The Misericords of Beverley Minster: a Corpus of Folkloric Imagery and its Cultural Milieu, with special reference to the influence of Northern European iconography on Late Medieval and Early Modern English Woodwork.

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I declare this thesis to be based on original research carried out by myself over a period of six years ending in October 1991.
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Dr. Christa Grössinger has been the only student in recent years bold enough to venture upon the all but uncharted waters of the design-sources of misericord imagery, and while there are several places in the present work where I am obliged to register my disagreement with her suggested derivations, the knowledge that she has successfully navigated
her way through such potentially dangerous seas has emboldened my own somewhat amateur oceanography.

Work of this nature is, of course, impossible without access to a university library and in my case it is to Nottingham University’s Hallward Library that I have turned, a pleasant modern building in which to work housing as well stocked a library as any modern British university can boast — despite recent enforced cutbacks which have resulted in many runs of journals coming to an abrupt end in the early ‘80s — and an unfailingly helpful and courteous staff.

Beyond the university library, however, is the magnificent and unsurpassed British Lending Library, a system which cannot be adequately praised and which endures as a monument to the highest ideals of education in times which all too often seem blind to any ideals but those of the marketplace.

Even this priceless resource would be useless, however, without the skills of those librarians at local level in the Derbyshire County Library Service who know how best to exploit it, who have been far more indulgent to the volume and variety of my book-requests than their own rules should allow, and have patiently pursued even the most unpromisingly vague submissions. Special gratitude is due to the staff of my local public library in Matlock who have cheerfully dispensed the often arcane riches which have flooded in, via Boston Spa, from all quarters of the globe almost — at no little trouble to themselves.

For one as minimally computer-literate as myself, the knowledge that I can always draw on the expertise and ingenuity of my friend Dave Moore when things go wrong or (more frequently) won’t go right, has allowed me the necessary peace of mind to put finger to keyboard at all — he has been most generous with his time and skill and, on one occasion in particular, it is no exaggeration to say that, but for some highly inventive experimentation with the electric drill, there would
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I hope it goes without saying that I am grateful too to the staff of the various cathedrals and churches which house the sets of stalls which form the subject of this work -- it is not always convenient to have someone poking about under the seats!

The photographs (as will, I fear, be all too apparent) are almost without exception, my own -- even some of the good ones.

Matlock, September 1991.
ABSTRACT

The set of 68 misericords in Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, carved in 1520, are considered here both as a corpus of 'folkloric' imagery in their own right, and in a wider cultural context.

A detailed iconographic examination of the individual misericords under such headings as 'The Fool and Follies', 'Satires', 'The Bestiary', 'Exempla', etc., leads to the isolation of a small number of motifs which are seen not to belong to the native tradition. These non-English motifs are traced to two main sources, the border woodcuts in early Parisian printed Horee and Flemish & German prints.

The identification of these sources for the Beverley designs leads to further identifications elsewhere, and especially in the stalls of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, c.1480.

In the case of Beverley it is suggested that the means of transmission of such Continental imagery is via the port of Hull (the Customs Accounts for the port being examined in this light), and the printers and book-sellers of York.

The local cultural milieu in which the Beverley stalls were created is examined and Henry Percy, the 'Magnificent' Fifth Earl of Northumberland, shown to be an influential patron of the arts; but other local influences considered include the late medieval dramatic cycles played in Beverley, the town's patron saint John (portrayed as a 'hairy anchorite') and a York & London printer known to have printed in Beverley, Hugo Goes (whose unique woodblock-printed wallpaper is also discussed).

Goes's Flemish origin leads to a consideration of the presence of other alien artists and craftsmen (e.g. Maynard Weywick who provided the patterns for Torrigiano's Westminster tombs) at work in late medieval and early Tudor England -- much of it assembled here for the first time.
INTRODUCTION

The Beverley Minster stalls were chosen as the subject of this investigation for several reasons.

Firstly, they are a large set (68), and thus include a representative selection of a wide variety of traditional iconographical motifs, which have been arranged, for ease of discussion, into the broad subject-areas outlined below.

Secondly, they are precisely dated to 1520 and were therefore carved at a particularly interesting time. Chronologically, they are one of the latest English sets to be made, only shortly before the Reformation and the break with Rome, and stylistically they also provide important negative evidence for the penetration of the Italian Renaissance into English woodcarving, despite the availability of Italianate motifs, even in Yorkshire, at this time.

The religious moment and the stylistic moment are, of course, merely aspects of the historical moment -- from the Beverley stalls we sense that the Middle Ages are far from dead in 1520, that the Early Modern Era is still some way off. The year of their carving also saw the extraordinary Anglo-French spectacle of the 'Field of the Cloth of Gold', an occasion of lavish magnificence still articulated in the chivalric idiom of this 'Ultimate Middle Ages' (1), for all the well-recorded but only superficial, applied Renaissance 'antickes', 'trailes of savage worke', etc.

The Minster misericords -- like other earlier late medieval sets -- also have a lot to tell us about early Tudor culture in general, so much, indeed, that they seemed to demand a wide-ranging re-examination of the impact of Northern Europe on contemporary England, leading to a confirmation of Gordon Kipling's thesis
'that much of what we have been content to label "Italian" in Tudor art, literature, and society may more accurately be traced to Lowlands Burgundy'. (2)

It is my hope that the chapter which I have entitled "The Influence of the Arts of Northern Europe", and which aims at a general overview of the influence of Northern European arts and artists on late 15th and early 16th century English culture -- which to my continuing surprise I cannot find has been attempted before -- might serve as a preliminary, albeit superficial, treatment of this important subject until such time as someone better qualified than myself is persuaded to do the job properly.

Lawrence Stone, writing of English sculpture during the Early Tudor period, declared that

'Easily the most powerful influence ... was the result of [the] migration of artists and objects, a style conveniently, if inaccurately, described as Flemish. But its acceptance involved no radical break with the past, since it was itself rooted in medieval art.' (3)

The careful reader will note that I am myself frequently guilty of perpetuating such imprecision in my use of regional labels such as 'Netherlandish', 'Flemish' and 'Germanic' -- in mitigation I can only protest that at least it is a fault contemporary Tudor Englishmen were also guilty of, quite normally lumping together immigrant craftsmen and artists from Germany and the Low Countries as 'Dutch' (4); nor do I feel such occasional vagueness detracts from the thesis implicit in that chapter, and in this work as a whole, viz. that, contrary to the received wisdom, such 'Germanic' influences loom considerably larger in the history of late medieval and 'Renaissance' English art than Italian or even French. It may be that because the references to the presence of these artists, like those to their works, both lost and extant, are so scattered and have to be culled from such disparate sources (an exercise which seems only to have been done for certain well-defined groups of
artefact), the impression has been created among historians of English art as a whole, that their contributions were sporadic and confined to certain narrow specialisms; by bringing these references together I hope to have done something to remedy this erroneous impression.

Then there is also the regional component: as recently as 1955, in what was to become a standard text-book on *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, Lawrence Stone could describe the 'wood-carvers north of the Trent' in the period c.1460-1540 as if they were living in some benighted cultural backwater,

> 'cut off by their geographical remoteness from the French and Flemish influences that were affecting artists farther south ...' (5)

Since the recent publication of *The Customs Accounts of Hull* (6), however, we have been furnished with a detailed view of the volume and variety of wares from Northern Europe entering the North of England through Beverley's port, and with the increasing publication of historical and local records (especially inventories) and of several important art historical monographs in recent years, we are also now able to detect the activities of Flemish or Flemish-inspired artists in a number of different media in contemporary Yorkshire.

Examination of the misericord-carvings themselves also leads to the conclusion that some few motifs are of ultimate Flemish origin (as is unequivocally the case with royal commissions in the south of the country), and we are also able to extend further the number of designs in late medieval English sculpture recognised as deriving from the marginal woodcut-strips in early printed Parisian *Horsa*, by the addition of three of the Beverley misericords.

It will further be necessary to consider the question of what influence the great magnate, Henry Algernon Percy, Fifth Earl of Northumberland, a patron of the arts, known to later historians as 'The
Magnificent', and one of whose favourite seats was at Leconfield just two miles north of Beverley, had on the immediate locality of the town and its Minster.

Another even greater magnate, though ostensibly, at least, a spiritual lord, was Thomas Wolsey, who by virtue of his office -- he was created Archbishop of York six years before the choirstalls were carved -- had a stall reserved for him in the Minster itself, and further did not scruple to appoint his illegitimate son, Thomas Wynter, Provost of Beverley. The Cardinal was also temporal lord of many of the townspeople and it would be surprising if we did not discern his influence reflected in the stall-carvings, however indirectly.

In the study which follows, I begin with a detailed consideration of the local conditions obtaining in and around the Minster itself, including a brief notice of Beverley's patron saint and the organisation of the cathedral chapter, as well as some description of the town's civil government and the influence of the Fifth Earl and his great house at Leconfield, and what can be gleaned of the state of the arts in the town (principally the drama and the products of the town's printing-press) under the patronage of both.

As preface to the study of their iconography, I consider how typical of their time and place are the Beverley stalls, via comparisons with other local, but also more distant, sets of late medieval choirstalls.

In the central section I consider in detail the iconography of the misericords under the headings: Religion, Heraldry & Rebus, Fools, Gesture, World-Turned-Upside-Down, Proverbial Follies, Satires (including the figure of the Virago), The Bestiary (and the related Non-
strous Races), Fables, Romances, Exempla, and the possibility of 'Pure' Decoration.

Finally, I begin discussion of the wider cultural milieu in which the Beverley misericords are to be situated, by examining the types of commodity arriving at Beverley's port of Hull from Northern Europe and, especially, from Flanders, and direct evidence for two important commodities in particular, prints and printed books.

I move on to discuss the possible Continental design sources available to the Beverley carvers, and the means of the transmission of those designs.

Next, in a section which should be regarded as providing the background for the Northern European cultural milieu in which I argue the Beverley stalls find their proper context (a section which is to a certain extent autonomous and will, I hope, be considered of use in itself), I assemble evidence for the widespread prevalence of all types of 'Flemish' cultural influence in Early Tudor England, adding -- much of it for the first time -- several motifs from late medieval English woodwork.

Lastly I devote some space to the question of to what extent Renaissance ornament is to be found in English woodwork and other artistic media by the 1520s; as well as considering the more abstract issues of the interpretation of 'secular' motifs in the church-choir and the 'marginality' of misericord art in general.
Previous Studies and the State of Current Research

A serious interest in misericord iconography began -- like so many other branches of scholarly endeavour -- in the late 19th century. T. Tindall Wildridge's *The Misericords of Beverley Minster* (1879) was one of the earliest monographs to be devoted entirely to a single set of misericords and amply justifies its recent reprinting.

While there is inevitably much in Wildridge's approach which reflects the attitudes of the period in which he wrote, his observations remain an invaluable starting-point and in comparison with Remnant, he is the more careful recorder of what is to be seen. G.L. Remnant's *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (1969), while indispensable as a hand-list, is frequently unreliable as to detail and often simply repeats earlier and even worse-informed descriptions of misericord subjects.

After Wildridge, the next significant consideration of the Beverley misericords was that by J.S. Purvis, "The use of Continental woodcuts and prints by the 'Ripon School' of woodcarvers in the early sixteenth century" (1936), an important if flawed discussion, but one which, to some degree at least, inspired the present inquiry. Recently Charles Tracy, the acknowledged authority on English late medieval woodwork, has effectively disposed of the so-called 'Ripon School' invented by Purvis, and the reader is referred to his *English Gothic Choir-stalls 1400–1540* (1990) for discussion of the technical aspects of the Beverley stallwork.

To M.D. Anderson goes the credit for extending to woodwork Cave's valuable recognition (as reported in Purvis) that the border woodcuts in early printed Parisian *Horae* served as the design-source for the stone-carvers of the De La Warr chantry at Boxgrove Priory, Sussex, c.1532; importantly, she was able to add as deriving from the same source,
misericords at Bristol Cathedral and (later) at Throuley, Kent. I have now been able further to extend the recognition of motifs carved in early 16thC. woodwork from these printed Horae [see C.II.b.].

The only scholar in recent times to address the question of the iconography and design-sources of the Beverley misericords specifically, is Christa Grössinger, in two articles published in 1939, especially her "Misericords in Beverley Minster: their Relationship to other Misericords and Fifteenth-Century Prints". As will be apparent from what follows, I am frequently in disagreement with Dr. Grossinger’s interpretations and suggested derivations of particular motifs, but I acknowledge her nonetheless valuable work.

NOTE: Frequently cited works are referred to in short form, by name of author only, e.g. Remnant, when only one work has been used, or by name of author and date, e.g. Tracy (1990), when more than one work by the same author has been used, and the full reference may be discovered in the Short Bibliography below.

In what follows I refer to individual misericords in square brackets thus, [175:9], which is to be interpreted as alluding to the first misericord numbered 9 on p.175 of C.L. Remnant, A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain (Oxford, 1969); where, in Remnant's system of enumeration, more than one misericord has the same number as another on the same page, I refer to the second as [175:9 bis], and so on.
1 The label is a coinage of my own formed on the analogy of e.g. 'Ultimate La Tène'.

2 Kipling, 3.

3 Stone, 213.

4 see below.

5 ibid., 221.

6 See Bibliography.
A. I. The Minster and the Stalls

The great Minster church in which the misericords that are the subject of this study are located, grew up around the shrine of the town's patron saint, John of Beverley. Building was begun c. 1233 at the East end, and the choir, crossing and transepts had been completed by the second half of the 13th century. The bulk of the nave was built in the first half of the following century, but the West end belongs to the first half of the 15th century. The latest substantial building work, in the generation immediately preceding the carving of the stalls, was an addition to the north-east corner of the Minster in the form of a memorial chapel erected c. 1493 by Henry Algernon Percy, Fifth Earl of Northumberland, to house the tomb of his father, the Fourth Earl (1).

The Minster is a collegiate establishment (2). According to Wildridge's calculation, derived from Archbishop Arundel's "Statutes" for 'the government of the Collegiate Church of Beverley' drawn up in 1391, it was served by 60 officers, and 60 seats survive in the choir (3). Despite this, however, Charles Tracy conjectures that there must originally have been 70 seats and that the main losses are the tester above the side stalls, most probably the dignitaries' seats on either side of the entranceway, and the wainscoting behind the top of the canopywork of the lateral stalls (4).

Although two dignitaries' seats may have disappeared (perhaps in 1525, when the tester and wainscoting were also removed) those of the Chancellor, Precentor, Sacrist and Clerk of York have survived and are so labelled, the Sacrist's misericord being additionally inscribed with the presumed date of carving, 1520. The stall allotted to the Archbishop of York -- none other than Cardinal Thomas Wolsey in 1520 -- is also still extant, but is only distinguished from the rest of the stalls, as Wildridge notes, in 'the ornament of the canopy, which -- here castell-
ated -- in them is pinnacled' (5) and, as Tracy notes, 'emulates its peer at Manchester' (6).

The late 14thC. seating arrangements for the clergy and choristers of the Minster, as described in Archbishop Arundel's "Statutes", seem to make provision for three rows of seats on either side of the choir (7). With the erection of the stalls presently under consideration, this arrangement was replaced by two rows on either side, with 13 seats in the front rows and 21 (including the 3 [originally 4?]) returned stalls at the west end of the choir) in the back rows -- see enclosed fold-out Plan. The desk-ends are also decoratively carved and each is surmounted with an animal finial [See B.V.a.]. Each stall is divided from its neighbour by an 'elbow' which is undecorated except for a small low-relief subject carved in the spandrel [some of which, e.g. the fools' heads, are mentioned below, B.III.a.]. The canopy work above the stalls is condemned by Tracy for its 'lacklustre uniformity' and 'earth-bound banality', contrasting markedly with 'the resourcefulness in ornament and figure carving displayed on the seating'.

Tracy further notes that 'the design of the furniture is remarkably consistent throughout', but that the foliage carving at Beverley is 'much less skilled' than at Manchester (9), and most students of the woodwork have detected a falling-off in quality compared to the slightly earlier work at Manchester. The misericords themselves are in very good condition, if a little thickly polished, with only occasional and minor damage to a few. As noted above, Charles Tracy thinks it possible that the misericords may have been lost when the entrance to the choir was widened, and there is some reason to believe, in my opinion, that the order of the misericords may have been altered at some time.
Before embarking on a study of the iconography of the Beverley misericords it is worth considering the internal relationships of the set as a whole, the relation if any of each misericord to its neighbour. What evidence, for example, is there for the belief that the misericords are no longer in their original order?

The lay-out of the misericords as shown in Tindall Wildridge's annotated plan prefaced to his 1879 book (9), is identical with their present configuration, but what of the intervening three-and-a-half centuries since their original placement?

