan assessment is consonant with twenty-first-century understanding about how cool media works, cognitively: missing details draw viewers' gazes into the artwork as our brains seek to create closure, filling in the gaps. Though perhaps compelled, Elizabethans clearly enjoyed Hilliard's mentally stimulating approach, just as earlier generations had enjoyed heraldic strewn borders.

Heraldic strewn borders themselves persisted for some time, though they finally succumbed to Renaissance preferences about the same time as traditional vinework did. Certainly, the Tudors continued to mix heraldic strewn in among fully continental design on their documents, even those of central importance to the government—but only for so long. One can find heraldic floral motifs scattered across white, stippled grounds in the illumination decorating Henry VIII's *Valor ecclesiasticus* (1535), for example, mixed among both hotter, illusionistic, and cooler, heraldic Renaissance illumination.⁶² Heraldic strewn designs persisted

on decorated charters and letters patent even longer, with examples through to the end of Henry's reign.⁶³ Likewise, Edward's, Mary's and even Elizabeth's governments continued to employ English heraldic strewn, at least occasionally.⁶⁴ Heraldic strewn borders appear regularly on grants of arms straight through the 1540s and into the 1550s until, like English vinework, they disappear finally after 1560.⁶⁵ Was heraldic strewn, too, medievalism by this point, over fifty years after the development of these designs, and decades after the height of their use? Or was heraldic strewn's continued employment linked to the genuine heraldry and royal heraldic insignia that traditionally featured in these documentary borders, and which played such an important role in activating the royal authority that the legal instruments conveyed? That remains unclear, but after its final demise in pigment around 1560, heraldic design bloomed again, beginning about the same period—in thread, rather than paint.

Research into the development of English embroidery designs through the sixteenth century is a burgeoning scholarly field, and future studies may shed more light on the apparently close relationship between embroidery and heraldic strewn motifs.⁶⁶ Though perhaps not in pigments, Princess Elizabeth could replicate these motifs in thread quite young, as she did in one of the bindings she embroidered with pansies in 1544.⁶⁷ In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, a vogue for white or cream garments covered with floral designs appeared and flourished well into the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Indeed, George Digby claims that “a naturalistic floral pattern in coloured silks, often with gold or silver thread and spangles” was characteristic of Elizabethan embroidery.⁶⁸ Naturalistic but not illusionistic, Digby and others thought Ghent-Bruges illumination a likely original source of Tudor interest in floral design.⁶⁹ Yet, we can provide different evidence after having traced the development of English heraldic strewn in Chapter 3. Fig. 4.3 offers an example that still even bears some small metal sequins (now dark with tarnish), known as “spangles,”

which seem to replicate the stippled white grounds that the English favoured on their heraldic strewn borders until at least 1560.⁷⁰ Indeed, as Digby points out, sequin stippling with heraldic strewn flowers was a common design on clothing for both men and women of this era.⁷¹

Susan Frye argues forcefully for the connection between women, embroidery design, and illumination in the sixteenth century. According to Frye, “for many early modern English women, writing, visual design, and needlework were not considered mutually exclusive activities; rather, they were related ways to create texts.”⁷² Frye emphasizes the “exuberant” visual and material culture of the period in every possible medium, and highlights that educational theorists straight through the period encouraged girls to be educated in both drawing and needlework.⁷³ Frye notes the likelihood that Teerlinc developed embroidery patterns for the court, as her predecessor, Susanna Horenbout, had likely done, though no physical or documentary evidence of embroidery designed by either artist remains.⁷⁴ Yet, culture and training mattered. Examples of limning and embroidery by the Elizabethan and Stuart scribe, limner, and needleworker, Huguenot refugee Esther Inglis survive. She modelled her limning on the Ghent-Bruges style, and, accordingly, her embroidery followed different models than English heraldic strewn motifs.⁷⁵

By this period English (or even anglicized) medieval illumination was a thing of the past, and yet it appears that some heraldic strewn designs may have translated from one medium to another. If “the medium is the message” then, truly, a psalter means something different than an embroidered coif or nightcap. Were these embroideries medieval, medievalism, Elizabethan, or some combination of the three? Media studies is rich in theory exploring change from one medium to another, and perhaps it might continue to be useful to anyone choosing to research English heraldic strewn illumination and Tudor embroidery further. Indeed, we do not even know yet whether these Elizabethan and early Stuart embroidery designs that *seem* similar to illuminated borders of

the earlier sixteenth century actually are. More specialist research is required and falls outside the limits of even this rangy book. But only once we begin to think about late medieval English illumination as design in media can we even begin to explore those transmission pathways. That first step has now been taken.

Figure 1.1 (opposite) · A sample of traditional English vinework. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 164, fol. 79r.

Dignetur deus
hinc pater per ihu
xpm filium tuum
dominum nostrum
supplices rogamus
ac primum, uti ac
repta habeas + benedicas. hec **¶** dona.
hec **¶** munera. hec **¶** sancta sacrificia
allibata. **I**n primis que tibi offerunt
pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica, quam
pauca facere, audire, adunare et regere,
dignaris, toto orbe terrarum, una cu familia
tuo papa nostro. **¶** necno + antistite
nostro. **¶** et rege nostro. **¶** et omnibus
orthodoxis atq; catholicis et apostolicis fi
dei cultoribus. **Sequatur:**

Querentis domine famulos fa
mularum q; tuarum. **¶** et. **¶** et
omnium armuastancium, quoz tibi
fides cogita est et uota deuono, p quib;
tibi offerimus, uel qui tibi offerunt hoc
sacrificiu laudis, pro se suis q; oibus,
pro redemptione animarum suarum, p spe
salutis + inuoluntatis sue tibi q; reddunt
uota sua, eterno deo uiuo et uero.

Quoniam caritas et memoriam
uenerantes. In primis gloriose
semper uirginis marie, genitricis dei + do
mini nri ihu xpi. **¶** Sed et beatorum
apostolorum ac martirum tuorum:
Petri. **¶** Pauli. **¶** Andree. **¶** Iacobi.
¶ Iohannis. **¶** thome. **¶** Iacobi. **¶** Phi
lippi. **¶** archtholomei. **¶** Matthei. **¶** et
moms et **¶** haden. **¶** Iam. **¶** Acti.
¶ Menantis. **¶** Sisti. **¶** Conndi. **¶** et
pnam. **¶** Lawrence. **¶** G. rilogoni. **¶** Io
hanis. **¶** Pauli. **¶** Osiue. **¶** et. **¶** da
manam, et omnium sanctorum tuorum, quoz
meritis precab; q; condecas ut in oibus
premonis tue uiuamur auxilio, per
candem xpm dominum nrum, amen. **¶** hec

respiat sacerdos hostiam cum magna
aur igitur deuotione dicens,
Hoc respiciat sacerdos hostiam cum magna
oblationem seruitutis nre, s; et
amice familie tue, quis domine ut pla
catus accipias, dies q; uros in tua pace
disponas, atq; ab eterna dampnatione
nos eripi, et in electoz tuoz uideas gre
ge numerari. **¶** xpm dnm nrum, Amen.

Hoc respiciat hostiam deuote di
uam oblationem, tu dnm, ans,
omnis in omnib; quis, bene **¶** dicta
altaris **¶** tam, va **¶** tauu, rationabi
lem acceptabilem q; facere digneris, ut
nobis co: **¶** pus, et san **¶** quis fiat
dilectissim filij domini nostri ihu xpi.
hic erigat sacerdos manus + coniugat
+ postea tergat digitos sup altare, et pa
rimus deuet hostiam dicens,

Qui prout qui patretur acc
pit panem in sanctas ac uenerabiles
manus suas et eleuatis oculis in celu
ad te deum patrem suum omnipotentem
tibi grans agens, bene **¶** dixit, frey
dedit discipulis suis dicens, accipite et
manducate ex hoc omnes hoc est, em:
corpus meum, post hec uerba inclinet se
sacerdos deuote ad hostiam + postea deuet
eam supra caput, deinde reponat eam an
calicem in modu aruas p eandem facite
+ tunc discoopiat calicem + teneat cum

Sinter manus suas ita dicens,
simili modo, postea qm tenatum
est accipiens + hunc pclarum calicem i
sanctus ac uenerabiles manus suas, ite
tibi grans agens, bene **¶** dixit, dedit
discipulis suis dicens, accipite et bibite
ex eo omnes. **¶** hec parimus deuet sacer
calicem, et eleuatum teneat dicens, **¶** hec
est calix sanguinis mei, noui et eterui te
ramenti, misterium fidei, qui p uobis +
p multis effundetur, in remissione peccoz



Figure 1.2 · English vinework decorating a document dated 1524. London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 74939.

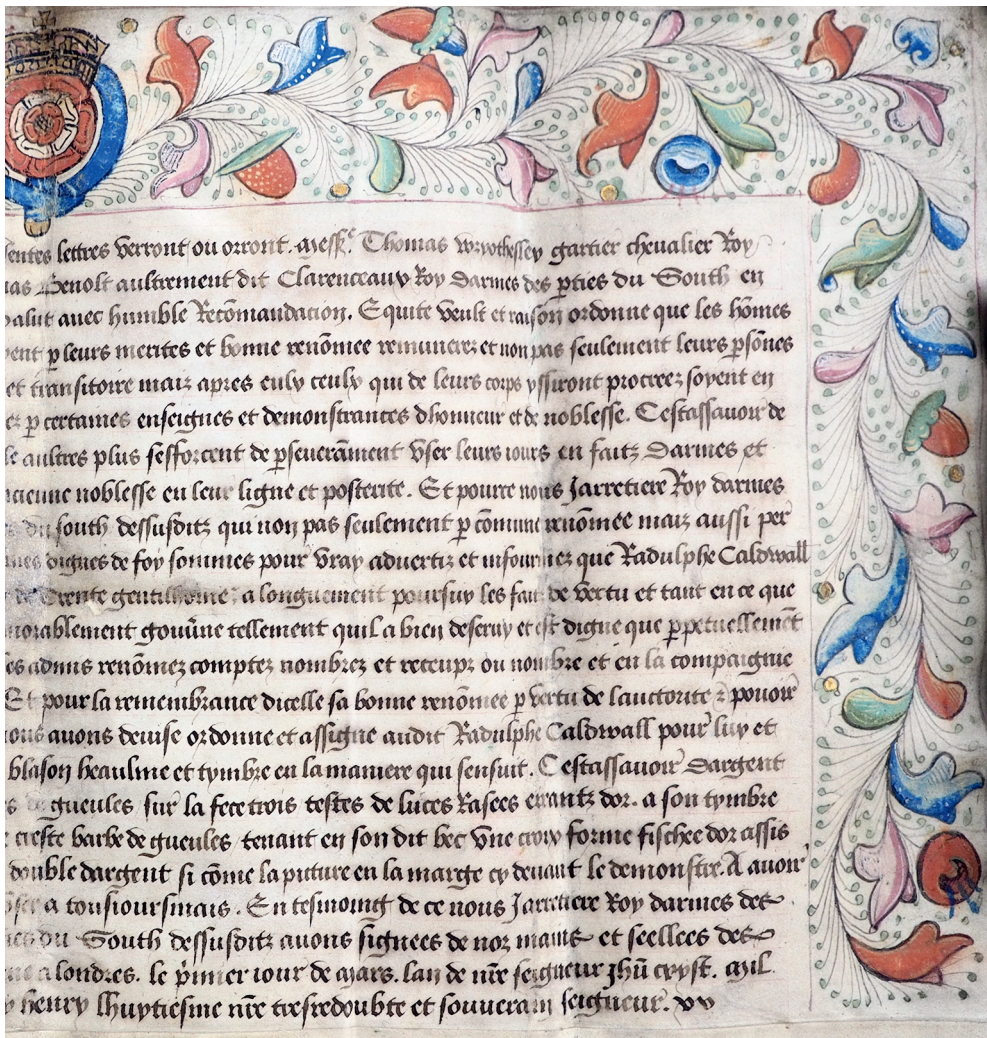


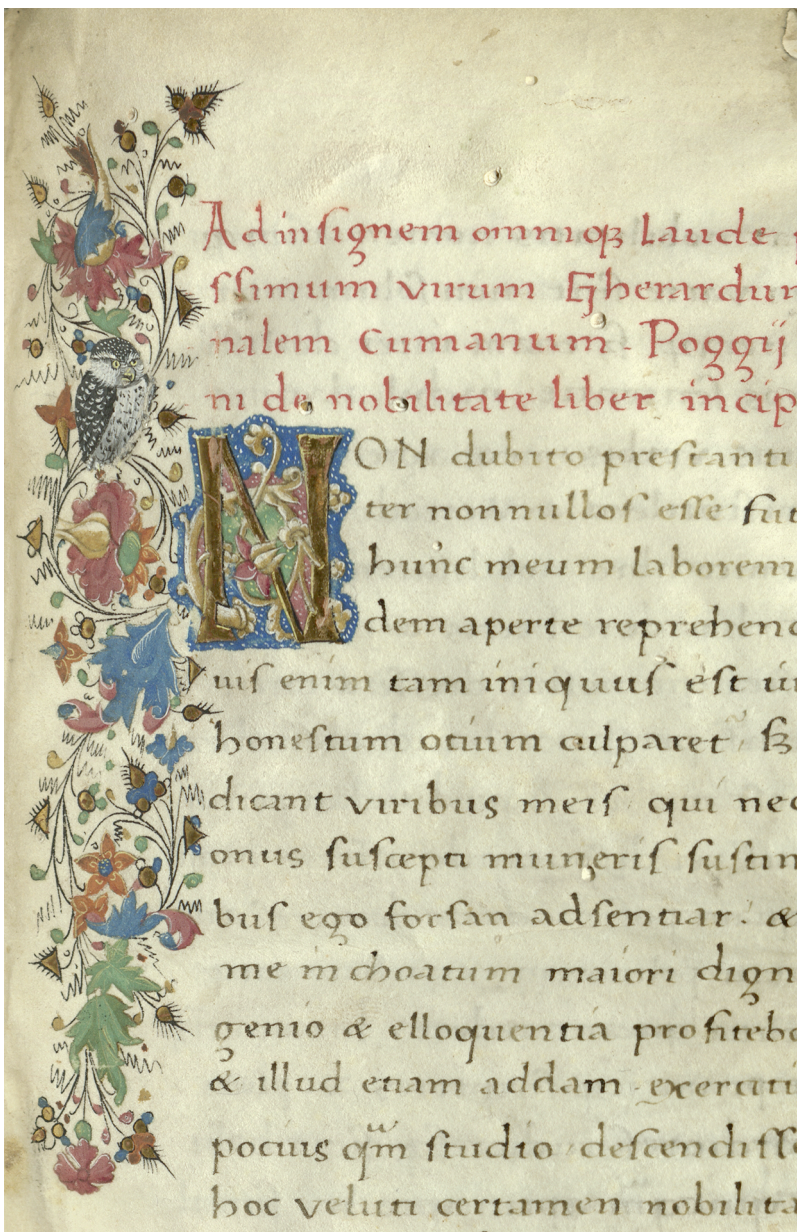
Figure 2.1 (overleaf) · An example of an Italian humanist page and a Florentine-style *bianchi girari* initial, ca. 1450. New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 953, fol. 42r.

42
mortales restituit : atq; sanctissimis angel
contubernales effecit . ~

Legem creator omnium iocundo largi
tus est : ut eius opera homines recte
uiuere queant . que tamen quasi par
uulos eos colucabat . At christi misere
ricum perfectos mortales efficiat :
nulli profecto dubium est . Nam
omnes litterę sacre hac sententia refertissi
me sunt : presertim que sacratissimus pa
ulus refert : cum de duob; testamentis acc
uatisime discreuisset . reprobatio quides
fuit precedentis mandati propter infirmi
tatem eius et inutilitatem . nihil enim ad
perfectum adiuuit lex . Introductio uero
melioris spei : per quam proximamus ad de
um . Ergo non lege moysis familiaritatem
in deum quispiam adipiscitur : Sed christi
doctrina : quam meliorem spem in troduci
se accepimus . que optima quidem senten
tia : omnes qui eam equo animo doceant :
corona perpetua donat . Legem uero repro
batam iam pridem esse paulus asserit : atq;



Figure 2.2 · Anglo-Cortesian Initial. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 285, fol. 4r.



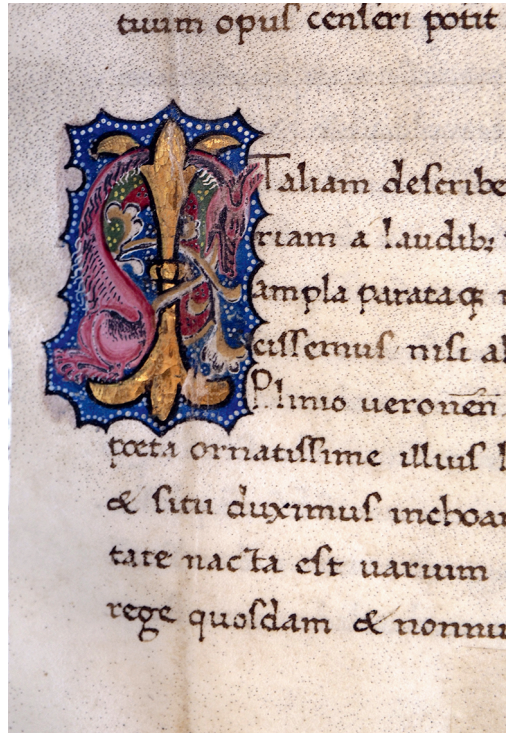
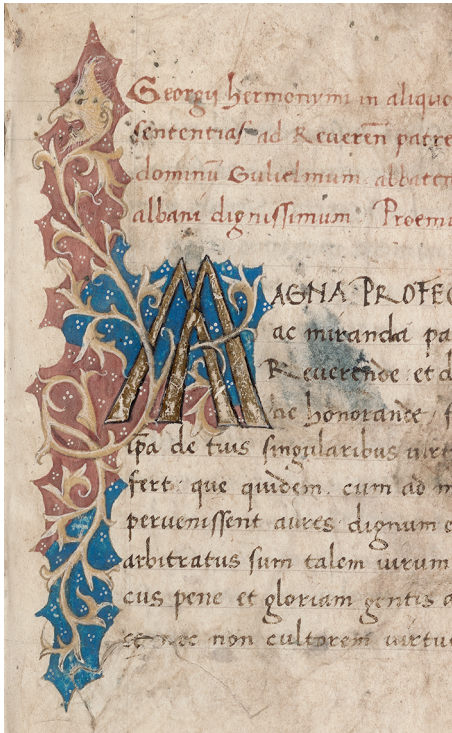


Figure 2.3 (opposite) · Example of the Caesar Master's *bianchi girari*. Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College Library, MS 48, fol. 1r.

Figure 2.4 (above left) · A second-generation Anglo-Cortesian initial. New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS Osborn a87, fol. 2r.

Figure 2.5 (above right) · A second-generation Anglo-Caesar initial. Oxford, Balliol College, MS 286, fol. 3r.



Figure 3.1 · Indenture decorated by the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England. London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, 57077, fol 2r.



Figure 3.2 · Indenture exhibiting heraldic strewn borders. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 28, fol. 1r.



Figure 3.3 · An indenture painted in Anglo-French style. Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Library, cca-Dcc/ChAnt/w/48c, fol. 4r.



Figure 4.1 · Illumination showing Italianate motifs in a heraldic style from one of the parchment *Asertio* copies. Manchester, John Rylands Library, 18952, fol. 22r.

Omnia
Octavis
in g'ra Ang
licie firmi
tie et liber
tie & ex fide
defenso.
Ac in ter
na sup'mu



Caput Anglicane et hibernice ecclesie.
In festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli.
Anno dñi millmo Quingentesimo. xlvii
Et anno regni regis Henrici octavi. Cri
cesimo. viij.

The maister.
Thomas gānyghthū

Wardens.

Thomas Owney
Thomas Suered.

These be the names of the Bretherne
and Systerne of the fraterite of lu
tra made in the tyme of the said maister
and wardens.



Figure 4.2 (opposite) · Sample page of the Trinity Guild Register (1546).
Luton, Wardown House Museum, 1984/127, fol. 122v.

Figure 4.3 (below) · An embroidered cap showing heraldic strewn motifs, ca.
1600. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.29, Rogers Fund, 1926.

Figure 5.1 (overleaf) · Owen Jones's plate illustrating his own psalter-hours
in Henry Noel Humphreys and Owen Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the
Middle Ages: An Account of the Development of Illumination as a Distinct Branch
of Pictorial Ornamentation from the IVth to the XVIIth Centuries* (London:
Longman, 1844-49), 107.





Etatis vir qui no
habuit in consilio
imporum: et in
via peccatorum no
stetit et in cathedra
presalente no sedit.

Sed in lege domini
voluntas eius: et

in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte.

Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum
est iuxta rivum aquarum: quod fructum
suum non dabit in tempore suo.

Et folium eius non defluet: et omnia qui
iniqua faceret prosperabuntur.

Non sicut ipse non sic: sicut tanquam pulvis quem
prociat ventus a facie terre.

Deus non resurgunt iniqui in iudicio: neque
peccatores in consilio iustorum.

Dominus novit dominus viam iustorum: et iter
inimicorum peribit.

Veritate firmaverunt gentes: et populi

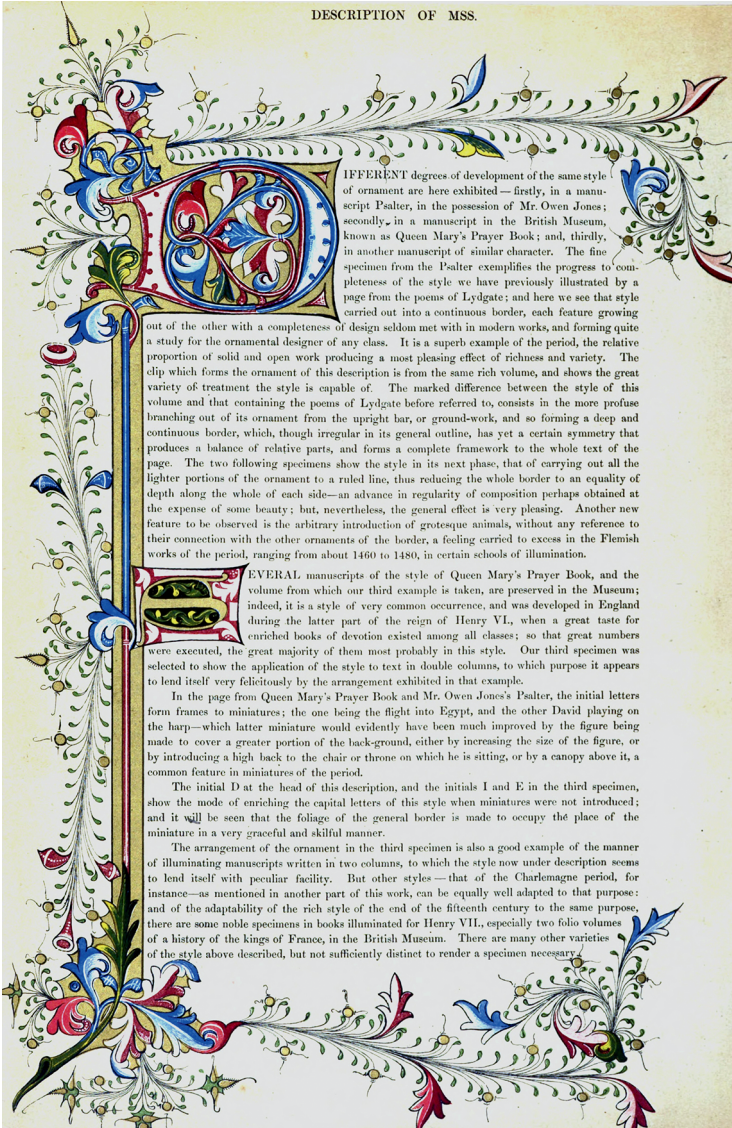


Figure 5.2 · Jones uses a border based on his own manuscript to guide the reader through the text in *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*.



Figure 5.3 · Plate 72 from Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856), 225.

150 Years of Illumination, Lost and Found

Despite how thoroughly Renaissance design eventually submerged medieval English vinework, it is worth learning how such a sizeable body of sources, a corpus that this book has traced from 1400 to the 1540s and beyond, came to disappear from the scholarly record. This occurred to the extent that, as the epigraph of this book attests, in the later twentieth century, even a specialist curator like Backhouse had to beg for research interest into early Tudor illumination. Generally, scholars cannot argue from absence. However, in this unusual instance, the absence is partly fictive. The sources exist in their hundreds (or thousands). It is research into them that has been absent. This chapter traces the absence of late medieval English illumination from the Anglo-British art market, and the end of the chapter credits those few scholars who have led attempts to bring it into mainstream art history. Over and over, this chapter will also confront the structural classism and sexism that have left research into late medieval English illumination more challenging to undertake (and less valued when undertaken) than research into other eras of English art.

Happily, there was nothing nefarious or negligent about the lack of this illumination in Victorian narratives about the history of art, the first era to take illumination seriously as art at all. The Georgians and Victorians wrote about what they collected and they collected what they liked: Italian, French, and early English manuscript art, especially illumination containing pictures of people, or what art historians call

“narrative art.” They remained uninterested in late medieval English illumination, and therefore they had no reason to write about it or seek it out where it remained protected in institutional collections. Victorian collectors bore no responsibility for historical coverage and the era’s scholarly research focused on supporting those collectors. On one level, then, the absence of fifteenth-century English illumination from the narrative of art history is as simple as that: the nineteenth-century English were not “prepared to enjoy” this art, as Backhouse would say. Art historians today are familiar with this history, even if it surprises us in other fields.