It is undeniable that there are certain 'series' of subjects portrayed on the misericords; an obvious example is the 'bear-hunt' quartet -- [173:10, men dragging bear in wicker cage], [174:13, bear roped and barrow brought to transport it], [174:15, bear at bay, 3 huntsmen with hounds], and [174:16, horse (ridden by ape) leading three yoked and muzzled bears]. If these represent four episodes in the capture of wild bears, later to be used for public entertainments (see supporters), then presumably the logical, chronological order is 15 -- 13/10 -- 10/13 -- 16; but, however that may be, as presently arranged, a sequence of three bear-scenes [13 -- 15 -- 16] is interrupted by that of a stag being disembowelled [174:14]; so that perhaps the most economic suggestion as to their original arrangement is that the present [173:10] formerly occupied position 14 (it might then be suggested that the disembowelling, showing, as it were, the end of the stag, might have originally been paired with the stag-hunt of [175:1]).

Purvis made the far from implausible suggestion that the bear-scenes 'are derived from engravings, possibly from a series of book-illustrations. They should be readily identifiable, but up to the present have defied all research amongst books printed earlier than 1520 ...' (10)
Although there are stag-hunts in the borders of the early Parisian Horae, for example [see C.II.b.], and these books might therefore seem a likely source for a bear-hunt series, none has come to my notice either.

In the course of a discussion of a 14thC. desk-end now exhibited at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, depicting the Preaching Fox on one side and the Geese Hanging the Fox on the other, I have commented on the common pairing of these scenes, pointing out, for example, that they are found paired thus on the sets of misericords at Ludlow and Bristol. At Ludlow (c.1415–1425), they now directly oppose each other across the choir ([134:9] & [135:9]), at Bristol (c.1520) they are no longer adjacent ([46:5] & [46:9]), being now separated by three intervening seats, but the Bristol stalls are known to have been dismantled more than once. The famous late 14thC. bench-end carvings of these scenes at Brent Knoll are another parallel (11). At Beverley, the two scenes in question ([175:4] and [175:7]) are now separated by two intervening seats, but I suggest that they were originally intended to be neighbours.

The conclusion to be drawn from the evidence of these and other examples of interruptions in series (12) must, I think, be that the misericords have been re-arranged at some point between the date of their carving and the late 19th century, with the result that the existing arrangement is no longer that originally intended by their carver.
A.I.b. The Relationship between Central Carving and Supporters

An issue of perhaps wider interest than the suggested internal rearrangement of the misericords as a whole, and the consequent disruption in their relationships with each other, is that of the internal relations within each individual misericord; what can we say about the relationship of the 'minor', 'subsidiary' supporter carvings -- if these epithets do not straightway beg the question -- to the 'main' or central carving?

The two fox-scenes just discussed neatly illustrate two of the possibilities.

In the scene of the Geese Hanging the Fox [175:7 pl.86], the lefthand supporter depicts the fox prowling behind two apparently sleeping geese, while the righthand carving shows the ape untangling the noose from the dead fox's neck -- clearly we are intended here to read all three scenes chronologically from left to right; the crime on the point of being committed, the punishment, and the criminal cut down after execution. (Another fox-scene, that in which he steals the housewife's goose [174:20 pl.7] is also to be read chronologically: the lefthand supporter depicts the fox and his mate 'in conversation' presumably about their need for food (whether we should see them as Reynard and Hermeline is another matter), the main carving shows the hue and cry as the fox escapes with the goose in his jaws, and the righthand supporter shows him resting with a paw firmly holding down the goose as he looks back over his shoulder for pursuers.)

The supporters to the Preaching Fox scene [175:4 pl.85], however, illustrate what we may term the commentary function of the minor carvings, being evidently symbolic. The owl in the lefthand supporter must surely here symbolise the evil intentions of the false preacher, while the proverbial folly of 'shooing the goose' [B.III.d.] is depicted in
the other supporter [p1.64]. When it appeared in the previous century at Whalley [84:3], this folly was inscribed, thus enabling us to be sure what application the carver had in mind for it, what moral lesson he intended us to draw from its representation -- at Whalley we are told that it is as futile to meddle in other people's affairs as it is to shoe the goose -- can this also be the application at Beverley? Is it futile for us to attempt to warn the proverbially silly birds of the danger they are in from the predatory priest -- as futile as attempting to dissuade someone from a course of action he is bent on, but which we can see will lead to his destruction?

In similar vein, I hope I have been able to demonstrate below [B.III.a.] the relevance of the goose supporters to the carving of the grimacing fool with his finger in his mouth on [177:9] [p.1.33]; they serve to confirm -- being proverbially foolish birds -- his folly. Another of the grimacing fool's heads, the 'Gähnmaul' of [176:15] [p1.40], is flanked by lion-mask supporters with their tongues out -- presumably a deliberately jocular use of a classic motif, especially when we recall how other fool's head carvings show both 'Gähnmaul' and tongue sticking out.

On another seat [174:17 pl.117], the supporters serve as a comment on the main scene but in a somewhat different manner, for they can be seen as representing the vice antithetical to the virtue symbolised in the central carving's representation of the man fighting the two dragons. His courage is opposed by the cowardice motifs of the man who uses a spear to attack a snail, and by the man who dives for cover into a sack [B.V.b.].

On other misericords the supporters seen to depict scenes which are both chronologically later than the central carving (but not necessarily later than each other), that is, the sequence may be represented as b-a-b, rather than the serial a-b-c. Examples of such seats,
both of whose supporters thus seem to depict the fate or outcome of the event narrated in the central scene, are two of the bear-hunt series, [173:10] and [174:15]. On the former we see the trainer or bearward fitting the bear with a muzzle [pl.2] and either embracing or wrestling with him [pl.3], while on the latter, he is shown covering beneath the trainer's whip, and dancing to the music of a bagpipe played by an ape [pl.4].

A rather subtle relationship between the main carving and the supporters, an apparent example of mixed genres is evidenced by another of the fox misericords [174:19]: the central scene is a fox-hunt in which the fox's head peeps out of his earth surrounded by hounds as the huntsman runs up, but the foxes depicted in the supporters do not belong to this naturalistic, real-life type, but to the world of the beast-fable. On the lefthand supporter, the ape which Professor Varty has noted is so often depicted in cahoots with Reynard in medieval representations, is seated astride the running fox, while on the righthand supporter [pl.88] he appears to be nursing the fox who is now tucked up in bed.

Sometimes the supporters relate to each other rather more than to the central scene they flank; examples are the three heraldic seats [173:12], [176:12], and [175:5], on which the lefthand supporter carries the first half of the identifying inscription, which finishes on the righthand supporter but does not use the central carving; in these cases the central carving depicts the donor's coat-of-arms, or in the case of [175:5], a seemingly unrelated scene of falconry [B.II.b.].

A similar interaction between the supporters, apparently ignoring the central carving, can be seen on [174:6] [pl.59]; the lefthand supporter depicts a bowman who clearly aims his arrow at the 'rabbit trinity' on the righthand supporter, the only conceivable link with the grotesque main carving being the rabbit mounted on the monstrous steed.
There is only one example of the central carving actually referring directly to a supporter, but it is a significant one, for it is the misericord on which the carver has indulged in some humorous self-reference, [174:8] [pl.54]. The righthand carver of the pair depicted in the central scene points at the man gesticulating at him from the righthand supporter; it is less easy to identify quite how his colleague on the lefthand supporter relates to the other three.

The commonest arrangement by far, however, is for all three constituent scenes, central carving and supporters, to depict three equivalent, 'synonymous' images -- sometimes, as in the case of two of the virago misericords [176:10] and [175:10 bis], the equivalence of the actions depicted in the supporters to that of the central carving may require rather more decoding today than it would have needed for a contemporary, but mostly this equivalence is self-evident [B.IV.e.]. At its simplest, we are presented with, for example, three 'naturalistic' scenes of chickens [177:13 pl.140]: the cock scratching itself (left supporter), the hen and chickens looking for food (central carving), and the hen sitting on her chicks (righthand supporter) -- contrast the other 'gallinaceous' misericord [176:16] which it is suggested below [B.II.b.] uses the depiction of the birds for the symbolic purpose of a rebus -- or three 'snap-shots' of the same scene, the dancing and musical fools, for example [176:21].

Supporter carvings which palpably have nothing to do with the central carving are in a minority, overwhelmingly they are stylised floral or foliate carvings, e.g. [173:3], [174:3] or [176:14]; otherwise there is only one example of figural supporters which appear to have no relation to the main carving, the apes who flank the lion-dragon combat [173:5]. This being the case, it strengthens, indeed, the grounds for interpreting, the goose supporters of the fool's head carving [177:8 pl.35], for instance, as 'symbolic' rather than merely emptily 'deco-
rative'. (In B.III.a. below, e.g. the fool's head which faces the
husband forced to do the washing-up on [175:10 bis] [pl.99]), I note how
an exactly analogous commentary function can also sometimes be
attributed to the tiny spandrel carvings, e.g. the tongue-out lion-mask
which opposes the unicorn depicted on [175:3] [pl.114].
Little is known for certain about Beverley's early Anglo-Saxon patron-saint, John, but his life-story is most unlikely to have been anything like that recorded in the early printed Flemish "Life", in which his biography is made to conform to the well-known folk-tale type of the 'hairy anchorite'.

It is at first sight extraordinary that the Belgian printer Thomas Vander Noot should issue a Flemish "Life of St. John of Beverley" [Jan van Beverley, fl. 1033] in Brussels c.1512 (13). Why should he believe a Flemish readership should be at all interested in the life of an English saint of only local interest even in England?

Equally puzzling, there is no extant antecedent English edition from which Vander Noot's could be translated; however -- especially in the light of what we know of Jan van Doesborch's bilingual practice [C.III.h.1.] -- the Brussels volume importantly entitles us to posit a lost English *Life of St. John of Beverley, perhaps printed locally in York, where the first known printed book appeared in 1509, and where we know of two printers of Flemish origin working in c.1510, Hugo Goes and Frederick Freez, or even -- as we know that Goes printed at least one item there -- in Beverley itself (see below).

In fact, the attraction of the Life to Vander Noot must have been in part its intrinsic notoriety. According to the title-page of "die historie ende leven vanden heilyghen heremijt sint Jan van Beverley", the saintly hermit forced himself on his sister, murdered her and buried her, and then fled into the wilds living like a wild man. The book is illustrated with woodcuts, that on the title-page being suitably lurid, depicting John's sister resisting his advances in the foreground, her murder in the middle distance and her burial in the background. Of particular interest is the cut depicting the capture by huntsmen of the
hermit who is portrayed as a wild man on all fours [pl.1], which presumably owes something to Dürer's c.1496 engraving of the hermit St. John Chrysostom (14) in the wilderness, also on all fours, in the background, behind a Madonna lactans. Immediately, however, it perhaps owes more to the woodcut tradition (seemingly unknown to Lind (15)): Bernheimer reproduces the similar scene of St. John Chrysostom captured by the hunter and his dogs which illustrates his "Life" in Fynor's [Lives of the Saints] (1481) (16).

There was, however, another reason why the Flemish reading-public might be interested in the "Life" of St. John of Beverley, and that was the late medieval passion 'to go on pilgrimages'.

The historical 8thC. John, Bishop of York, was canonised in 1037, and the earliest Latin "Life" was written in the 1060s by Fulcard of St. Omer. By the middle of the following century there existed a compilation of his miracles which incidentally shows that his tomb at Beverley was already drawing pilgrims from as far afield within Britain as East Anglia and Scotland. In the early 15th century, his fame enjoyed a sudden increase due to the fact that the battle of Agincourt in 1415 was won on the feast of his translation (25th October) (17) -- a grateful Henry V ordered the day to be observed nationally, enlisted the saint as one of the patrons of the royal house, and visited the shrine himself in 1420, as did his pious successor Henry VI in 1443.

Pilgrimage was not, however, only undertaken by the pious:

'In the towns and cities of Flanders, Brabant and Hainault it was common practice for courts of law to mete out pilgrimages as punishments for particular crimes. The pilgrimages were assigned from penitential tariffs established by local custom.'

A list of a hundred pilgrimage shrines compiled at Dondremunde (Belgium) at the beginning of the 15th century, names the shrine of St. John at Beverley as one of the group (which also includes the shrine of
Our Lady at Salisbury and the image of the Virgin at Rocamadour which were assessed at the maximum tariff.

It seems highly likely that pilgrims, whether pious or penitential, would have hoped to return home with some souvenir of their visit to St. John's shrine, such as the lead badges commonly available at other British and Continental pilgrimage-sites — indeed, for a penitential pilgrim from Flanders, for example, such a token might be considered essential proof that the pilgrimage had been successfully completed. An as yet unique joint pilgrim souvenir depicting St. John of Beverley and St. John of Bridlington was recently presented to the Museum of London by Dr. Brian Spencer (18). Small lead ampullae filled with thaumaturgic water from the holy shrine or a nearby spring were another common type of souvenir; the excavation of a moated site at Arnold near Beverley recently yielded such an ampulla decorated with a compass-drawn flower on the obverse, and a crown above a shield bearing the letter 'I'. Dr. Spencer, until recently, Keeper of Archaeology at the Museum of London, and the acknowledged expert on these humble souvenirs, has suggested that this may be a souvenir of a pilgrimage to the shrine of Beverley's patron saint (19).
Beverley itself would obviously be the most suitable place for the production of a Life of St. John, but outside London, York is almost the only other city known to have issued printed books in the early 16th century.

Hugo Goes is known to have printed several books in York in the first decade (20): in 1506 he printed a letter of confraternity there on behalf of the chapel of St. Mary in the Sea, Newton, in the Isle of Ely [STC 14077c. 63], and in February 1509, an edition of the York Use ordinal [STC 16232.4] at which date he was resident in Steengate (the majority of York Use liturgical books were printed in France, however [C.I.b.]). At some point between these two dates he also issued a Hortus (a Latin-English vocabulary) [STC 13029.7], and -- of rather more intrinsic interest to our present study -- a Robin Hood [STC 13639.3] (see below). There is further a late 17thC. record of two other works, Latin grammars, known to have been produced by him in York, but no longer extant, a Donatus Minor cum Remigio and an Accidence.

Bagford also recorded a no longer extant copy of the Donatus cum Remigio with a colophon stating that it was printed in London at Charing Cross, by Hugo Goes and Henry Watson, but bore 'the printer's device H.S.', presumably a reprinting of his York grammar in conjunction with the London printer known to have been an apprentice of de Norde's. Fragments of another joint production of Goes and Watson, The Gardyner's Passetaunce [STC 11562.7], have recently come to light which also states that it was printed at Charing Cross, and is dated by STC '1513?' (21).

According to Duff, the type used by Goes to print the York ordinal is a font which had earlier belonged to de Norde and been discarded by him 'shortly after 1500' (22). Rodnett further noted that the Flemish
schoolmaster woodcut used by de Wode from 1495 (when he obtained it from Govaert van Os of Gouda) until late 1503, went in 1504 with other materials to Hugo Goes of York; in 1516 it re-appears in a book printed by Ursyn Nylner in that city. (23)

The most intriguing production of Goes's, however, is a broadside no longer extant, but referred to in 1749 by the bibliographer, Joseph Amos, as being in the possession of Thomas Martyn (d.1771), and it is worth quoting his description of it in full:

'A wooden cut of a man on horseback with a spear in his right hand and a shield, with the arms of France, in his left. "Em-prynted at Severyay in the Hye-gate by me Heric Goes", with his mark or rebus of a great H and a goose'. (24)

Here is convincing evidence that some time in the first two decades of the 16th century, the printer Hugo Goes, who is known to have issued books in both York and London, also printed in Beverley.

Goes must presumably, to judge from his surname, have been a Netherlander, but for the conjecture that he was related to the Antwerp printer, Matthias van der Goes, 'no proof' -- in the words of E. Gordon Duff -- 'is forthcoming'.

Despite his Flemish origins Goes would seem to have had a good commercial eye for exploiting the local Yorkshire hero, Robin Hood. Whether he was printing in York or Beverley late in the first decade of the 16th century when he issued his Robin Hood [SIC 13489.3], he was clearly cashing in on the popularity of a folk-hero who was believed to have been based in Cawooddale, South Yorkshire. Given this eye for the local market, a Life of St. John of Beverley printed by Goes perhaps in Beverley itself, is an attractive possibility.

The shadowy figure of Hugo Goes assumes even greater interest, however, in the light of a discovery made during restoration work to the
Master's Lodge of Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1911, which also serves to confirm his relations with de Lorde.

A stylised floral pattern, variously described as based on the conventionalised pomegranate or pine-cone, and

'clearly an imitation of an oriental velvet or brocade taken from some of these goods which the Venetians had made so popular all over Europe' (25)

flanked by a Lombardic letter 'h' and a very rudimentary bird, was found to have been printed from a wood-block [pl.239] on the back of a seemingly random collection of printed sheets which had been discarded as waste. The 'h' and bird were soon recognised as being identical with the 'mark or rebus of a great H and a goose', reported by Ames as being the device used by Hugo Goes on his only known Doverley printing. At least three of the printed fragments on the backs of which the woodblock pattern is to be found, were printed by de Lorde in 1509 [i.e. STC 7761.3, 7761.7 and 13275.5], but another [STC 7762.5], appears to belong to 1511/12, and to have been issued by Pynson.

The implications of this Christ's College printed wallpaper are most interesting and seem to have been neglected by art historians; as Oman wrote in 1929,

'The character of the fragment shows it to have been the work of one who had studied carefully the possibilities of this type of mural decoration, and makes it improbable that this was a first attempt.' (26)

The early history of wall-paper is more than a little obscure, though Oman drew attention to a hitherto overlooked passage in a statute promulgated by Richard III in 1433 intended to prevent unemployment in England through a ban on the importation of cheap foreign manufactured goods; at the request of the various guilds it was ordained that
'no merchant stranger ... shall bring into the realm of England to be sold any manner of ... painted glass, painted papers, painted images, painted cloths, etc.'

It is evident from this that painted paper (papiro depict') of the type which is recorded as coming into the country, most probably from the Low Countries, both via the port of Hull (e.g. in 1472, [C.I.a.]) and London (e.g. in 1479/80 and 1509, for example (27)), and probably intended as wall-paper, was already by this date arriving in sufficient quantities to cause resentment amongst native traders.

As yet, records of such early wallpapers are rare, but one such example is that dating to c.1500, painted in grey and sepia but surviving in fragments too small to enable the character of the paint to be ascertained, discovered in 1925 covering the wall of Bishop Thomas Langton’s Chantry (d.1501) in Winchester Cathedral (29), or the ‘chamber hangyng of payntyd papers’ recorded as adorning Dame Margaret’s Chamber in the monastery of St. Mary and St. Saxburga in the Isle of Sheppey, in an inventory taken at the Dissolution (29).

Christ’s College was founded in 1505 by Lady Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII, under the auspices of John Fisher, her chaplain from 1502, who in 1504 had been made both Chancellor of Cambridge University and Bishop of Rochester; from 1505-9 he was President of Queen’s College,

‘mainly with the design of providing him with a suitable residence during the time that he was superintending the erection of Christ’s College’ (30).

Fisher was born in Soverley in 1459/69 and built up what was reputed to be one of the finest libraries in Europe -- it would seem likely, therefore, that he would be particularly interested in a printer of books working in his home town, and he it was, perhaps, who encouraged his townsman in this relatively new venture of printing wallpaper by
means of a single repeated woodblock design, and actually suggested its use in decorating the ceiling of the new Master's Lodge.

If Goes had a printing-shop in 'the Hye-gate' in Beverley, (probably not the present Highgate, the street running north from the Minster's North Porch (31) ), his shop would still have been well within walking-distance of the community of men from the Low Countries resident around Flemingate, where he himself perhaps lived.
A man even more important than the printer Goes for the history of the cultural life of Beverley and its environs in the early 16th century, was Henry Algernon Percy, Fifth Earl of Northumberland, with one of his two principal seats at Leconfield, just two miles north of the town.

This magnate, known to later historians as the ‘Magnificent’, succeeded to the Earldom on the murder of his father in a local melee in 1439. In the north-east corner of the Minster a memorial chapel including a splendid tomb was specially built c.1490 to house the remains of the Fourth Earl, and the Fifth Earl was himself to be buried in the Minster in 1527.

Henry Algernon Percy has justly been called a ‘patron of the arts’ by Ian Lancashire (32), who has argued that the Tudor interlude Youth, was composed by one of the several playwrights known to have worked for the Earl, as an example to his youthful but already wayward teenage son. The painted proverbial inscriptions to be discussed shortly which also include sententious advice addressed to a young man, and which adorned rooms in both his Yorkshire seats at Wressle and Leconfield, are also thought to have been for the benefit of the future Sixth Earl.

Due to the survival of the Fifth Earl’s Household Orders we know a great deal about his establishment and his entertainers who included a somewhat notorious boorward, perhaps commemorated in the Minster misericords (see below), as also that he maintained an acting troupe, and an interlude-maker (left to the Beverley corporation in 1519-20 to ‘transpose’ their ancient guild plays), and their evidence further shows him to have been always willing to encourage such traditional para-dramatic activities as the Minster’s Joy Bishop and his own
Christmas Lord of Misrule with its attendant foolery. There is even the possibility that he may have acted as a patron to the poet Skelton who may have produced 'pajauntes' for Northumberland.

Thanks to the survival of a sumptuous manuscript from his library now in the British Library (Royal MS 13 D II), we also learn significantly, that he employed a Flemish miniaturist c.1520 who was conversant with the latest style of Renaissance ornament, and further that, as well as maintaining his own choir and musicians, he also took an interest in the celebrated William Cornish, of the King's Chapel.

There could be no better illustration of the popularity and key role played by sententious literature c.1500, than the evidence provided by the sole two manuscripts known to survive from the Fifth Earl of Northumberland's library, BL Royal MS 13 D II, and Oxford, Bodley MS 3356. Both manuscripts were originally written c.1460, but then added to half a century later at the Fifth Earl's behest.

The Dodley manuscript of Hardyng's "Chronicle of England" (Hardyng was a member of the Second Earl's household) written during the lifetime of the Fourth Earl, is followed by a depiction of the Fifth Earl's arms added sometime after 1495 (for it shows his membership of the Order of the Garter). The text which follows in a hand of c.1520 is here entitled "The Proverbes of Lydgate upon the fall of princes", i.e. extracts from his 36,000-line translation of a French version of Boccaccio's "De Casibus Virorum Illustrium", which contains many a parallel to the 'overmighty' Fifth Earl's fall from royal favour, as well as other short poems by Lydgate and Chaucer; the manuscript text was copied from the book printed by de Worde in two editions which STC dates '1510?' [STC 17026] and '1520?' [STC 17027], but the sense of 'proverb' used here as a title to the Lydgate poem is more akin to 'example', than to the common sense of the word (33).
The British Library manuscript began its life as a copy of extracts from two other poems by Lydgate, the almost equally long "Troy Book", and his "Siege of Thebes", and was written originally for Sir William Herbert, later Earl of Pembroke. It probably arrived in the Percy library with the marriage of Sir William's daughter Maud to the Fourth Earl c.1476, who gave birth to the future Fifth Earl in 1473.

The eight other items now in the composite manuscript were all added to it within the Fifth Earl's lifetime; in particular, the chronicle of the Percy family by William Pearis can be dated between 1516 and 1523 -- it was this same Pearis, 'clerke and preste to the right nobill Erle Henry the vth Erle of Northumbrelande', who 'transposed' the Beverley town-play in 1521, with the Earl's permission.

As discussed in more detail below [C.iii.b.], 'early in Henry VIII's reign (?)' the 17 blanks for miniatures which had been left by the 15thC. scribe in the Lydgate poems were filled in by an artist of the Flemish school, but the items of most interest in the present context, are the records of the proverbial inscriptions to be found painted in various specified locations within the Earl's Yorkshire seats, at Tresale, between Selby and Goole, and Leconfield, just two miles north of Beverley (34).

'The proverbis of the garett over the bayne [= bath] at leokingfelde' is a dialogue between 'The parte sensatyue' and 'The parte intellectyue' on the vanity of human delights. 'The proverbis In the garet at the New lodge in the parke of leokingfelde' is a poem on music which 'moralizes' a number of different instruments, and Stevens has made the interesting suggestion that its authorship is to be attributed to William Cornish, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal from 1502-23, comparing it with a poem known to be by him, "A treatise betweene Truth and enformacion", composed in 1504, one text of which is found a little earlier in the same manuscript as those proverb inscrip-
tions, and with which there are certainly detailed similarities (35). The Leconfield musical proverbs are followed by a most interesting and early emblematic illustration and verse (36). Next comes 'The proverbis in the rooffe of the hyest chawmbre in the gardinge at lekingfelde', opening with the Fifth Earl's motto, 'Esperaunce en dyeu' which is repeated four times in this section acting as a refrain (37).

The next section of the manuscript records 'The proverbis in the rouf of my lord percy clossett at lekyngfelde' which Dickens, noting that this 'lord percy' must refer to the future Sixth Earl, born c.1502, interprets as a terminus post quem for this portion of the manuscript, at least (38); these lines are aptly described by the cataloguers as 'a sort of dialogue on Youth' (39), a hint profitably exploited by Ian Lancashire in his edition of the Tudor interlude Youth (1513/14), who suggests that the piece was composed by one of the playwrights in the Fifth Earl's household as a moral lesson for his son, the future Sixth Earl, a youth of about 12 at that date (40).

Twenty-three quatrains of 'The proverbes in the roufe of my lordis library at lekyngfelde' follow, and then 'The counsell of Aristotelell whiche he gaue to Alex[ander] kinge of macedony [;] in the syde of the garet of the gardyne in lekyngfelde' -- another shorter version of which figures as the final item in the proverbial section of the manuscript 'writyn in the syde of the vtter [outer] chambre aboue of the house in the gardyne at wresyll' -- did the Fifth Earl picture himself as the Aristotle who teaches his six precepts to the infant Alexander he expected his son Henry to become?

The preceding item recorded from Wressle is 'The proverbis in the sydis of the Jnnere cha[mber] abou of the house in the gardi[n]g' which borrows couplets from Benedict Burgh's late 15thC. version of the so-called "Distichs of Cato", while the final item records 'The proverbia
in the syde of thutter [the outer] chambr[e] aboue of the hous in the
gardyng at wresyll.'

This ample evidence for the Fifth Earl's interest in the proverb
will be seen to chime exactly with the equally well-attested early
16thC. taste for the depiction or pictorialisation of proverbs in art
(41). The several such depictions of proverbs amongst the Minster
misericords considered below [e.g. B.III.d.] are proof of an aesthetic
common to both secular magnates and princes of the church.

The paradramatic activities of the fool, so prominent in Beverley,
and those of the Boy Bishop have already been mentioned in passing and
are fully discussed in the section on Fool iconography [B.III.a.], as
has the Fifth Earl's patronage of interludes, Twelfth Night revels, and
his connection with the town's play cycle via his chaplain. Recently,
however, Suzanne Westfall has made the intriguing suggestion that the
poet John Skelton might also have scripted pageants for the 'Magnif-
icent' Earl (42).

The poet's connection with the Earls of Northumberland dates back
at least as far as his elegy on the death of the father of the Fifth
Earl -- to whom, then a boy, the poem is dedicated -- killed by a rebel-
lious Yorkshire mob in 1489.

In Skelton's list of his own works in "The Garland of Laurel",
originally begun while the poet was staying at Sheriff Hutton Castle,
five miles north of York, probably in 1495, but revised shortly before
its printing in 1523 (43), he includes

'... Pajauntis that were played in Joyows Garde' (44)

Westfall notes that
Malory assists us in identifying Skelton's allegorical reference to the Arthurian Joyous Garde by informing us that "Somme men say it was Anwyk, and some men say it was Bamborow." Both properties belonged to the Earl of Northumberland. (45)

However, Dr. Westfall has missed the fact that "Anwyke", i.e. Alnwick, some ten miles south of Bamburgh in Northumberland, unlike the latter, is mentioned elsewhere in Skelton's oeuvre, in the play, "Magnyfycence" (46), which perhaps argues his better acquaintance with the Percy seat at Alnwick and supports its identification with the 'Joyous Garde' for which he wrote pageants (47).

It is further of interest in this connexion that the Fifth Earl is known to have endowed a teacher of grammar and philosophy at Alnwick Abbey (48) -- it might even have been a sinecure for Skelton who had, after all, been tutor to the future Henry VIII c.1496-1501, during which period he wrote several pedagogical works no longer extant; he is further identified by some as 'the duc of Yorks scolemaster' who received a gift of 40 shillings from Henry VII in April 1502, and was famously involved (on the side of the traditionalists) in the so-called 'Grammarians' War' of 1519. The list of his own works in "The Garland of Laurel" (line 1182) also intriguingly includes a no longer extant 'New Gramer in Englysshe compylyd' (49).

Westfall's conclusion is that,

'Skelton emerges as the author of the Northumberland household pageants, such as those ordered to be presented as the earl's Twelfth Night revels and on the occasion of his daughter's marriage'. (50)

Perhaps we should not be surprised to learn that the Fifth Earl, the 'Magnificent', sponsored an entertaining bearward named John Grene who travelled about the country with his performing bears. He is recorded in Dover in 1509-10, in Sandwich in 1516-17, and in Beverley in the very year our stalls were carved.

We can be sure that he and his bears entertained the citizens of
Beverley in 1520, because there is a town record of the payment of 6s. 8d. to John Grene [ursarius] for exhibiting his dancing bears [agitatio-onis ursonum] in the market-place [forecetus] that year (51).

Grene was evidently something of a local character, for the Beverley Guild Book records his involvement in an incident which took place just two years later, in March 1522, in which the son of one of the town-council set his ban-dogs on one of Grene's bears with the result that the angry bear-ward shouted at him "Take away thy dogs, thou Scots byrde!" 'Byrde' is an attested contemporary term of disparagement meaning 'wretch', 'fiend' (52), but it was the 'Scots' that rankled, to the extent that the boy's father, a draper named Percival Robson, complained to governor Robert White who advised the arrest of Grene. Grene, however, rode off to his master, the Earl of Northumberland, then at his seat in Wressle, and managed to persuade Percy to write a letter on his behalf to the governors of the town and to the 'lord Cardinal's Court' (presided over by Wolsey's receiver, Robert Creyke). The boy's father affirmed in the ecclesiastical court the unimpeachable Northumberland ancestry of the Robsons, 'that they and all their kin were true English-men born', and Grene 'asked forgiveness, which the said Percival was right loth to give', but was eventually persuaded to let the matter drop upon condition that it should all be recorded in the Guild Book.

It seems too much of a co-incidence that a bearward should be carved on the Minster stalls in the very year that the irascible Grene is known to have exhibited his dancing bears in Beverley market-place.

The supporters to [173:10] both depict a man with a muzzled bear; that on the left [pl.2] shows a bear squatting patiently on all fours while the bearward fastens the muzzle behind the animal's neck, that on the right [pl.3] shows a smallish bear standing on its hind legs, its forepaws grasping the top of the bearward's left leg while he appears to pat it -- it does not seem too whimsical to see this latter scene, in
particular, as evidence of an affectionate relationship between the bearward and his bear -- we have seen how vocally John Grene objected to the dog which young Robson unleashed at his performing bear -- and to be a record of a scene the carver had witnessed in the town. Another supporter [174:15 pl.4] depicts a bear dancing to the sound of bagpipes played by an ape, also perhaps one of the acts John Grene staged to amuse the Beverley public.

These details of the Fifth Earl's household and interests provide a suggestive milieu in which to view the iconography of the contemporary Minster misericords. Percy's employment of both 'an Abbot of Misereyll in Cristynmas in his Lordscippis Hous uppon New-Yers-Day' and 'the Barne-Bishop of Beverlay [played by one of the Minster choir-boys] when he comith to my Lorde in Cristmas Hally-Dayes when my Lord kepith his Hous at Lekynfeld' [see B.III.a.], not forgetting his bearward, John Grene (probably commemorated in person in the Minster misericords, see above), his interest in the proverb, and the building of the memorial chapel in honour of his father, all testify both to a common culture and, in its widest sense, a shared aesthetic with the misericord carvings and the Earl's close association with the Minster itself, a building in which he was himself to be interred only a few years after the stalls were completed.
In recent years scholars such as M.D. Anderson and Clifford Davidson, have surveyed the English misericord corpus in the light of the close interconnexion between late medieval art and the (mainly religious) drama, and it is in this tradition that I consider the misericord which depicts three of the Seven Deadly Sins below [B.II.a].

In his book, The Medieval Stage, A.H. Nelson who devotes an entire chapter to Beverley, writes that

'Beverley was an extraordinarily active promoter of plays, interludes, and musical entertainments in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.' (53)

Although none of the cycle of at least 36 mystery-plays staged on Corpus Christi Day in Beverley survives, in view of the great importance of the drama in the civic as well as ecclesiastical life of the town, it would be surprising, indeed, if we were not to find some reflection of them in the Minster misericord carvings.

A measure of just how important the drama was in the life of late medieval Beverley is the existence of not one but two separate cycles of plays; the familiar Corpus Christi 'processional plays', their subjects and the guilds responsible for them amply documented in the municipal archives, and the Pater Noster pageant play, much less well-documented.

In 1467 the Pater Noster play was shown at eight 'stations' along exactly the same route as the plays held in honour of Corpus Christi, and in that year 18 trades were signatory to the agreement for the play, and 8 players are named:

'Pryde; Invy; Ire; Avaryce; Sloweth; glotony; luxurie; vicious'

The eight pageants played were clearly the Seven Deadly Sins plus
'Vicious', perhaps some generalised Vice figure or representative of the Devil. Like the 'processional plays' of the Corpus Christi cycle, these too must perforce have been fairly brief, and again, probably somewhat in the nature of tableaux vivants --

'... with only one player per pageant, the play must have been more declamatory than properly dramatic'. (54)

In 1917, Hardin Craig presented a highly speculative reconstruction of this lost Pater Noster play (55), and in equally speculative manner, Chew suggested that the woodcut illustrating the petition Et ne nos inducas in temptacione in a late 15thC. Exercitum super Pater Noster printed in Paris 'may throw light upon the way in which the lost English "Paternoster Play" was produced at Beverley' (56).