However, there is a second layer to this illumination’s narrative absence that may surprise even art historians. For if the Victorian collectors simply were not interested in late medieval English illumination, a different group adamantly was: architects. Trained in design, what we might call non-narrative, or even aniconic art, several important architects and draftsmen of the period championed late medieval English illumination, including Owen Jones, to whom we were introduced in Chapter 1. However, they did so while encouraging their audiences to adapt, rather than recreate, these medieval designs for use in contemporary decoration. Unlike the collectors, the architects had no reason to create a canon of art history and had little interest in the historical origins of this illumination. Instead, they drew so much inspiration from it that they embedded it into the very foundations of modern design theory. Therefore, architects also neglected the identity of these works of art, the specifics of this illumination—though for entirely different reasons than collectors—and so late medieval English illumination continued to remain outside the scholarly record.

By the dawn of modern art history in the twentieth century, late medieval English illumination remained marginal, when it was recognized at all. Scholars did rise to the occasion, and began exploring this large corpus, but did so from their own positions, largely as outsiders to mainstream art history. Very few English art historians have ever concentrated on this material. Instead, American scholars, scholars

with training outside of art history, and scholars in contingent positions have tackled the backlog. Moreover, the majority of the research on late medieval English illumination has been achieved by women who fought their way into academia across the twentieth century (including Backhouse). The range of structural forces arrayed against greater recognition for late medieval English illumination arises out of the sixteenth century but persists in the twenty-first century.

Absences in the Art Market and Academia

As we shall see in this section, it was a historical happenstance that what collectors enjoyed ended up influencing the very narrative of the history of English illumination itself. Museums remained relatively new institutions in the nineteenth century, and they only gradually aspired to historical coverage. Many curators had previously worked as dealers, and dealers served the desires of collectors. English art history departments did not develop in universities until after World War II, and by that time, collectors' interests had driven research, sales, and much institutional collecting for over a century.

Though a trade in manuscripts and early print existed almost continuously since the Middle Ages, manuscripts were rarely collected for their illumination.¹ In the early modern period, antiquarian interest lay in texts and in the history of print.² Select illuminated manuscripts might achieve notoriety for their elite provenance, or miniatures thought to illustrate period fashions, but otherwise, illumination generally attracted little notice.³ Once illuminated manuscripts began to attract interest, general tastes in art drove the market in miniatures.

Individual dealers could play outsized roles in collecting trends. Sandra Hindman's team calls William Ottley (1771–1836) “somewhat of a latter-day Vasari” in his signal championing of high Renaissance Italian art in the developing English art market.⁴ While a select circle of Ottley's fellows shared his interests in medieval Italian art—and certainly early Italian works already existed in England when Ottley

left to tour for the Italian peninsula in the 1790s—Ottley’s pursuit was an unusual niche interest at the time.⁵ Ottley returned home in 1799 with trunks laden with Italian illumination (and some important panel paintings) and entered the English art marketplace on a mission. First, Ottley taught the English to value medieval Italian art. Published in fascicles between 1808 and 1823, Ottley’s *Italian School of Design*, on medieval and early Renaissance Italian artists, remained such a landmark work that it influenced the Pre-Raphaelites even decades later.⁶ A follow-up work, *A series of plates engraved after the paintings and sculptures of the most eminent masters of the early Florentine school*, “prompted a re-assessment of thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Italian painting.”⁷ Next, Ottley taught his audiences to view manuscript miniatures as tiny paintings, and therefore as collectible art. In 1825, he oversaw the first-ever sale of manuscript leaves, a substantial and entirely Italian group of illuminated leaves (particularly those including miniatures).⁸ Eventually, Ottley brought his continental focus to bear in his position as Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum beginning in 1833. As consultant, art historian, and curator, Ottley’s specific, Italianate tastes influenced the larger English art-buying public and selected the kind of medieval illumination that they chose to collect.⁹ In this direct way, counterintuitively, Italian painting created the baseline for medieval English illumination history. “During the years 1820–1840 the English preference for Italian art crystallized,” Denys Sutton claims, and by the 1850s “a taste for Italian art was firmly established in England.”¹⁰

One of the premier critics of the Victorian age, John Ruskin (1819–1900) dismissed fifteenth-century art generally, and may have reinforced the nascent Italophilia encouraged so successfully by Ottley more than is often recognized. As Kathryn Smith points, out, Ruskin championed English manuscripts of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, but he favoured continental design over English everywhere else.¹¹ By the time Ruskin made his first tours through Italy in the 1840s, and his later, intense periods of study in the 1850s, the British arts community had already developed its interest in Italian art before

Raphael from a connoisseurial niche into a passion. In the many volumes of *Modern Painters* (1843–60) and above all, *The Stones of Venice* (1851–53), Ruskin popularized a Victorian approach to both medieval and early Renaissance Italian art. And it must be emphasized: Ruskin's Gothic paragons were thirteenth and early-fourteenth century, and frequently continental.¹² Ruskin's own manuscript collection seems to have echoed his published positions. Of the eighty-seven manuscripts James Dearden identifies that Ruskin owned, at most, only seven of them are English, and these all thirteenth or early fourteenth century.¹³ Late medieval English illumination was emphatically not part of Ruskin's gothic imaginary.

Counterintuitively, Ruskin's popularity actually threatened the nascent professional field of manuscript studies, since the critic preferred a strong, emotional turn of phrase to precision. As Munby severely assessed, "Ruskin lacked all liturgical knowledge and had no feeling for an illuminated manuscript as a whole."¹⁴ Any researcher who has examined a medieval book of hours in a Victorian binding inaccurately stamped "missal" has a sense of the culture which Ruskin helped shape. The words of the mass seen in fig. 1.1 are nowhere to be found in a book of hours. Missals and books of hours are two entirely different texts, but for Victorian collectors, any medieval religious volume could be called a "missal." Ruskin's often-quoted claim that an illuminated medieval prayer-book "is a fairy cathedral full of painted windows, bound together to carry in one's pocket, with the music and the blessing of all its prayers besides," says almost nothing about medieval books, or medieval religion, but quite a lot about Ruskin's passions and how medieval books focused those interests.¹⁵ "The first professor of art in England," (Oxford, 1870) then, considered illuminated manuscripts as avatars of a glittering, gothic Middle Ages, as long as they were not painted in fifteenth-century England.¹⁶

Ruskin's career finally launched an institutionalization of art history in English universities, as was beginning to occur elsewhere. In fact, medieval art drove the developing field. The first art history PhD was

awarded in Berlin in 1831, and the student's topic was Romanesque illumination.¹⁷ The first full professor of art history earned that promotion in 1860, at Bonn, and he studied premodern iconography.¹⁸ France was slower to house its art historians in its universities, but medieval art was the driver there, too: iconography expert Émile Mâle was finally appointed to teach medieval art at the Sorbonne in 1896.¹⁹ On first glance, England appears to be in between the German and the French universities. University of Oxford made Ruskin a chair of art history in 1870.²⁰ In the same year, University of Cambridge offered a similar position to Matthew Digby Wyatt, an architect and art critic, and, unusually, an advocate of medieval applied arts.²¹ However, while one could study art history at Oxford and Cambridge from this period, degrees were not awarded in art history in England until after World War II, over a century after that first PhD in Berlin.²² Even into the twentieth century, art history instruction continued to be deliberately offered to assist the art market: the Courtauld Institute was founded by Samuel Courtauld (1876–1947) and others “to provide an academic training that would equip students to serve the needs of collectors like themselves.”²³

Rather than university-employed scholars, then, the market in illuminated manuscripts drove research, and by the later nineteenth century, that market was booming. Particularly as collectors in the US joined the race, the popularity of continental illumination became even more evident. As in earlier antiquarian days, in both the US and England, English acquisitions were often early print, rather than manuscript, and only very rarely late medieval English illuminated manuscripts.²⁴ Exceptions prove the rule: the first English decorated manuscripts to arrive in North America came with settlers who brought medieval manuscripts with them.²⁵ Later American manuscript collecting patterned itself after British collecting. Overall, the fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts purchased by Americans tended to be French, Flemish, or Italian.²⁶ Indeed, A.S.G. Edwards notes that “there are very few indications of interest in buying Middle English in North America

in [the nineteenth century]. This may have simply been part of a wider lack of appeal for text manuscripts in general and English ones in particular.”²⁷ In England, though most acquired some English illumination, the major collectors of the period did not specialize in it. We have already seen Ottley’s strong Italianate taste and Ruskin’s continental focus. William Morris’s (1834–1896) artistic inspirations, and his own medieval manuscripts, were rarely English, and almost never fifteenth century.²⁸ Indeed, Morris feared that generally “we have before us work [in late fourteenth-century illumination] that is in peril of an essential change for the worse.”²⁹ Henry Yates Thompson may have sought to develop a representative collection with the finest examples of manuscripts across both Europe and the Middle Ages, but half his famous hundred manuscripts were French.³⁰ Dyson Perrins (1864–1958) preferred heavily illuminated manuscripts but, within this limitation, especially favoured illuminated Italian Renaissance manuscripts.³¹

Even the market for manuscript cuttings and fragments demonstrates little interest in or research into later English illumination. Ottley’s collection of cuttings would become the largest of its day, and it was entirely Italian.³² Scott Gwara demonstrates that the American market for fragments also privileged continental cuttings.³³ Margaret Connolly’s research into Victorian and Edwardian scrapbooks of illuminated manuscript cuttings also suggests that English illumination of any era was rarely chosen for such projects, and it appears that the materials British scrapbookers generally had to hand were French, Flemish, and Italian.³⁴ Ruskin took part in this pastime and, like his collection of manuscripts generally, his manuscript collages show continental source manuscripts.³⁵ Fragments were only marketable if they filled already popular niches, and when they were, such a trade “open[ed] the market for manuscript books to middle class buyers” who desired pieces of the same art collected by the wealthier classes: French and Italian illumination.³⁶

As the Victorian wealthy began to collect illuminated manuscripts, and the slightly less wealthy began to collect collaged cuttings from

illuminated manuscripts, the middle classes relied on a series of new technologies to enjoy medieval manuscript reproductions, but focused on different types of illumination than the collectors. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the development of lithography, printing images from chemically etched stone rather than engraved metal, led to a boom in illustrated books. This process resulted in finely detailed prints and the stones were capable of a great many impressions without loss of that detail. The media theorist Frederich Kittler even reached for lithography as a contemporary analogy, calling the inscription of information onto silicon microchips “electron beam lithography.”³⁷ By the middle of the nineteenth century, chromolithography (colour lithography) created a colour printing revolution. A bevy of surveys of medieval illumination resulted.³⁸

These books formed two types and, as expected, neither type included much late medieval English illumination, but neither did they include miniatures like the wealthy collected. Instead, these books concentrated on border and initial art. Some books were destined to act as gift books, a bit like modern coffee-table books, and offered simple surveys of decorative illumination, with short introductions, often written by curators or antiquarians, that provided a brief narrative for readers, prefacing dozens of pages of plates. A second, much shorter and less expensive type of volume also appeared: instructional guides in illuminating, usually aimed at young middle-class women.³⁹ These also included short art-historical introductions, but the guides added instructions on materials and techniques and generally included fewer plates than the gift books. Nevertheless, the majority of both types of volume consisted of plates, often drawn from extant manuscripts, sometimes hand-coloured, and later chromolithographed, illustrating the points made in the introductions. Importantly, these books rarely teach about miniatures but instead emphasize borders and generally aniconic initials. That is, unlike the art market, these middle-class illustrated books highlighted decorative art, or design.⁴⁰ Such a format should have been primed to include late medieval English illumination,

but, barring notable exceptions discussed later in this chapter, it fails to appear.

As in the manuscript art market generally, after English samples from the thirteenth and perhaps very early fourteenth centuries, the illustrations in either type of illustrated book are overwhelmingly drawn from French and Italian manuscripts, with a secondary emphasis on fifteenth-century Flemish strewn borders. In *Palaeographia sacra pictoria* (1843–45), John Obadiah Westwood (1805–1893) claims to offer an “extended illustration of our national palaeographic monuments... to give a national character to the book,” but of the fifty plates, only two English samples post-date the Black Death, and none post-date 1450.⁴¹ The veritable flood of popular pamphlets teaching illumination to general audiences beginning in 1850 presented continental models exclusively among their late medieval samples and, with few exceptions, I have found no late medieval English samples in this genre.⁴² Gift-book buyers wished for less expensive access to the manuscripts their social betters purchased. Meanwhile, middle-class young ladies in need of genteel occupation had every reason to learn the same designs. Late medieval English illumination was nowhere valued, and therefore nowhere needed.

Taking the Temperature ca. 1900

The catalogue of an important early art exhibit, the 1908 Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London, offers a brief means of quantifying the absence of late medieval English manuscripts from both the canon of art history and the art market at the dawn of the twentieth century. The exhibition and catalogue “helped to lay the foundations for a ‘canon’ of Western, and more particularly English, manuscripts; a selection of volumes that were widely accepted as pinnacles of a series of styles, and which were to prove attractive to both scholars and collectors.”⁴³ This exhibition and catalogue, therefore, forwarded a deliberately pedagogical agenda, and

one linked to commerce. Essentially, the exhibit trained consumers in connoisseurship by giving them models against which to measure any other illumination they came across in the future. Fitzwilliam Museum curator Sydney Cockerell (1867–1962) penned the exhibition catalogue’s introduction, and he set out the stakes clearly: provide a survey of European illumination, with a deliberate inclusion of “the finest examples of English workmanship,” from the tenth to the sixteenth century.⁴⁴ Cockerell touted the fact that “over eighty of the manuscripts here collected were written in this island” straight through the period until the mid-fifteenth century, after which point “English patrons seem to have been more ready to send across the Channel to Bruges or Paris for their prayer-books and romances than to employ their fellow countrymen to write them.”⁴⁵

The statistics in the catalogue highlight what illumination had entered the art-historical canon, and how English illumination fit within that narrative. Of the 267 items included in the exhibition, nearly half are English, but nearly all are earlier manuscripts. Only eleven pieces originated in fifteenth-century England.⁴⁶ Of those, just four date to the mid-fifteenth century, and three of these are coloured pen-drawing rather than illumination. That is, in an exhibition that included sixteenth-century continental works, only a single illuminated English manuscript dating to the mid-1400s was shown. As Cockerell hinted in his introduction, no later English manuscripts appear.

Moreover, if this illumination included the “finest examples of English workmanship” of the fifteenth century available, then the most expert specialists of 1908 believed that the national achievement was modest indeed.⁴⁷ The coloured-ink drawings from mid-century (and the latest English work in the exhibition) drew Cockerell’s strongest assessments, being “carefully drawn,” “delicate,” “accomplished,” and even “remarkably beautiful.”⁴⁸ Curatorial assessment of the illumination remained more neutral. The miniatures of the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen were “finely drawn.”⁴⁹ The English illumination of the Beauchamp Psalter-Hours displayed “finely executed border-work,”

and its art generally “is very typical of English decoration at its best in the first half of the fifteenth century.”⁵⁰ Cockerell called attention to the work of a foreign artist, Herman Scheere, on the Chichele Breviary, perhaps to explain the “delicate little miniatures within the initials.”⁵¹ In contrast, the art of the Sheldon Missal was simply “typical English,” and that of the mid-century *Mirroure of the Life of Christ* even “somewhat rough.”⁵²

The absence of late medieval English illumination from the market, and from canonizing events like the Burlington exhibition mattered because, for a very long time, what was sold was studied. The cataloguing necessary to run book and manuscript auctions, and then to catalogue private or institutional collections as they developed brought the field of art history together with the art market again and again throughout the nineteenth century. Danielle Magnussen and Laura Cleaver describe a “symbiosis between dealers and scholars,” and “a close relationship between commercially motivated rhetoric and scholarly publications. Dealers’ catalogues were one means of disseminating descriptions of books, and ideas expressed there could have a significant impact.”⁵³ Yet, as curator, dealer, and manuscript scholar Peter Kidd has noted, “what is not said in a dealer or auction catalogue is often as important as what is said,” and the strong preference for French and Italian manuscripts in nineteenth-century sales—and yawning absence of late medieval English manuscripts—has earned little comment.⁵⁴ Late medieval English illumination was simply not part of this discourse.

There has always been a recognition that the lively late Victorian manuscript market spurred research into the materials up for auction that might not ever have reached scholars otherwise.⁵⁵ Before serving as a curator, Cockerell started out cataloguing manuscripts for the collector Henry Yates Thompson (1838–1928), after having worked through William Morris’s collection.⁵⁶ Cockerell continued to advise on sales even after taking on the curatorship. The famous codicologist and writer M.R. James (1862–1936) produced catalogues not only

for colleges and museums, but also for collector J.P. Morgan (1867–1943).⁵⁷ Curator at the British Museum, Eric Millar (1887–1966) prepared catalogues for collector Chester Beatty (1875–1968), and these were the foundation of the sales catalogues when Beatty sold many of his manuscripts in 1932–33.⁵⁸ Only slightly later, the art historian and critic Bernard Berenson (1865–1959) continued to be involved in a number of dubious evaluations on art sales to Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, among other collectors and institutions. Yet, Magnussen and Cleaver’s caution remains important: “as much as commercial rhetoric could resemble bibliographical research, it should not be mistaken for such.”⁵⁹ In the end, however, late medieval English illumination was simply not often for sale, and so it was not often the subject of research.

Throughout this period, much late medieval English illumination remained protected, if largely unregarded, in institutional collections. Director of the British Museum, Sir Frederic Kenyon (1863–1952) declared in 1911 that “the British Museum already possesses by far the finest collection of English illuminated manuscripts in existence.”⁶⁰ This statement did not necessarily reflect a museum collection policy, however, but the fact of being the national museum.⁶¹ That is, books donated to the nation ended up at the British Museum, including the illuminated manuscripts of the English royal family, and those that a number of early antiquarian collectors such as Robert Cotton (1570/1–1631), Robert Harley (1666–1724), and Hans Sloane (1660–1753) had happened to acquire among their vast libraries. Meanwhile, having resigned his curatorship in pique, Francis Douce (1757–1834) would never have wished his precious books to go to the British Museum, and so he bequeathed them to the Bodleian Library instead, including the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English illuminated manuscripts included among their number.⁶² However, these manuscripts reflected the collecting strategies of the antiquarians no more than they did that of the museums. Such illumination had simply been gathered up alongside much else in what were, for their time, truly massive collections.

Late medieval English illumination might not have been sought on the market, but it seeded the large, old private collections that made up the foundations of institutional collections, and this happenstance preserved such material until the present day.

Again, the Burlington exhibition offers representative statistics. Of the eleven fifteenth-century English manuscripts that Burlington Fine Arts Club featured, seven were already in institutional collections in 1908 and would not receive further research toward future sales. Of the four in private collections, Morgan owned the Sheldon Missal, and therefore the volume was already destined for his museum's collection.⁶³ Perrins owned the unusual Beauchamp Psalter-Hours, half made in England, and half in Italy, and he may well have owned it as much for its Italian as English art. This volume came to the Morgan Library at Perrins's death in 1958.⁶⁴ Yates Thompson loaned the Hours of Elizabeth the Queen to the exhibition. At his death the Hours were purchased by Perrins, and then on his death, the book was acquired by the British Museum.⁶⁵ In a lone exception, a psalter associated with a Syon abbess was lent by the earl of Plymouth, and this volume remains untraced today.⁶⁶

English Illumination in Design History: The Grammar of Ornament (1856)

Though the collectors and curators of the art museums remained uninterested in late medieval English illumination, an entirely different group of people began to take notice of this art. Rarely has it been voiced that “much of the promotion of illumination was by people involved in the promotion of the new category of ‘design,’ that is to say, art made relevant to manufacture.”⁶⁷ Indeed, in order to quickly develop a collection of samples in pursuit of its mission to educate craftspeople in design, the newly founded Kensington Museum (today the Victoria and Albert Museum) purchased illuminated facsimiles of a range of English manuscripts held by the British Museum that were

painstakingly drawn and painted by architectural draftsman Henry Shaw (1800–1873).⁶⁸ Underscoring the incidental nature of the early acquisition of late medieval English illumination at the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, to this day, the Victoria and Albert Museum owns only one complete, original fifteenth-century English illuminated manuscript.⁶⁹ Shaw's facsimiles did the work that the museum needed when it came to late medieval English illumination.

In 1833, a brief yet landmark illustrated work was published, *Illuminated Ornaments Selected from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, that I believe demonstrates the split in interest between the collectors and designers.⁷⁰ Frederic Madden (1801–1873), eventually Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, wrote its short introductory survey of illumination, noting that the present work concentrated on borders and initials rather than miniatures.⁷¹ That is, rather than art, this book featured “ornament,” or design. However, Madden and Shaw, who engraved the plates (and who illuminated one copy entirely himself), did not apparently entirely agree on which examples to foreground.⁷² In his introduction, the curatorial Madden offered a traditional narrative of illumination, including disparagement of fifteenth-century English limning. He makes a single exception for a copy of Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund* given to Henry VI, the “only volume of merit [he could] recollect illuminated by an English hand of this period.”⁷³ The evident mismatch between introduction and plates provides an argument against assumptions that Madden selected illustrations in addition to providing the introduction.⁷⁴ Speaking in *Illuminated Ornaments* through his plates, out of a total of fifty plates, Shaw included selections of border and initial illumination from four different fifteenth-century English volumes, and ink initials from an additional two.⁷⁵ The range of material is notable, as are the spread of dates, as the manuscripts Shaw chose span the fifteenth century, and may even extend into the sixteenth century.

Illuminated Ornaments was a slender beginning, but Shaw and the architects were just getting started in 1833. Late medieval English il-

lumination found its champion in architect and designer Owen Jones (1809–1874), whose theories were introduced in Chapter 1. Jones was a working man and does not seem to have engaged the manuscript market as a regular collector. Therefore, his purchase of a manuscript and repeated publication of engravings of it deserves remark. A member of the industrializing British middle class, Jones embarked on a tour of Europe and the Middle East as a young man. At some point after returning to England from his tour abroad in 1834, and before 1844 when his first publications concerning manuscripts begin, Jones acquired an unusually large-format mid-century psalter-hours.⁷⁶ The volume was apparently planned largely without miniatures and bears just a single historiated of David beginning the psalter (fig. 5.1). Despite its lack of illustrations, it is lavishly illuminated, with dozens of full and partial bar borders, large foliate initials, and smaller monochrome champ initials. Having thought deeply about the linearity of the Islamicate art that he had seen on his travels abroad, as we shall see, Jones found analogous design at work in the borders of his English manuscript.

In fact, it had been Shaw's work as both an engraver and illuminator of *Illuminated Ornaments* that prompted Jones to experiment with chromolithography. Jones set up the first chromolithography studio in the country, and partnered with a print firm in order to begin printing commercially.⁷⁷ In collaboration with the antiquarian Henry Noel Humphreys (1810–1879), Jones prepared the plates for the gift-book guide, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages: An Account of the Development of Illumination as a Distinct Branch of Pictorial Ornamentation from the IVth to the XVIIth Centuries* (1844–49), and I think the architect may have written some of the text as well. Humphreys seems to have tempered the usual deprecation of fifteenth-century English illumination to share in Jones's marked enthusiasm for it, particularly its vine-work borders. Humphreys pushes the decline of English illumination to the 1480s, far later than most Victorian art historians were willing to credit.⁷⁸ He offers dense lists of recommended manuscripts,

replete with fifteenth-century English examples, and especially highlights vinework in a psalter-hours owned by Jones (fig. 5.1) and the manuscript illustrated in fig. 1.1, among others.⁷⁹ Punctuating the text, Jones's plates add emphasis: of the more than forty plates (thirty-nine in the list, plus additional borders around the introductions of each set of plates), six are fifteenth- or sixteenth-century English.⁸⁰ Humphreys or Jones described the English vinework borders of what is now known to be an early sixteenth-century lectionary with miniatures by the Dutch Masters of the Dark Eyes in England, saying, "the foliage of the general border is made to occupy the place of the miniature in a very graceful and skilful manner."⁸¹ Remarkably, here design is elevated to the status of a miniature painting.

Moreover, as fig. 5.2 demonstrates, Jones adds an additional English example into the volume, using mid-fifteenth-century English initials and border designs from his own psalter-hours to decorate a textual division, just as such designs did in the original manuscripts (as we saw in Chapter 1).⁸² In fig. 5.2, we can see how Jones signals the beginning of the section's introductory text with an initial and partial bar border beginning and bracketing his printed text from the 1840s, as it would have done in a medieval manuscript. This introduction to the following plates of late medieval English manuscripts may well have been drafted by Jones, rather than Humphreys, as the remarks closely echo Jones's later writing. In this page of *Illuminated Books*, the text praises how, in the borders of Jones's psalter-hours, "each feature grow[s] out of the other with a completeness of design seldom met with in modern works, and form[s] quite a study for the ornamental designers of any class." In action, Jones demonstrates that this medieval border design serves Victorian text for purposes consonant with its utility in the medieval book, guiding readers through the text. In the next decade, Jones would develop these thoughts, linking Islamicate design and late medieval English vinework into the groundbreaking theory introduced in Chapter 1.

Chapter 1 introduced the dramatic impact Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856) created among designers, essentially single-handedly launching design theory for the first time in modern history. Whilst the foundational nature of the work is well known, the outsized role played in it by late medieval English illumination has never before been recognized. Jones selected English vinework to represent nearly half of the later Western Christianate Middle Ages.⁸³ He included two plates of late medieval illumination: plate 73 mixes Flemish, French, and Italian borders, and plate 72 (fig. 5.3) showcases almost exclusively English illumination.⁸⁴ This forcefully overturned the Victorian artistic hierarchy and was unprecedented in art history to that point—or in the many years since. Although plate 72 stands as only one among one hundred plates, and so late medieval English art forms a very small slice of the larger whole of *The Grammar of Ornament*, the fact that it exists at all in the face of the resounding dismissal by the dealers and art historians of the day demands recognition.⁸⁵ Of the fifteen pieces of borderwork Jones assembled to illustrate this half of late medieval Western Christianate illumination, only four are not English painting.⁸⁶ Unsurprisingly, a number of these selections derive from Jones's earlier collaboration with Humphreys, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*.⁸⁷ As in the earlier volume, in *The Grammar*, Jones highlights the psalter-hours he owned, again pointing it out in the section's prefatory essay.⁸⁸ That the unique representation of English vinework in so important a work as *The Grammar* could go largely unremarked as a source of modern design is partly due to Jones's emphatic insistence that influences might inspire, or be remixed, but should not be directly copied.⁸⁹ Therefore, we cannot expect to see plate 72's samples directly reflected across the over-150 years of *The Grammar's* influence. Yet, there the influence remains, among the foundation stones of the design field.

Examining figs. 5.1 and 5.2 as we did figs. 1.1 and 1.2 demonstrates that fifteenth-century English vinework exemplifies Jones's design

theory especially well. In such vinework, lines “[grow] out one from the other in gradual undulations,” illustrating Jones’s Proposition 6.⁹⁰ Late medieval English border art exhibits profound linearity, and accords well with Proposition 11, that “all lines should flow out of a parent stem” and “every ornament, however distant, should be traced to its branch and root.”⁹¹ Critics believe, and Jones himself states, that this central proposition derived from his deep interest in Islamicate ornament.⁹² Thus, the origin of Proposition 11 may also hint at the reason for Jones’s unusual enthusiasm for English vinework: these borders provided him English and Christianate examples of a proposition otherwise founded on Islamicate art. That is, found nowhere else in Europe, the very “static and conservative” designs Scott described in this book’s epigraph proved uniquely useful to Jones. For example, in fig. 5.1, two blue and rose vines form outlines of the initial. These two vines continue around most of the border, winding through knots, sometimes expanding into an acanthus leaf before narrowing into a vine again. When vines do end, they finish naturally as aroids or acanthus leaves. Something similar occurs in the partial border reproduced in fig. 5.2, with vines extending from the initial into the border and, after a variety of transformations, ending organically as acanthus leaves. The borders in both figures also illustrate English vinework’s preference for geometry: sides are subdivided in half with midpoint decoration. This tendency illustrates Jones’s proposal that “all ornament should be based upon a geometrical construction.”⁹³ As fig. 5.1 demonstrates, aroids function like flowers, but resemble no flowers in nature, and do not attempt to do so, as Jones’s Proposition 13 recommends.⁹⁴

Well-received in its own day, *The Grammar of Ornament* saw three printings through the 1860s in its second edition, and continued in print into the twenty-first century, supporting ten editions between 1972 and 2008.⁹⁵ Even quite recently, design historians could call Jones “the doyen of all historians of ornament” and claim that *The Grammar*’s “ornaments and its essays are still ground-breaking and of the highest quality,” due to Jones’s stated belief that global and historical

design all furnished evidence for universal principles of good design.⁹⁶ Design historian Philip Meggs called *The Grammar* “widely studied” and even “the nineteenth-century designer’s bible of ornament.”⁹⁷ Thus, Jones and designers since him have thought of his project as presenting an archive of evidence of the principles through which an entire new world of designs could be developed. In this way, *The Grammar of Ornament* offers an unusually physical example of what media theorist Jussi Parikka calls “the imaginary of technology,” in which an idea “moves from artistic creations to scientific contexts.”⁹⁸

Yet all of this recognition generally remained where it had begun, among designers themselves, rather than among scholars: “Jones’ influence on artists, designers and architects through the *Grammar* was much more pervasive than his influence on scholarship.”⁹⁹ The exceptions seem to preserve the rule. No less an art historian than Alois Riegl (1858–1905) was influenced by Jones, when Riegl’s search for formal abstraction in the applied arts took him to explore the development of the acanthus-leaf motif across millennia.¹⁰⁰ Riegl mined Jones’s archive of samples, but also his formal theory, and appreciated Jones’s proto-psychological approach to design theory.¹⁰¹ Jones also played a direct role in Ernst Gombrich’s (1909–2001) popular survey of design history, *The Sense of Order* (1978). Gombrich admitted to a preference for “functional form” over purely decorative ornament but also believed that principles of ornament were inherent in human psychology, a position that he recognized was consonant with Jones’s own.¹⁰²

The publication careers of Shaw and Jones enable us to reveal architects’ interest in late medieval English illumination, and there are hints of broader interest among families involved in this trade. The lawyer Philip Hanrott (1776–1856) collected largely Italianate manuscripts, heavy in late humanist and liturgical volumes.¹⁰³ Yet, Hanrott also owned the enormous and impressively illuminated late-fourteenth-century English Carmelite Missal. About the same time as Jones began his apprenticeship, in the late 1820s or early 1830s, Caroline Cory, Hanrott’s wife, and her sister Esther Cory, from a family of architects,

guided Hanrott's young teenage children in carving the missal up and reassembling it into five scrapbooks of collages.¹⁰⁴ The Cory sisters were drawn to this missal's art in a way that Hanrott himself apparently was not. Nor did they canonize it as collectors did, but, precisely as designers were trained to do, adapted it, creating new art, the scrapbooks, out of the original designs.¹⁰⁵

Graphic designers put linear English design to use, either by directly applying Jones's dictums to their commercial designs or through parallel evolution of ideas. One American illuminator, Coella Ricketts (1860–1941), also collected late medieval English illumination to an unusual degree.¹⁰⁶ Ricketts ran *The Scriptorium*, a graphic design business in downtown Chicago. At *The Scriptorium*, Ricketts employed multiple illuminators, including at least one woman who had received specialist training in that art from the Art Institute of Chicago, just a few blocks away.¹⁰⁷ Not unlike the Kensington Museum, the Art Institute was (and continues to be today) part art museum and part fine art and graphic design school for artists and designers like Ricketts's illuminators. Like the other collectors described earlier, on the whole, Ricketts concentrated on late medieval Italian illumination.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, through the first several decades of the twentieth century, he collected at least nine whole or fragmentary volumes of fifteenth-century English illumination, and I believe that Ricketts's collection was one of the largest collections of fifteenth-century English illumination in the country at the time, after the museum-scale collections of J.P. Morgan and Henry Huntington (1850–1927).¹⁰⁹ Ricketts's employment of his collection as an image archive for commercial design may have meant that Chicagoans were unusually aware, if unconsciously so, of late medieval English illumination.¹¹⁰ Further, Ricketts sought to educate others, and desired to “reconstruct a complete history of manuscript illumination” for his local audience. Towards that end, he collected books and prepared notes for a publication on the topic.¹¹¹

The enthusiasm of these architects and draftsmen for fifteenth-century English illumination, whether in the drawing room like the

Cory sisters or founding a new field of practice like Jones, is as striking as the noteworthy absence of this art from the writings of the curators, dealers, and early art historians of the same era. Voicing Jones's propositions, when Shaw published his own introduction to the topic in 1866, he said, "at this time a very bold and elegant style of ornamentation was employed on the margins of manuscripts, in which the foliage surrounding them was made to grow out of the body of the capital letter commencing the text, or at the beginning of a chapter in any part of the page."¹¹² Though the exemplary manuscripts selected vary a bit by author, their choices range from the Big Bible of the first decade of the century straight through to those now known to date to 1500 and later. These architect-designers are the sole example I can find where English illumination throughout the fifteenth century is viewed as consistently meritorious. Here were the artisans themselves, speaking out for their own craft. As the Cory sisters' excisions and Jones's propositions remind us, these artisans had no interest in canon-formation or the art market, but valued utility. They found these designs inspirational, not to be copied, but to be manipulated and to influence new, contemporary design. This art was not dead and canonized, but very much part of a living tradition. Indeed, engravers and architects even continued to produce illumination itself, either reproduced in colour print or as boutique hand-painted pieces, straight into the twentieth century, as Ricketts's business reminds us. Nevertheless, these efforts, like the impact of *The Grammar of Ornament*, resulted in a popularization of English vine-work that left it separated from the field of art history as it institutionalized.¹¹³

Margaret Rickert's Berensonian History of English Illumination

Influenced by the traditions of both Chicagoan graphic design and the international art market, Margaret Rickert (1889–1973) stepped forward and decisively intervened in this critical landscape, single-handedly dragging late medieval English illumination into institutional

art history. Almost accidentally exposed to English illumination thanks to her sister's editorial work, Rickert applied the field's most up-to-date methods and attributional connoisseurship (learned directly from its source), to late medieval English illumination for the first time. Over decades of research, again and again, Rickert asserted late medieval English illumination's place within the canon of illumination.

Perhaps such an intervention, piercing multiple layers of historical absence, was necessarily serendipitous. Hailing from a family tied to the loose geography known to itself as "Chicagoland," Margaret's older sister, the editor and medievalist Edith Rickert, graduated from Vassar and returned to her home city to take graduate courses and teach at the University of Chicago. After a peripatetic time teaching in high schools across the country, Margaret also returned to Chicago, and a position in the photography department at the library of the Art Institute of Chicago.¹¹⁴

Importantly, regardless of the visibility of Ricketts's designs across Chicago, Rickert's life records show no special interest in illumination until she accompanied Edith to England in 1923 to assist in selecting illustrations for her sister's edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. At least initially through Edith, Margaret made the acquaintance of the curator Cockerell, the cataloguer James, and eventually Francis Wormald (1904–1972), the latter of whom would go on to hold positions in the Manuscripts Department at the British Museum before becoming a chair of paleography at King's College, London. While Edith worked in London, James was in touch with an American art dealer and critic working in Florence, Bernard Berenson, concerning a medieval manuscript.¹¹⁵ Soon thereafter, Margaret appears in Florence, where she remained for four years, assisting Berenson's wife, Mary (1864–1945) in editing what eventually became *Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (1930). While scholarship on Berenson has begun to recognize Mary's active role in such editorial work, it continues to largely elide Rickert's involvement.¹¹⁶ Rickert herself was categorical: "I spent my whole time collaborating with Bernard Berenson on *Italian Painters*."¹¹⁷ Indeed, the

methodological links between Berenson, Rickert, and later art historical examination of late medieval English illumination provide a rare instance of traditional genealogy in this present study.

Even decades later, Rickert recognized the importance of her years in Berenson's tutelage and viewed them as a kind of apprenticeship that prepared the way for her career.¹¹⁸ Foundational in the field of art history, Berenson's long career as an art consultant and critic continues to influence museum collections and the direction of art historical research today. Berenson was already honing his connoisseurship, that is, his ability to attribute works to specific artists, with Renaissance Italian art when he became familiar with the newest approach espoused by Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891). Morelli argued that a carefully applied observational method could enable the identification of specific, small features that artists reproduced exactly in painting after painting.¹¹⁹ Berenson developed Morelli's method even further, and successfully theorized it for anglophone audiences.¹²⁰ In this deliberately genealogical method, extremely close study of technique, especially in painting ears and eyes, could distinguish individual artists, and even apprentices, from masters. Thanks to Rickert, Berensonian analysis underlies almost all current scholarship concerning late medieval English illumination.

On returning to Chicago in 1928, Rickert was a practising medieval art historian, and gradually collected the degrees certifying her special expertise in late medieval English illumination. In 1933 she earned her master's degree from University of Chicago and her thesis, "A New Method of Analysis Applied to the Study of Manuscript Illumination," pointed both backwards to Berenson and ahead to her coming career. Berenson emphasized the scientific pretensions of his method. Invoking a relatively unusual word in 1900, artistic "data," he placed connoisseurship firmly within a scientific ambit, saying at one point that "connoisseurship, then, proceeds, as scientific research."¹²¹ Such an emphasis on empiricism found a natural extension in Rickert's master's thesis, as it enacts what we today would call data-driven analysis, all

quietly underpinned by connoisseurship. As Anne Stanton describes it, Rickert “developed a quantitative method of analyzing the component parts of decorative motifs in a small group of five manuscripts of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*, supported by charts detailing numerical and statistical information about the appearance and frequency of motifs in these manuscripts.”¹²² Essentially, her source body were the Chaucer manuscripts she had examined for Edith. In so launching a career as an art historian, Margaret Rickert also founded the modern study of late medieval English illumination on an enduring Berensonian base.

Rickert’s early work energetically carried Berenson’s aspirations forward. Though she would not again attempt the level of statistical analysis found in her thesis, Rickert strictly applied Berenson’s psychological and pseudo-scientific attributional methods for the rest of her career. Moreover, in action if not intentionally, Rickert strove directly against the occlusions that had developed around late medieval English illumination. She fought curatorial disinterest and designer desecration equally. Engaged in a quiet revolution with which she has not before been credited, Rickert researched manuscripts already held in institutional collections, not those undergoing sale. By 1935 she had conceived a doctoral project: reconstructing the late fourteenth-century Carmelite Missal from the scrapbooks made by the Cory sisters, by then held by the British Museum.¹²³ Here she firmly rejected an example of active, interpretative use of late medieval English illumination as design. Instead, Rickert literally, physically deconstructed the late Georgian collages in order to deliberately canonize what was left of the original manuscript. Her doctoral dissertation was completed in 1938, and the research published after World War II, in 1952.¹²⁴ *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* continues to be cited today.

Berenson’s attributional method heavily influenced even Rickert’s mature work. Though superseded in its particulars, Rickert’s 1954 Pelican survey, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages* remains the only book-length overview on the subject ever published, and the only volume of the original series written by a woman.¹²⁵ While Rickert’s

survey handles panel and wall painting, as well as stained glass, she emphasizes that, practically speaking, medieval English painting means manuscript decoration.¹²⁶ However, her examination of the fifteenth century concentrates on two miniaturists who worked early in the century, John Siferwas and migrant Herman Scheere, and identifies work by artists who Rickert understands were their students or followers. In fact, in her two late medieval chapters, one of the two substantial changes between first and second editions was further examination of Scheere's oeuvre.¹²⁷ As her extremely detailed analysis of the treatment of specific features (eyes, for example) as a means of individuating artists demonstrates, Berensen's method remained important to Rickert into the 1950s and 1960s.

Rickert acknowledges the traditional view at the very beginning of her survey, but emphasizes its pan-European validity: "by the criteria of Renaissance painting, medieval artists fell far short of successful accomplishment" and only occasionally does she admit specifically English failures: "English medieval painting does not in any of its forms ever show an interest in true perspective."¹²⁸ Generally, however, Rickert frames England's artistic difference in proactive terms as one of refusal rather than failure. She viewed medieval English art as fundamentally linear: "the characteristics of English pictorial art in all its forms are not those of painting but of out-line drawing."¹²⁹ For Rickert, this preference for line drawing even influenced English brushwork and "fell foul of the new realistic tendencies typical of Flemish miniatures in the early sixteenth century, which were no longer flat, as decorations of a text page should be, but opened up the page by insertion behind the border framework a picture conceived as a view through a window."¹³⁰ This last analogy is an uncited reference to Otto Pächt's explanation of the fundamental revolution of the manuscript page rendered by artists in Ghent and Bruges in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, discussed in the previous two chapters. Moreover, though perhaps not intentionally, in her articulation of English appreciation for linear design, Rickert echoes Jones.

Rickert concludes that, rather than simply adopting, or copying, continental styles, the English adapted them, just as Jones urged Victorian designers to do. English rendering of continental styles and techniques, therefore “might not express the original artist’s intention exactly, but it would certainly be the English artist’s interpretation of the underlying facts or ideas in the representation before him.”¹³¹ Rather than a failure, then, for Rickert the distance between English illumination and French, Flemish, or Italian design marks a “reviving” and the production of art that was “intensely alive and creative,” at least, until 1425 or so.¹³² Nevertheless, after 1450, Rickert says little at all, calling those decades “very barren years, indeed.”¹³³ The present book offers evidence that extends Rickert’s positive assessment another century, into the middle Tudor years.

In *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages* we can view Rickert as responding to both of the traditions that had obscured English illumination from research until this late date: the disinterest of collectors and the lack of canonization by designers. Just as graphic designers like Ricketts did, and just as Jones recommended, Rickert viewed late medieval English limners as having adapted their influences, rather than adopting them wholesale. At the same time, Rickert’s methodological sympathies lay not with Jazz Age Chicago’s commercial art or medieval London’s border artists, but with contemporary curators and dealers. Just as they did, Rickert’s landmark monographs and articles set about deliberately canonizing works of art. In effecting this canonization, Rickert used techniques and vocabulary drawn directly from those employed by collectors and curators. Alone, Rickert treated late medieval English illumination as deserving a place in mainstream art history.

Kathleen L. Scott’s Corpus of Fifteenth-Century English Illumination

Forty years after Rickert’s survey, independent scholar Kathleen L. Scott offered the next landmark work on fifteenth-century English

manuscript art, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490* (1996), demonstrating that Berensonian attribution remains the foundation for any study of late medieval English illumination. Building on her prior two decades' worth of research, in *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, Scott meticulously describes the decoration of 140 different illustrated manuscripts, and references very nearly a thousand items total, in a grand effort to define a corpus of fifteenth-century English narrative illumination. Art historian Christopher Wood calls this kind of work “an archaeological phase,” and *Later Gothic Manuscripts* signals its completion for fifteenth-century English illumination.¹³⁴

Citing Rickert directly regarding the Carmelite Missal and Herman Scheere, Scott applies Rickert's attributional method in order to fully establish the corpus of fifteenth-century English illumination at last.¹³⁵ If Rickert had halted her discussion, as had the Victorian critics before her, around 1460, Scott delves deeply into the second half of the century. In *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, the final manuscript described is dated 1490. In a brief but perhaps equally important later book, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders, c. 1395–1499* (2002), Scott carefully extends the canon to 1499, closing the gap between earlier and later surveys by including borders dated 1492, ca. 1496, 1497, and 1499.¹³⁶ As did Rickert's, Scott's Berensonian roots show clearly. While “excavating” a truly remarkable number of manuscripts, Scott employs attributional methods to identify individual hands and their relationships across manuscripts.

In exporting Berensonian (or Rickertian) attributional connoisseurship to aniconic, decorative border and initial decoration, Scott delivers a substantial methodological innovation alongside her catalogic identification of the corpus. Though Rickert considers the borders and initials of the Carmelite Missal quite carefully in her reconstruction of that volume, she discusses them only occasionally in *Painting in Britain*, where her attention remains largely on historiations and miniatures. In contrast, Scott lavishes as much or more attention on borders and initials as on miniatures, as she does throughout her career. Indeed, Scott

treats the selection and design of motifs in borders, initials, and sprays as just as indicative of individual artists' styles as ears and eyes were for Berenson. Uniquely, however, throughout *Later Gothic Manuscripts* and later publications extending into the early 2020s, Scott strictly separates border and initial artists—decorative artists—from miniaturists. While Rickert herself readily considers the possibility that miniaturists might also have painted aniconic initials, according to Scott, miniaturists rarely painted borders and initials, and border artists rarely painted miniatures.¹³⁷ Scott's interpretation of this division of labour must result, in part, from her discovery of the unusually aniconic nature of fifteenth-century English illumination. In *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, Scott establishes for the first time that traditionally illustrated genres were less frequently copied in the late Middle Ages in England than they were in earlier periods, and when they were, they were less heavily illustrated than previously.¹³⁸ The fifteenth-century English did not simply appreciate linearity in their illumination, it appears, but frequently chose design over narrative art. Nevertheless, there is little English documentary evidence supporting such rigid craft division between border limners and miniaturists, and recent scientific study supports more diverse practice as well.¹³⁹ As a flaw in Scott's method, it remains an artifact of her training that looms larger than it might only thanks to the monolithic nature of *Later Gothic Manuscripts*. As it stands, medievalists in history and literary criticism, and colleagues in other specializations within art history, widely and rightfully respect Scott's familiarity with almost the entire extant body of late medieval English manuscripts.

Rickert's and Scott's careers also highlight an unusual contingency in the research into fifteenth-century English illumination that has inevitably reduced this illumination's visibility in the field of Medieval Studies. Today, professors often retire after careers of forty years at a single institution, whereas Rickert worked at University of Chicago from just 1938 to 1953. During this period, she left from 1942–44 to work as a wartime codebreaker in Washington, DC, and returned to

England for research in 1948.¹⁴⁰ Thus, she was employed in a briefer and more checkered pattern than we expect from tenured university faculty today. Scott remained an independent scholar her entire career, enjoying more flexibility in some arenas, and facing more challenges in others, than researchers with regular university affiliations. Janet Backhouse (1938–2004) retired as Curator of Illuminated Manuscripts at the British Library and her own long stream of articles strongly favoured fifteenth-century English illumination.¹⁴¹ Yet, Backhouse’s career as a curator demanded facsimile introductions and exhibition catalogues covering materials from the early Middle Ages through the fifteenth century, and allowed limited time for specialist monograph research and writing.¹⁴² Of course, all three researchers are women, and therefore they simultaneously took part in a parallel fight for women’s inclusion in academia generally, and in art history and book history, specifically.¹⁴³ In this light, it is wonderful that Rickert, Scott, and Backhouse were able to publish as much as they did, and to garner the professional reputations that they achieved, through the twentieth century and after.

Inside academia or beyond it, employment in the arts and humanities has been increasingly contingent since *Later Gothic Manuscripts* was published, and so both that book and Rickert’s *Painting in Britain* are unlikely to be replaced as descriptive surveys of fifteenth-century English illumination. Ongoing and future research is likely to look more like Backhouse’s, produced in short formats around other work. Relatively more research will appear in public-facing venues like exhibition catalogues—a return to the Victorian status quo, perhaps. More scholars will research fifteenth-century illumination from interdisciplinary perspectives, with primary training in other areas, such as literary studies or history, and employ *Later Gothic Manuscripts* as a textbook of sorts. Though lacking a sixteenth-century survey, then, the “archaeological phase” has already ended and, in the future, scholars may begin to use Scott’s survey of English fifteenth-century illumination as a source for other kinds of arguments. As the preceding chapters argue,

both design and media theory may be useful tools in such future investigations. Berensonian genealogical methods simply cannot fully cope with the fragmentary nature of the source base of late medieval English illumination. Berensonian attributional connoisseurship may remain useful within this media-driven approach, but no longer must this traditional method be limited by genealogies that necessarily remain only in fragmented form, largely unrecoverable, due to the inevitable loss of manuscripts through time. Instead, Zielenski's "anarchaeology," a fragmentology built out of paleontology and media studies, provides a flexible theoretical framework through which to examine late medieval English illumination.

England's Lost Early Renaissance

Now that the art historians specializing in sixteenth-century painting have come to the consensus that the English Renaissance began before their period, manuscript specialists, and any scholar working with late medieval English books, must begin to look for Renaissance features in medieval media. Even more than this, however, we must all begin to notice the aniconic illumination decorating many late medieval English manuscripts. The myth of the “Tudor Renaissance” has remained tenacious in large part because of how few people ever took notice of the illumination that put the lie to that construction. Should this traditional scholarly lacuna persist, the responsibility for it will lie on our shoulders as medievalists.

As we have seen, once we examine late medieval illumination, English limners provide consistent evidence for early English interest in Renaissance art. David Rundle documents that fifteenth-century English intellectuals actively took part in the nascent humanist textual culture. Albinia de la Mare and Jonathan J.G. Alexander recognize that English artists adapted humanist *bianchi girari* designs when no other national art tradition in Europe did so. The number of English manuscripts decorated with these designs may not be great, but even in Europe, Renaissance taste began with a powerful minority and spread only over time. The English pattern was not so different, perhaps, if scaled down to a smaller country, as Chapter 2 demonstrates. Chapter 3 continues to document the process in which English artists adapted French and Flemish Renaissance designs, rendering them with English variations,

as they had with *bianchi girari*. England adopted continental design wholesale only much later, under Elizabeth I, as Chapter 4 shows.

Thus, English artists arrived tardy to Renaissance design only if we define Renaissance art as strict adoption of the continental standard without local adaptation, or, even more firmly stated, only with outright rejection of local design. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 demonstrate that English artists instead adapted continental Renaissance art for their own purposes and consistently exhibited an understanding of the intention behind the new styles. The English did not pick up the newer Italian developments of the later fifteenth century, perhaps because England did not know of its own Roman epigraphy and ruins yet, and so its artists created no epigraphic, faceted initials or architectural borders of their own: the fifteenth-century English left Italian ruins to Italian artists. In this way, English *bianchi girari* seems to have run its course by the 1480s, and Italianate architectural borders were not adopted in England until 1521, as we saw in Chapter 4. Likewise, though the English eagerly imported illusionistic Ghent-Bruges borderwork from its earliest availability around 1480, and adapted their own variant based on it, English artists do not seem to have painted illusionism much themselves until after 1520, either. The English adapted, though did not adopt, French border designs, too, very likely as part of a highly modified Flemish illusionism, as Chapter 3 suggests. As vigorously as these Anglo-French or Anglo-Flemish designs engage contemporary continental artistic developments, however, today critics routinely dismiss such English work. As the epigraph beginning this book highlights, this art has been “splendid vulgarity” to even the most expert art historians. Such hybrid design does not look like European art, and must therefore be poor imitation, rather than innovation serving other ends.

From court to commoner, the English adopted continental Renaissance art fully only after 1520, and this process was not completed until England’s own traditional vinework designs finally ceased to be marketable early in Elizabeth’s reign. The royal family and members

of the court restricted their patronage to continental Renaissance designs not long after 1520, but the larger body of design purchased by the government continued to show English traits, at least occasionally, through 1560. In this light, we might trace the enduring myth of the Tudor Renaissance, perhaps not surprisingly, to Elizabeth's reign, and even more specifically, to her court. Henry VIII strove for decades to prove England a peer of any nation in Europe, but Elizabeth piloted England onto a global stage as a major European power and, under her, continental design became English design.