The three Deadly Sins which are the subject of the main and supporter carvings of misericord [174:1] are discussed in more detail below [B. III. a.], where it is suggested that the frozen tableaux vivants of the Paternoster Play might have influenced the carver's choice of a genre-scene type of presentation of the Sins in question, as opposed to the alternative animal-mount type.

Curiously, at precisely the same time as our stalls were being carved, the annual Corpus Christi cycle of plays in Beverley -- already described as 'ancient' in 1390 -- was about to take place for the last time. We have noted above how William Pyers, one of the Earl of Northumberland's chaplains, had been commissioned by the town to refashion the plays in 1519-20, and they are last mentioned in the following year (57). Is the timing significant, or just an accident of the historical record? Had the Beverley 'keepers', the twelve worthy citizens in whose hands lay the government of the town in the 1520s, already detected the Reforming tendencies at work in the realm which were to lead to the religious changes which began in earnest in Beverley in 1534?
1 Most of this paragraph regarding the architectural history of the Minster, derives from Pevsner.


3 Wildridge, 14.

4 Tracy (1990), and pace Remnant, 172: 'it would appear that none of the misericords has been lost'.

5 Wildridge, 14.

6 Tracy (1990).

7 Wildridge, 12f.

8 Tracy (1990).

9 Wildridge, between pages 10 and 11.

10 Purvis, 124.

11 See Jones & Tracy, in which I list further examples in other English media.

12 Other possible candidates for re-arrangement are the series of three seats depicting fools' heads in the lower row, North side, [177:7], [177:8], & (displaced) [177:11]; and the virago series in the upper row, North side, [176:17], [176:18], & (displaced) [175:10] -- although thematically related, [173:9] is perhaps a singlet as it is not uniform in design with these three, having non-figural, foliate supporters; and the two lion scenes, [175:2] and [176:6] -- for the last, see [B.V.a.] be\[39]ow.

13 A facsimile was edited by G.J. Boekenoogen (Leiden, 1903).

14 Luther reprinted the earlier Luegend von Sanct Johanne Chrysestomo in 1537.

16 R. Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages (Harvard, 1952), fig. 4. In his n.38 on p.138, he cites an article by d'Ancona on representations of the Hairy Anchorite in art as forthcoming. Other saintly wild men include the medieval French 'St. Jehan Paulus [<i> poilu</i>]' also based on St. John Chrysostom, St. Macarius the Roman, Saint James the Penitent, and the female St. Mary of Egypt. C.A. Williams discussed the type in two essays on the 'Hairy Anchorite': Oriental Affinities of the Hairy Anchorite (Urbana, 1925-6) and The German Legends of the Hairy Anchorite (Urbana, 1935). In Middle English literature, for example, the heroes of the Romances "Sir Gowther" and "Sir Orfeo", both partake of this popular motif; the latter is analysed in this light in Penelope Doob's book, Nebuchadnezzar's Children (New Haven/London, 1974), 164ff.

17 The fact that the Anglo-Saxon king Athelstan had successfully invoked St. John's aid against the Scots and others at the battle of Brunanburh in 937, accounts for the late 15thC. painting of Athelstan and St. John in the south transept of the Minster, and the 14thC. corbel of their heads in the North nave-aisle. Coincidentally (?), they are the only two surviving statues on the East front of the Minster -- see Pevsner, 178 and 171 (note).

The Minster painting shows the King presenting the charter to St. John and is inscribed

"Als fre make I the
as hert may thynke
or eyh may se"

A boss on the roof of the chancel in the parish church also depicts the King and the Saint and is similarly inscribed

"als fre m[a]k I the"

A fourth occurrence of the pair in the Minster takes the form of two small figures carved on the canopy of the Archbishop of York's stall [173:1].

18 I take this opportunity of thanking Dr. Spencer for this and other information.


20 I am grateful to Dr. K.F. Pantzer of the Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass., for making available to me the material on Goes and Mylner from the third Index volume of STC.


22 Duff, 53.
23 Hodnett, 11. The Mylner book is a grammar, Whittinton’s Syntaxis (De
Concinnitate) [STC 25542] issued on 20th December 1516. The second
edition of Hodnett notes that it also occurs in another grammar
printed by Mylner in the same year, Lily’s Angli Rudimenta [STC
15609.3]. Hodnett does not indicate which book of Goes’s the school-
master cut appeared in, and STC dates the earliest Goes publication
to the year 1506; in view of the fact that the cut in question as
last used by de Worde [H.918] is said by Hodnett to appear in a
Donatus cum Remigio issued by him in 1503/4 [STC 7016.2], it may be
that Hodnett had reason to believe it was used in Goes’s no longer
extant edition of the same work, presumably the copy he issued as
from Steengate, York, where he was certainly printing in 1506, rather
than that issued jointly with Henry Watson in Charing Cross, London,
where their only extant imprint is dated ‘1513?’ by STC.

24 Duff, op. cit., 56.

25 Oman, 3. The original publication of the find was by C. Sayles in two
notes in The Library 3rd S. II, (October 1911), 338-46, and (July
1912), 336-9.

For a discussion of the possible relation of this pattern with
a slightly later piece of decorative wall-painting, and the relation-
ship of both with the foliage design of misericord [177:12], see
[C.II.a.]

26 Oman, 3

27 For the latter example, see section C.I.a., n.21.

28 Oman, 4.

29 Printed in Archaeologia Cantiana 7 (1868), 296, cit. Oman.

30 DNB article.

31 For in the 16th century, this ‘was known as ‘Londiners Street’, from
the London traders who rented shops there. The name Highgate may not
have settled there until the 17th century’ -- Miller et al. 20.

32 Lancashire, esp. 11.

33 MED and OED allow only the extended sense, ‘allegory, parable’.

34 The best text of this section of the manuscript is that published by
Flügel, ”Die Proverbs von Lekenfield und Wresil (Yorks)” in Anglia 14
(1892), 471-97.

35 Stevens, 326, n.94. The Musicall Proverbis ... [at] Lokingfeldo are


37 As noted by M.E. James, A Tudor Magnate and the Tudor State (York, 1966), 38, who further notes that the Fifth Earl changed the family motto from his father's 'Esperaunce ma conforte', as carved, for example, above the doorway of the barbican at Alnwick castle, and as punningly alluded to in the Latin couplet placed at the end of Skelton's elegy on the Fourth Earl's assassination, "Upon the Dolorus Dethe ..." (1489), dedicated to the youthful Fifth Earl.

38 Dickens, op. cit., 95, n.7.

39 The description of the contents of this manuscript is taken from Warner & Gilson, 308ff.

40 I. Lancashire, Two Tudor Interludes. The Interlude of Youth. Hickscorner (Manchester, 1980), esp. 23ff.

41 See Jones (1989b).


43 ed. Scattergood, 496.

44 Line 1383.

45 Westfall, op. cit., 120.

46 Line 1121.

47 G. Walker, in John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s (Cambridge, 1988), 42, interprets the 'Joyows Garde' reference 'from internal evidence' as seeming 'to suggest that the poet played a minor role in the celebrations surrounding the marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon in 1501', and refers the reader to pp. 98-103 of his doctoral thesis (Univ. of Southampton, 1985) which I have not seen.


49 Scattergood, op. cit., 16.
The Fifth Earl's players performed before King Henry VII as part of the royal Twelfth Night revels, their payment is recorded on Jan. 7th 1493; his 'waits' were similarly rewarded by the King on Aug. 23rd 1499 -- see S. Anglo, "The Court Festivals of Henry VII" in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 43 (1960), 12-45. The Earl's players are also known from the Selby Abbey accounts to have played there twice c.1500. Four of his players were also at the Christmas night banquet of his brother-in-law, Buckingham, at Thornbury in Gloucestershire in 1507 (see Lancashire, esp. 12) Skelton, as well as serving as tutor to Prince Henry (later Henry VIII) from ?1496-1501, also appears in Henry VII's Privy Purse expenses as 'My Lady the Kings moder poete', i.e. as Lady Margaret Beaufort's protégé; his Latin elegy for her dates from 1516.

As explained in The Historical Manuscripts Commission's Report on the Manuscripts of the Corporation of Beverley (London, 1900), 171, the names of the town governors from whom the balance is received show that the account roll in question is misdated 1519-20, and does, in fact, belong to the year 1520-21. The payment is found on p.172.

MED s.v. brid 3b. (b). Lancashire, 12, n.19, cites Historical Manuscripts Comission's Report, cit. above, 55f., 172.


ibid., 97.

In The Nation, 104 (May 3, 1917), 563; re-presented in The Shakespeare Quarterly 1 (1950), 64-72.

S. Chew in the Bella da Costa Greene Festschrift (Princeton, 1954), 41 n.18, and fig. 3.

Horrox, in VCH, 77.
B. ICONOGRAPHY

B.I.a. The Beverley misericords compared with other contemporary sets

In order to evaluate just how typical are the Beverley misericords in terms of their iconography, I propose to compare them with four other groups of roughly contemporary English seats: those at Bristol which must be very closely contemporary, as they bear the arms of Abbot Robert Elyot (1515-26); the royal commissions associated with Henry VII at Windsor (c.1480) and Westminster (c.1512); those formerly referred to as 'Ripon School', but principally the set at Manchester (c.1506); and the seats which had already been in existence for some seventy years before the Minster misericords were carved, in Beverley's parish church (c.1445).

Iconographically, although there are now only half the number of misericords at Bristol (i.e. 28) as there are at Beverley, they seem to be perhaps the closest in 'feel' to the Minster set of any of the English series, a fact which closer analysis of the corpus of motifs which decorate them will bring out below.

Stylistically too, the Bristol seating shares with that at Beverley a distinct absence of Renaissance motifs:

'In spite of its late date there is still no sign of the Renaissance apart, perhaps, from the shields with frilled edges on a few of the stall fronts and on the superstructure cornice.' (1)

In fact, pace Tracy, such leafy frilled-edged shields are found in English art as early as the 1480s, as in the manuscript known as the 'Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp', BL MS Cotton Julius E. IV. (2). Dr. Tracy seems somewhat ambivalent about the
stylistic ambience of the Brisol misericords, stating on the one hand that they 'betray metropolitan origins' (3), but later citing them as an example of 'the enduring medieval tradition of regionalism' (4).

Iconographically, perhaps the most important feature of the Bristol misericords are the five carvings ([45:1], [45:2], [45:3], [47:3], and [47:10]) which Professor Varty has shown to be based on the woodcut illustrations in de Worde's _Reynard the Fox_, themselves copied from Leeu's Antwerp edition of 1487/90. De Worde issued at least two editions, one a. 1495 no longer extant, and another c. 1525 [STC 20921a], only fragments of which survive; given the dates of Elyot's abbacy (1515-26), either de Worde printing is theoretically possible (5).

Though not apparently part of the Reynard canon, the often paired scenes also featuring the fox of the Fox-Friar/Bishop Preaching to the Birds, and the Geese Hanging the Fox, are subjects found both at Bristol ([46:5] and [46:9]) and Beverley. The Apes Robbing the Pedlar [46:4] is similarly found in both locations, and I discuss the likely derivation of this popular subject from a 'Germanic' print below [see C.II.c.].

The four designs which the Bristol carver took from early printed Parisian _Horae_ of the type printed by Pigouchet for Vostre ([46:8], [46:11], [46:1], and [47:7]) compare with the three such used by the Beverley carver, and one of these designs, that of the ape mounted on an 'equine' pursued by a wildman with upraised club [46:8] (referred to as design 2, above [C.II.b.]), is common to both sets of misericords.

Other main-carving subjects in common are the Stag-Hunt [46:7] and the men with wheelbarrows who approach the chained bear [47:9], suggesting a possible common graphic source for the latter, in particular.

Supporter carvings at Bristol also have close counterparts at Beverley, such as the ape urinanalyst [46:11 right] and the bagpiping pig [46:2 right]; others are less precise but attest to the same general pictorial interests, e.g. the small fool with a large bell on the peak.
of his hood [46:1 right] and the ape-lutenist [47:7 right] which might
be compared, for example, with the Beverley supporter ape who plays the
bagpipe [174:15 right]; lion-masks [47:9], admittedly fairly ubiquitous
in the English misericord corpus, are found in the small spandrel
carvings at Beverley, and also as supporters to [176:15].

The Bristol misericords, now 28 in number, were formerly at least
33, three of the missing five having been removed in the late 19th cen-
tury as 'obscene' (6) -- fortunately, two such subjects seem to have
been missed, the 'anal presenter' who squats in the lefthand flower
supporter of [47:6], and a unique depiction of a woman drinking from a
phallovitrobolus [45:3 right], which modern students have also failed to
spot (7).

As we have seen above, it seems likely that Beverley has similarly
lost two of its misericords at some point, perhaps for similar reasons,
and it is notable that there are now no risqué subjects carved on the
extant Minster seats at all -- whereas, strangely (to our modern sens-
ibilities, at least), there seems to have been no objection to either
sexual or scatological scenes on the misericords elsewhere, including,
for example, in the royal chapels at Windsor and Westminster.

There is also a similar interest at Bristol in proverbial absurd-
ity, in which context, the Snail-Whipping seat [47:5] [pl.79] is
particularly worthy to be set alongside Beverley's Putting the Cart
Before the Horse (8).

Bristol similarly shares with Beverley (though, admittedly, as
discussed above, this is a well-nigh universal feature of the English
misericord series) a paucity of religious or scriptural scenes, the only
two unequivocal examples being the Adam and Eve [46:12] and Samson
Rending the Lion's Jaws [46:13].
Of the two sets of royal commissions, the Westminster Abbey stalls of c.1512 are perhaps the more useful as a yardstick against which to measure those at Beverley, as they were carved only a little earlier in the same decade. Unlike the earlier Windsor set (c.1480), about which, of course, there is not the slightest hint of the impending import of Renaissance decoration, as discussed below [C.IV.a.], at least two of the misericords in Henry VII's Chapel exhibit, in Charles Tracy's words, 'distinctly Italianate mannerisms and motifs' (9), but

'seem to have been made by Flemish craftsmen working under English supervision. ... The style of the decorative carving points unmistakably to the Low Countries for a stylistic ambience.' (10)

In other words, the Westminster misericords exhibit the first tentative stirrings of Italian Renaissance decoration but mediated through the hands of Flemish craftsmen. Of particular interest at Westminster are the 'naked boys' or putti as we should term them now, especially the two supporters to [98:3] [p.181], described by Remnant as 'boy with "whirligig" and shield' and 'boy on hobby-horse' -- these probably derive from the borders of early printed books (including Parisian Horae) in which they are common. Writing almost a century later, Henry Peacham in his Art of Drawing (London, 1606) enumerated the common features of the 'anticke' vocabulary, noting that

'You may, if you list, draw naked boys riding and playing with their paper-mills or bubble-shels upon Goates, Eagles, Dolphins, &c. ...' (11)

It should not surprise us to find none of this incipient Italianate Renaissance in provincial cities, even in trading ports as important as Bristol undoubtedly was; we have to wait until the early 1520s to find such applied decoration even in the south (see further [C.IV.a.]).
An odd decorative feature Westminster does share with Beverley, also found earlier (c.1500) at St. David’s, is the small low-relief carvings placed in the stall-division spandrels.

There is not, however, any particular consonance of motifs amongst the misericords of Westminster and Beverley, except for the general contemporary and long-standing interest in the entertainment possibilities of animal musicians, and the usual assortment of such traditional motifs as the mermaid, dragon and wild man. Perhaps the most significant feature of the Henry VII's Chapel misericords, however, is the proportion of them (12) which can be shown to derive their designs from German and Flemish prints, some of which (those by Dürer) were less than twenty years old. Admittedly, Westminster is a royal commission, and here, if anywhere, the influence of foreign artistic models, with the expense they imply, and foreign craftsmanship too, possibly, might be expected, but it is nevertheless an important pointer to the availability of 'Germanic' prints to stall-carvers in the very decade the Beverley seats were made.

What has not been noticed before, however, is the undoubted fact that the presumably native carvers of the Windsor stalls, some 30 years previously, also drew on an equally large number and variety of earlier 15thC. prints, and also employed at least one diagnostically Flemish motif, the zeeridder with cloven hoof as club, discussed below (see [C.II.c.]); he appears here in an anglicised style, but the fact that we know the Flemings Dirike Vangrove and Giles van Castell were making carvings for the Chapel rood at the same time the stalls were being carved, shows how such motifs were transmitted (see [C.III.g.]).

Thematically, at least, the Beverley misericords have more in common with the earlier of the two sets of royal stalls at Windsor; this is because the St. George's Chapel motifs are still firmly late medieval in 'feel', as are those in Beverley -- despite their much later date --
while at Westminster we already scent the approaching Renaissance on the air.