The myth of a Tudor Renaissance was easy to believe because England lost a lot, indeed most, of its medieval art during the rolling iconoclasm of different phases of the Reformation and Civil War, and so, in a very real sense, any study of medieval English art is an exercise in fragmentology. The English art that remains therefore stands in direct challenge to any simple Foucauldian genealogy. There is simply too much missing. This may not impress art historians with a new appreciation for late medieval English art. Nor, like Alpers's *The Art of Describing* discussed in the introduction, does this effort find merit for English illumination in art history's own terms. Instead, these chapters argue that the late medieval English corpus of illumination offers an exceptional source base to explore archaeologically, as design and media.

The very aniconism that helps to place late medieval English art outside traditional narratives of art history leaves it wide open to media analysis, especially using theory designed for broken taxonomies and recorded gaps, like media archaeology. Indeed, as Chapters 1 and 5 uncover, the utility of late medieval English illumination was clear to mid-Victorian architects, if not to most collectors or curators. Owen Jones's inclusion of an entire plate devoted to these borders and initials in *The Grammar of Ornament* fixed late medieval English illumination at the very heart of design theory in a way that has not been recognized before now. Thinking about late medieval English illumination as design provides further insight into its use in legal documents, which even today are sometimes decorated. Fifteenth-century English

Renaissance limners designed media, working a job with a visual component to no less an extent than did the humanist scribes of the papal curia who copied documents their entire careers.

Media archaeology concentrates on finding the material left out of more standard genealogies, sometimes to a fault. Yet, media archaeology has mostly resisted the geological analogy invoked in its terminology. Almost alone, Siegfried Zielinski insists on considering media “paleontologically” in order to expose variant media that might have thrived in their time but never developed into contemporary forms. In this book I push the analogy further, considering not only variants but strata of media. We know now that, by Elizabeth’s era, medieval English designs had been abandoned, that they were fully submerged under a newer, continental, Renaissance design stratum. This layer obscured the complex processes that had occurred for 150 years before that point, processes revealed by strategic “cuts,” in Zielinski’s words. By excavating the books of this period, these chapters uncover complicated evidence for late medieval English engagement with the Renaissance: Anglo-Italian design, Anglo-French design, and Anglo-Flemish design, all occurring before Henry VIII took the throne. While all of these design variants did work in their day, the Anglo-Italian and Anglo-French designs look most like Zielinski’s variants: they do not influence art after their own day. Fully continental designs settled over all of this art across the mid-sixteenth century, laying down a permanent stratum of Renaissance media.

Yet, the earlier, medieval English stratum cannot be denied. Though it failed to attract art historical or market interest outside of graphic designers, traditional English vinework flourished for nearly two centuries. From stark, stiff early stems to fringed, curling waves thickly sprouted with motifs, and even in its final mid-sixteenth-century form, deconstructed into abstraction, English vinework proved to be profoundly medieval design. It guided readers through text and document from the fourteenth century to as late as 1560. English vinework provided the backdrop (or one might say the “medium,” in its botanical

sense) against which Anglo-Italian, Anglo-French, and Anglo-Flemish design might develop, thrive, and then pass away, while it endured. Neither Jones as an architect, nor even the art historians of his era had the background to fully appreciate how characteristic, even iconic, his selections of this vinework for *The Grammar of Ornament* were. After an entirely new visual vocabulary was adopted, the final relics of medieval English vinework appear on government documents, reminding us of the role that decoration plays in communicating and activating authority. Until 1560, this powerful Tudor documentary design could still be medieval and English. After 1560, the Tudor Renaissance became myth made real.

NOTES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

- 1 Erin Bartram, “A Profession, If You Can Keep It,” *Contingent Magazine*, January 7, 2023, <https://contingentmagazine.org/2023/01/07/a-profession-if-you-can-keep-it/>.

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*, vol. 1 (New York: Harvey Miller, 1996), 25.
- 2 Janet Backhouse, “Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII and Members of His Immediate Family,” in *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Benjamin Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), 177.
- 3 This estimate is based on the nearly thousand manuscripts listed in Scott’s index in *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 387–406, and even that counts only illustrated volumes.
- 4 Sonja Drimmer’s *The Art of Allusion: Illuminators and the Making of English Literature, 1403–1476* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019) offers an exception that proves the rule.
- 5 For the most recent work on the materials of English limning, see Richard Gameson et al., *The Pigments of British Medieval Illuminators* (London: Archetype, 2023). For a discussion of gum arabic and how it functions in paint and ink, see Tom White, “The Luminescence of Medieval Media,” in *Recipes and Book Culture in England, 1350–1600*, ed. Carrie Griffin and Hannah Ryley (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2024), 130.
- 6 For recent bibliography on the earlier periods of this craft guild, see Alan Borg, *The History of the Worshipful Company of Painters Otherwise Painter-Stainers* (Huddersfield: Jeremy Mills, 2005), 1–68; and Susan Foister, “Distinctive or Different? English Artistic Practices in a European Context,”

- in *Painting in Britain, 1500–1630: Production, Influences, and Patronage*, ed. Tarnya Cooper, Aviva Bunstock, Maurice Howard, and Edward Town (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 204–15; and Edward Town, “A Good Eye, and Steadfast Hand?: Painting in London 1547–1625,” in *Painting in Britain, 1500–1630*, 252–61.
- 7 For a brief summary of the scholarship (and lamentable poverty of documentation) on this amalgamated guild, see Drimmer, *The Art of Allusion*, 24–27.
 - 8 Stephen Deuchar, “Director’s Forward,” in *Holbein in England*, ed. Susan Foister (London: Tate Publishing, 2006), 7.
 - 9 Foister, “Distinctive or Different?,” 215.
 - 10 Frederick Hepburn, “‘Pintor Inglés’: The Earliest Evidence for Portraiture at the Court of Henry VII,” in *Painting in Britain, 1500–1630*, 344–51.
 - 11 See for example Hepburn, “‘Pintor Inglés,’” 344–51; and, on painted rood screens, Lucy J. Wrapson, “A Medieval Context for the Artistic Production of Painted Surfaces in England: Evidence from East Anglia c.1400–1540,” in *Painting in Britain, 1500–1630*, 194–203.
 - 12 Tarnya Cooper, “Tudor and Jacobean Painters and Their Workshops,” in *Painting in Britain, 1500–1630*, 193.
 - 13 See, for example, V.J. Murrell, “The Art of Limning,” in *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520–1620*, ed. Roy Strong (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), 13–27.
 - 14 Katherine Coombs, “A Kind of Gentle Painting?: Limning in 16th-century England,” in *European Visions: American Voices*, ed. Kim Sloane (London: British Museum, 2009), 83.
 - 15 Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists: A Study of Painters in the Royal Service and of Portraiture on Illuminated Documents from the Accession of Henry VIII to the Death of Elizabeth I* (London: Athlone Press, 1954). Coombs does not cite the more recent work by Elizabeth Danbury on medieval English decorated documents (see Chapter 1 in this volume), perhaps because Danbury does not extend her research past Henry VII.
 - 16 Elizabeth Goldring, “Heraldic Drawing and Painting in Early Modern England,” in *Painting in Britain, 1500–1630*, 262–77. Goldring discusses Garter King William Segar, an Elizabethan painter who also limned, yet her focus is on painting, not his limning, and she does not consider grants of arms. This contrasts with heraldic specialists who examine both painting and limning; see, for example, Martin Roland, “Medieval Grants of Arms and Their Illuminators,” in *Heraldic Artists and Painters in the Middle Ages and*

- Early Modern Times*, ed. Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018), 135–55; and Clive Cheeseman, “Grants and Confirmations of Arms,” in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), 68–104.
- 17 Tarnya Cooper and Maurice Howard, “Artists, Patrons and the Context for the Production of Painted Images in Tudor and Jacobean England,” in *Painting in Britain, 1500–1630*, 5. Cooper and Howard also raise the issue of fragmentology on p. 6.
- 18 Kathryn M. Rudy, *Piety in Pieces: How Medieval Readers Customized Their Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016), xiii–xvi, <https://www.openbookpublishers.com/books/10.11647/obp.0094>. Interestingly, about the same time, both Rudy and myself noted “a car” as the equivalent cost of a full set of plates for a book history monograph. Kathleen E. Kennedy, “Author response,” to Eyal Poleg’s review of *The Courtly and Commercial Art of the Wycliffite Bible*, *Reviews in History*, April 6, 2015, <https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/1774#author-response>. It must be said that the cost of cars in the US has risen astronomically in the intervening decade.
- 19 For recent, expert consideration of these issues, see Douglas McCarthy, “THJ v Sheridan: A New Era for Copyright in UK Cultural Institutions?,” CopyrightLiteracy.org, January 12, 2024, <https://copyrightliteracy.org/2024/01/12/thj-v-sheridan-a-new-era-for-copyright-in-uk-cultural-institutions/>, and the results of his FOIA requests posted at “Anarchy in the UK: An Analysis of the Inconsistencies in UK Museums’ Copyright Claims over Digital Reproductions of Public Domain Works,” DouglasMcCarthy.com, November 20, 2024, <https://douglassmccarthy.com/2024/11/anarchy-in-the-uk/>, and further consideration of these findings by Jane Secker, “Reflecting on Anarchy in the UK: Museums and Public Domain Images,” CopyrightLiteracy.org, December 5, 2024, <https://copyrightliteracy.org/2024/12/05/reflecting-on-anarchy-in-the-uk-museums-and-public-domain-images/>.
- 20 Stephen Yeager, Fiona Somerset, and Daniel Kline, “Preface: Media Before 1800,” in *Old Media and the Medieval Concept: Media Ecologies Before Early Modernity*, ed. Thora Brylowe and Stephen Yeager (Montreal: Concordia University Press, 2021), xiii, <https://press.library.concordia.ca/projects/old-media-and-the-medieval-concept>.
- 21 Yeager, Somerset, and Kline, “Preface: Media Before 1800,” xiii.
- 22 Meyer Schapiro, “Nature of Abstract Art,” *Marxist Quarterly* 1 (1937): 88.

- 23 See for example, Esther Pasztor, “Still Invisible: The Problem of the Aesthetics of Abstraction for Pre-Columbian Art and Its Implications for Other Cultures,” *RES* 19/20 (1990/91): 104–36.
- 24 Pasztor, “Still Invisible,” 107–108.
- 25 Pasztor, “Still Invisible,” 110.
- 26 See discussion and bibliography in Amy Knight Powell, “Late Gothic Abstractions,” *Gesta* 51, no. 1 (2012): 71–88.
- 27 Aden Kumler, “Abstraction’s Gothic Grounds,” in *Abstraction in Medieval Art: Beyond the Ornament*, ed. Elina Gertsman (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021), 55; and see bibliography on 78–79, n2–6. Ironically, this is mostly true for the volume in which Kumler writes, as well, since her article provides some of the only late medieval research in it.
- 28 Aden Kumler, “Abstraction’s Gothic Grounds,” 55. Similar efforts at putting contemporary and medieval art into conversation, including the issue of abstraction, occur in *L’art médiéval est-il contemporain? Is Medieval Art Contemporary?*, ed. Charlotte Denoël et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023).
- 29 See, for example, Jean-Claude Bonne, “Ornementation et représentation,” in *Les images dans l’Occident médiéval*, ed. Jérôme Baschet and Pierre-Oliver Dittmar (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 199–212; and “L’ornement: la différence dans la répétition,” in *La variation*, ed. Christophe Carraud (Orleans: IAV, 1998), 80–99.
- 30 Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 114. For recent bibliography on the influence of *The Art of Describing*, see Mariët Westermann, “Svetlana Alpers’ *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century*, 1983,” *Burlington Magazine* 153, no. 1301 (2011): 532–36.
- 31 Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 103–104.
- 32 Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 23–24.
- 33 Westermann, “Svetlana Alpers,” 532.
- 34 Christopher Wood, *A History of Art History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 92–93.
- 35 Yeager, Somerset, and Kline, “Preface: Media Before 1800,” xiii.
- 36 Thora Brylowe and Stephen Yeager, “Introduction: The Medieval/Media Concept,” in *Old Media and the Medieval Concept: Media Ecologies Before Early Modernity*, ed. Thora Brylowe and Stephen Yeager (Montreal: Concordia University Press, 2021), 9, <https://press.library.concordia.ca/projects/old-media-and-the-medieval-concept>.

- 37 John Guillory, “Genesis of the Media Concept,” *Critical Inquiry* 36, no. 2 (2010): 321–62.
- 38 Friedrich Kittler, *Optical Media: Berlin Lectures, 1999*, trans. Anthony Enns (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 29, 31.
- 39 Siegfried Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), 7.
- 40 Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media History and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006), 7.
- 41 Jussi Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), 71.
- 42 Yeager, Somerset, and Kline, “Preface,” xiii.
- 43 Orietta da Rold, *Paper in Medieval England: From Pulp to Fictions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Georgina Wilson, “Surface Reading Paper as Feminist Bibliography,” *Criticism* 64, no. 3 (2022): <https://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/criticism/vol64/iss3/10/>; Bruce Holsinger, *On Parchment: Animals, Archives, and the Making of Culture from Herodotus to the Digital Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2023). Holsinger even identifies parchment as a medium, and uses McLuhanian subheadings, without substantively engaging media theory itself, calling it “now something of a cliché,” and considering ecocriticism instead, 23, 288–306.
- 44 For this original research and some later development of it, especially regarding literary scribes copying in the anglicana script, see Linne R. Mooney, “Chaucer’s Scribe,” *Speculum* 81, no. 1 (2006): 97–138; and Linne R. Mooney and Estelle Stubbs, *Scribes and the City: London Guildhall Clerks and the Dissemination of Middle English Literature, 1375–1425* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2013). For recent work on scribes copying in secretary script, see for example, Sebastian Sobocki, “The Handwriting of Fifteenth-Century Privy Seal and Council Clerks,” *RES* 72, no. 304 (2021): 253–79. For recent work on British scribes copying in humanist scripts, see David Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain: The English Quattrocento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). For research on the use of textualis, or textura, by scribes writing in English, see Kathleen E. Kennedy, “Hunting the Corpus Troilus: Illuminating Textura,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 44 (2022): 133–63; and Ralph Hanna, *Introducing English Medieval Book History: Manuscripts, Their Producers and Their Readers* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2013).
- 45 On copy-specific features including decoration, see for example, Katja Airaksinen, “The Morton Missal: The Finest Incunable Made in England,”

- Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 14, Part 2 (2009): 147–79; and Micheline White, “Katherine Parr’s Giftbooks, Henry VIII’s Marginalia, and the Display of Royal Power and Piety,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (2023): 39–83; and for painstaking analysis of Wynkyn de Worde’s types, see Joseph J. Gwara, “Dating Wynkyn de Worde’s Devotional, Homiletic, and Other Texts, 1501–11,” in *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Susan Powell*, ed. Martha W. Driver and Veronica O’Mara (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 193–234.
- 46 For an introduction to fragmentology, a developing specialization, see the two special issues of *Digital Philology* edited by Benjamin Albritton, Shiva Mihan, and Elaine Treharne with Mateusz Fafinski (vol. 13, nos. 1–2, Spring and Fall 2024), and the e-journal *Fragmentology*, launched in 2018, <https://www.fragmentology.ms/issue/archive>.
- 47 See for example, Kathryn M. Rudy, *Piety in Pieces*; and, most recently, *Touching Parchment: How Medieval Users Rubbed, Handled, and Kissed Their Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2023), <https://books.openbookpublishers.com/10.11647/obp.0337/contents.xhtml>, and vol. 2 (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2024), <https://www.openbookpublishers.com/books/10.11647/obp.0379>.
- 48 Elaine Treharne, *Perceptions of Medieval Manuscripts: The Phenomenal Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 2, 4–5.
- 49 Holsinger, *On Parchment*, 288–306.
- 50 Matt Cohen, “Time and the Bibliographer: A Meditation on the Spirit of Book Studies,” *Textual Cultures* 13, no. 1 (2020): 179–206.
- 51 J.D. Sargan, “What Could a Trans Book History Look Like? Toward Trans Codicology,” *Criticism* 64, no. 3 (2022): 571–86; and now more fully expressed in Sargan, *Trans Histories of the Medieval Book: An Experiment in Bibliography* (York: Arc Humanities, 2025).
- 52 Foys was at work as early as 2007, see Martin Foys, *Virtually Anglo-Saxon: Old Media, New Media, and Early Medieval Studies in the Late Age of Print* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007). His more recent work includes “Medieval Manuscripts: Media Archaeology and the Digital Incunable,” in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. Michael Johnston and Michael van Dussen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 119–39; and “The Body As Media in Early Medieval England,” in *Medieval English and Dutch Literatures: The European Context Essays*

- in Honour of David F. Johnson*, ed. Larissa Tracy and Geert M. Claassens (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2022), 65–88. Mak made strong interventions by combining early print history and information science in Bonnie Mak, *How the Page Matters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), and the bracing “Archaeology of a Digitization,” *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 65, no. 8 (2014): 1515–26.
- 53 Kathleen E. Kennedy, *Medieval Hackers* (Brooklyn: Punctum, 2014).
- 54 Erik Born, “Media Archaeology, Cultural Techniques, and the Middle Ages: An Approach to the Study of Media before the Media,” *Seminar* 52, no. 2 (2016): 107–33.
- 55 Ingrid Nelson, *Medieval Media: Bodies, Networks, Chaucer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2025; Nelson, “Ambient Media and Chaucer’s *House of Fame*,” *ELH* 88, no. 3 (Fall 2021): 551–78; Nelson, “Pre-modern Media and Networks of Transmission in the Man of Law’s Tale,” *Exemplaria*, 25 no. 3 (2013): 211–30.
- 56 Scott A. Trudell, *Unwritten Poetry: Song, Performance, and Media in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).
- 57 Brylowe and Yeager, *Old Media and the Medieval Concept*.
- 58 Michelle R. Warren, *Holy Digital Grail: A Medieval Book on the Internet* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2022).
- 59 White, “The Luminescence of Medieval Media,” 119–34.
- 60 Hannah Ryley, *Re-using Manuscripts in Late Medieval England: Repairing, Recycling, Sharing* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2022), 2, 14; Whitney Trettien, *Cut/Copy/Paste: Fragments from the History of Book Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2021), 23–27.
- 61 Bridget Whearty, *Digital Codicology: Medieval Books and Modern Labor* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2022), 17–18.
- 62 This volume follows a long tradition of debate about what (if anything) the chronological period of “the Renaissance” was and instead employs the term “early modern” for the historical period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The term “Renaissance” continues to be commonly used in a much more narrow sense when referring to art reflecting interest in classical forms and perspective from the fourteenth century into the early modern period. For a standard bibliography concerning the historiographical debate, see Margaret L. King, “The Renaissance,” in *Oxford Bibliographies in “Renaissance and Reformation,”*
<https://www-oxfordbibliographies-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/document/obo-9780195399301/obo-9780195399301-0123.xml>.

- 63 Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 280.

CHAPTER I

- 1 Kathleen L. Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders, c.1395–1499* (London: British Library, 2002), 30.
- 2 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 12, 34.
- 3 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 30. For spectrographic evidence concerning the palette, see Gameson et al., *The Pigments of British Medieval Illuminators*, 301–14.
- 4 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 42; and Gameson et al., *The Pigments of British Medieval Illuminators*, 314, 322.
- 5 See for example, Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 54.
- 6 See for example, Scott's highlighting of the use of a different motif on each portion of the border as part of the standard design by mid-century, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 64.
- 7 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 12.
- 8 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 12.
- 9 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 13.
- 10 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 105, identifies these as imported motifs.
- 11 Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 182–84; and Kathleen E. Kennedy, "Cosmopolitan Artists, Florentine Initials, and the Wycliffite Bible," in *Europe After Wyclif*, ed. J. Patrick Hornbeck II and Michael van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), 49–50.
- 12 On the development of English medieval missals, see Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); and for a brief overview on missals generally, see Rudy, *Touching Parchment*, vol. 1, Chapter 4, Part II, https://books.openbookpublishers.com/10.11647/obp.0337/ch4.xhtml#_idTextAnchor085. For a detailed, specialist overview, see Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 143–57. For a liturgist, Hughes made an unusual attempt to integrate decorative codicology, though, as he lacked the benefit of more recent art historical work on illumination, his decorative analysis should be approached cautiously.
- 13 Lesley Hoskins, "Jones, Owen (1809–1874), architect, printer, and designer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004,

- <https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15066>.
- 14 Carol A. Hrvol Flores, *Owen Jones: Design, Ornament, Architecture, and Theory in an Age of Transition* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 238. Despite Jones's foundational status, bibliography on him remains strangely piecemeal, as Flores recognized in her overview, *Owen Jones*, 9.
 - 15 Michael Snodin and Maurice Howard, *Ornament: A Social History Since 1450* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 200.
 - 16 Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: Day and Son, 1856), 5.
 - 17 Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, 200; Debra Schafer, *The Order of Ornament, the Structure of Style: Theoretical Foundations of Modern Art and Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 24. Jones had also planned a chapter on art from Yucatan, but his friend who prepared that material was shipwrecked on his journey back to England, and the chapter was abandoned. See John Kresten Jespersen, "Originality and Jones's *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2008): 145.
 - 18 See Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, 213; Schafer, *The Order of Ornament*, 24–25; and bibliography on conflicting opinions concerning Jones's imperialism in Stacey Sloboda, "The Grammar of Ornament: Cosmopolitanism and Reform in British Design," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (2008): 235, n4.
 - 19 Schafer, *The Order of Ornament*, 25.
 - 20 Henry Noel Humphreys and Owen Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages: An Account of the Development of Illumination as a Distinct Branch of Pictorial Ornamentation from the IVth to the XVIIth Centuries* (London: Longman, 1844–49). This prefatory matter exists in at least two states, and the reference is on either p. 14 or p. 19.
 - 21 Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 6. The *Grammar* was originally printed in fascicles and exists in multiple states. The rarer and bibliographically better-quality state bears a title page touting a hundred plates, and the more common state a title page listing 112 plates. However, the 112-plate state also includes some page numbers, and so I will cite these in the present book, while quoting text according to the 100-plate state, except where noted.
 - 22 Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 5.
 - 23 Proposition 8, Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 5.
 - 24 Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 6.

- 25 For a classic overview, see Malcolm Parkes, "Layout and Presentation of Text," in *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 2, 1100–1400*, ed. Nigel Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 55–74.
- 26 Mak, *How the Page Matters*, 18, 21.
- 27 Ellen Lupton and Jennifer Cole Phillips, *Graphic Design: The New Basics*, 2nd edition, revised and expanded (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008), 117.
- 28 Lev Manovich, "The Language of Cultural Interfaces," in *New Media, Old Media: A History and Theory Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, Anna Watkins Fisher, and Thomas W. Keenan (New York: Routledge, 2016), 37–51.
- 29 Lupton and Phillips, *Graphic Design*, 129.
- 30 Donald A. Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things*, 2nd edition, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), xiv–xv.
- 31 Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things*, xi.
- 32 Norman, *The Design of Everyday Things*, 192.
- 33 Susan Weinschenk, *100 Things Ever Designer Needs to Know About People*, 2nd edition (Berkeley: Peach Pit, 2020), 24.
- 34 Weinschenk, *100 Things*, 114–15.
- 35 Friedrich Kittler, *Optical Media: Berlin Lectures, 1999*, trans. Anthony Enns (Cambridge: Polity, 2010), 36.
- 36 Brylowe and Yeager, "Introduction: The Medieval/Media Concept," 13.
- 37 Jesse James Garrett, "The Skeleton Plane: Interface Design, Navigation Design, and Information Design," *The Elements of User Experience: User-Centered Design for the Web and Beyond* (Berkeley: New Riders, 2011), 112–39. For a different application of theory to explicitly digital artifacts and their interfaces, see Johanna Drucker, "Performative Materiality and Theoretical Approaches to Interface," *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (2013): <https://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/7/1/000143/000143.html>.
- 38 Weinschenk, *100 Things*, 114–15.
- 39 Weinschenk, *100 Things*, 46–7.
- 40 Garrett, "The Skeleton Plane."
- 41 Weinschenk, *100 Things*, 13–14.
- 42 Weinschenk, *100 Things*, 5–7.
- 43 Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 34.

- 44 Vincent Gillespie, “Medieval Hypertext: Image and Text from York Minster,” in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M.B. Parkes*, ed. P.R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), 206–29.
- 45 Brylowe and Yeager, “Introduction: The Medieval/Media Concept,” 3. This is also part of Warren’s point in *Holy Digital Grail*, and even my earlier foray in *Medieval Hackers*.
- 46 Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 7.
- 47 Thus, for example, while Jessica Berenbeim uses the word “documents” throughout, she really explores very specific categories of documents, and her findings may or may not extend beyond the individual categories she considers, in *Art of Documentation: Documents and Visual Culture in Medieval England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2015). Berenbeim has exceptional company in this kind of generalization, as John Guillory treats memos as the source of documentary rhetoric and form generally, “The Memo and Modernity,” *Critical Inquiry* 31, no. 1 (2004): 108–32.
- 48 Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 1; and Guillory, “The Memo and Modernity,” 113.
- 49 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 1.
- 50 Guillory, “The Memo,” 113.
- 51 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 1–2.
- 52 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 4–5. Guillory explores the philological links between documents and control in “The Memo,” 122.
- 53 Cornelia Vismann, “Out of File, Out of Mind,” in *New Media, Old Media: A History and Theory Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, Anna Watkins Fisher, and Thomas W. Keenan (New York: Routledge, 2016), 159.
- 54 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 30.
- 55 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 30.
- 56 William J. Loftie, *Lessons in the Art of Illuminating. A Series of Examples Selected from Works in the British Museum, Lambeth Palace Library, and the South Kensington Museum* (London: Blackie and Son, 1880), 33.
- 57 Berenbeim, *Art of Documentation*, 5.
- 58 In *Tudor Artists*, Auerbach sought out documentary art in order to find what we today think of as portraits, likenesses, of monarchs. Musson’s work provides a more recent background for Berenbeim’s approach, though he

- considers statute books more than documents, for example in Anthony Musson, "Ruling 'Virtually'? Royal Images in Medieval English Law Books," in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 151–71.
- 59 Elizabeth Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England, 1250–1509: An Introduction," in *England and Her Neighbours, 1066–1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (London: Hambledon, 1989), 158.
- 60 Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England," 157–58, 163.
- 61 Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England," 159.
- 62 Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England," 168, 172.
- 63 Elizabeth Danbury and Kathleen L. Scott, "The Plea Rolls of the Court of Common Pleas: An Unused Source for the Art and History of Later Medieval England, 1422–1509," *The Antiquaries Journal* 95 (2015): 159; this article furnishes a sort of thematic catalogue of images in the Common Plea rolls. I would add that this trend is generally also true of the decorated headpieces of the rolls of the Court of King's Bench.
- 64 Danbury, "The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England," 176.
- 65 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 12.
- 66 Danbury made her point while Elizabeth II yet lived, but Charles III's coronation invitation demonstrates his interest in continuing this tradition of illuminated royal documents. Elizabeth Danbury, "Décoration et enluminure des chartes royales anglaises au moyen âge," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 169, no. 1 (January–June 2011): 79–80; "The Coronation Invitation," April 4, 2023, <https://www.royal.uk/news-and-activity/2023-04-04/the-coronation-invitation>.
- 67 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 20.
- 68 Wax seals were used in place of, or by this period often in addition to, a signature or "sign manual." Thus the tool, the seal, was tradition, and the *manus*, the hand, was the innovation.
- 69 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 13.
- 70 Clive Cheeseman, "Grants and Confirmations of Arms," in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas,

- 2014), 70–71, though the heralds’ books were not centralized fully until the later Tudor period, 85, 102–103.
- 71 Cheeseman, “Grants and Confirmations of Arms,” 86. For an example of a heraldic album that has formerly been digitized, see London, British Library, MS Additional 45132.
- 72 Roland, “Medieval Grants of Arms and Their Illuminators,” 137.
- 73 Roland, “Medieval Grants of Arms and Their Illuminators,” 145.
- 74 London, Guildhall Library, MS 4643 (1490, Clarencieux herald to Weavers).
- 75 Thus, the practice normalizes a bit earlier than Cheeseman notes, “Grants and Confirmations of Arms,” 79.
- 76 Compare for example, London, British Library, MS Additional 37687E (1495) and London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS L.4362-1948 (1492). Nevertheless, some earlier grants also bore extensive borders, for example several of the grants painted by William Abell in the 1430s and 1440s, including the earliest surviving English grant of arms, see Roland, “Medieval Grants of Arms and Their Illuminators,” 146–48.
- 77 Cheeseman, “Grants and Confirmations of Arms,” 98.
- 78 Not only are the motifs largely the same, but the feathering on the vines shows the same essential tremor. In addition to the grant in fig. 1.2, see also Kew, National Archives, SP 9/1/2 (1517), and London, British Library, Additional MS 37687F (1517). A decade earlier, Wriothesley seems to have hired a different artist on more than one occasion: Kew, National Archives, SP 9/1/1 (1509) and London, Guildhall Library, MS 5806 (1509). For evidence confirming that the heralds hired out painting their grants, see Ann Payne, “Sir Thomas Wriothesley and His Heraldic Artists,” in *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters: Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Scot McKendrick, 142–60 (London: British Library, 1998).
- 79 I know of thirteen grants dating to the period of Barker’s tenure as Garter King of Arms, 1536–50, and most of these restrict themselves to one of two styles, whichever herald sealed them: Gloucester, Gloucester Cathedral Archives, GCA/S&F/29 (1541); Kew, National Archives, SP9/1/3 (1542), SP9/1/4 (1543), SP9/1/5 (1548); London, British Library, MSS Additional 60514 (1547), 30520A (1549), and Additional Charter 8661 (1546); London, Guildhall Library, MSS 5437 (1544), 6131 (1546); London, Royal College of Physicians Library, MS 1057/1 (1546); London, Wax Chandlers Hall, Grant of Arms (1536); New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS Takamiya 127 (1546); Nottingham, Mellors & Kirk, 10 May 2018, sold Lot 228 (1544).

- 80 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 124, 133.
- 81 For examples of Wriothesley's books of armorials, see London, British Library MSS Additional MSS 45131, 45132, 45133, and Cheeseman's discussion of Elizabethan ordinaries, "Grants and Confirmations of Arms," 102–103.
- 82 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 135.
- 83 See, for example, the 2009 New Zealand passport update which emphasized that the variation in images on each page prevented counterfeiting and reflected "New Zealand's identity and depicts themes of navigation and travel." Nathan Guy, "New Style ePassport Released Today," November 24, 2009, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/new-style-epassport-released-today>. The variation in art on 2023 Canadian passport-page art is also explained as a security feature, and shifted from an earlier focus on history and monuments, with their colonial associations, to nature. "Features of Canada's New Passport," <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/canadian-passports/new-passport-features.html>; and Richard Raycraft, "Canada's New Passport to Show More Nature and Less History," *CBC News* May 10, 2023, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-new-passport-more-nature-fewer-history-1.6838308>. The US passport redesign of 2007 was also noted for its newly dense use of national icons on its pages. Neil MacFarquhar, "Stars and Stripes, Wrapped in the Same Old Blue," *New York Times*, April 29, 2007, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/29/weekinreview/29macfa.html>.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 For a recent comparison between what early Italian and English humanists thought they were doing, and the early English use of the term "Renaissance" in the nineteenth century, see David Rundle, "Renaissance," in *Europe in British Literature and Culture*, ed. Petra Rau and William T. Rossiter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024), 119–32.
- 2 Clémence Revest, *Romam veni: Humanisme et papauté à la fin due Grand Schisme* (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2021).
- 3 This is essentially Rundle's thesis in *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain: The English Quattrocento* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). Famously, the models the scribes used were not actually classical, but high medieval.
- 4 Brylowe and Yeager, "Introduction: The Medieval/Media Concept," 4.

- 5 Jussi Parikka and Erkki Huhtamo, "Introduction: An Archaeology of Media Archaeology," in *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications*, ed. Jussi Parikka and Erkki Huhtamo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1–2. Much Anglo-American media history identifies its origins in the work of Marshall McLuhan, who viewed Harold Innis as a progenitor, especially his *Empire and Communications* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950); Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011). For essays forcefully arguing for application of McLuhan's theories in ways that avoid and even combat its misogyny, racism, and colonialism, see *Re-understanding Media: Feminist Extensions of Marshall McLuhan*, ed. Sarah Sharma and Rianka Singh (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022).
- 6 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 2.
- 7 Aside from Parikka and Huhtamo's introduction to their early collection, "Introduction: An Archaeology of Media Archaeology," longer overviews of the development of media archaeology can be found in Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, and shorter in Thomas Elsaesser, "Media Archaeology as Symptom," *New Review of Film and Television Studies* 14, no. 2 (2016): 181–215. Compare these with Wolfgang Ernst's brief, comparative overview in "Dis/Continuities: Does the Archive Become Metaphorical in Multi-Media Space?," in *New Media, Old Media: A History and Theory Reader*, 2nd edition, ed. Wendy Hui Kyong Chun, Anna Watkins Fisher, and Thomas W. Keenan (New York: Routledge, 2016), 52–69. Obviously, my application of media archaeological principles aligns my work with Anglo-American cultural theorists and places it outside that of the transhumanist, mathematical German theorists.
- 8 Elsaesser, "Media Archaeology as Symptom," 183.
- 9 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 8.
- 10 For example, Ernst stresses how Foucauldian archaeology "does *not* relate analysis to a kind of geological excavation," "Dis/Continuities," 52.
- 11 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 3, 10–11.
- 12 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 146.
- 13 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 3.
- 14 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 17.
- 15 Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, 7.
- 16 Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, 7.
- 17 Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, 10.

- 18 Thomas Elsaesser, "Afterword: Digital Cinema and the Apparatus: Archaeologies, Epistemologies, Ontologies," in *Cinema and Technology: Cultures, Theories, Practices*, ed. Bruce Bennett, Marc Furstenau, and Adrian Mackenzie (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), 233.
- 19 Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, 10.
- 20 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 20.
- 21 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 27, 30–31.
- 22 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 36.
- 23 On this interdisciplinarity, see Parikka and Huhtamo, "Introduction," 3; and, for one instance that recognizes "the particular role played by medieval media in the modern formulation of the media concept," see Brylowe and Yeager, "Introduction: The Medieval/Media Concept," 19.
- 24 See, for example, Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 8; and Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 24.
- 25 Erkki Huhtamo, "Dismantling the Fairy Engine: Media Archaeology as Topos Study," in *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications, and Implications*, ed. Jussi Parikka and Erkki Huhtamo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 28, 32–33.
- 26 Philip Marchand, *Marshall McLuhan: The Medium and the Messenger* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 62–63, 72–73; Alexander Nagel, *The Medieval Modern: Art Out of Time* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2012), 156, 162.
- 27 Kittler, *Optical Media*, 54–62.
- 28 Huhtamo, "Dismantling the Fairy Engine," 29–34, and Guillory, "The Memo and Modernity," 114.
- 29 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 14.
- 30 Elsaesser, "Media Archaeology as Symptom," 198.
- 31 Elsaesser, "Media Archaeology as Symptom," 200.
- 32 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 64. For the development of the term "media," see Guillory, "Genesis of the Media Concept," 321–62.
- 33 Elsaesser, "Media Archaeology as Symptom," 188.
- 34 Elsaesser, "Afterword," 233.
- 35 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 113.
- 36 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology*, 144.
- 37 For example, see Scott, who highlights the use of a different motif on each portion of the border as part of the standard design by mid-century, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 64.

- 38 Kennedy, "Cosmopolitan Artists, Florentine Initials, and the Wycliffite Bible," 49–50.
- 39 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 13, 82; and Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 279, 298, 342.
- 40 This implicitly raises the vexed question of modelbooks. Only two remain from late medieval England: London, British Library, MSS Additional 28887 (the Macclesfield Alphabet Book); and Sloane 1448A; a fragment of a third exists as a flyleaf in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4943. Backhouse and Scott both argue that these generally functioned as idea-books, rather than for direct reproduction, and Alexander also remains cautious about specific uses, given the paucity of evidence. Meanwhile, de Hamel openly questions whether they were intended for practical application at all. See Janet Backhouse, "An Illuminator's Sketchbook," *The British Library Journal* 1, no. 1 (1975): 3–14; Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 254–56; Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 125; and Christopher de Hamel and Patricia Lovett, *The Macclesfield Alphabet Book (BL Additional MS 88887): A Facsimile* (London: The British Library, 2010), 17–18.
- 41 Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain*, 11–12, 27–30. Mak discusses some of these changes in comparison with copies of *romances*, concentrating on script- and paratext-selection in, *How the Page Matters*, especially 22–46.
- 42 Jonathan J.G. Alexander and Albinia de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J.R. Abbey* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), xxxiv.
- 43 Alexander and de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J.R. Abbey*, xxxiv.
- 44 Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy*, 1–4.
- 45 Otto Pächt, "Notes and Observations on the Origins of Humanist Book-Decoration," in *Festschrift Fritz Saxl*, ed. D.J. Gordon (London: Nelson, 1957), 188–89.
- 46 Pächt, "Notes and Observations," 188.
- 47 Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood point out the general lack of dated timelines of art into the fifteenth century, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone, 2010), 136; and Melania Ceccanti traces the specifics of white vinestem initials in "Proposte per la storia dei primi codici umanistici a bianchi girari," *Miniatura*, no. 5/6 (1993/1996): 11–16.

- 48 Philippa Sissis, "Script as Image: Visual Acuity in the Script of Poggio Bracciolini," in *Poggio Bracciolini and the Re(dis)covery of Antiquity: Textual and Material Traditions. Proceedings of the Symposium Held at Bryn Mawr College on April 8–9, 2016*, ed. Roberta Ricci and Eric Pomeroy (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2016), 131.
- 49 For a discussion of the sources used in Florence and the Veneto, see Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy*, 252–53.
- 50 Carl Huter, "Cristoforo Cortese in the Bodleian Library," *Apollo* 111, no. 215 (January 1980): 12. On Cortese, see also Simona Cohen, "Cristoforo Cortese Reconsidered," *Arte Veneta* 39 (1985): 22–31. For an overview, see Giordana Mariani Canova, "La miniatura a Venezia dal Medioevo al Rinascimento," in *Storia di Venezia: Temi; L'arte*, ed. R. Pallucchini (Rome: Istituto Enciclopedia Italiana, 1995), 790–802.
- 51 Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy*, 280.
- 52 Kathleen E. Kennedy, "Italian Art and English Artists in the English Quattrocento: Naturally Seeking Out Things Italian," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 54, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 2023): 291–92.
- 53 Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, 7.
- 54 Silvia Fumian, "Attorno a Cristoforo Cortese: Di due manoscritti conservati all'Archivio Capitolare della cattedrale di Tràù," in *Medioevo adriatico: Circolazione di modelli, opere, maestri*, ed. Frederica Toniolo and Giovanna Valenzano (Rome: Viella, 2010), 168–69.
- 55 Jonathan J.G. Alexander, "Two English Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Estense with Illumination Attributable to the 'Caesar Master,'" in *Tributes to Kathleen L. Scott. English Medieval Manuscripts: Readers, Makers and Illuminators*, ed. Marlene Villalobos Hennessy (New York: Harvey Miller, 2009), 141–5; Albinia de la Mare, *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1970), 3–4; and Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 56–57.
- 56 For further discussion, see Kennedy, "Italian Art and English Artists in the English Quattrocento," 289–96. Manuscripts include: Corpus Christi College 285; Cambridge, St. John's College, MS C. 10; Cambridge, King's College, MS 27; Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. 1. 34; and London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 12.
- 57 Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), 203.
- 58 Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain*, 216–17.
- 59 Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy*, 1–4.

- 60 Kennedy, "Italian Art and English Artists in the English Quattrocento," 296–307 on other Anglo-humanist initial styles, 304 on changing Italian fashion.
- 61 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 30.
- 62 Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 278; and Kennedy, "Italian Art and English Artists in the English Quattrocento," 296.
- 63 Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 278–79; Kathleen L. Scott, *The Miroure of the Worlde: MS Bodley 283 (England, c.1470–1480): The Physical Composition Decoration and Illustration* (Oxford: Roxburghe, 1980), 43.
- 64 Known examples of second-generation Anglo-Cortesian initials are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 158; and Oxford, New College MS 228; and similar, London, British Library MS Harley 3346; MS Osborn a87; and London, British Library MS Harley 3348. CCC158 is digitized at: <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/sp902vq7011>. Examples of initials based on the Caesar Master's can be found in additions to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. 2. 19; the final addition to Oxford, New College MS 271; most of the decoration in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 265; London, British Library MS Additional 10344; and Balliol 286.
- 65 The phrase is from Scott McCloud, *Understanding Comics: The Invisible Art* (New York: Harper, 1994), 30, who builds on the theory of Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Routledge, 1964), 24–25; and see Chapter 3 in the present book.
- 66 On champs, see Kathleen L. Scott, "Limning and Book-Producing Terms and Signs *in situ* in Late-Medieval English Manuscripts: A First Listing," in *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I. Doyle*, ed. Richard Beadle and A.J. Piper (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), 145–47.
- 67 For examples and folio citations, see Kennedy, "Italian Art and English Artists in the English Quattrocento," 304–305.
- 68 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 952.
- 69 For this pair, see Scott's description, where she names the "Caesar Master" for them, in Scott, *Miroure of the World*, 41–44; Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain*, 216–17. Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, MSS Lat. 4681 and Chigi H. VII. 215; Vat. Lat. 4681 is digitized at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.4681; and Chigi H. VII. 215 at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Chig.H.VII.215.
- 70 Alexander, "Two English Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Estense with Illumination Attributable to the 'Caesar Master,'" 13, notes the

- arms of the Pruiili of Venice on their Petrarch. See also Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MSS α F. I. 14 and α Q. 6. 15, discussed by Alexander.
- 71 De la Mare, *Duke Humfrey*, 22, on New College, 228.
- 72 De la Mare, *Duke Humfrey*, 52–53, on CCC158; and Oxford, Merton College MS 89 eventually reached Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London, even if it was not made for him originally.
- 73 Harley 3346 (archbishop), MS Osborn a87 (abbot).
- 74 Auct. F. 2. 19.
- 75 Lambeth 265.
- 76 Balliol 286, Additional 10344.
- 77 New College 271, fols. 167–72, and see Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain*, 249n65, for the identification of Sherborne’s hand.
- 78 On the Followers, see Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, vol. 2, 180–81, and Kathleen E. Kennedy, *The Courtly and Commercial Art of the Wycliffite Bible* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 127–42. On the date of the *Corpus Troilus*, see Kathleen E. Kennedy, “Hunting the *Corpus Troilus*: Illuminating Textura,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 44 (2022): 133–63.
- 79 The Followers’ *bianchi girari* can be found in: Glasgow, Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 274; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 915; Oxford, Magdalen College, MSS Lat. 23, Lat. 39; an addition to Oxford, New College MS 271; and a fragment pasted onto a binding of Oxford, Merton College 76.a.6. For the Followers’ patrons, see Kennedy, “Hunting the *Corpus Troilus*,” 133–63.
- 80 Kew, National Archives, DL 10/421, m.2r. Though it cannot convey the enormous size of the initial, a sample is available online at: <https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk/search/?searchQuery=DL+10%2F421>.
- 81 Eliza Hartrich, *Politics and the Urban Sector in Fifteenth-Century England, 1413–1471* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 93, 103; *History of Parliament, 1439–1509*, ed. Josiah C. Wedgwood and Anne D. Holt (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1936–38), vol. 1, 8, 853–54.
- 82 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 22.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 Clive Burgess, “‘A Fond Thing Vainly Invented’: An Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in Later Medieval England,” in *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350–1750*, ed. Susan J. Wright (London: Hutchinson, 1988), 56–84.

- 2 Eamon Duffy's remains a traditional survey of the spirituality of this period. See *Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). More recently, see Clive Burgess, "Obligations and Strategy: Managing Memory in the Later Medieval Parish," *Monumental Brass Society* 18, no. 4 (2012): 289–310; Clive Burgess, *The Right Ordering of Souls: The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018); and *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge*, ed. Christian Steer and John S. Lee (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2018).
- 3 Rachael Harkes traces the enrollment of family members in guilds devoted to memorialization even after their deaths, highlighting the willingness of families to devote funds whenever they became available. See Harkes, "Remembering the Dead: Postmortem Guild Membership in Late Medieval England," *Journal of British Studies* 63, no. 2 (2024): 323–48.
- 4 Research into chantries tends to be local, and surveys are few, and older. See, for example, Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); Simon Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007); Marie-Hélène Rousseau, *Saving the Souls of Medieval London: Perpetual Chantries at St. Paul's Cathedral, c. 1200–1548* (New York: Ashgate, 2011); and the articles in the special issue of *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164 (2011) devoted to chantries.
- 5 For this narrative concerning the planned chapel, I am reliant on Margaret Condon, "God Save the King! Piety, Propaganda, and the Perpetual Memorial," in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 59–97; and Tim Tatton-Brown, "The Building of the Lady Chapels," in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 189–204.
- 6 Condon, "God Save the King!," 60.
- 7 Nigel Morgan, "The Scala Coeli Indulgence and the Royal Chapels," in *The Reign of Henry VII: Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Benjamin Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1994), 89–91.
- 8 Margaret Condon, "The Last Will of Henry VII: Document and Text," in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), 115.
- 9 Condon thoroughly explains the bipartite, septipartite, and quadripartite indentures and their bindings in Condon, "God Save the King!," 66–82.

- 10 On Malhom's involvement, see Matthew Payne, "The First Chantry Chapel of Lady Margaret Beaufort in Westminster Abbey," in *Performance, Ceremony and Display in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2018 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Julia Boffey (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2020), 277–78.
- 11 John N. King, *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 41–42.
- 12 For a list of extant and missing copies, see Condon's appendix in "God Save the King!," 95–97.
- 13 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 379, 382.
- 14 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 382.
- 15 Gitelman, *Always Already New*, 7.
- 16 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 172.
- 17 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 71.
- 18 Otto Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London: Faber and Faber, 1944), 30–31.
- 19 Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, 32.
- 20 Thomas Kren, "Consolidation and Renewal: Manuscript Painting Under the Hapsburgs, circa 1485–1510," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 313. Hereafter this volume is abbreviated *Illuminating the Renaissance*.
- 21 Kren, "Consolidation and Renewal," 313.
- 22 Kren, "Consolidation and Renewal," 313.
- 23 The bibliography on Margaret of York is substantial. For a selection of recent material highlighting her book patronage, see Christine Weightman, *Margaret of York: Duchess of Burgundy, 1443–1503* (New York: St. Martin's, 1989), and Ghislain Tranié, "'Ce livre cy est a tres haulte, tres excellante et puissante princesse' Les Manuscrits de Marguerite d'York (1446–1503), Duchesse de Bourgogne: un Mécénat Politique," *Pecia* 21 (2018): 175–95. Important essays are included in a range of conference and exhibition volumes, such as *Staging the Court of Burgundy*, ed. Till-Holger Borchert et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013) and *Women of Distinction: Margaret of York, Margaret of Austria*, ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005). *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and the Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren (Los Angeles: Getty, 1992) includes a complete list of books associated with the duchess.
- 24 Scot McKendrick, "Leaf from a Gradual," in *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination*, ed. Scot McKendrick et al. (London: British Library, 2011),

- 418; and see Thomas Kren on the Breviary of Margaret of York in “Revolution and Transformation: Painting in Devotional Manuscripts, circa 1467–1485,” *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 149–50.
- 25 See Thomas Kren on the Madrid Hours of William, Lord Hastings in “Revolution and Transformation,” *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 154–55; and on the London Hours of William, Lord Hastings in “Revolution and Transformation,” *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 192–93.
- 26 Kennedy, “Inventing English Renaissance Art: Henry VII’s Cosmopolitan Chapel Indentures,” *The Open Book: Essays on Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of Martha W. Driver*, ed. Carrie Griffin, Michael P. Kuczynski, and Niamh Pattwell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2026), forthcoming.
- 27 On the Masters of the Dark Eyes, see Klara H. Broekhuijsen, *The Masters of the Dark Eyes: Late Medieval Manuscript Painting in Holland* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), and “Decoration Programs in Books of Hours by the Masters of the Dark Eyes,” in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. Sandra Hindman and James H. Marrow (New York: Harvey Miller, 2013), 353–64; and on the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England, including an updated list of their works, see Kathleen E. Kennedy, “The Masters of the Dark Eyes in England: Forgotten Tudor Court Artists,” in *The Literature and History of Anglo-Dutch Relations, Medieval to Modern*, ed. Liesbeth van Houts et al. (London: British Academy, 2024), 212–24.
- 28 London, British Library, MS Harley 28; Kew, National Archives, E33/4/1, E33/7/1, E33/8/1, E33/13/1, E33/24/1; London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, 57071, 57074, 57077, 57082; Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS a.49 (1503).
- 29 Broekhuijsen, *The Masters of the Dark Eyes*, 9. Aside from the indentures, the Masters also painted two guild register pages, a headpiece of a roll of the court of King’s Bench, and two charters, alongside their many books. See Kennedy, “The Masters of the Dark Eyes in England,” 212–14.
- 30 Condon, “The Last Will of Henry VII,” 115.
- 31 Two extant indentures include additional motifs, birds worked into the flora, TNA E33/7/1, and E33/24/1: the split corner segments and additional motifs make E33/24/1 especially crowded.
- 32 Rickert, *Painting in Britain*, 203.
- 33 Jonathan J.G. Alexander, “William Abell, ‘Lymnour,’ and 15th Century English Illumination,” in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Artur Rosenauer and Gerold Weber (Salzburg: Residenz Verlag, 1972), 168–69.

- 34 Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Barlow 28, Rawlinson C. 370; Oxford, University Archives WPβ.I.1, London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, 57078, 57079; Kew, National Archives, E33/3/1, E33/11/1, E33/15, E33/20/1, E33/22/1.
- 35 Kew, National Archives E33/1 and London, British Library, MS Harley 1498, formerly digitized. In addition, two septipartite indentures remain in heraldic strewn style, in Kew, National Archives E33/2, and London, British Library, MS Additional 21112, as does at least one of Beaufort's indentures for her own memorial agreements dating later to 1506, London, British Library, MS Lansdowne 441, formerly digitized.
- 36 Kathleen L. Scott, "An English Heraldic Artist: Henry VII's Man or Studio Artist?," in *Middle English Manuscripts and Their Legacies: A Volume in Honour of Ian Doyle*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Richard Lawrie, and Laurie Atkinson (Leuven: Brill, 2022), 266–68; Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 118. Following her Berensonian method discussed in Chapter 5, Scott strictly separates border artists from miniaturists in both publications.
- 37 See the secondary initials in Kew, National Archives, E164/11.
- 38 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 77 (1499); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 6276 (1504–1509); and London, British Library, MS Royal 12 B. VI (1503).
- 39 Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 16. On William Purchase's life dates, see Alfred P. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III–1912* (London: Corporation of the City of London, 1908), lxiv, and Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 348.
- 40 For example, Scott notes the organization of the border in Selden Supra 77, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 118, and this symmetry can also be seen in Royal 12 B VI.
- 41 This argument is traced in detail in Kathleen E. Kennedy, "Inventing English Renaissance Art," (forthcoming).
- 42 While still displaying the Anglo-French variant, Kew, National Archives, E33/17/1 remains an exception, showing an unusual, nonstandard layout.
- 43 Canterbury, Cathedral Archives, CCA-DCC/ChAnt/W/48C; Kew, National Archives, E33/2/1, E33/6/1, E33/9/1, E33/10/1, E33/14/1, E33/17/1, E33/19/1, E33/25/1; London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, MS 57070, 57072, 57073, 57075, 57076, 57080, 57081. Scott notes these borders, but does not identify their French influence, "An English Heraldic Artist?," 268.