Windsor offers specific motival co-incidences with Beverley, including the Fox-Friar [6:8], the Pedlar Robbed by Apes [7:4 bis], the figures who emerge fighting from a whelk-shell [7:1 right], and the toper behind whose back the devil looks on gleefully [10:7 left pl.12a], as well as the usual crop of Bestiary and other animal motifs in common, such as an Elephant and Castle, Pelican in her Piety, mobbed owl, lion-dragon combat, mermaid, ape urinanalyst, harping sow and bagpiping ape; there is also a similar interest in fools -- however, I am far from suggesting any direct relationship between the Windsor and Beverley stalls merely on account of the occurrence of the same motifs in each set.

It is perhaps food for thought, though, that Charles Tracy has stated that the carver of the Manchester stalls a.1506 (who he is prepared to identify as William Bromflet, on the grounds of close stylistic affinities with surviving Bridlington Priory woodwork, for which Bromflet is known to have been contracted in 1510), must have been acquainted with the Windsor stalls and

'what is more, the decorative carving has a distant stylistic affinity' (13)

-- maybe it was directly from Windsor that the Manchester carver derived the conceit of the leaf 'tie' on the supporters (14), from where, presumably, the Beverley master derived his use of it, for, as we shall see below, we can be certain that the Beverley carver was familiar with the stalls at Manchester.

We turn now to the so-called 'Ripon School' monuments, principally the misericords at Manchester (a.1506). Charles Tracy has recently and definitively 'disbanded' this 'school', seeing in it rather
'a succession of independent north-country workshops mining and developing a common stock of stylistic ideas and iconographical motifs' (15)

and, of course, we must approve his statement that

'...A study of the history of ornament shows that there is a world of difference between a motival consonance and a common signature.' (16)

There are misericord subjects at Beverley, however, which undoubtedly do imply a detailed familiarity on the part of their carver with the stalls of Manchester, in particular, and probably those now at Durham Castle as well (17).

The Ripon example of the man barrowing the crone [183:9 pl.143] carved c.1490 is very faithful to the Master bxb's print [pl.142], showing the crone holding both the dry branch (the stem of which was only broken in very recent times -- an earlier photograph shows it still intact) and the wine-flask and reproducing such details as the upturned brim of her straw-hat. The Durham Castle scene [41:1 pl.145] is reversed with regard to Ripon and the original print, and shows the woman holding onto the side of the wheelbarrow with one hand, while she raises her branch with the other, on the point of thrashing her hapless husband with it -- the central portion of the branch is now broken such that, at first glance, she appears to be pulling the man's hair, so that it is curious that the Beverley crone, one hand similarly resting on the barrow's side, is indeed pulling her man's hair [pl.144] -- is it possible that the Beverley carver, a generation later, based his design on the Durham Castle misericord and misunderstood the already broken branch, just as a modern viewer might?

The other Durham Castle motif also present at Beverley, and Ripon and Manchester too, is the sow who plays the bagpipes to her piglets.
Suggestively, there can be no doubt that the entire Beverley misericord [174:18 pl.70] including the supporters (the harping sow and the saddled sow which are discussed in their own right as motifs below, [B IV.a.] and [B III.d] ), is a reversed copy of that at Manchester [83:13 pl.71], and amounts to proof that the Beverley master-carver was well-acquainted with the Manchester stalls.

The Ripon [183:7 pl.72] and Durham Castle [41:2 pl.73] stalls represent a slightly different type, in which the bagpiping sow is accompanied by fewer piglets and the supporters are roses (which surely entitles us to suspect the carver was alluding to the proverb, 'roses before swine', as it commonly appears in Continental art (18)). Tracy estimates that the Durham Castle misericords 'must have been made c.1490', being 'very close to those by Hand C at Ripon' (19). It is noteworthy that, as in the case of its barrowing scene, the Durham Castle pigs are reversed with respect to the Ripon misericord. The Durham Castle/Ripon-type bag-piping sow and piglets is also repeated on a misericord from Easby Abbey (p.1515) [181:3 bis], but pace Remnant (who denies it has any), the supporters are somewhat crude, stylised leaves.

The origins of the distinctive iconography of the figure emerging from the whelk-shell to do battle with one or more dragons is dealt with below [B.V.b]. The motif is not found at Ripon, though it is present at Durham Castle [41:7 pl.121], where it is described by Remnant thus:

'Child issuing from a whelk-shell ... holding some object. A dragon is about to attack it'.

The earliest extant example of this design is that on a misericord at Lincoln [89:4 bis], and it is then not surprising to find it at Nantwich [27:9] and Chester [25:31], the last-named example carved by the same school that executed the Lincoln stalls. The earliest Lincoln example
features only one dragon, but the Chester seat is furnished with two
dragons flanking the shell-figure on either side, as at Beverley --
perhaps under the influence of the multi-headed hydra which I have sug-
gested is the ultimate origin of the dragon in this motif. The example
at Norwich [107:36], carved at some point in the last quarter of the
15th century, is perhaps a somewhat garbled version of the two-dragon
composition, the dragons appearing here on the supporters and flanking a
figure which emerges from the shell brandishing a sword in one hand and
what appears to be a pack-saddle in the other.

The Durham Castle design is perhaps the first to appear for a
century since those of the Chester-Lincoln school, and it is a single-
dragon composition. That at Manchester [81:7 pl.120] also features the
single dragon, which makes the two dragons at Beverley [pl.117] the more
surprising -- perhaps the moral is that we must make some allowance for
artistic independence.

The Ripon Fox Stealing a Goose [183:10 pl.5] depicts the other
characters in the story on its supporters, the dog about to intercept it
on the right, and the irate housewife armed with her distaff on the
left. By the time of the Manchester misericord [82:7 pl.6], however, the
dog has disappeared and the whole scene takes place on the central
carving: the fox escapes with the goose in his jaws pursued by the woman
brandishing her distaff having just emerged from her house, in the
doorway of which a child appears, to see what all the commotion is
about. The supporters depict amusing scenes featuring the fox: on one,
birch-in-hand, the familiar attribute of the medieval school-teacher,
he is shown teaching two cubs who pore over an open book, and on the
other, an adult fox sits reading. Once again, there can be no doubt that
the Beverley carver [174:20 pl.7] copied the Manchester design, merely
adding a gaggle of geese that got away, but doubtless contribute to the
commotion, to the central scene; again he has demonstrated his inde-
pendence, however, in his supporter carvings, which depict two calmly addorsed foxes on the left (Reynard and Hermeline), and a fox resting with its prey, a paw securely holding the goose down, on the right. An indication of just how popular a subject was the fox stealing the goose is its reappearance at Beverley in the form of a carving in one of the stall-elbow spandrels [pl.9].

It is the correspondences between Beverley and Manchester which are particularly striking: the Beverley ape-urinanalyst [173:5 pl.83] is clearly copied from that which flanks the Pedlar Robbed by Apes misericord at Manchester, i.e. [82:8 pl.84]. Similarly the opposite supporter to the Beverley carving, depicting an ape holding a swaddled baby [173:5 pl.133], is copied from the opposite Manchester supporter [82:8 pl.134]. The Beverley carver's independence is once again demonstrated, however, by the fact that his Pedlar Robbed by Apes [173:6 pl.135] is not a close copy of the Manchester scene [pl.136].

At Beverley the ape supporters flank a lion-dragon combat [173:5 pl.130], a motif whose origin is considered at some length below [B.V.d.], and which is very common throughout the misericord corpus, occurring also at Ripon [183:3] and Manchester [83:11 pl.132]. All these carvings have a generic likeness and we have considered the possibility of derivation from a common pattern. The example which forms a bracket on the Percy tomb in Beverley [pl.131] was not the source for the Minster misericord as Purvis, endorsing a suggestion of Hudson's, pointed out (20), considering, however, that it was the source of the Manchester misericord, though, in fact, the Manchester carving (a.1506) does not seem nearly as close to the Percy bracket (carved 1325X1340 (21)), as, for example, the misericord at Lincoln [89:4ter], carved only a generation later (c.1370).

Another subject found at both Manchester [83:12 pl.123] and Beverley [176:14 pl.122] (but also at Durham Castle [41:6 pl.124],...
though the carving here is so badly damaged that the wild man has been completely removed) is that of the wild man attacking the dragon with a club, while defending himself with a shield from the monster's attack -- the overall composition of all three designs is, indeed, very similar.

Other subjects which Grössinger points out that Beverley and Manchester have in common, are really not at all similar in their treatment, e.g. the disembowelling of the stag at Beverley [174:14] features two huntsmen and two hounds, while the earlier scene at Manchester [81:11] has only one huntsman and no hounds.

What conclusion can be drawn from these 'Ripon School' comparisons? One quite striking conclusion is that the number of subjects found at Beverley and Ripon but not at Manchester is so small, that it is certainly not necessary, as it were, to posit the Beverley carver's familiarity with Ripon (however likely it might be on other, e.g. geographical grounds); indeed, it is much more likely that the Beverley carver was familiar with the misericords now in Durham Castle (but in his time in Bishop Auckland Castle); his detailed familiarity with the Manchester misericords, cannot, I think, be denied.

Lastly, we must consider the 23 misericords of the set of stalls in the parish church of St. Mary in Beverley, carved c.1445 (22), for it seems likely that the sixteenth century Minster carver would at least have cast an eye over the town's only other series, then already some seventy years old, before embarking on his own work.

The St. Mary's misericords feature many of the motifs already long-established as favourites with carvers by the mid-15th century, motifs also to be found in the Minster, such as the Fox-Friar [177:12] (and the St. Mary's carvings illustrate an interest in foxes generally), the ape-urinanalyst [177:3 & 178:13 bis], a 'green man' [178:13], an Elephant & Castle [178:5], a Pelican in her Piety [177:8], and a bear-
baiting [178:8]. The boar-hunt [177:6] is a surprisingly rare subject which is also to be found in the Minster [176:13] (and otherwise from the entire misericord corpus, only at Hereford [62:9 bis]), but the resemblance is not close.

The St. Mary's misericords are worthy of consideration in their own right, of course, demonstrating a definite interest in the figure of the wild man ([177:5], [178:10], and [178:13 bis]), for example, which I have suggested above may have been due to familiarity with the romance version of the Life of the town's patron-saint, John of Beverley, which portrayed him as a 'hairy anchorite' [A.II.]. Another theme of local interest, if correctly identified, is the Robin Hood and the King misericord [177:10] also discussed above [A.III.]. Indeed, one might suggest that the St. Mary's carver shows something of a penchant for romance scenes, for he includes also a Flight of Alexander [177:7] and a Solomon & Marcolf (the latter in his riddle-solving 'Clever Daughter' role) [177:9] (23). The conclusion regarding the possible influence of these stalls on the Minster series must, however, be entirely negative.

The comparisons offered by these other roughly contemporary sets of misericords as a whole allow us to draw several conclusions.

Firstly, the rather unexciting one that the Beverley misericords are quite typical of their time in the variety of their iconography (including the use they make of several different types of Continental graphic source; prints, woodcuts, etc.) and their consequent lack of anything approaching a coherent iconographic programme, and in the paucity of their religious imagery.

Stylistically -- an equally unremarkable finding -- they exhibit no hint of the imminent arrival of the Renaissance, not even in its earliest 'applied decoration' phase; this is also found to be the case with the exactly contemporary Bristol misericords, both sets of woodwork
being arguably 'provincial', unlike the stalls of the Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey, a royal commission in which, even a few years prior to Beverley and Bristol, it is not altogether surprising to detect traces of Italianate decoration [see further C.IV.a.].
B.I.b. The possible influence on the misericord designs of other carvings in wood and stone in Beverley

Turning from woodwork as such, we ought also to consider the possibility of the influence of other decorative work both within the Minster and in the parish church of St. Mary's, exerted on the misericords.

Beginning with other decoration in the Minster itself; this is mainly small-scale stone sculpture (angelic and human minstrels are especially numerous -- we cannot forget that Beverley was the headquarters of the Northern Guild of Minstrels) of the first half of the 14th century from the arcading in the nave aisles to the masterpiece known as the Percy Tomb, and the Percy Screen and coeval wooden sedilia opposite the Tomb. Despite this array of earlier and often high-quality figural sculpture, however, the impression is that the misericord carvers ignored it -- indeed, as remarked above, it is noticeable how very unlike the earlier lion-dragon combat on the Percy Tomb bracket is the misericord example of the same motif. There are certainly coincidences in subject matter between, for example, some of the nave aisle arcading figures and some of the misericord motifs, but no instance of obvious derivation.

We turn now to consider other decoration in St. Mary's Church. On 29th April 1520 the tower of St. Mary's collapsed and destroyed much of the nave roof in its fall; reconstruction work must have begun immediately and may, indeed, have been completed in four years (the date 1524 occurs twice in inscriptions in the south arcade of the nave).

One of the several glories of Beverley's parish church (24) is its complement of over 600 roof-bosses, the finest of which are to be found in the early 16thC. roof of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity (such as a Fox-Friar in a Pulpit Preaching to several Geese), and one of which
depicting an axe, an L-square and a pair of compasses, is signed 'W Hal Carpenter'.

It is a curious co-incidence that the new wooden roof-bosses for the parish church were being carved at the same time as, or immediately following, the Minster misericords -- might not the Minster team have moved opportunely on to the St. Mary's roof? In fact, the bosses in the parish church, for all their accomplishment, are still somewhat coarser in style than the Minster misericords and it seems unlikely they were carved by the same team, and much more likely that the W. Hall who so proudly signed his name and trade, along with the tools of that trade, was a rather humbler artist.
1 Tracy (1990), 40.

2 ed. Viscount Dillon & W. H. St John Hope, Pageant of the birth, life and death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G., 1389-1439 (London, 1914). E. Maunde Thompson's "The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, commonly called the Warwick MS" in Burlington Magazine 1 (1903), 151-66, is superseded by K. L. Scott's chapter, "The Beauchamp Pageants" in her The Caxton Master and His Patrons (Cambridge, 1976), 55-66, who gives reasons for dating the manuscript to 1483X7. It must be admitted, however, that the 'Caxton Master' was not a native Englishman, but probably trained in Utrecht, and shows 'an acquaintance with changes in Bruges figure-styles of the 1460s and 1470s' (p.67).

3 Tracy (1990), 39.

4 ibid., 40.

5 Varty (1980).

6 R. Hall Warren in his accounts of 1861 [in Archaeological Journal 18, 273ff.] and 1888 [''The Misereres in Bristol Cathedral' in Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club 1:iii, 241ff.] speaks of 33 'misereres' -- he can hardly have been mistaken as he exhibited photographs of the entire set to the Archaeological Institute in London in 1861 [I have tried, so far without success, to trace these photographs which would constitute the only known record of the five stalls no longer extant] -- according to Tracy, however, only 32 are depicted in Barrett's 1789 book; Dr. Tracy consequently opts for an original complement of 32 or 34.

7 I discussed this supporter carving and extant late medieval phallovitrubuli, as well as adducing a court account of such a vessel reportedly used in an Elizabethan brothel, in a lecture entitled "Sexuality in Late Medieval Art" delivered to the British Archaeological Society in November 1990, and -- in revised form -- at a conference on sexuality in the Early Modern era held in Vienna in November 1991.

8 I discuss the motif of Snail-Whipping in Jones (1989a), 209f.

9 Tracy (1990), 59.

10 ibid.

Seven out of forty -- if one accepts the attributions given in Remnant (which need some amendment, in my opinion) -- or 17.5%.

... it does seem very possible that the master carver who made the choir-stalls had seen the furniture at St. George's Chapel, Windsor (Tracy (1990)).

Though Ripon (Hand 'C') is also a possible source.

pers. comm. (1989); the same assessment is given in the relevant chapter of his 1990 book.

Tracy (1990).

See also, Grössinger (1989b), passim. I cannot by any means agree with all Dr. Grössinger's suggestions as to the relationships between the sets of misericords, but her paper has certainly been most helpful in concentrating my own thoughts on these matters.

However, I have to admit that, as yet, I am not aware of any example of the Continental 'rose' variant attested in English writings. I do not, however, press the existence of this apparent proverb variant on these two misericords as evidence for the work of Flemish carvers in England -- as Maeterlinck did.

Tracy (1990), 71, and 20.

Purvis, 119.

N. Dawton, "The Percy Tomb at Beverley Minster: the Style of the Sculpture" in ed. F.H. Thompson, Studies in Medieval Sculpture (London 1983), esp. 131 and n.20. At the moment, the earliest example of the motif known to me -- in any medium -- is that carved on the stall-backs at Poitiers, some time after 1257.

Dating from Remnant, 178.

See my discussion in Jones (1991a).

The so-called 'Pilgrim Rabbit' statue carved c.1325, allegedly the original of the White Rabbit in "Alice in Wonderland", is discussed in my address to the 26th Int. Med. Conf., (Kalamazoo, 1991), where I identify it as an example of the proverbial folly motif of the hare/ rabbit despatched with the idiot villagers' rent tied in a purse round its neck, and further suggest that it is, in fact, the original of Tenniel's drawing of the 'Anglo-Saxon' hare-messenger named Haigha [pronounced 'hare'] in Alice Through the Looking-Glass.
B.II.a. Religion

The Beverley stalls are no exception among the English misericord corpus in depicting only a tiny proportion of motifs which one could describe as overtly religious; some of the subjects which might conceivably bear a symbolic religious significance (such as the cat and mice [174:5] and big fish eating the little fish [175:9]) are discussed under the heading 'Exempla' below [B.V.e.].