- 44 *Hore beate Marie virginis secundum vsu[m] insignis ecclesie Sarum totaliter ad longum & sine require* (London: de Worde, 1503), ESTC S1270, London, British Library, C.41.e.8. These borders are illuminated over blank parchment, not over woodcuts.
- 45 New York, Morgan Library, MS M.487.
- 46 Kew, National Archives, SP9/1/1 and London, Guildhall Library, MS 5806.
- 47 Backhouse, “Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII and Members of His Immediate Family,” 177.
- 48 McLuhan himself famously called *Gutenberg Galaxy* a “footnote” to Innis’s *Empire and Communication*, in *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, 56.
- 49 Hillary Chute emphasizes the range of scholarly disciplines in which McCloud’s work has become important; see Chute, “Weirder than That’: *Understanding Comics* at 30,” *Inks* 6, no. 3 (Fall 2022): 40.
- 50 Rachel Miller and Daniel Worden, “*Understanding Comics* at 30: An Introduction,” *Inks* 6, no. 3 (Fall 2022): 232; Chute, “Weirder than That,’” 240.
- 51 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 38, 216; Miller and Worden, “*Understanding Comics* at 30,” 232, 236.
- 52 Chute, “Weirder than That,’” 240.
- 53 See, for example, Miller and Worden, “*Understanding Comics* at 30,” 233, and the discussion below on agency and closure.
- 54 Miller and Worden, “*Understanding Comics* at 30,” 236.
- 55 Miller and Worden, “*Understanding Comics* at 30,” 233–34.
- 56 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 24.
- 57 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 24–25.
- 58 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 25.
- 59 Moritz Fink, “‘Cool’ Media Studies: McCloud, McLuhan, and the Popification of the Humanities,” *Inks* 6, no. 3 (Fall 2022): 253. Nor is Fink alone: though generally very much a McLuhan apologist, even Robert K. Logan essentially writes off the hot/cool concept in a digital age; See Logan, *Understanding New Media: Extending Marshall McLuhan*, 2nd ed. (New York: Peter Lang, 2016), 441–42; and see also Andreas Beinsteiner, “Hot/Cool vs Technological/Symbolic: McLuhan and Kittler,” in *McLuhan’s Global Village Today: Transatlantic Perspectives*, ed. Carmen Birkle, Angela Krewani, and Martin Kuester (London: Routledge, 2014), 21–29.
- 60 Fink, “‘Cool’ Media Studies,” 254.
- 61 Corey Anton, “‘Heating Up’ and ‘Cooling Down’: Re-appraising McLuhan’s Hot–Cool Distinction,” *Explorations in Media Ecology* 13, nos. 3–4 (2014): 347–48.

- 62 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 30. Steven Conway and Marc Ouellette also build on McCloud's use of hot/cool media in "Playing it Cool: Considering McLuhan's Hot and Cool Taxonomy for Game Studies," *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 26, nos. 5–6 (2020): 1220–21. Stuart Medley uses the term "distillation," in "Discerning Pictures: How We Look at and Understand Pictures in Comics," *Studies in Comics* 1, no. 1 (2010): 63.
- 63 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 30.
- 64 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 57.
- 65 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 63–64; Chris Gavaler and Leigh Ann Beavers, "Clarifying Closure," *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* 11, no. 2 (2020): 184. For a discussion of the neurology behind perception and therefore gestalt, see Anne Hoyer, "Taking Action: What Comics Demand from Their Recipients," in *McLuhan's Global Village Today: Transatlantic Perspectives*, ed. Carmen Birkle, Angela Krewani, and Martin Kuester (London: Routledge, 2014), 108–11.
- 66 Fink, "'Cool' Media Studies," 252. Other critics have critiqued the universality of McCloud's concept, noting for example, the cultural scripts necessary to achieve certain kinds of closure successfully; see Misha Grifka Wander, "Someone Else's Icon: Complicating Comics and Identification," *Inks* 6, no. 3 (2022): 320–28; and for more bibliography on McCloud's use of closure between panels, see especially Gavaler and Beavers, "Clarifying Closure," 182–84.
- 67 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 59, McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 348, 353, 364.
- 68 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 190.
- 69 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 188.
- 70 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 181.
- 71 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 178.
- 72 Chute notes that McLuhan's brief chapter on comics marks one of the first critical examinations of them as media; Chute, "'Weirder than That,'" 241.
- 73 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 3.
- 74 Medley, "Discerning Pictures," 65, quoting Susan E. Brennan, "Caricature Generator: The Dynamic Exaggeration of Faces by Computer," *Leonardo* 18, no. 3 (July 1985): 170. The most-cited article published in the journal to that point, "Caricature Generator," was selected for reprinting in *Leonardo's* anniversary edition in 2007, "From the *Leonardo* Archive," *Leonardo* 40, no. 4 (August 2007): 390–91.

- 75 Medley, “Discerning Pictures,” 65, quoting Gillian Rhodes, *Superportraits: Caricatures and Recognition* (Hove: Psychology Press, 1996), 10.
- 76 Medley, “Discerning Pictures,” 66.
- 77 Both Medley and Brennan note Da Vinci’s and Dürer’s caricatures; Medley, “Discerning Pictures,” 66; and Brennan, “Caricature Generator,” 171.
- 78 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 12.
- 79 Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge*, 13.
- 80 Charles Hatfield, “The Empowered and Disempowered Reader: Understanding Comics against Itself,” *Inks* 6, no. 3 (Fall 2022): 269.
- 81 Hatfield, “The Empowered and Disempowered Reader,” 269.
- 82 William Lidwell, Kritina Holden, and Jill Butler, *Universal Principles of Design, Revised and Updated: 125 Ways to Enhance Usability, Influence Perception, Increase Appeal, Make Better Design Decisions, and Teach Through Design* (London: Quarto Publishing, 2010), 42.
- 83 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 24–25, 174, 179.
- 84 Hatfield, “The Empowered and Disempowered Reader,” 275.
- 85 Medley, “Discerning Pictures,” 63.
- 86 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 71.
- 87 This blurb was not on the original HarperCollins jacket of *Understanding Comics*, but has been added since, <https://scottmcloud.com/2-print/1-uc/>.
- 88 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 178–79, 184.
- 89 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 24.
- 90 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 71.
- 91 McCloud, *Understanding Comics*, 189.
- 92 Condon, “The Last Will,” 115.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 On colour printing, see Elizabeth Savage, “Colour Printing in Relief Before c.1700: A Technical History,” in *Printing in Colour 1400–1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions*, ed. Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 21–41; and on colour printing in England, see Savage’s exhibition website for *Tudor Colour Printing: Printing in Relief* (2016), Cambridge University Library Exhibitions, <https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/tudorcolour/case/printing-in-register/>.
- 2 There is very little published research concerning early printing on parchment in England, but see Kathleen E. Kennedy, “Colouring in the Lines of Early Tudor Printed Parchment,” *The Library* 27 (2026), forthcoming;

- and in general, including modern art-book printing, *The Mystique of Vellum*, ed. Lester Ferris (Boston: Anne and David Bromer, 1984).
- 3 Studies of decorated incunables are beginning to mount, including, Kennedy, “Colouring in the Lines”; Airaksinen, “The Morton Missal”; Holly James-Maddocks, “Illuminated Caxtons and the Trade in Printed Books,” *The Library* 22, no. 3 (September 2021): 291–315; and A.C. de la Mare and Lotte Hellinga, “The First Book Printed in Oxford: The ‘Expositio symboli’ of Rufinus,” *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 7 (1978): 184–224. The long-awaited, recently published important survey in Holly James-Maddox, “Illuminators of English and Continental Incunabula in England, c.1455–1500,” in *Production and Provenance: Copy-Specific Features of Incunabula*, ed. John Goldfinch, Takako Kato, and Satoko Tokunaga (Leiden: Brill, 2025), 111–57, expands on the earlier short survey in A.S.G. Edwards, “Decorated Caxtons,” in *Incunabula: Studies in Fifteenth-Century Printed Books Presented to Lotte Hellinga*, ed. Martin Davies (London: British Library, 1999), 493–506. There is even less published research into early illuminated and printed books after 1500 in England but, for a start, see Kennedy, “Colouring in the Lines,” and Kathleen E. Kennedy, “Levina Teerlinc, Mary I’s Legal Limner?,” *Manuscript Studies* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2025): 149–76.
 - 4 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 189.
 - 5 McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 177, 179.
 - 6 Richard Rex, “The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 39 (1989): 88.
 - 7 Rex, “The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s,” 88.
 - 8 Lucy Wooding, *Henry VIII*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2015), 115.
 - 9 Richard Rex, “96. Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*,” in *Henry VIII: Man and Monarch*, ed. Susan Doran (London: British Library, 2009), 104–105.
 - 10 Wooding, *Henry VIII*, 115; Rex, “The English Campaign against Luther in the 1520s,” 99.
 - 11 For the identification of Meghen as the scribe of the Pope’s copy, see J.B. Trapp, “Pieter Meghen, Yet Again,” in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years After the Invention of Printing*, ed. J.B. Trapp (London: Warburg Institute, 1983), 24.
 - 12 For the most recent work on Meghen, see Rundle, *The Renaissance Reform of the Book and Britain*, especially 142–64, and bibliography by J.B. Trapp that Rundle notes on p. 142, n.73.

- 13 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Lat. 3731, digitized at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3731.
- 14 Richard Rex, “95. Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum*,” 104.
- 15 Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum aduersus Martin. Lutheru[m]*, *ædita ab inuictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege, et do. Hyberniæ Henrico eius nominis octauo* (London: Pynson, 1521), ESTC S123359. Known parchment gift copies are Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Membr. III.1-4 and John Rylands 18952. Samples of Membr.III.4 are digitized at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/STP_Membr.III.4. For descriptions of the other three Vatican copies, see Nello Vian, “La presentazione e gli esemplari Vaticani della ‘Assertio septem sacramentorum’ di Enrico VIII,” in *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card Albareda* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), 372–73.
- 16 Vian, “La presentazione e gli esemplari Vaticani della ‘Assertio septem sacramentorum’ di Enrico VIII,” 357. Froben used the woodcut on editions of Erasmus’ and More’s *Epigrammata* in 1518 and 1520, and Pynson’s shop likely copied the block for use on the *Assertio* from a copy of one of these editions. Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus, *De optimo reip. Statu deque nova insula utopia libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quàm festiuus Thomae mori inclytæ civitatis londinensis civis & vicecomitis. Epigrammata Thomae mori, plera[que] è Graecis versa. Epigrammata. Des. Erasmi Roterodami. Epigrammata progymnasmata* (Basel: Froben, 1518), USTC 630792; and Thomas More and Desiderius Erasmus, *Epigrammata clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomae mori britanni ad emendatum exemplar ipsius autoris excusa* (Basel: Froben, 1520), USTC 651004.
- 17 On batch-colouring, see Julia Smith, “Batch-Colouring and Illustrated Printed Books: A Handcraft Revolution in Fifteenth-Century Nuremberg,” *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, Third Series 4 (2023): 165–84.
- 18 BAV Membr.III.4, fol. a2r.
- 19 JRL 18952, fols. a2r, a3r.
- 20 There is substantial bibliography on Henry VIII’s use of Davidic iconography, but most concentrates on the 1530s and 1540s. For an early, important survey, see King, *Tudor Royal Iconography*; and, more recently, Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); and Micheline White, “The Psalms, War, and Royal Iconography: Katherine Parr’s *Psalms or Prayers* (1544) and Henry VIII as David,” *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 4

(September 2015): 554–75. Pamela Tudor-Craig, “Henry VIII and King David,” in *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989), 183–205, wondered when Henry’s interest in David actually began, and the present find suggests earlier than many have thought.

- 21 For a recent discussion of Italian architectural borders and antiquarianism in English, see Alexander, *The Painted Book in Renaissance Italy*, 257–63. The Dunstable guild register includes an architectural border the following year, in 1522, but it may have been painted later, and such border designs remain extremely rare outside of royal circles in this period. See Luton, Wardown House Museum, Dunstable Guild Register, fol. 7r.
- 22 Parr was addressed this way in a letter. See *Katherine Parr: Complete Works and Correspondence*, ed. Janel Mueller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 94.
- 23 Kimberly Anne Coles, *Religion, Reform, and Women’s Writing in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 45.
- 24 Coles, *Religion, Reform, and Women’s Writing in Early Modern England*, 47.
- 25 Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, 370.
- 26 Micheline White, “Katherine Parr: Wartime Consort and Author,” in *Tudor and Stuart Consorts: Power, Influence, and Dynasty*, ed. Aidan Norrie et al. (New York: Palgrave, 2022), 148; scholars have accepted James’s argument that Parr was the translator of *Psalms or Prayers*. See Susan E. James, *Kateryn Parr: The Making of a Queen* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 200–208.
- 27 Mueller, *Katherine Parr*, 139; Coles, *Religion, Reform, and Women’s Writing in Early Modern England*, 47.
- 28 White, “Katherine Parr,” 147; Micheline White, “Katherine Parr’s Giftbooks, Henry VIII’s Marginalia, and the Display of Royal Power and Piety,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2023): 42.
- 29 White, “Katherine Parr’s Giftbooks,” 44; Kew, National Archives, E315/161, fol. 46r; and F. Rose-Troup, “Two Book Bills of Katherine Parr,” *The Library* s3-II, no. 5 (January 1911): 41.
- 30 J. Christopher Warner, *Henry VIII’s Divorce: Literature and the Politics of the Printing Press* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), 83.
- 31 White, “Katherine Parr’s Giftbooks,” 45; Kew, National Archives, E314/22/27, fol. 17r.
- 32 In 1547, Parr ordered nearly three dozen fine copies of what was likely *Prayers or Meditations* that featured luxury bindings and almost half of these were printed on parchment; White, “Katherine Parr’s Giftbooks,” 46–47; Kew,

- National Archives, E101/424/12, fol. 15r; Rose-Troup, “Two Book Bills of Katherine Parr,” 42–43.
- 33 White, “Katherine Parr’s Giftbooks,” 51.
- 34 Katherine Parr, *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holye scripture* (London: Berthelet, 1544), ESTC S91061; Oxford, Exeter College Library, 9M 3001+ and two copies in private collections: Elton Hall collection and the Wormsley Library; White, “Katherine Parr’s Giftbooks,” 58–67. Two copies of the 1545 special edition also remain: Katharine Parr, *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holie Scripture* (London: Berthelet, 1545), ESTC S124748; Urbana, IL, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library, MINI00213; and the fragmentary Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. A. g.17 (1). The remaining title page of the 1545 special copies features antiquarian, illuminated, Flemish-style borders instead of woodcut, MINI00213, fol. A1r.
- 35 Kathleen E. Kennedy, “Levina Teerlinc, Mary I’s Legal Limner?,” 173–75.
- 36 Jim Murrell, *The Way How to Lymne: Tudor Miniatures Observed* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), 27.
- 37 Richard Marks, “Two Illuminated Guild Registers from Bedfordshire,” in *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters: Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Scot McKendrik (London: British Library, 1998), 131. For guilds as memorial associations, see Rachael Harkes, “Remembering the Dead,” 323–48.
- 38 Marks, “Two Illuminated Guild Registers from Bedfordshire,” 135.
- 39 Marks, “Two Illuminated Guild Registers from Bedfordshire,” 136.
- 40 For the most thorough published discussions of this manuscript, see Marks, “Two Illuminated Guild Registers from Bedfordshire,” 121–41; and Kathleen L. Scott, “The Illustration and Decoration of the Register of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity at Luton Church, 1475–1546,” in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie, and Ralph Hanna (London: British Library, 2000), 155–83. Luton, Wardown House Museum, Trinity Guild Register, 1984/127.
- 41 Trinity Guild Register, fol. 121r.
- 42 Christopher de Hamel, *Catalogue of the Bute Collection of Forty-Two Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London: Sotheby’s, 1983), 83.
- 43 For discussion of essential tremors and their impact on English limners, see Kathleen E. Kennedy, “Aging Artists and Impairment in Fifteenth-Century England,” *Different Visions* 10 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.61302/NEMF2441>.
- 44 They shift away from traditional vinework in 1525, Luton Trinity Guild Register, fol. 72r.

- 45 Dunstable Guild Register, fols. 5v-21r. This register remains only in part, including 1506-8, 1522, and 1525-41, and the decoration for even these is incomplete in many places. The most extensive analysis of this volume remains Marks, "Two Illuminated Guild Registers from Bedfordshire," 121-41.
- 46 They shift in 1526; compare London, Guildhall Library, MS 31693, fols 2/24r-v.
- 47 Trinity Guild Register, fols. 50r, 54r. In addition, fol. 56r shows a very different hand copying the Masters' strewn gold acanthus, and fol. 102r demonstrates a very practiced rendition. On the Masters of the Dark Eyes in England, see Kennedy, "The Masters of the Dark Eyes in England," 196-214.
- 48 London, Guildhall Library, MS 31692 (Skinners' Assumption guild), fol. 52r and Guildhall 31693, fol. 2/26v.
- 49 See for example, Dunstable Guild Register, fols. 5v-6r.
- 50 De Hamel, *Catalogue of the Bute Collection of Forty-Two Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 83.
- 51 Scott call band borders "typical of the later 14th and early 15th centuries," *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 38, 123.
- 52 See for example, London, British Library, MS King's 395 (1511-33): Henry's son Henry is included in the original tranche of work, and he died in 1511, but Anne Boleyn is not included in this original material; London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 43 likely dates to after Reginald Bray's estate was settled in 1510, only after which could his executors have begun arranging the memorial chapel planned in his will. For the settlement, see Margaret Condon, "Bray, Sir Reynold [Reginald] (c. 1440-1503), administrator," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3295>. For his will, see Kew, National Archives, PROB 11/13/608.
- 53 In addition to the sixteenth-century examples, the 1475 frontispiece and its facing page border feature Flemish centre-point and corner interlace painted by a Flemish artist, Luton Trinity register, fols. 13v, 14r; Scott, "The Illustration and Decoration of the Register of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity at Luton Church, 1475-1546," 176. Trinity Guild Register, fol. 79v.
- 54 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 2.
- 55 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 2.

- 56 On two of these motifs, round-lobed and acanthus-petaled comma-aroids, see Kathleen E. Kennedy, “Hildegard von Bingen, Tudor Visionary,” *Reformation* 29, no. 1 (2024), 39–41. For conical aroids, see, for example, Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS Z.e.39 and London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 46907; and Kew, National Archives, KB27/1213, infilling the strapwork initial in the headpiece. Digitized copies available at: <https://digitalcollections.folger.edu/img42978>; and <http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT5/Eliz/KB27no1213/>.
- 57 KB27/1231; and see the latest (1573) with a new type of leaf, Kew, National Archives, KB27/1247, digitized at: <http://aalt.law.uh.edu/AALT2/Eliz/KB27no1247/>. I think all of these very late King’s Bench vinework motifs are likely by the same scribe or decorator.
- 58 See, for example, the comparatively austere Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS Z.c.40(5) (1590); and Z.c.22 (41) (1588), digitized at: <https://digitalcollections.folger.edu/bib233574-282516>; and <https://digitalcollections.folger.edu/img57128>. For an earlier example of a more filigreed style, see London, British Library, MS Additional Charter 36453 (1573).
- 59 Compare the similar London, British Library, MS Additional 89166 (1552), formerly digitized, Wolley Charter ix. 88 (1577); and Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, Z.c.22(1) (1602), digitized at: <https://digitalcollections.folger.edu/bib233605-282548>.
- 60 Christina Faraday, “‘It Seemeth to Be the Thing Itself’: Directness and Intimacy in Nicholas Hilliard’s Portrait Miniatures,” *Études Épistémè* 36 (2019) <https://doi.org/10.4000/episteme.5292>, paragraph 4; and Christina Faraday, “Lively Limning: Presence in Portrait Miniatures and John White’s Images of the New World,” *British Art Studies* 17 (September 2020), <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-17/cfaraday/p1>. The term is Carl Winter’s, see Winter, “Hilliard and Elizabethan Miniatures,” *Burlington Magazine* 89, no. 532 (July 1947): 183.
- 61 Faraday, “‘It Seemeth to Be the Thing Itself,’” paragraphs 8–9.
- 62 Kew, National Archives, E344/22, fol. 226r, sample digitized at: <https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk/search/?searchQuery=E+344%2F22+f226>.
- 63 Winchester, Hampshire Archives, DC/B1/1/1 (1541); London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, LXXXIII, (1543); Woburn, Woburn Abbey, (1546). For small samples in black and white, see Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, plates 17, 21a, 23a.

- 64 For a digitized sample, Kew, National Archives FEC 1/1648 (1552), digitized at: <https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk/asset/67520/>; and for others, see London, Society of Antiquaries Library, MS 129, fol. ivr (1553); Kew, National Archives, E315/226, fol. 1r (1554); and for small published samples, see Auerbach, *Tudor Artists*, plates 29, 35a. For discussion of Teerlinc's possible borders painted through the 1550s, in heraldic strewn and heraldic Renaissance styles, see Kennedy, "Levina Teerlinc, Mary I's Legal Limner?"
- 65 For a late, digitized example, see Folger z. e. 39 (1560).
- 66 Susan Frye recently offered *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); and, for an overview, see the essays in *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580–1700: 'Twixt Art and Nature*, ed. Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
- 67 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Cherry 36, digitized at: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/f50de7e8-87bb-4cbe-9b14-4622f127e8e4/surfaces/b326ba58-29c6-4273-851a-d51fb4f1eaf9/>.
- 68 George Wingfield Digby, *Elizabethan Embroidery* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), 27.
- 69 Digby, *Elizabethan Embroidery*, 39–40. Interestingly, Susan North does not give illumination as a possible source of this iconography, and the dearth of research into heraldic strewn must play a role in this lacuna. See North, "An Instrument of Profit, Pleasure, and of Ornament': Embroidered Tudor and Jacobean Dress Accessories," in *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580–1700: 'Twixt Art and Nature*, ed. Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 39–55.
- 70 This cap is number 29 in Morrall and Watt, *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580–1700*, 170–71.
- 71 For further examples, see London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Waistcoat, 1359–1900; or Waistcoat E.214–1994; or Panel, T.327&A–1980, digitized at: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O15345/waistcoat-unknown/>; <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O11095/waistcoat-unknown/>; and <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O316394/panel-unknown/>; and number 30 in Morrall and Watt, *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580–1700*, 172.
- 72 Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 3.
- 73 Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 5–8.
- 74 Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 78.

- 75 On Inglis and her embroidery and limning, see Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 102–15. See also Anna-Nadine Pike, *Rewriting the Script: The Works and Words of Esther Inglis*, University of Edinburgh Library Exhibition, 2025, <https://exhibitions.ed.ac.uk/exhibitions/rewriting-the-script>.

CHAPTER 5

- 1 An important scholar of this trade, Munby traces this shift. See A.N.L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 1–82. For the antebellum manuscript market in the US, see Scott J. Gwara, “Peddling Wonderment, Selling Privilege: Launching the Market for Medieval Books in Antebellum New York,” *Perspectives Médiévales* 41 (2020), <https://journals.openedition.org/peme/20441>.
- 2 On this early period, see Richard Ovenden, “The Libraries of the Antiquaries (c.1580–1640) and the Idea of a National Collection,” in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland: Volume 1, to 1640*, ed. Elisabeth Leedham-Green and Teresa Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 527–62. On shifts in early modern antiquarian collecting, see Krista A. Milne, *The Destruction of Medieval Manuscripts in England: Institutional Collections* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2025), 213–15.
- 3 Ovenden makes an argument for the artistic interests of certain antiquarians, but even there, the English manuscripts he uses to evince this argument do not date later than the Black Death. See “The Libraries of the Antiquaries (c.1580–1640) and the Idea of a National Collection,” 540–44.
- 4 Sandra Hindman, Michael Camille, Nina Rowe, and Rowan Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age: Recovery and Reconstruction* (Evanston: Mary and Leigh Block Museum of Art, 2001), 60.
- 5 Denys Sutton, “XIV. From Ottley to Eastlake,” *Apollo* 123 (1985): 84.
- 6 Christopher S. Wood, *A History of Art History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), 180; D.M.R. Bentley, “William Young Ottley’s *The Italian School of Design* Among the Pre-Raphaelites,” *Notes and Queries* 58, no. 4 (December 2011): 561–63; and Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination*, 54.
- 7 Nicholas Turner, “Ottley, William Young (1771–1836), Writer on Art and Collector,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-20941>; and Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850*, 62.