There are no scenes from the Gospels depicted on the Beverley misericords or, indeed, the New Testament as a whole, no representations of Christ or his saints, and only one scene from the Old Testament, the stereotyped 'Return of the Spies from Canaan'. There are only three devils proper represented, all on the same misericord which certainly portrays at least two of the Seven Deadly Sins, and even fewer angels, the main subjects of two different misericords, one of which bears the Sacred Heart.

Strangely, there are two representations of the 'Pelican in her Piety', one as the main subject of a misericord, the other as a supporter of another.

Of the 68 potential opportunities to depict a religious subject as the main, central carving of the misericord, therefore, only 5 or barely 7% do so, and of the 136 opportunities afforded by the smaller supporter carvings, only 3 or barely 2% do so. If supporters and central carvings are considered as of equal potential for the display of religious motifs, then we may say that of the 204 sculptural opportunities presented by the set as a whole, only 8 or roughly 4% of the Beverley misericords depict any such religious subject (1).

The Bestiary-derived motif of the 'Pelican in her Piety' was one of the commonest of all Christian emblems, and is amply represented in
the English misericord corpus. At Beverley it appears as the central carving of the misericord on the stall reserved for the Archbishop of York [173:1], in the year the stalls were carved, none other than the redoubtable Cardinal Wolsey (see below). The supporter also carved with a smaller version of this subject [173:12 pl.20], flanks the arms of Thomas Donygton, Precentor in 1520, 'who ranked the highest of the internal dignitaries of this church' (2). The correlation between the subject matter of these two stalls and the status of the dignitaries to whom they were allotted, holders of the two highest-ranking offices represented in the Minster, can hardly be accidental -- clearly, however free a hand the carvers had in the choice of decoration of the other stalls [for which, see discussion at C.IV.b.], the imagery of these two seats must have been closely specified.

The stall bearing the design of the Spies Returning from Canaan [175:11 pl.15], rightly distinguished by Remnant as 'the only scriptural subject', is also identified by him as 'copied from block-book, Biblia Pauperum'[pl.16]. This popular religious work, printed in the Netherlands in the mid-15th century, is undoubtedly the ultimate source for this design, and responsible for its widespread popularity, though whether the Beverley carver had the book itself in front of him is another matter (3).

The fact that this subject is found on only two other extant English misericords, both belonging to the Trans-Pennine group, we are surely entitled to regard as more than mere co-incidence (4). The implications of such a design source has been considered above [B.I.a.].

The supporters to the Beverley Spies are clearly appropriate to the outsize bunch of grapes borne on the shoulders of Joshua and Caleb [see Numbers xiii. 23] in the central carving, viz. a vine-leaf and tendril [left] and a leaf with small bunch of grapes [right]. Similarly
at Manchester [81:4], the supporters to this carving are both vine-leaves, but at Ripon [183:17 p1.17], curiously, they are blemyae [see B.V.a.]

Although missed by Remnant, Wildridge correctly noted that the Beverley ‘Spies’ are preceded by a dog, but himself missed the toad which also figures in the Beverley rendering of this scene.

Just as at Manchester, this is the only scene derived from the block-book Biblia Pauperum to appear, whereas at Ripon appears not only this scene [183:17] and that of Jonah thrown overboard to the whale [183:8 p1.232], both, as it were, ‘singles’, but also the typologically associated pair of Samson and the gates of Gaza [183:15] and Jonah cast up out of the whale [183:14]. These two latter scenes (rather than the two Jonah scenes) form a proper pair in terms of the Biblia Pauperum’s typology, i.e. they are the two Old Testament scenes (the types, to use the technical term) which were depicted flanking the New Testament scene which theologians felt they prefigured in some way (i.e. the anti-type - in this case, the Resurrection). Curiously, it does not seem to have occurred to the woodcarvers to preserve this ready-made threefold division present in their block-book model which would seem to fit so well into the English misericord tradition of a main, central carving flanked by two subsidiary ‘supporters’.

The two demi-angels at Beverley are the main subjects of [176:20] and [173:3]. The former has both arms upraised, hands palm-outward in a hieratic pose, but it is impossible to say what precisely the carver intended to symbolise thereby; Wildridge comments

‘the symbol, possibly, of St. Matthew.’

Certainly the angel is the appropriate Evangelist’s Symbol for Matthew, but is normally shown full-length, and none of the other Evangelists’
symbols seem to be represented in their own right at Beverley -- there are lions, certainly, and possible eagles, but no calf (though there is an ox) -- these animals, however, are either not depicted alone, or appear in other contexts which make it most unlikely they were intended as Evangelists' symbols.

The other angel [pl.18] is altogether more interesting, for he bears what Wildridge terms "the Sacred Heart", a name more properly reserved for the cult of the Scared Heart of Jesus instituted publicly in 1674 by the Abbess Françoise de Lorraine in the church of Montmartre in Paris (5).

In fact, representations of the heart of Christ in art, seem not to be found before the 15th century, despite the earlier 12th and 13th century veneration (6), and then appear as part of the heraldic motif of the Sacred Wounds, also known as the Blason of the Five Wounds, in small devotional prints and in other media, e.g. by the early 16th century, on a bench-end at North Cadbury, Somerset (7), on another fragmentary bench-end from Kirkwall Cathedral, Orkney, and on an oak panel from Seton Collegiate Church, East Lothian (8); indeed, it was a device which enjoyed a special popularity amongst Northern Catholics, borne, for example, on their garments and banners, in the 'Pilgrimage of Grace' which began in the North in 1536.

The Beverley heart, however, is not a part of the Five Wounds motif, nor is the heart pierced in any way, nor aflame -- which it should be if, as Bond following Wildridge tentatively suggested (9), it was intended as the attribute of St. Augustine. The closest parallel I am aware of for the Beverley misericord design is in the form of a small lead badge dating from the second half of the 15th century [pl.19]; it depicts a demi-angel bearing a crowned heart, and is probably to be interpreted as a symbol of the Virgin Mary (10).

Dom Ethelebert Horne seems to have been the first to recognise a
Marian parallel to the 15thC. representations of the Five Wounds, the 'Arma Virginis', in the form of a heart pierced by a sword (according to Simeon's prophecy of Luke ii, 35)

'and to differentiate it from the heart shown with the Five Wounds, a pair of wings was added to it, the wings having reference to the angel of the Annunciation.' (11)

The image seems to have been popular with the carvers of roof-bosses, sometimes -- as at Hereford (12) -- the heart is simply winged and not pierced by a sword.

Demi-angels bearing shields of arms are, of course, a commonplace of late medieval imagery, two such, for example, being the main subjects of misericords at Manchester [81:1 & 82:4], while another holding a blank shield is found at Ripon [182:3], as well as a second [183:2] bearing a shield inscribed with the date of carving, "1489" (13).

The first misericord on the South side of the Minster stalls, lower row [174:1], has as its central subject, a gastrocephalic, horned and cloven-footed devil with long tail pursuing a naked figure and brandishing a spiked mace [pl.10]; the supporters which Remnant describes as

'Left, hooded man seated before money-chest, counting his money [pl.11]; head of demon peeps over shoulder [recte from behind chest]. Right, demon encouraging a glutton [pl.12]'

'may', as he says, 'refer to the Deadly Sins of Avarice and Gluttony'. Wildridge is more detailed in his description of the glutton:

'Man drinking from leather bottle, and holding what seems to be a ham.'

A late 13thC. Anglo-Norman poem, a satire on the various monastic orders, known as 'The Order of Bel-Eyse' (14), attributes to the monks
of Beverley at this date a point, i.e. rule, that the brethren must 
beyvre bien a manger [drink well while eating], but as will be apparent 
from the spelling, the appropriateness of this particular point was det-
ermined by the implied jocular etymology which would derive Beverleye 
from French beyvre, "to drink".

In fact, both these supporter details, which personal inspection 
confirms, belong to the traditional iconography of the Seven Deadly 
Sins: in a French Book of Hours of c.1475, for example,

'glotonie ... rides a pig ... holds a ham in one hand, and 
spills wine all over himself while attempting to drink wine 
from a jug held in the other.' (15)

Apart from a misericord in New College, Oxford [130:8], carved 
in 1386, representing all the Sins simultaneously as a seven-headed 
hydra with animal heads symbolising the appropriate sins (e.g. boar's 
head = gluttony; lion's head = Pride; dog's head = Envy; and -- signifi-
cantly in this misogynist era -- the only human head, that of a woman, 
symbolising Lust), in the only extant attempt in the English misericord 
corpus at portraying the Deadly Sins as a series, on the late 15thC. 
stalls in Norwich Cathedral (16), Gluttony rides a sow and holds a 
tankard in each hand (17). In the Morgan Hours referred to above, it is 
noteworthy that the depictions of Gluttony and Avarice are also 
adjacent.

The order in which the Seven Deadly Sins were listed in theolog-
ical literature and represented in art, was fixed relatively early by 
St. Gregory, as Bloomfield showed, and became

'the most influential in the West, and prevailed, with slight 
modifications, for a long time ... Dante, Chaucer, Gower, and 
most of the important medieval writers used the 'siaeagl' 
[i.e. Superbia; Ira; Invidia; Avaritia; Accedia; Gula; 
Luxuria] formula or some variant of it.' (18).

Chaucer, for example, in "The Parson's Tale", inverts the Gregorian
order of Wrath [Ira] and Envy [Invidia], in exactly the same way as the
1467 Beverley Pater Noster play list does ['Invy; Ire']. Bloomfield con-
sidered it likely that 'siiagl' was used as a mnemonic by medieval
writers, so that it is easy to see how those sins whose initial letters
are the same, i.e. Gregory's Ira and Invidia, might change places, and,
similarly, Avaritia and Accedia. If we posit precisely this latter
transposition, then the last three of the Seven Deadly Sins become
'Avaritia, Gula, Luxuria'.

There can be little doubt that we are right to recognise Avarice
and Gluttony, respectively, as represented in the left and right sup-
porters of our misericord, which thus, according to the 'siiagl'
enumeration of the Seven Deadly Sins, makes a representation of Lust/
Lechery an attractive candidate for the subject of the main carving, the
devil pursuing a naked woman. As we know that some of the Beverley
misericord designs derive (at whatever remove) from printed Parisian
Horae [C.II.b.], although only those printed by Thielman Kerver, and
Pigouchet for Vostre, have previously been cited in this connexion, a
Book of Hours printed in Paris by Gillet Hardouyn in 1510 also contains
similar small criblé border woodcuts depicting two of the Seven Deadly
Sins, Avarice and Lust [p1.13], the latter in the form of a fashionably
dressed woman pursued by a gastrocephalic demon with upraised spiked
mace, just as on the misericord -- in the woodcut, however, the sin is
specified by the presence of a goat, symbolic of lechery (19).

While this Sin is often represented by an embracing couple, it is
represented by a beautiful woman's head on the New College hydra, as we
have seen, and Ellen Kosmer, in an informative article, notes that

'Some representations illustrate Luxury by personifying the sin as
a wanton woman, occasionally nude or partially clothed ...' (20)
If we can accept this central carving as representing the Devil pursuing a lecherous woman, the carver has then presented us with two of the Sins of the Flesh, Lechery and Gluttony, and the Sin of the World par excellence, Avarice. The Division of the Seven Deadly Sins into those of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, in English vernacular literature, at least, is first attributed to the anonymous author of the 13thC "Ancren Riwle" -- 'a classification which was later to be very popular' (21).

Unlike the Sins depicted on the Norwich stalls and in the Morgan Hours, the two Beverley supporter examples do not belong to the animal-mount type (22), but to the genre-scene type found in other contemporary portrayals such as Bosch's "Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things" now in the Prado, and -- significantly -- also in such marginal vignettes as the small crible woodcuts found in the borders of some early printed Parisian Books of Hours, such as those mentioned above, printed for Gillet Hardouyn in the first decade of the 16th century: cf. the Gluttony scene in a 1503 Horae, where the demon stands behind the glutton seated at table with one hand on a hambone and in the other a wine-cup [pl.14] (23). This type was also common earlier, in 14thC. church wall-painting, some twenty or so examples being known (24).

The closest parallel within the misericord corpus known to me is the lefthand supporter to [10:7] at Windsor (c.1480) which depicts a toper drinking from a large tankard, a devil standing behind him [pl.12a].

This genre-scene type of presentation would also seem inherently more practical as a possibility for staging in a pageant -- if such was the source of the carver's inspiration [see A.V.]-- than that which portrays the Sins mounted on various symbolic animals.

The only other representative of one of the Seven Deadly Sins in the English misericord corpus, at least, as indexed by Remnant, is another possible Avarice genre-scene described as:
'Devil seizing tonsured clerk; bag of money on right'

the central carving on a misericord [98:2] in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey (c.1512) (A Flemish example depicting a demon and a man emptying a money-bag into a coffer forms the sole subject of one of the 15thC. Bruges misericords (25)).

It is curious that we have only three of the Seven Deadly Sins depicted at Beverley -- though, of course, religious or morality scenes are typically very much in the minority among the carvings -- and, despite the evident interest in the Pater Noster guild's pageant of the Seven Deadly Sins, the pairing of the Sins of Avarice and Gluttony, also found in adjacent depictions in late illuminated Hours, rather favours a derivation from such a book, or perhaps more likely, from an early printed version, such as we know to have been the source of other Beverley carvings [C.II.b.].

To return to the subject of the main carving of [174:1], the armed devil pursuing the naked figure: it is also possible to interpret this scene, with Wildridge, as

'Satan chasing a figure representing a lost soul ... Such representations of Satan [being] doubtless derived from the old mystery plays, in which the medieval "feyndis" were jovial spirits, whose propensity was to torment their victims with the ferocious gusto and glee characteristic of the modern clown.

The late 15th/early 16thC. list of the 36 Beverley Corpus Christi plays and the guilds responsible for them, includes as its final entry the 'Marchaunts' play of 'Domesday'; as elsewhere, this may perhaps have been staged with a monstrous gaping hell-mouth to one side of the pageant-car, into the jaws of which, armed devils would drive the 'naked' souls representing the various estates of society. It is presumably from such a Doomsday presentation that Wildridge envisaged the carver of [174:1] deriving his inspiration.
B.II.b. Heraldry and Rebus

Those who gave towards the erection of ecclesiastical monuments were usually anxious that their piety should be publicly, if discreetly, recognised -- for those who were armigerous, an heraldic emblem or rebus was the obvious solution.

The Beverley stalls themselves provide almost as much information about their date of construction as one could reasonably wish for, indeed, the amount of inscriptions and heraldic detail carved on them is probably richer than for almost any other set in the country.

A stall in the Upper Row on the North side of the Choir, [176:12], is inscribed on the lefthand supporter,

{quote}arma wilhelmi tait doctoris\'{quote}  
[the arms of Doctor William Tait]

and on the righthand supporter,

{quote}thesaurarii huius ecclesiæ 1520\' (26)  
[Sacrist of this church 1520]

As Wildridge explains, by thesaurius, literally \textquoteleft;treasurer\textquoteright;,

{quote}is meant the sacrist, called the treasurer on account of his having charge of the relics, plate, etc., belonging to the church.\textquoteright;

Tait\textapos;s coat-of-arms is the central carving of this misericord, described by Wildridge as

{quote}rays on fess between three birds, two in chief, one in base: supported by hawk and dog.\textquoteright;

If the bird is correctly identified as a hawk, then it would seem to be the same species as that depicted below the banderole inscription on the righthand supporter; similarly, Wildridge believes the birds on the shield to be of the same species as that on the lefthand supporter which
he identifies as a dove (27). If his identifications are accepted, we thus have a hawk confronting a dove on opposite supporters. In traditional idiom, however, it is the eagle which is opposed to the dove, the image of the warlike hawk contrasted with the pacific dove, being a modern usage: Chaucer's 'culver that of the egle is smiten' is based on a passage in Ovid's Metamorphoses (28), and it seems not to have been before the Elizabethan era that authors similarly took up Horace's proverbial observation that 'Eagles do not breed doves' (29).

On the canopy of Tait's stall there is further a small corbel supporting the blank arcading which repeats the demi-sunburst motif and the inscription 'tate'.

The Precentor's stall [173:12] is similarly identified by an inscription divided between the two supporters: on the left [pl.20], above a Pelican in her Piety [discussed above B.II.a], we read

'arma magictri thome'
[the arms of master Thomas]

and on the right [pl.21],

'donyngto p'centoris hui[u]S ecclie'
[Donington Precentor of this church]

It is known from Minster records that Donington was, indeed, Precentor in 1520. The central carving depicts what Wildridge terms a

'Fanciful shield of arms supported by griffins. Shield quartered: first and fourth, three billets ... and balls; in second and third, a chevron with three mullets ...'