- 8 Roger S. Wieck, "Folia Fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 237–39; Scott J. Gwara, "Collections, Compilations, and Convolutes of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900," *Fragmentology* 3 (2020): 88; and Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 55, 53–60.
- 9 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 55.
- 10 Marc Evans, "Whigs and Primitives: Dante and Botticelli in England from Jonathan Richardson to John Flaxman," in *Botticelli Past and Present*, ed. Ana Debenedetti and Caroline Elam (London: University College, London Press, 2019), 110; Sutton, "XIV," 87, 91; Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 72.
- 11 Kathryn A. Smith, "'Specially English': Gothic Illumination c.1190 to the Early Fourteenth Century," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe, c. 1000–1300*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, 2nd revised edition (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), 572; and earlier, Evelyn J. Phimister, "John Ruskin, William Morris, and the Illuminated Manuscript," *Journal of the William Morris Society* 14 (2000): 30–31.
- 12 Wood, *A History of Art History*, 236.
- 13 James S. Dearden, "John Ruskin, the Collector: With a Catalogue of the Illuminated and Other Manuscripts Formerly in his Collection," *The Library* 21 (1966): 124–54.
- 14 Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850*, 160.
- 15 Quoted, among other instances, by Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850*, 160.
- 16 Wieck, "Folia Fugitiva," 241.
- 17 Wood, *A History of Art History*, 222.
- 18 Wood, *A History of Art History*, 233.
- 19 C.M. Kauffman, "The Study of Medieval Art I: 1900–50," in *A Century of British Medieval Studies*, ed. Alan Deyermond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 645.
- 20 Robert Hewison, "Ruskin, John (1819–1900), Art Critic and Social Critic," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24291>.
- 21 Paul Waterhouse and John Martin Robinson, "Wyatt, Sir Matthew Digby (1820–1877), Architect and Writer on Art," *Oxford Dictionary of National*

- Biography*, September 23, 2004, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30109>.
- 22 Kauffman, "The Study of Medieval Art I," 645.
 - 23 Laura Cleaver, "The Western Manuscript Collection of Alfred Chester Beatty (ca. 1915–1930)," *Manuscript Studies* 2, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 466.
 - 24 See, for example, the selections made by the British Museum in the three Huth sales, Danielle Magnussen and Laura Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts Between Britain and America c. 1890–1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 54–55; and Frederic Kenyon, *Catalogue of the Fifty Manuscripts & Printed Books Bequeathed to the British Museum by Alfred H. Huth* (London: British Museum, 1912). The catalogue documents just one volume with English illumination, vi. See also the 1902 publication that Magnussen and Cleaver call a "shopping [list] for unimaginative collectors," but only of printed items, Magnussen and Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts Between Britain and America c. 1890–1929*, 4.
 - 25 Gwara, "Peddling Wonderment, Selling Privilege," paragraphs 6–9.
 - 26 Of all the many individual volumes Magnussen and Cleaver note, I could identify only two that bear fifteenth-century English illumination, including the Bedford Psalter–Hours and the Ellesmere Chaucer. Magnussen and Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts Between Britain and America c. 1890–1929*, 24, 61. Gwara attests to a specific trade in Italian manuscripts, "Collections, Compilations, and Convolutés of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900," 84, 86, 104–105, 109.
 - 27 A.S.G. Edwards, "Selling Middle English Manuscripts to North American Up to 1945," in *The Pre-Modern Manuscript Trade and Its Consequences, ca. 1890–1945*, ed. Laura Cleaver, Danielle Magnusson, Hannah Morcos, and Angéline Rais (Amsterdam: ARC Humanities Press, 2024), 32.
 - 28 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson note Morris's distaste for late medieval manuscripts, and the majority of English manuscripts he owned were earlier, see *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 173–74, 192. James's catalogue shows only one fifteenth-century English manuscript showing Morris's bookplate: a copy of the *Orchard of Syon*, New York, Morgan Library, MS M.162. M.R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books for the Libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, Fourth Earl of Ashburham and Other Sources, Now Forming a Portion of the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (London: Chiswick Press, 1906–1907), xi, 148. William

- Morris's own statements about historical aniconic illumination highlight an English "climax" in the thirteenth century and then a "fall[ing] back" by the later fourteenth century. See Morris, "Some Notes on the Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages," in *Some Notes on Early Woodcut Books, with a Chapter on Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: H.M. O'Kane, 1902), 4, 6 (paginated by chapter).
- 29 Morris, "Some Notes on the Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages," 6.
- 30 Cleaver, "The Western Manuscript Collection of Alfred Chester Beatty," 454–55; and Laura Cleaver, "Charles William Dyson Perrins as a Collector of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts c. 1900–1920," *Perspectives Médiévales* 41 (2020), <https://journals.openedition.org/peme/19776>, paragraph 22. His collection's size shifted over time, and was rarely exactly the hundred he aimed for, Cleaver, "The Western Manuscript Collection of Alfred Chester Beatty," 449.
- 31 Cleaver, "Charles William Dyson Perrins as a Collector of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts c. 1900–1920," paragraphs 3, 6, 22.
- 32 Wieck, "Folia Fugitiva," 239–40; and Gwara, "Collections, Compilations, and Convolutes of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900," 89.
- 33 Gwara, "Collections, Compilations, and Convolutes of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900," 73–139; and see the discussion of Coella Ricketts's collection, which exception proves the rule, below.
- 34 Margaret Connolly, "The Album and the Scrapbook," *Florilegium* 35 (2018): 31–51.
- 35 Wieck, "Folia Fugitiva," 242, and on the same page note the unattributed montage also made up of Italian cuttings and those in n. 50; and Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 97.
- 36 Gwara, "Collections, Compilations, and Convolutes of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Fragments in North America before ca. 1900," 80.
- 37 Friedrich Kittler, *The Truth of the Technological World: Essays on the Genealogy of Presence*, trans. Erik Butler (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 220.
- 38 For an introduction, see Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 103–213.
- 39 On these manuals, see Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 203–205; and Rowan Watson, "Publishing for the Leisure Industry: Illuminating Manuals and the Reception of a

- Medieval Art in Victorian Britain,” in *The Revival of Medieval Illumination. Renaissance de l’enluminure médiévale: Nineteenth-Century Belgium Manuscripts and Illuminations from a European Perspective. Manuscrits et enluminures belges du XIXe siècle et leur contexte européen*, ed. Jan De Maeyer and Thomas Coomans (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 79–107; and Alan Lupack, “Illuminating Arthurian Texts—In the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *Arthuriana* 22, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 46–66.
- 40 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 192–94. In this way, they offer a strong counterpoint to the slightly earlier architectural guides discussed by Kathleen Biddick in *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 19–57.
- 41 John Obadiah Westwood, *Palaeographia sacra pictoria: Being a Series of Illustrations of the Ancient Versions of the Bible Copied from Illuminated Manuscripts Executed Between the Fourth and the Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1843–45), vi. He provides plates of London, Westminster Abbey Library, *Liber Regalis*, MS 38, and London, British Library, MS Egerton 618.
- 42 There may be other exceptions, as many manuals were reprinted in many editions, and sometimes new plates were produced for different editions. I could not examine samples of every edition of every manual. Watson, “Publishing for the Leisure Industry,” includes a listing of editions on 102–107; of these, I have been able to view at least one copy of the following, in author-short-title-date format for brevity: Humphreys, *Art of Illumination* (1849); De Lara, *Elementary Instruction* (1850); Jewitt, *Manual of Illuminated and Missal Painting* (1860); Wyatt and Tymms, *The Art of Illuminating* (1860); Delamotte, *A Primer on the Art of Illumination* (1860); Audsley, *Guide to the Art of Illuminating and Missal Painting*, (1861); Bradley and Goodwin, *A Manual of Illumination on Vellum and Paper* (1865); Shaw, *Handbook of the Art of Illumination* (1866); Ward, *A Practical Treatise on the Art of Illuminating* (1873).
- 43 Cleaver, “The Western Manuscript Collection of Alfred Chester Beatty,” 464.
- 44 Sydney Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Burlington Fine Arts Club: London, 1908), ix–x. Hindman and her collaborators emphasize the nationalist intentions behind the exhibition in Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 210.
- 45 Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, x.

- 46 Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, less the late fourteenth-century Bohun psalter-hours (Item 150), Items 147–58, on 71–78. See also Smith, “‘Specially English,’” 580.
- 47 Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, x.
- 48 Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, xi, 77–78. Cockerell drew from James’s catalogue descriptions of these manuscripts. For evidence that the Victorians appreciated pen drawing to a unique degree, see William Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).
- 49 Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 75.
- 50 Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 75.
- 51 Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 72.
- 52 Cockerell, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 71, 73.
- 53 Magnussen and Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts Between Britain and America c. 1890–1929*, 73.
- 54 Peter Kidd, “Who Owned the ‘Celotti’ Cuttings Sold in 1825?,” *Medieval Manuscripts Provenance*, July 24, 2021. <https://mssprovenance.blogspot.com/2021/07/who-owned-celotti-cuttings-sold-in-1825.html>.
- 55 Magnussen and Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts Between Britain and America c. 1890–1929*, 42.
- 56 Magnussen and Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts Between Britain and America c. 1890–1929*, 71.
- 57 Magnussen and Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts Between Britain and America c. 1890–1929*, 72. For more on James’s biography, see Christine Jakobi-Mirwald, “Stories of an Antiquary: The Legacy of M.R. James,” in *The Pre-Modern Manuscript Trade and Its Consequences, ca. 1890–1945*, ed. Laura Cleaver, Danielle Magnusson, Hannah Morcos, and Angéline Rais (Amsterdam: ARC Humanities Press, 2024), 337–48.
- 58 Cleaver, “The Western Manuscript Collection of Alfred Chester Beatty,” 462–63.
- 59 Magnussen and Cleaver, *The Trade in Rare Books and Manuscripts Between Britain and America c. 1890–1929*, 77. Contemporary dealer Rebecca Romney lays the distinction out clearly in “On Feminist Practice in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Trade: Buying, Cataloguing, and Selling,” *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and the Arts* 64, nos. 3–4 (Summer/Fall 2022): article 13, <https://digitalcommons.wayne.edu/criticism/vol64/iss3/13/>.

- 60 Kenyon, *Catalogue of the Fifty Manuscripts & Printed Books Bequeathed to the British Museum by Alfred H. Huth*, vi.
- 61 On the early development of the idea of a British national library, see Ovendon, "The Libraries of the Antiquaries (c.1580–1640) and the Idea of a National Collection," 548–50; and on its early collection, see Milne, *The Destruction of Medieval Manuscripts in England*, 240–41.
- 62 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 38. On the history of the Bodleian's collection policies, see Ovendon, "The Libraries of the Antiquaries (c.1580–1640) and the Idea of a National Collection," 557–60.
- 63 Number 149 in the exhibit, now New York, Morgan Library, MS M.47.
- 64 Number 152, now New York, Morgan Library, MS M.893.
- 65 Number 153, now London, British Library, MS Additional 50001.
- 66 Item number 154. Peter Kidd was unable to identify this volume further. Kidd, "The Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts 1908: The Subsequent Provenance and Present Whereabouts, Where Known, of the Privately Owned Manuscripts," September 5, 2004, <http://manuscripts.org.uk/provenance/dispersed/1908.htm>.
- 67 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 192.
- 68 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 211. Rowan Watson, "Shaw, Henry (1800–1873), antiquary and illuminator," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25251>. Sandra Hindman, "Facsimiles as Originals: An Unknown Illuminated Manuscript by Henry Shaw," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 225.
- 69 According to available cataloging, original fifteenth-century English illuminated manuscripts number only London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS Reid 41, the fragmentary Reid 50, and the grant of arms L.4362-1948. In addition, MS Reid 54 is Scottish, though likely made by foreign artisans working in Scotland, or Scots trained on the continent.
- 70 Frederic Madden and Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments Selected from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages: Selected from Manuscripts and Early Printed Books, from the Sixth to the Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Pickering, 1833). A copy is digitized at: <https://archive.org/details/illuminatedornamooshow>. On *Illuminated Ornaments* generally, see Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 109–112.

- 71 Madden and Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments Selected from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, 2.
- 72 Hindman, "Facsimiles as Originals," 225–32; and Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 111–12.
- 73 Madden and Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments Selected from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, 14–15. Munby notes that, in this introduction, Madden was the first English scholar to publish on the importance of miniatures in art history. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850*, 140.
- 74 Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850*, 141.
- 75 Madden and Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments*: London, British Library MSS, Harley 2278 (plate 18, Lydgate, *Life of St. Edmund*), Harley 7028 (plate 14, the Lovell Lectionary, identified by Madden as late fourteenth-century, but likely ca. 1400), Lansdowne 463 (plate 15, flourished initials only), Royal 2 B. xv (plate 30), Royal 18 A XII (plate 31, "a very pretty border"); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1504 (plate 37, coloured, pen-drawn initials).
- 76 Reid 41. In addition to the psalter-hours, plate 23 in *Illuminated Manuscripts* is identified as a fragment of a Flemish manuscript owned by Jones, apparently a book of hours, but this has not been traced further. Humphreys and Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*. Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 165, note that this was printed in fascicles, and I add that several states exist of the prefatory material, and the unnumbered plates might be bound differently in different copies, complicating citation. I will cite page references from two different states I have examined. One of these states has been digitized at: <https://archive.org/details/TheIlluminatedBooksOfTheMiddleAges/page/n5/mode/2up>.
- 77 For Jones's team and their approach to the first editions of *The Grammar of Ornament*, see John Kresten Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856," *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 146.
- 78 Humphreys and Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, in two states, either 6 or 8.
- 79 Humphreys and Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, in two states, either 14 or 18–19. Of these, note updated dates for London, British Library MSS Cotton Nero D. VII (Benefactor's Book of St. Albans, Humphreys notes its late-fourteenth-century miniatures, but it also includes illuminated vinework from the second and final quarters of the fifteenth century), Harley 7028 (the Lovell Lectionary, identified by Humphreys,

- like Madden, as late fourteenth century, but likely ca. 1400), Royal 2 B. XV (Humphreys identifies this art as Flemish, but there is also vinework by an English limner); Reid 41 (formerly Jones's psalter-hours); Laud Misc. 164.
- 80 The list of plates in Humphreys and Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, gives Harley 7028 (plate 14), London, British Library MSS Harley 2278 (plate 17), Reid 41/Jones's psalter-hours (plate 18), and Royal 2 B XV (plate 19) (in two states, plate list page unnumbered in both). Plate 20 is an unidentified manuscript in the British Museum, but I believe it to be from either London, British Library, MSS Royal 2 B. XII or XIII, a pair of lectionaries made in the first decade of the sixteenth century for a London mayor, and decorated by an English limner, with miniatures by the Dutch Masters of the Dark Eyes in England. The plates themselves are unnumbered, as are the plate pages.
- 81 Humphreys and Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, given the lack of plate numbering and page numbering after the introduction, the best citation for this is the plate's heading, "Description of MSS."
- 82 Humphreys and Jones, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages*, "Description of MSS."
- 83 Recently, scholars have begun to use the term "Islamicate," rather than "Islamic" as a way of recognizing that people practiced many religions across geography stretching from Iberia to India, including Islam, but also Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and more. Likewise, "Christi-anate" recognizes the Jewish populations living in western Europe throughout this period, as well as the extremely complex cultural landscape of Iberia at different points in the Middle Ages.
- 84 The engraved collage format is likely to originate in older illustrated volumes concerning architectural ornament, such as Thomas Rickman's *Attempts to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation* (1819) that became "the textbook for Gothic architecture for the next half century," Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism*, 21.
- 85 As noted in Chapter 1, twelve additional plates were added while the first edition was in press. Importantly, no additions were made to illustrations of late medieval illumination, suggesting that these were planned with extraordinary care from the beginning of the project.
- 86 The non-English examples are numbered 3, 8, 13, and 14 in plate 72. Jones himself does not localize these items, and his dating does not always accord with dates scholars attribute to these manuscripts today: the rest of designs 1–15 are both English and date to the later fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

- 87 Jones admits this, and even miscounts, as item 12 is also from the earlier volume, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 100.
- 88 Jones, Chapter 16, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 6.
- 89 Schafter, *The Order of Ornament, the Structure of Style*, 24; Jones, "Preface," *The Grammar of Ornament*, 1–2.
- 90 Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 5.
- 91 Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 6.
- 92 Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, 200.
- 93 Jones, Proposition 6, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 5.
- 94 Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, 6.
- 95 Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856," 147–48.
- 96 Snodin and Howard, *Ornament*, 111; and Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856," 143.
- 97 Philip B. Meggs and Alson W. Purvis, *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*, 6th edition (Hoboken: Wiley, 2016), 590. Under the title *History of Graphic Design* and later as *Meggs' History*, Meggs's book has been in print since its publication in 1983.
- 98 Parikka, *What Is Media Archaeology?*, 44.
- 99 Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856," 149.
- 100 Wood, *A History of Art History*, 267; and Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856," 148–49.
- 101 Jespersen, "Originality and Jones' *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856," 148; and see also Schafter, *The Order of Ornament, the Structure of Style*, 32–59.
- 102 Ernst Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, 2nd edition (New York: Phaidon, 1984), xi–xii, 51.
- 103 Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850*, 78.
- 104 See Margaret Connolly, "The Album and the Scrapbook," 35–36, 38. The sisters' brothers were all Cambridge-educated, and some published antiquarian scholarship of their own, and their father's library included architectural works, suggesting why one of the brothers became an architect himself. M.C. Curthoys, "Cory, Isaac Preston (1801/2–1842), writer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.bris.idm.oclc.org/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6361>. On John Augustus Cory as both an architect and surveyor, see his entry at the National Archives, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F54429>; and

- record of his service as county surveyor of Durham in Durham, Durham Record Office, DHOD/11/184.
- 105 A single extant scrapbook of Carmelite Missal fragments remains as the Corys designed it, Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library, MS Euing 26.
- 106 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 262–63.
- 107 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 272. Ricketts’s assistants and his business generally deserve further research, especially as such work offers to shed light into the activity of women in early commercial art.
- 108 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 263.
- 109 See Bloomington, Indiana University Library, MSS Ricketts 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 46, 111, C:7, C:10. In addition to these nine, several fourteenth-century volumes and fragments may be late enough to fall into the period under discussion. Having purchased from Quaritch before, Ricketts retained at least one auction catalogue containing an unusual amount of fifteenth-century English illumination, *A Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts Together with some Works on Paleography* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1931), Ricketts copy at Bloomington, Lilly Library, Z999.Q16 C357.
- 110 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson note his use of medieval models in his illumination business, and even specify English models, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 271–72.
- 111 Hindman, Camille, Rowe, and Watson, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, 270.
- 112 Henry Shaw, *Handbook of the Art of Illumination as Practised During the Middle Ages* (London: Chiswick Press, 1866), 31.
- 113 On the popularization of illumination in the nineteenth century, see Watson, “Publishing for the Leisure Industry,” 79–107.
- 114 For Rickert’s biography, see Anne Rudloff Stanton, “Margaret Rickert (1888–1973), Art Historian,” in *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, ed. Jane Chance (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 286.
- 115 Stanton, “Margaret Rickert (1888–1973),” 286.
- 116 For Mary Berenson’s role as collaborator and ghostwriter for her husband, see Mary Ann Calo, *Bernard Berenson and the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 21–22; for the few mentions of Rickert, see Stanton, “Margaret Rickert (1888–1973),” 286.

- 117 Quoted in Stanton, “Margaret Rickert (1888–1973),” 286.
- 118 Stanton, “Margaret Rickert (1888–1973),” 286.
- 119 On Morelli, see Sonja Drimmer, “Connoisseurship, Art History, and the Paleographical Impasse in Middle English Studies,” *Speculum* 97, no. 2 (April 2022): 421. For an extended description of the Berensonian method, see Carol Jayne Gibson-Wood, “Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli” (PhD diss., Warburg Institute, 1988), 238–47.
- 120 Calo, *Bernard Berenson and the Twentieth Century*, 15. Indeed, some critics find Berenson to have misrepresented Morelli. See for example, Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, 237.
- 121 Bernard Berenson, “Rudiments of Art Connoisseurship: A Fragment,” first printed in *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1902), 111, 123.
- 122 Stanton, “Margaret Rickert (1888–1973),” 287.
- 123 Stanton, “Margaret Rickert (1888–1973),” 287.
- 124 Margaret Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: An English Manuscript of the Late XIV Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704-5, 44892)* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952).
- 125 Thus it can be distinguished from two other specialist works published in 1928. British Museum curator Eric Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Paris: G. Van Oest, 1926–28) included a forty-two-page introductory essay, and the latest manuscript he included is the Abington Missal of 1461. In *English Illumination* (Paris: Pegasus Press, 1928), covering a wider timespan, Scottish art historian O. Elfrida Saunders (teaching in a German department, given the lack of British art history departments at the time), included 120 pages of text, eleven of which cover the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Her latest illuminated samples are pre-1450 and, like Rickert, her latest samples are coloured-ink drawings from mid-century. Saunders tactfully notes that after 1450 English patrons ordered manuscripts from abroad “where there were more highly skilled painters,” while Millar states more baldly that “it is, to say the least, extraordinary that a country which produced such splendid manuscripts from almost its earliest times until the middle of the fourteenth century should have suddenly ceased...to hold a position even approaching the first rank,” Saunders, *English Illumination*, 118; Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, 41. For recent work on Millar, see William P. Stoneman, “A Reference Book for Scholars and Collectors: Eric Millar’s *English Illuminated Manuscripts* (1926–1928),” in *The Pre-Modern Manuscript*

- Trade and Its Consequences, ca. 1890–1945*, ed. Laura Cleaver, Danielle Magnusson, Hannah Morcos, and Angéline Rais (Amsterdam: ARC Humanities Press, 2024), 427–38.
- 126 Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2, 176.
- 127 Compare Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, 166–75, with Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 1st edition (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), 181–84. In addition, Rickert expanded the section on the Carmelite missal in the second edition, incorporating material from *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*. For Rickert’s role in identifying the foreign nationality of Scheere, embarrassing the British Museum, which had recently paid historic sums for the Bedford Psalter-Hours, believing Scheere to be English, see Dongwon Esther Kim, “The Bedford Psalter and Hours: Making and Un-Making National Identity in the Acquisition of an ‘English’ Manuscript,” in *The Pre-Modern Manuscript Trade and Its Consequences, ca. 1890–1945*, ed. Laura Cleaver, Danielle Magnusson, Hannah Morcos, and Angéline Rais (Amsterdam: ARC Humanities Press, 2024), 387–99.
- 128 Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, 1.
- 129 Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, 199.
- 130 Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, 2, 198, but see also references to English choosiness on 7, 198, 203, 206.
- 131 Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, 203.
- 132 Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, 203.
- 133 Rickert, *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, 181.
- 134 Wood, *A History of Art History*, 396. Lucy Freeman Sandler (1930–) provides a similar service for fourteenth-century English manuscripts, and her work on the Bohun manuscripts provides the exception that proves the rule for interest in illumination after the Black Death. See, for example, Lucy Freeman Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385* (New York: Harvey Miller, 1986); and *Illuminators and Patrons in Fourteenth-Century England: The Psalter and Hours of Humphrey de Bohun and the Manuscripts of the Bohun Family* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).
- 135 See for example, Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*, vol. 2, 26–29.
- 136 Scott, *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, 108–19.
- 137 See for example, Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal*, 70.
- 138 Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*, vol. 1, 35–37.
- 139 Based in spectrographic analysis, Gameson’s important study substantiates palette differences between artists, and demonstrates that sometimes

- miniaturists also painted borders (though sometimes the work was also parcelled out between various artists). For one example, see Gameson et al., *The Pigments of British Medieval Illuminators*, 328, which provides scientific evidence that a famous miniaturist also painted the border.
- 140 Stanton, “Margaret Rickert (1888-1973),” 268, and Rickert, *Reconstructed*, 13.
- 141 For just a few examples, see Janet Backhouse, “The Royal Library from Edward IV to Henry VII,” in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain. Vol. III 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J.B. Trapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 267–273; “Illuminated Manuscripts Associated with Henry VII,” 175–87; “Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts,” in *England in the Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1987), 23–41.
- 142 For just a few examples, see Janet Backhouse, ed., *The Illuminated Page: Ten Centuries of Manuscript Painting in the British Library* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); *Books of Hours* (London: British Library, 1985); *The Lindisfarne Gospels: A Masterpiece of Book Painting* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1981).
- 143 Recent developments within critical bibliography have given fresh impetus to feminist bibliography, but given the methodological origins, tend to focus on women’s involvement in, and study of, print history. Similar potential clearly exists in what could be called ‘feminist manuscript studies,’ should any choose to develop it as a critical focus. For feminist bibliography see the following and their bibliographies for example: Kate Ozment, “Rationale for Feminist Bibliography,” *Textual Cultures* 13 (2020): 149–78; Sarah Werner, “Working Towards a Feminist Printing History,” *Printing History* 27/8 (2020): 11–25; and Michelle Levy, “Do Women Have a Book History?” *Studies in Romanticism* 53 (2014): 296–317.

REFERENCES

EARLY PRINTED BOOKS

- Henry VIII. *Assertio septem sacramentorum aduersus Martin. Lutheru[m], ædita ab inuictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege, et do. Hyberniæ Henrico eius nominis octauo*. London: Pynson, 1521. ESTC S123359.
- Hore beate Marie virginis secundum vsum insignis ecclesie Sarum totaliter ad longum & sine require*. London: de Worde, 1503. ESTC S1270.
- More, Thomas, and Desiderius Erasmus. *Epigrammata clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomae mori britanni ad emendatum exemplar ipsius autoris excusa*. Basel: Froben, 1520. USTC 651004.
- . *De optimo reip. Statu deque nova insula utopia libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quàm festiuus Thomae mori inclytæ civitatis londonensis civis & vice-comitis. Epigrammata Thomae mori, plera[que] è Graecis versa. Epigrammata Des. Erasmi Roterodami. Epigrammata progymnasmata*. Basel: Froben, 1518. USTC 630792.
- Parr, Katherine. *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holie Scripture*. London: Berthelet, 1545. ESTC S124748.
- . *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holye scripture*. London: Berthelet, 1544. ESTC S91061.

MANUSCRIPT INDEX

* Indicates shelfmarks for individual copies of early printed books

- Bloomington, Indiana University Library: MS Ricketts 26, 130, 191N109; Ricketts 27, 130, 191N109; Ricketts 28, 130, 191N109; Ricketts 29, 130, 191N109; Ricketts 30, 130, 191N109; Ricketts 46, 130, 191N109; Ricketts 111, 130, 191N109; Ricketts C:7, 130, 191N109; Ricketts C:10, 130, 191N109
- Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS a.49, 169n28

- Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College Library, MS 48 (Fig. 2.3), 57, 58
 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Gg. I. 34, 164n56
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College: MS 158, 60, 165n64, 166n72; MS 285
 (Fig. 2.2), 56, 57, 58, 164n56
 Cambridge, St. John's College, MS C. 10, 164n56
 Cambridge, King's College, MS 27, 164n56
 Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Library, CCA-DCC/chant/w/48C
 (Fig. 3.3), 77, 84, 89, 170n43
 Durham, Durham Record Office, DHOD/11/184, 191n104
 *Elton Hall, ESTC S91061. Parr, Katherine. *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holye
 scripture*. London: Berthelet, 1544, 100, 101, 177n34
 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 952, 165n68
 Glasgow, University of Glasgow Library: MS Euing 26, 191n105; Hunter
 274, 166n79
 Gloucester, Gloucester Cathedral Archives, GCA/S&F/29, 159n79
 Kew, National Archives: DL 10/421, 166n80; E33/1, 170n35; E33/2, 170n35;
 E33/2/1, 170n43; E33/3/1, 170n34; E33/4/1, 169n28; E33/6/1, 170n43;
 E33/7/1, 75, 169n28, 169n31; E33/8/1, 169n28; E33/9/1, 170n43;
 E33/10/1, 170n43; E33/11/1, 170n34; E33/13/1, 169n28; E33/14/1,
 170n43; E33/15, 170n34; E33/17/1, 78, 170n42, 170n43; E33/19/1,
 170n43; E33/20/1, 170n34; E33/22/1, 170n34; E33/24/1, 169n28;
 E33/25/1, 170n43; E101/424/12, 177n32; E164/11, 76, 170n37;
 E314/22/27, 176n31; E315/161, 176n29; E315/226, 180n64; E344/22,
 179n62; FEC 1/1648, 180n64; KB27/1213, 106, 179n56; KB27/1231, 106,
 179n57; KB27/1247, 106, 179n57; PROB 11/13/608, 178n52; SP9/1/1,
 159n78; SP9/1/2, 159n78; SP9/1/3, 159n79; SP9/1/4, 159n79; SP9/1/5,
 159n79
 *London, British Library, C.41.e.8. *Hore beate Marie virginis secundum usum in-
 signis ecclesie Sarum totaliter ad longum & sine require* (London: de Worde,
 1503), ESTC S1270, 171n44
 London, British Library: MS Additional Charter 8661, 159n79; Additional
 Charter 36453, 179n58; Additional Charter 46907, 179n56; Additional
 Charter 74939 (Fig. 1.2), 36, 37, 38, 49, 72, 75, 103, 127, 159n78; Addi-
 tional 10344, 60, 165n64, 166n76; Additional 21112, 170n35; Additional
 28887, 163n40; Additional 30520A, 159n79; Additional 37687E, 159n76;
 Additional 37687F, 159n78; Additional 45131, 160n81; Additional
 45132, 159n71, 160n81; Additional 45133, 160n81; Additional 60514,
 159n79; Additional 89166, 179n59; Harley 28, 169n28; Harley 1498,

- 170n35; Harley 3346, 60, 165n64, 166n73; Harley 3348, 165n64; King's 395, 178n52; Lansdowne 441, 170n35 Royal 12 B. VI, 76, 170n38; Sloane 1448A, 163n40; Wolley Charter ix. 88, 179n59
- London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 12, 164n56
- London, Guildhall Library: MS 4643, 159n74; MS 5437, 159n79; MS 5806, 159n78, 171n46; MS 6131, 159n79; MS 31692, 103, 178n48; MS 31693, 103, 178n46, 178n48
- London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 265, 60, 165n64, 166n75
- London, Royal College of Physicians Library, MS 1057/1, 159n79
- London, Society of Antiquaries Library, MS 129, 180n64
- London, Victoria and Albert Museum: MS L.4362-1948, 159n76, 187n69; Reid 41, 124, 125, 126, 187n69, 188n76, 189n79, 189n80; Reid 50, 187n69; Reid 54, 187n69
- London, Wax Chandlers Hall, Grant of Arms (1536), 159n79
- London, Westminster Abbey Library, MS 43, 179n52
- London, Westminster Abbey Muniments: LXXXIII, 179n63; 57070, 170n43; 57071, 169n28; 57072, 170n43; 57073, 170n43; 57074, 169n28; 57075, 170n43; 57076, 170n43; 57077 (Fig 3.1), 73, 74, 75, 82, 83, 84, 85, 89, 104, 169n28; 57078, 170n34; 57079, 170n34; 57080, 170n43; 57081, 170n43; 57082, 169n28
- Luton, Wardown House Museum, Dunstable Guild Register, 103, 104, 176n21, 178n45, 178n49; Trinity Guild Register, 1984/127 (Fig. 4.2), 102, 103, 104, 105, 176n21, 177n40, 178n53
- *Manchester, John Rylands Library, 18952. Henry VIII, *Assertio septem sacramentorum aduersus Martin. Lutheru[m], ædita ab inuictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege, et do. Hyberniæ Henrico eius nominis octauo*. London: Pynson, 1521. ESTC S123359 (Fig. 4.1), 97
- Modena, Biblioteca Estense: MS a F.1.14, 166n70; MS a Q.6.15, 166n70
- New Haven, Beinecke Library: MS 953 (Fig. 2.1), 52, 53, 54, 56; Osborn a87 (Fig. 2.4), 58, 165n64, 166n73; Takamiya 127, 159n79
- New York, Morgan Library, MS M.487, 171n45
- Nottingham, Mellors & Kirk, 10 May, 2018, sold Lot 228, 159n79
- Oxford, Balliol College, MS 286 (Fig. 2.5), 58, 165n64, 166n76
- Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS Auct. F. 2. 19, 60, 165n64, 166n74; Barlow 28 (Fig. 3.2), 76, 82, 83, 84, 90, 170n34; Bodley 915, 166n79; Cherry 36, 180n67; Laud Misc. 164 (Fig. 1.1), 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 49, 52, 57, 58, 63, 102, 115, 126, 127, 189n79; Rawlinson C. 370, 170n34; Selden Supra 77, 76, 170n38, 170n40

- *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. A g.17 (1). *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holie Scripture*. London: Berthelet, 1545. ESTC S124748, 100, 101, 177n34
Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 16, 76, 170n39
- *Oxford, Exeter College Library, 9M 3001+. *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holie scripture*. London: Berthelet, 1544. ESTC S91061, 100, 101, 177v34
Oxford, Magdalen College: MS Lat. 23, 166n79; Lat. 39, 166n79
Oxford, Merton College, MS 89, 166n72; MS 76.a.6 (fragment), 166n79
Oxford, New College: MS 228, 165n64; MS 271, 165n64, 166n79
Oxford, University Archives, WPβ.1.1, 170n34
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 6276, 76, 170n38
Stokenchurch, Wormsley Library. Parr, Katherine. *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holie scripture*. London: Berthelet, 1544. ESTC S91061, 100, 101, 177n34
- *Urbana, IL, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library.
MIN100213. Parr, Katherine. *Psalmes or prayers taken out of holie Scripture*.
London: Berthelet, 1545. ESTC S124748, 100, 101, 177n34
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: MS Chigi H. VII. 215, 165n69;
Lat. 3731, 175n13; Lat. 4681, 165n69
- *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Membr.III.1-4 Henry VIII.
*Assertio septem sacramentorum aduersus Martin. Lutheru[m], ædita ab inuic-
tissimo Anglie et Franciæ rege, et do. Hyberniæ Henrico eius nominis octauo.*
London: Pynson, 1521. ESTC S123359, 175n15, 175n18
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 4943, 163n40
Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library: MS z.c.22(1), 179n59; MS
z.c.22 (41), 179n58; MS z.c.40(5), 179n58; MS z.e.39, 179n56
Winchester, Hampshire Archives, DC/B1/1/1, 179n63
Woburn, Woburn Abbey, Grant to Thomas Wriothsley, 179n63

INDEX

For references to individual manuscripts and institutions, see Manuscript Index in the References section above

- Abell, William, 159n76, 169n33
- abstraction, 129, 150n28; in *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), 27; in illumination, 11, 144; medieval and modern, 10
- Alpers, Svetlana, 10, 11, 143
- Anglo-French strewn style, 17, 75, 79, 89, 142, 144, 145; development of, 77, 79, 84, 90; and indentures, quadripartite, 78. *See also* McCloud, Scott
- aniconic art. *See* illumination, aniconic
- antiquarians, 113, 116, 122, 125, 181n2, 190n104. *See also* Humphreys, Henry Noel
- architects, 19, 26, 112, 124, 129, 130, 131, 143. *See also* Jones, Owen; Shaw, Henry
- art history, 15, 64, 80; absence of late medieval English illumination, 4, 5, 9, 19, 21, 49, 111–14, 119, 131, 142–44; and art market, 121; canon of, 18, 19, 112, 119–20, 132, 137; English Renaissance, 6–7, 141; institutionalization of, 115–16; and media theory, 44; medieval, 47, 138; revisionism, 6; theories of, 10–11; Tudor, 7; Victorian, 125; and Victorian illustrated books, 118; and women scholars, 139. *See also*, connoisseurship, attributional
- art markets, 48, 125, 131; absence of late medieval English illumination, 113–19, 121, 123, 144; Anglo-British, 111, 114; and art history instruction, 116; auctions, 121; and manuscript fragments, 117. *See also* collectors; dealers, art
- Auerbach, Erna, 7, 35, 157–58n58
- Backhouse, Janet, 4, 5, 13, 18, 111, 112, 113, 139, 163n40; “splendid vulgarity” of late medieval English illumination, 3, 68, 80, 85, 89, 142
- Barker, Sir Christopher, 38, 39

- batch-colouring, 96, 100, 175n17
- Beccaria, Antonio, 55, 56
- Berenson, Bernard, 132, 133, 134, 138
- Berenson, Mary, 132, 191n116
- bianchi girari*, 16, 17, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 64, 65, 97, 141, 142; Anglo-*bianchi girari*, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63, 96. *See also* humanism; Pächt, Otto
- bibliography, feminist, 151n43, 194n143. *See also* book history; codicology
- bicycles, fixie, 53
- book history, 8, 9, 13, 19, 139. *See also* bibliography, feminist; codicology
- borders, heraldic Renaissance, 97, 107, 180n64
- British Museum (now Library), 3, 4, 8, 80, 114, 122, 123, 124, 132, 134
- Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts (1908), 119, 121, 123
- Caesar Master, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 72, 79, 96
- Charles III, 158n56
- chromolithography, 118, 125
- chromostereopsis, 30, 31, 32, 47, 53, 90
- closure, 67, 83, 86, 87, 88, 90, 107, 172n66
- Cockerell, Sydney, 120, 121, 132
- codicology, 9; trans, 14. *See also* bibliography, feminist; book history
- collage, 117, 126, 130, 134, 189n84
- collectors: disinterest in late medieval English illumination, 18, 25, 117, 119–120, 122–23, 136, 143; English, 3; influence of, 113, 116; Victorian, 112, 115; and Victorian illustrated books, 118. *See also* art markets; Hanrott, Philip; Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; Morgan, J.P.; Morris, William; Ottley, William; Perrins, Dyson; Ricketts, Coella; Ruskin, Charles; Thompson, Henry Yates; Tiptoft, John
- comic books, 80, 81, 85; compared to woodcuts, 84, 88. *See also* McCloud, Scott; McLuhan, Marshall; woodcuts
- connoisseurship, attributional, 120, 132, 137, 140; definition, 133; and Morelli, Giovanni, 133. *See also* Berenson, Bernard
- contingency, academic, xii, 19, 113, 139
- Cortese, Cristoforo, 16, 43, 54, 55, 56, 63
- Cory, Caroline, 129, 130, 131, 134
- Cory, Esther, 129, 130, 131, 134
- cult of the dead, xii, 69, 70, 71
- Danbury, Elizabeth, 35, 36, 37, 148n15
- dealers, art, 127, 131, 136, 186n59; influence of, 113, 121. *See also* art markets; Berenson, Bernard; Ottley, William
- decoration: as aniconic, 35, 138; and *The Grammar of Ornament*

- (1856), 20, 21, 26–28, 126, 128; hierarchy of decorative and fine arts, 11; hologram, 40; and humanist design, 52, 54–55, 60–61; ink, 25, 29, 30, 32, 53, 62, 93, 102, 106, 120, 124; in Victorian illustrated books, 118. *See also* Anglo-French strewn style; *bianchi girari*; design; heraldic strewn style; illumination; strewn style; vinework
- design: definition, 30, 123; distinction from art, 9, 11; as media, 10, 32–40, 45, 49; and medievalism, 103; theory, 12, 140; in Victorian illustrated books, 118. *See also* decoration; graphical user interface; illumination, visual hierarchy; Jones, Owen; Madden, Frederic; Shaw, Henry; signal detection; user experience; utility
- documents: airline seatback safety cards, 83, 85; confirmations of rights, 61, 62; coronation invitations, 158n66; credit cards, 40; currency, 40; grants of arms, 7, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 78, 106, 108, 148n16, 159n76, 159n78; guild registers, 102, 103, 104, 105; indentures, bipartite, 71, 76, 90, 167n9; indentures, quadripartite, 17, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 102, 104; indentures, septipartite, 167n9, 170n35, 71; passports, 40, 160n83. *See also* Danbury, Elizabeth
- Dunstable, Guild of St. John the Baptist, 103, 104, 176n21
- Edward IV, 73, 101; books given to, 60, 62
- Elizabeth I, 106, 142, 143; and embroidery, 108
- Elizabeth II, 158n56
- embroidery, 92, 106, 108, 109
- Followers of the Corpus Master, 60, 61
- Flemish strewn style. *See* strewn style
- fragmentology, 45, 64, 143, 149n17; definition, 13, 152n46; relationship to media archaeology, 46, 52, 140
- Frulovisi, Tito, 55, 56, 63
- graphical user interface (GUI), 28, 29, 40, 88
- Ghent-Bruges style. *See* strewn style
- Gitelman, Lisa, 14; definition of media, 12, 33, 68, 72; and documents, 34, 37, 39, 62, 86, 102; and documentary art, 89, 100
- Gombrich, Ernst, 129
- grotesques. *See* illumination, zoomorph
- Guillory, John, 48, 157n47, 157n52, 162n32; definition of media, 12; and documents, 34
- Hanrott, Philip, 129, 130
- Henry VI, 61, 62; books given to, 56, 59, 124; tomb, 69, 70

- Henry VII, and children, 74; and design preferences, 17, 77, 78, 101; and memorial chapel plans, 67, 68, 69, 70, 86, 102; and propaganda, 36, 88, 89, 99, 148n15
- Henry VIII, 101, 144; *Assertio septem sacramentorum* (1521), 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 100; as Defender of the Faith, 18, 94, 98; and Lady Chapel, 70; and propaganda, 18, 38, 98, 99, 107, 143, 175n20; representation as David, 97
- heraldic strewn style, 17, 83, 84, 88, 90, 92, 97, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109; as caricature, 85, 86; “cartoon” strewn style, 82; definition, 75; development of, 76, 79; and indentures, bipartite, 76; and indentures, quadripartite, 77, 78. *See also* McCloud, Scott
- heraldry: and colour, 84; on documents, 108; on grants of arms, 36, 38, 39, 40; on indentures, 88, 90; in Tudor society, 75, 76, 86
- heralds, 7, 37, 38, 39, 40, 149n16, 159n78. *See also* Barker, Sir Christopher; Wriothesley, Sir Thomas
- Hilliard, Nicholas, 107
- Holbein, Hans, 5, 95, 96, 97, 101
- Horenbout, Susanna, 101, 109
- humanism, 56, 59; and the book, 60, 95, 129; definition, 42; and page design, 42, 52–53; scribes, 144; theologians, 94. *See also* bianchi girari
- Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 51, 55, 56, 59
- Humphreys, Henry Noel, 125, 126, 127; and Jones, Owen, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages: An Account of the Development of Illumination as a Distinct Branch of Pictorial Ornamentation from the IVth to the XVIIth Centuries* (1844–49), 22, 125, 126, 127
- illumination: absence from art history, 6; champs, 25, 29, 31, 38, 58, 125, 165n66; aniconic, 9, 10, 11, 12, 35, 36, 112, 118, 137, 138, 141, 184n29; disparagement of, 124; and embroidery, 109; and guilds, 105; historiations, 29, 38, 102, 125, 137; limning, definition; 5; portrait miniatures, 4, 5, 6, 107; Venetian, 16; visual hierarchy, 29, 30, 52; as watercolour, 5, 8; zoomorph, 57, 58, 61, 63. *See also* Anglo-French strewn style; batch colouring; *bianchi girari*; heraldic strewn style; linearity; strewn style
- indentures. *See* documents, indentures
- Inglis, Esther, 109
- Innis, Harold, 12, 44, 80, 161n5, 171n48

- James, M.R., 121, 132
- Jones, Owen, 21, 74, 112, 124, 125, 126; and English vine-work, 49, 127, 131, 143, 145; *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856), 16, 19, 74, 135, 136; reputation, 26, 128, 129; theory of design geometry, 28, 128; theory of organic lines, 27, 128. *See also* Humphreys, Henry Noel
- Kensington Museum. *See* Victoria and Albert Museum
- Kenyon, Sir Frederic, 122, 183n24
- librarians, xii, xiii; Caswell Test, 15. *See also* Backhouse, Janet; Cockerell, Sydney; Kenyon, Frederic; Madden, Sir Frederic
- limning. *See* illumination
- linearity, 48, 90, 130; and medieval English art, 41, 59, 75, 77, 98, 128, 135, 138; and Jones, Owen, 27, 28, 125
- lithography, 118. *See also* chromolithography
- Luton, Trinity Guild of, 101, 102, 103. *See also* documents, guild registers
- Lydgate, John, 124; *Life of St. Edmund*, 124
- Madden, Sir Frederic, 124; and Shaw, Henry, *Illuminated Ornaments Selected from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (1833), 124, 125
- Malhom, William, 70, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 85, 88, 89, 90
- manuscripts, named: Beauchamp Psalter-Hours, 120, 123; Carmelite Missal, 129, 130, 134, 137; Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, 120, 123; Sheldon Missal, 121, 123
- Margaret of York, 73, 168n23
- Masters of the Dark Eyes in England, ix, 74, 75, 76, 79, 101, 104, 126; and indentures, quadripartite 17, 77, 78, 88, 89, 98; and McCloud, Scott, 82, 84. *See also* strewn style
- McCloud, Scott, 17, 68; criticisms of, 81; criticisms of theory of closure, 87; reputation of, 80; theory of “amplification through simplification,” 82, 96; theory of colour, 84, 85; theory of closure, 83; *Understanding Comics* (1993), 88
- McLuhan, Marshall, 107; and cartoons, 81, 84, 87, 88; criticisms of, 81; definition of mass media, 71; feminist responses to, 161n5; foundational media theorist, 12, 44, 48, 151n43, 161n5; *Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962), 48, 80; and medieval studies, 47, 84, 88, 94, 96; theory of closure, 87; theory of hot and cool media, 17, 58, 67, 68, 81, 83, 85, 89; *Understanding Media* (1964), 80
- media, definitions of, 12. *See also* Gitelman, Lisa; Guillory, John;

- McCloud, Scott; McLuhan, Marshall
- media archaeology, 14, 16, 47, 49, 80, 94, 105; affiliation with fragmentology 49, 50, 143; associations with medieval studies, 47, 48; definitions of, 43, 44, 45; strata, of media/design, 17, 43, 46, 48, 50–51, 54, 58–59, 64, 72, 79, 91, 92, 93, 95, 103, 105, 106, 144. *See also* media variants; Parikka, Jussi; stratigraphy
- media variants, 67, 143; definitions of, 43, 46, 50; variantology, 43, 44, 46, 68. *See also* Anglo-French strewn style; *bianchi girari*; heraldic strewn style; Zielinski, Siegfried
- medievalism, 92, 101, 103, 106, 108, 109; and Marshall McLuhan, 48
- Meghen, Peter, 95
- miniatures, 120, 121, 125, 126, 135; absence from Victorian surveys, 118, 124; focus on in recent art history, 137, 138; market for, 113, 114
- money, paper. *See* documents, currency
- Morgan, J.P., 122, 123, 130
- Morris, William, 117, 121
- museums, 130; collection policies, 121–24, 133; exhibition practices, 5, 84; image permissions, 7. *See also* British Museum; Victoria and Albert Museum
- Nagel, Alexander, 48, 163n47
- non-figural art. *See* illumination, aniconic
- oil painting, 5, 6, 48
- Ottley, William, 113, 114, 117
- Pächt, Otto, 54, 73, 135
- Panofsky, Erwin, 44, 47
- Parikka, Jussi, 89, 105, 129; definition of media, 12, 48, 72; definition of media archaeology, 44, 45
- Parr, Katherine, 92, 98, 99; *Prayers or Meditations* (1545), 99; *Psalms or Prayers* (1544), 99, 100
- passports. *See* documents, passports
- Perrins, Dyson, 117, 123
- printers: Berthelet, Thomas, 99, 100; Pynson, Richard, 95
- Renaissance style: and abstraction, 10; compared to medieval painting, 135; definitions, 16, 41; English, 4, 6, 43, 47, 141–44; as hot media, 84, 94; and humanism, 42; Italian, 11, 42, 43, 67, 117; Northern, 10; and Ruskin, John, 115. *See also* bianchi girari; humanism; Tudor dynasty
- Ricketts, Coella, 130, 131, 132, 136
- Rickert, Edith, 132, 134
- Rickert, Margaret, 56, 75, 131, 134, 135, 136; collaboration with Berenson, Bernard, 132, 133; *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal* (1952), 134, 137; *Painting*

- in Britain in the Middle Ages* (1954), 134, 136, 139
- Riegl, Alois, 129
- Ruskin, John, 114, 115, 116, 117
- Salvatico, Michael, 55, 56
- Sandler, Lucy Freeman, 193n134
- Schapiro, Meyer, 10
- Scheere, Herman, 121, 135, 137, 193n127
- Scott, Kathleen L., 3, 4, 5, 136, 139; *Dated & Datable English Manuscript Borders*, c. 1395–1499 (2002), 137; expansion of attributional connoisseurship, 137, 138; *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490* (1996), 3, 137, 138, 139
- Shaw, Henry, 124, 125, 129, 131; *See also* Madden, Sir Frederic
- Shippey, John, 92, 102, 103, 104, 105
- Siferwas, John, 135
- signal detection, 31, 32
- Skinner's Company, 103; Register of the Assumption Guild, 103, 104; Register of the Corpus Christi Guild, 103. *See also* documents, guild registers
- spectrometry, 154n3, 193n139
- stratigraphy, 44, 45, 46, 49, 55
- strewn style, 67, 79, 89, 91, 92, 95, 103, 119, 142; in *Assertio septem sacramentorum* (1521), 95; definition of, 73, 78; development of, 73, 74; in guild registers, 103; as hot media, 82, 83, 84; and indentures, quadripartite, 75; painted by the English, 104; in Victorian illustrated books, 119. *See also* Masters of the Dark Eyes in England
- Teerlinc, Levina, 100, 101, 109
- Thompson, Henry Yates, 117, 121, 123
- Tiptoft, John, 59, 60, 62
- Tudor dynasty, 4, 72, 86; decoration of printed documents, 93; interest in hot and cool media, 85, 107; interest in strewn style, 74, 75, 89; myth of Tudor Renaissance, 18, 91, 141, 143, 145. *See also* Elizabeth I; Henry VII; Henry VIII
- user experience (UX), 30, 34, 37; and grants of arms, 38; and humanist design, 52, 53; illumination as, 16, 21, 22, 31, 35, 40; and McCloud, Scott, 88
- utility: of art, 11; of decoration and design, 10, 16, 30, 34, 58; and user experience, 53
- Victoria and Albert Museum (formerly Kensington Museum), 6, 123, 124
- vinestem, white. *See* bianchi girari
- vinework, English, 28, 35, 36, 42; contrast with variants, 58, 77; as decorative art, 9; development, 16, 18, 22, 23, 43, 50, 51, 63, 90, 144; end of, 91, 103, 106, 107, 111, 142; endurance of, 25, 64,

- 67, 72, 76, 79, 92, 101, 102, 103, 105; geometrical tendency, 27, 128; interest of architects in, 26, 125, 126, 127, 131, 145; linear quality, 28
- Warburg, Aby, 44, 47
- watercolours. *See* illumination, as watercolour
- Wood, Christopher, 11, 137
- woodcuts, 93, 94, 100, 177n34;
 Holbein's title page of *Assertio septem sacramentorum* (1521), 95, 96, 97, 175n16; McLuhan's opinion of, 84, 88, 94
- Woodville, Anthony, 60, 62
- Wriothesley, Sir Thomas, 38, 39
- Yorkist dynasty, 43, 60, 63, 64, 103;
 interest in Anglo-*bianchi girari*, 62, 65; interest in strewn style, 73, 74. *See also* Edward IV; Margaret of York
- Zielinski, Siegfried, 49, 50; definition of "anarchaeology," 50, 140; definition of media, 12; definition of media variant, 43, 46; and media archaeology, 45, 55, 144

KATHLEEN E. KENNEDY was funded by a British Academy Global Professor award in the Department of English at the University of Bristol and now serves as Director and Senior Specialist at Text Manuscripts, a department of Les Enluminures.

“Illuminating Media is sharply written in an engaging and accessible style. Leveraging a collaborative approach to knowledge-making, Kennedy brings a new field of inquiry to bear on the late medieval period to reorient our relationship to aniconic manuscript illumination, ultimately helping us see this material in a new light.”
—Whitney Trettien, University of Pennsylvania

“Illuminating Media is a great book, with a fresh, new argument, keenly made. It is rich, persuasive, highly creative, and will be wonderful to teach with. It makes not just a positive contribution to one field but to several and should appeal to a wide range of readers in many different disciplines.”
—Bridget Whearty, Binghamton University, State University of New York (SUNY)

CONCORDIA
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

ISBN 978-1-98-811170-4



9 781988 111704