What Wildridge does not say explicitly — he perhaps regarded it as self-evident — is that the righthand supporter, which depicts a collared and chained deer (in fact, a 'doe') sitting on a barrel or 'tun', is a rebus, that popular late medieval device, which yields the name Donington, more-or-less, via DOE-ON-TUN (30).
Another misericord inscribed with the name of another of the Minster's officers is that belonging to William Wight [173:4 pl.22]. Surrounding a shield of arms, the subject of the main carving, described by Wildridge as

'fess between three weights, two in chief, one in base'

is a banderole inscribed

'Willim Wyght tempore cancellarij huius ecclecie'
[William Wight at this time Chancellor of this church]

The Chancellor's arms clearly provide an example of 'canting heraldry', with the weights depicted on his shield punning on his surname. To drive the point home, the two supporters also feature weights: the man on the left carries one in each hand and is humourously portrayed with knees bent and puffing with the exertion, while his colleague on the right appears to be walking with a pair of scales balancing on his shoulder, a weight in each scale-pan.

As in the case of Tait's stall, Wight's too has further allusions to his occupancy in its canopy corbels, one depicting three weights bound together, and the other simply bearing the inscription 'wilhelm'.

Somewhat puzzlingly, the same composition is repeated just three seats away [173:7]: the same shield with arms (but without inscription) and similar supporters both depicting a man struggling to pick one [left] or two [right] heavy weights, with the same amusing rendering of the exertion involved. A possible explanation is that Wyght contributed financially to the work to such an extent that it was felt fitting he should be commemorated in a second seat, in addition to that in his allotted place (31). Alternatively we have here a reference to another member of the Chancellor's family, or possibly an allusion to the John White who was a 'keeper' in 1518-19 and again in 1520-21 (Appendix I).
The last named member of the Chapter is John Sparke, recorded on a banderole in the lefthand supporter in the form 'Johannes Cperke', while the inscription in the righthand supporter gives his office as 'clericus fabrici' or Clerk of Works as we should style him today. The name is slightly damaged but the reading has been certain ever since Wildridge was able to cite documentary evidence that Sparke was termed 'receiver general' at the Minster in 1521-2 (32).

The supporters to Sparke's misericord [175:5] are a dog gnaving a bone [left pl.23] and a cockerel [right] -- both might conceivably have a symbolic significance or merely be genre-scenes (33); here the latter option is perhaps more likely as in the case of the contemporary misericord depicting a skinny greyhound gnawing at a bone in Christchurch Priory (34). Had a second dog been present, pulling at the same bone and disputing the possession of it -- such as is found c.1500 on a misericord at St. David's [197:9] -- this would have represented the familiar emblem of Invidia (35). Clearly Sparke had no coat of arms, for the main subject of his misericord is a hawking scene depicting a gentleman with a hawk on his wrist -- Sparke himself? -- and two hounds running off to his right, as a manservant with another dog on a leash runs in from the left (36).

There is another misericord at Beverley which depicts a falconer on one of its supporters [176:3 left], and on the other, a hawk preying on a pigeon (according to Remnant); the central carving is devoted to the hawk itself. Of the hawk clutching its prey, Wildridge writes,

'frequently used as a crest or badge. It was used as such by the famous Gonzalo, Duke of Terranova, Spain (1515) ...'

The tendril which forms a circular frame for each Beverley supporter does, indeed, lend it a certain badge-like quality, and seems particularly effective as a frame for a rebus such as Donington's, and if we
accept it as such, then I suggest that Brian Falconer, one of the two Beverley 'keepers' in 1518-1519 and again in 1520-1521, is a prime candidate (Appendix I).

A misericord on which we might expect to find some personal heraldic device, personal emblem or badge, is that of Archbishop Wolsey's stall [173:1]. We have discussed above [B.II.a.] the religious emblem which forms the central subject of the archbishop's misericord, but not the birds carved on its supporters.

Remnant describes both birds as pelicans -- we should not expect them, of course, to look like real pelicans -- but Wildridge, as ever the more careful observer, described only the bird in the righthand supporter as a pelican; that in the lefthand supporter [pl.24] he recorded as

'A bird; probably an eagle, the symbol of resurrection and ascension.'

Whether or not we can attribute a religious significance to the supporter birds, as we undoubtedly must to the central 'Pelican in her Piety', we can agree with Wildridge that the birds in the two supporters cannot, at least, be of the same species as each other, being depicted as physically different -- that on the right having a long swan-like neck, that on the left having only a very short neck.

Several of John Skelton's longer poems are satirical attacks on Wolsey, including "Spoke Parott", seemingly written in the year following the carving of the Beverley stalls, and in it, the poet punningly alludes to the archbishop's personal badge in the line,

'So many nobyll bodyes, undyr on dauys hedd...' [So many noble bodies under (i.e. subject to) one day's head]
In fact, it was the chough which was Wolsey's badge, but Skelton typi-
ally puns on an alternative contemporary name for the same species, i.e.
(jack-) daw (37), one of several birds regarded as proverbially foolish
(see discussion of [177:7] below, B.III.a.).

Wolsey's connexion with Beverley does not appear to have been
remarked by previous students of the misericords, and yet he was the
archbishop of York (consecrated in 1514) at the time the stalls were
carved, and as such, not only had jurisdiction over the Minster, but --
as his predecessors in that office had been throughout the Middle Ages -
was 'The dominant figure in Beverley' (38). Wolsey was not just the
spiritual lord of the people of Beverley, but their temporal lord too:

'For much of the 16th century Beverley still enjoyed only a
limited degree of self-government. The town was administered
by 12 governors, but their powers were restricted by the lord-
ship of the archbishop ... Archbishop Wolsey evidently resisted
attempts by the governors to increase their authority.' (39)

The townsfolk were well aware of their lord's power and went out of
their way to keep him sweet, during 1522-3, for example, still well
within Wolsey's episcopacy, and just two years after the stalls were
carved,

'almost all of the expenditure on "great men" went to his
receiver and his commissioners of array'. (40)

Nor was it only Wolsey himself with whom town and chapter had to
contend; Wolsey had an illegitimate son, Thomas Wintener, whom -- while
still a boy -- the Cardinal appointed Provost of Beverley at an unknown
date, but certainly before March 1526 (41). The Provost was the member
of Chapter responsible for administering the Minster's lands and the
Chapter's revenues generally (42).

Given his undoubted and enormous influence in Beverley and the
surrounding area, as discussed above [A.V.], we might expect to detect
some reflection of the Fifth Earl of Northumberland's 'magnificence' in the Minster stallwork, the building in which, after all, his ancestors, including his father, were already buried, and in which he was shortly to be interred himself. It has, indeed, been suggested above that the Earl's influence is discernible in an indirect way in the Beverley stalls, e.g. in the depictions of the bearward maintained at his expense. Any more direct evidence for his influence, however, seems to be absent, unless we are to interpret the three apparent pike depicted as the supporter carving to [175:9] as one of his heraldic badges, i.e. the 'canting arms' of Lucy.

The Percy badges included the crescent & shackle-bolt (often combined) and together they are found carved on at least two other sets of misericords in Yorkshire, at Hackness [179:7], some time in the fifteenth century, and at Wakefield [185:6], at some date after 1482, and therefore, quite possibly within the earldom of the 'Magnificent' Fifth Earl (1489-1527), but neither crescent nor shackle-bolt are to be found on the Beverley stallwork.

In discussing the righthand supporter to [175:9], however, which depicts three pike-like fish disposed in a triangle with heads and tails slightly overlapping [p1.25], Wildridge noted that

'Three luces or pikes were in the olden times borne by the Lucy family, from whom (by marriage) the Percys received the coat'

adding that 'This is probably a variety of treatment of the same charge'. He might have further noted that the monumental tomb which the Fifth Earl erected in the Percy Chapel c.1490 to the memory of his father, the Fourth Earl, though now sadly depleted, was recorded by Richard Gough in the second volume of his Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain (London, 1796) with an engraved illustration of the many shields which adorned it, including the arms of Lucy in the form of the three
pikes, but disposed vertically in parallel; note the similarity in
treatment of the fishes' tails [pl.26]. Gough also noted the Lucy pikes
in the east window (an alternative possible interpretation of this
piscine triad is discussed below).

The lefthand supporter of [176:16] depicts a 'bird' (Wildridge)
which Remnant terms a 'cock pluming itself' -- certainly the central
carving depicts a cock crowing and the righthand supporter also clearly
features two cockerels.

What Remnant does not record is the mysterious inscription chot,
beneath the lefthand supporter's bird [pl.27]; Wildridge does record the
inscription but without comment or explanation -- presumably because he
was unable to interpret it. On the analogy of the other inscribed
supporters described above, 'chot' should yield the name of one of the
Chapter's officers. With the example of the name 'Sperke' spelled
'Cperke' before us, we should note that in this carved orthography,
'chot' might represent either 'Chat' or 'Shot' -- neither, however,
yields an attested surname (43).

The alternative possibility is that the supporter bird plus
inscription may be a rebus -- if the bird is, indeed, a cock, then a
possible reading is *Cock-shot, which does yield an attested surname
deriving from the well-documented placename represented by modern Cock-
shoot, and the common noun cock-shoot, i.e. 'a place where woodcocks
shoot or dart' (44), 'a glade where woodcock are netted' (45). There are
at least six places so named extant in Yorkshire alone (46), and two
forms roughly contemporary with our stalls include Cokshote (1541) (47),
and Coke Shoute (1539) (48). The English Place Name Society's volumes
for the West Riding similarly records at least 13 fields so named, in-
cluding a Cokshot-halgate in 1487 (49). Dated forms from elsewhere in
the country include Cokkeshot, Oxon., (1422) (50), Cokshote-croft
This placename led to the creation of a topographical surname listed by Reaney s.n. Cockshot etc., from as early as c.1300, the de or atte of the earliest forms having been dropped by the 16th century: cf. John Cocke Shoute (Berkshire, 1562) (52). I now find that this solution was anticipated by Francis Bond who wrote that

'the label CHOT may be Wagshet or Cockshet' (53)

though I cannot see how the former name might be a possibility.

The righthand supporter of this misericord is described by Remnant as 'two cocks fighting on a barrel'[pl.28]. Wildridge glosses this perfectly accurate description with the observation that 'they are literally "cocks on the hoop", i.e. without making the meaning explicit, he suggests that the carver has depicted a visualisation of the expression we know today as cock-a-hoop.

The earliest attestation of this expression is certainly exactly contemporary with our carving:

'He setteth al thynges at cocke in the hope. Omnia in fortunae casibus ponit.' (54)

The gloss, in fortunae casibus, i.e. 'to the whims of fortune, to chance', from Horman's Latin primer or Vulgaria (1519), shows how early the phrase acquired a figurative sense. Hoop, i.e. a metal band, might in this context refer either to the hoop of a wooden beer- or wine-barrel, or to an early type of inn-sign in the form of a metal circle hanging from a pole projecting from the wall of the inn, attested in the names of inns from the 14th century. At cock-a-hoop, OED quite properly queries the latter explanation (why should the cock be singled out for distinction in this manner, in preference to any other of the popular
names for taverns?), but also shows itself unnecessarily suspicious of the derivation implicit in its own earliest attestations of the phrase, Sir Thomas More’s

‘Sette cocke a hoope, and fyll in all the cuppes at ones’ (1529)

and Bale’s

‘Cheare now maye I make, set cocke on the houpe. Fyll in all the pottes, and byd me welcome, hostesse ...’ (1538)

From these and other examples, it is clear that the idiom is ‘to set the cock on the hoop’, and that in this context, cock must mean ‘stop-cock, spigot’ (55), and hoop refer to the hoop of the barrel.

A ceiling painted c.1600 in a mansion known as ‘Tausendlust’ near Graz includes amongst its many grotesque and traditional motifs a cockerel perched on a wine barrel (beneath an ivy-bush) from which the wine pours freely into the goblet of a toper below (56) -- as the same senses were available to German hahn as to English cock, i.e., in this context, ‘(stop-)cock, spigot’ (57), the visual evidence afforded by the Austrian painting might seem to confirm the semantics of the expression ‘cock-a-hoop’ suggested above.

Despite Wildridge’s suggestion, however, it seems unlikely, on balance, that the ‘cock-a-hoop’ idiom is portrayed on our Beverley supporter carving, after all, for the carver has not depicted wine gushing freely from the barrel and why represent two birds when only one, as shown on the ‘Tausendlust’ ceiling, is necessary? The clinching argument, however, must be that the ‘tun’ was the favourite element of the rebus-maker, so many English surnames being of topographical origin, and so many English place-names ending in -ton -- indeed, we have just encountered it in precisely this context on the Doning-TUN supporter [173:12] (58).
Building on an unacknowledged suggestion of E.P. Evans (59), Bond suggested that

'the two cocks on a barrel or tun may be Wake-ing-ton, or Walkington; or they may be Cockton or Cockington;' (60)

The problem with all these solutions, however, is that they do not take account of the plural number of the birds represented. If the carver had wished to spell out 'Cockton' thus, why not one cock only on the barrel? -- in Bishop Langton's chantry chapel in Winchester Cathedral, for example, the carver has depicted a single hen on a tun to represent Prior Hunton (61). I propose instead to see these cockerels as domestic fowls and read FOWLS-TUN, i.e. the surname recorded in Reaney s.n. Foulston, etc. (62), and deriving from a place so called -- he instances Fulstone in the West Riding, spelled 'Fulleston' in 1492 (63).

As Bond writes, 'the centrepiece [of misericord 176:16] is a crowing cock', which he suggests -- but again not acknowledging that Evans is his source -- 'may well mean Wake'. Cockerill seems to me rather more likely, especially as it is the name of an important Beverley family which provided keepers from 1415-1443 (William), in 1479 (Richard) and in 1616 (George), but a member of the equally important Coke family is clearly another possibility, a John Coke similarly serving as a keeper in 1493-4 and 1496-7 (64).

I think we may concur with Bond's conclusion that this stall 'seems to be a joint present of three canons'

who I am suggesting were named Cockshot, Foulston, and Coke/Cockerill.

Finally, I should like to suggest the possibility of somewhat less direct allusions to donors, i.e. a pure pictorialisation of the name, such as we have just conjectured in the case of Coke/Cockerill.
above, without recourse to a banderole inscription or familiar rebus-element such as TUN.

In Appendix I below are listed the names of the 12 governors or keepers of the town of Beverley for the years 1518-19, 1519-20 and 1520-21, i.e., for the period during which we know the stalls were carved. The keepers were, in effect, the Town Council, and elected from amongst the most influential and substantial citizens of the town annually to administer local government (65).

One of the keepers in the year 1518-19, re-elected in 1520-21, was Brian Falconer, and, as suggested above, he is perhaps a candidate for commemoration in the lefthand supporter of [176:3] which, in Wildridge's words represents a 'Falconer sat feeding his hawk', though given the number of other hawking and hunting motifs carved on the stalls, it must be admitted that the likelihood is perhaps not high, nor is it likely that he would wish his gift to be 'signed' quite so anonymously, as it were -- if churchmen did not feel diffident about recording their contributions en toutes lettres, then it seems a layman might expect no less.

Another keeper who might be commemorated, though with similar uncertainty, is the Peter Craw elected to serve in 1519-20, if we can associate him with the lefthand supporter to the fighting dragon seat [177:10], which Wildridge describes as a

'Raven on stump of tree; a cognizance of the Corbet family (corbeau).'

No person of the name Corbet or similar, however, is known to have any connexion with the Minster or the town at this period, so that -- if we must look for a 'canting' badge -- craw, a ME form of 'crow', seems as good as any (66).
The problem of whether a decorative carving is simply that, or whether it has a symbolic function, is brought into sharp focus at Beverley by misericord [176:4 pl.29], described baldly by Remnant as 'Rose-tree with four roses. Supporters: Left and Right, rose.' Wildridge described the central carving, however, as 'Branch or rose tree, with four conventional (Tudor) roses', adding quite rightly that the rose was 'The most popular badge of the Tudors.' For Wildridge, then, the roses are heraldic; this was Bond's opinion too:

'In many cases the heraldry is merely that of the reigning sovereign or dynasty; e.g. a misericord at Beverley Minster carved in 1520 with nothing but roses'. (67)

The rose is also easily the most popular flower to be found on English misericords (at least, the variety of flowers so designated by Remnant (68)), but how is one to decide whether it is present as a Tudor badge, an expression of the carver's loyalty to his King, or whether it is just a rose? As I have suggested below, I believe the context is all. If the rose-tree were simply one of a series of flower carvings among the Beverley misericords, then it would simply be a rose, but, in fact, the majority of floral or foliate carvings are conventionalised and not individuated. Remnant describes five of the Beverley supporters as 'roses', styling the flowers of the boar-hunt misericord [176:13] as 'conventional roses', though 'conventional flowers' might be nearer the mark; the supporters of [176:4] are hardly much less 'conventional', but together with the undoubted tree of four roses which is the central carving of this misericord, one cannot help but feel that they are, indeed, intended as heraldic roses, and that this entire display is intended as a relatively restrained tribute to the House of Tudor, and specifically, to Henry VIII (69).
On the lefthand supporter to a Bowman takes aim at one of the three rabbits who chase each other around in a circle on the right-hand supporter. [pl. 30].

The motif of the circle of rabbits or ‘rabbit trinity’ was both old and widespread in European art by 1520. The earliest known example, features four hares depicted in profile around the sides of a square in a 12th C. French illuminated Bible [Orléans, bib. mun., MS 9, f. 04v.], arranged in such a way that each hare appears to have two ears by borrowing one from the animal in front. This having the ears ‘in common’, was to become very popular and François Garnier has recently interpreted the motif as an attempt on the part of illustrators to convey visually the notion of

‘un mouvement qui recommence régulièrement, d’un cycle répétitif ou au moins d’une permanence concernant le monde créé. Dès le IXe siècle, on trouve dans le Psautier de Corbie un groupe de plusieurs animaux disposés de telle sorte qu’ils forment une course circulaire interminable ... l’image [exprime] l’idée de plénitude, de la continuité du temps et de son rythme répétitif...’ (71)

He presents entirely convincing evidence that these earliest examples were used by the illuminators to render such difficult abstract concepts in the texts they were required to illustrate as *perpetua*, *plenitudo*, and *per singulos annos, cum redeunte tempore*.

By the later Middle Ages, however, it seems unlikely that the motif retains this early theological symbolism, one cannot imagine a 13th C. illuminator allowing some sacrilegious archer to take aim at one of his ‘rabbit trinities’. The motif is popular in late medieval English art, being found in a variety of media, including encaustic floor-tiles (as, for example, in Chester Cathedral) (72), window-glass (in Long Melford church, Suffolk; 15th C.) (73), and on a number of wooden roof-bosses (eight such examples in churches in and around Dartmoor, and not far from Beverley, in the parish church at Selby, Yorks. (74)).
A further suggestive appearance of the motif is as a printer's ornament, for example, in Symphorien Champier's *Nef des Dames* printed by Jacques Arnollet in 1503.

The Beverley rabbits do not have conjoined ears, they merely pursue each other, one behind the other, around the frame of the supporter, but given the prevalence of the motif in the late Middle Ages, it seems likely that they have their origin in such an image; in its present irreverent context, however, it is clearly an image which by this time has lost any hint of the serious religious symbolism it had earlier.

Francois Garnier also published a drawing of four circular medallions placed at the head of a page in a 13thC. manuscript of Peter Riga's *Aurora* (75), inside which are three fish with a common head, four dogs' heads with ears in common, the 3-hares motif, and a tricephalos [pl.31], and commented,

'La signification temporelle de ces motifs semble ne pas faire de doute. Le dernier traduit ... la continuité du passé, du présent et de l'avenir. Les trois autres expriment probablement le mouvement cyclique continu.'

It is the first of these motifs which concerns us next, the three fish with the common head. As we have seen above, the righthand supporter to [175:9], depicts a not dissimilar piscine triad, described in heraldic terms by Wildridge.

The fish on the Beverley supporter are not disposed quite as in the "Aurora" manuscript, however, but in a triangle with heads and tails slightly overlapping; Cave illustrates a very similar boss in the roof of the North transept of Bristol Cathedral [pl.32] and lists several others, stating that

'this arrangement [is] heraldically known as tête à la queue' (76)
and it may, indeed, be that the heraldic interpretation (i.e. as alluding to the Lucy family here) is the correct one for our misericord supporter.

In principle this disposition is to be distinguished from the 'common head' motif of the 13thC. manuscript medallion described above, in which the three fish radiate out from their common head at the centre of the device. Medieval examples of 'les trois poissons à tête unique' in various media include one drawn in Villard de Honnecourt's mid-13thC. sketch-book, a 13thC. paving-tile at Herivaux, a 13thC. roof-boss at Luxeuil, a 14thC. dish made in Orvieto, an instance painted in a margin of the English Peterborough Psalter of c.1300 [Brussels, bib. roy., MS 9961-62], and a wall-painting in Fenis Castle in the Aosta valley, dated to c.1400 (77).

Another similarly distinct yet related piscine motif which would appear to belong originally to the cyclicity complex is that of four fish disposed in a circle, each with the tail of the one in front in its mouth -- this is found in English medieval art, for example, on a late 13thC. roof-boss in the Lady Chapel of Exeter Cathedral (78), and shortly after, on the early 14thC. Steeple Aston cope (79).
1 Statistics are, of course, proverbially invidious, and I do not insist on the precision of figures which are necessarily calculated subjectively. I have, for example, not included any of the motifs of possibly religious significance discussed under the heading 'Exempla' -- others might feel that all these should properly be included -- even if they were, however, the effect of their inclusion would hardly alter the overall impression of a minute proportion of religious motifs depicted in our stalls.

2 Wildridge, 22. His comments on this office are worth quoting in full:

'He was a dignitary by common law, while the chancellor and sacrist were only so by custom. At Beverley he was a parson, but the chief rector in the choir. His duty was to overlook and conduct the musical portion of the service, and to provide books and writing materials. He had a yearly salary, and fifty-two quarters of oats.'

3 The influence of the designs in the blockbook Biblia Pauperum on ecclesiastical art throughout Europe was enormous, and is discussed, for example, in Henry, esp. 35ff. Of particular relevance to the present inquiry, of course, are the four derived misericords at Ripon -- see [C.II.c].

4 Anderson, 104, notes that this subject also appears on a bench-end at Milverton in Somerset.

5 Information from Dr. John Cherry of the British Museum.


7 Reproduced as pl.30 in Anderson.

8 Catalogue Nos. F7 and F8 in Angels ..., 107f.

9 Bond, 156; Wildridge, 16.

10 Kindly drawn to my attention by Dr. Brian Spencer, the badge was recovered from the Thames foreshore at the southern end of Southwark Bridge, and is now in a private collection.

12 Reproduced as pl.296 in Cave.

13 For other examples of such heraldic angels -- mainly from 15thC. stalls -- see the (incomplete) list given in Remnant, "Iconographical Index", 210, 'With shields'.


15 W. M. Voelkle, "Morgan Manuscript M. 1001: The Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Evil Ones" in ed. A. E. Farkas et al., Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval World (Mainz, 1987), 105 and pl.XXXIX, fig.5.

16 Though they were depicted on bench-ends, e.g. at Wiggenhall St. Germans, Norfolk, and at Blythburgh, Suffolk. Several of the Norwich series, including Avarice, would appear to have been destroyed.

17 Reproduced in Anderson, pl.56.

18 N.W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (East Lansing, 1952), 73.

19 The 1510 Hardouyn Horae has recently been made available in a facsimile edition with commentary by C. Čáspodi, (Budapest, 1989). It was one of the devils of this misericord which Purvis thought looked 'very like a reproduction of a German woodcut' -- J.S. Purvis, "The Ripon Carvers and the Lost Choir-Stalls of Bridlington Priory" in Yorkshire Archaeological Journal 29 (1929), 157ff., cap. 102.


21 Bloomfield, op. cit., 150.

22 For which see J.S. Norman, Metamorphoses of an Allegory: The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art (New York/Bern/Frankfurt/Paris, 1989).

23 Reproduced in Voelke, op. cit., as pl.LII, fig. 23a.


25 Reproduced as fig. 55 in Maeterlinck, 85. Verspaandonk, dates the Bruges stalls 1430 (in the later German version of his paper, however, they are dated 1425x1450).
26 Although Wildridge clearly reproduced in his drawing of these inscriptions (pl.LXXI), the correct readings as above, his text (p.31) gives "doctoris" and "eccle", which erroneous readings were -- all too predictably -- taken up by Remnant [176:12].

27 Bond, 194, declares it 'a dove or partridge'.


For a further possible hawk-and-dove/pigeon carving [176:3 right], see the remarks below.

30 The slightly more satisfying DOE-IN-TUN is also possible, 'in' at this period being possible to convey the sense of 'on (top of)'.

31 This is also Bond's conclusion, 194.

32 Wildridge, 38.

33 Bond declares that the motif 'must have some esoteric significance'.

34 [54:11], dated 1515, and referred to by Wildridge, 38.

35 The date of the St. David's stall is from Tracy (1990). Another example of the two dogs fighting over one bone motif, is the main subject of a misericord [5:6] in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, c.1480.

36 See further the discussion below on the possibility that the left supporter to [176:3] might be a pictorialisation of the name 'Falconer'.

37 For a discussion of the original synonymy of the names 'chough' and 'daw', see W.B. Lockwood, The Oxford Book of British Bird Names (Oxford, 1984), s.v. chough.

38 R. E. Horrox, "The Archbishop and Beverley", in VCH, 11.

40 G.H.R. Kent, "Political Affairs before 1542", in ibid., 70, citing a document in the Humberside County Record Office in Beverley, numbered BC/II/6/19.

41 see A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (revised ed., London, 1967), 64, and A.F. Pollard, Wolsey (London, 1929), 308ff. Wynter's dates are obscure; the first mention of his existence is with his tutor in November 1521 and he still has a tutor in 1528, by which time he was, presumably, in late adolescence. Wildridge, 22, refers to a sum of money paid to the Thomas Donington whose name and office are carved on misericord [173:12] recorded in the comptus or accounts of Thomas Barton, receiver general of the lands of Thomas Wyntor, Provost of Beverley, for the year 1531-2. We can, at any rate be sure that he was a boy in 1520, and may already have been Provost. The previous Provost, Thomas Dalby, was appointed in 1503 -- see G. Poulson, Beverlac (London, 1829), 653.

42 'The office was a lucrative one and was considered an appropriate reward for leading royal servants ...' R. E. Horrox, "The Chapter and Beverley", in VCH, 16.

43 chot is attested as a word by the dictionaries, but only as a contracted, dialect form of ich wot, i.e. 'I know' -- however, such conventionalised first person forms of the verb beginning with ch- are appropriate to South Western dialect, not to that of the North Midlands; nor would it be easy to suggest quite what such a delphic utterance (by a bird) could be said to refer to.


46 ibid., Part VIII (Cambridge, 1963), 40.


49 op. cit., 172.


51 These forms are quoted from the EPNS volumes covering Cheshire, ed. J.McN. Dodgson (Cambridge, 1970-81).

53 Bond, 196.

54 This is the earliest citation given in Whiting, C 356.

55 Evidence that *cock* could mean 'stop-cock, spigot, tap' is provided by OED's late 16thC. citations (its late 15thC. citation, unfortunately, is not sufficiently explicit) and by the German parallel quoted of 1503 -- the late medieval reaßium of the tap- or spigot-handle in the shape of a cockerel, which is the origin of this usage, I have discussed and exemplified in Jones (1991b), including Dürrer's important visual pun in his "Männerbad".

56 Reproduced as part of Abb. 348 in Warncke, and 64f.

57 See my discussion of this point in Jones (1991b).

58 *tun-* rebuses are so ubiquitous that it is perhaps redundant to cite other examples; however, I refer the sceptic to those illustrated on p.116 of F.A. Girling, *English Merchants' Marks* (London, 1964).


60 Bond, 196.

61 Cave, 83.

62 op. cit. in n.52 above.

63 Smith, op. cit. in n.45, Part II (Cambridge, 1961), 239.

64 Names and dates of Beverley keepers or governors from the "Lists of Officers" compiled by K.J. Allison in *VCH*, 198-202 -- see Appendix I below.


66 Bond's observation that a dove and raven are a part of the story of Noah's ark (131), is quite irrelevant.
See the "Iconographical Index" in Remnant, 214. This index is very far from being comprehensive, of course, none of the three Manchester misericords, none of the seven at Ripon, nor any of the similar number at Durham Castle which are described as featuring roses, being included!

I see now that this was evidently Bond’s conclusion too, 196.

Earliest European example, that is -- if Baltrusaitis’s dating of the 3-hares pattern carved as the central motif of the floor of one of the caves of the Buddhist monastery of Touen-houang in Chinese Turkestan, as ‘Xe siècle’, is to be trusted, then it would be the earliest known example of this motif. He further illustrates the design from a silver vase of 12th-13thC. date, accompanied by an inscription in Cufic, found in the Perm region of the USSR. see J. Baltrusaitis, Le Moyen Age Fantastique: Antiquités et Exotismes dans l’Art Gothique (Paris, 1931), 132-4, and fig.96. Whatever reservations one may have about Baltrusaitis’s theory of derivation, both in general and with regard to specific motifs, his book does provide a useful list of such motifs -- neglected by more conventional art historians -- as in the present instance.

I list here other examples not otherwise noticed above or below:

i.) inside the initial ‘D’ on f. 201r. of Paris, bib. nat. 3304, a Decretals manuscript, is a 4-hare design (reproduced in A. Melnikas, The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani (Rome, 1975), fig. 3.

ii.) a quadrilobate ornament, another 4-hare design, on a door of Lyon Cathedral dating to 1310X1320.


vi-vii.) Calling the motif ‘fréquent dans l’est de la France’, he cites Thielouise and Xertigny.

viii-ix.) In Switzerland he adds Muotatal Abbey, and in Germany, Münster.

x.) Baltrusaitis reproduces as his fig. 97, a Dutch circular engraving dated 1576 (by ‘Alubertus’), the accompanying verses to which prove that it is conceived purely in the spirit of a visual game, with no longer any hint of symbolism.

xi.) In the Fürstliche Sammlungen in Sigmaringen, the ‘Hasendrei’ appears in reserve on the lid/cover of an item in the collection numbered 7356.

xii.) In U. Jesse, "Beiträge zur Volkskunde und Ikonographie des Haseen" in Volkskunde-Arbeit (1934), 150-75, he reproduces as Taf.9, Abb.4, a coloured drawing from a page of the Stammbuch of Hartwig von Dassel (1557-1608) in Lüneburg, which must have
been executed c.1575, showing the same familiar 3-hare pattern but interestingly with the added inscription 'Unser Sein Vier' [We Are Four], showing that to the visual game of the conjoined ears, has been added the equally familiar 'We Three [Loggerheads]'joke at the viewer's expense, and also, incidentally, that the hare is considered as a (proverbially) foolish animal, and here takes the place of the more usual ass -- for a disussion of this type of trick visual insult, see Mezger 69-71.

xiii.) Baltrusaitis, op. cit. 134, notes that the motif 'finit sur une enseigne: "L'Hostellerie aux trois lapins", but does not date or locate the inn-sign. Larwood & Hotten, 105, note that 'the Three Conies figure on an old trades token of Blackman St. [London]. There is still a house of this sign at Thorpe Mandeville, Northants., and a Three Rabbits at 833, Ramford Rd., E [London].' The tokens in question are of early 17th century date ....... Sir Ambrose Heal, The Sign Boards of Old London Shops (London, 1957), notes two shops called Three Rabbits, one in Cornhill occupied by a furrier in 1754, and the other in the Strand, attested in 1737 -- he reproduces the latter's sign which does not show the conjoined ears, but this seems likely to have been the prototype.

xiv.) In Hahnloser's 2nd ed., op. cit. in n.77 below, he adds a further example from a fresco in Schloss Fenis in the Aosta valley of c.1400.


72 Other tile examples are to be found in Long Crendon church, Bucks., and Notley Abbey, Oxon. -- see C. Woodforde, The Norwich School of Glass-Painting in the 15th Century (Oxford, 1950), 123, citing L. Haberly, Medieval English Paving tiles (Oxford, 1937), 163.

73 Woodforde, op. cit., 123; on p.124 he refers to two similar panes formerly in the collection of the antiquary, William Cole. A window in the 15thC. cloister of Paderborn Cathedral in Germany is perhaps the most famous example of the motif, now the emblem of the town.

74 Cave, 71, and figs. 49. & 182.


76 An Early English example at Beaulieu, Hants., another in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester Cathedral, and a third in the Choir of Peterborough Cathedral --- Cave, 73 & p1.30. To these examples may be added a graffito on a pillar in the North aisle of Great Yeldham church, Essex, reproduced as fig. 123 of V. Pritchard, English
Medieval Graffiti (Cambridge, 1967). The motif certainly also appears as a heraldic device on a portrait of William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen (d.1514), painted by a Flemish artist.

77 Baltrusaitis, op. cit., 134ff., from Hahnloser. Villard de Honne-court's 13thC. sketchbook is ed. H.R. Hahnloser (2nd ed., Graz, 1972), pl.38(b), but this, in fact, is another example of the 'common head' design, as found in the 13thC. "Aurora" manuscript. Hahnloser lists further examples at ibid., 99, and 361.


The Fool and Follies

B.III.a. The Fool

There seems not to have been any earlier discussion of the figure of the fool in English medieval woodwork, which will perhaps excuse a somewhat fuller than necessary treatment of certain aspects of fool iconography here.

The extant stall and bench-end carvings appear to fall chronologically into two broad groups, an earlier 14thC. group and a later group spanning the closing decades of the 15th and the opening decades of the 16th century, a period which there is good reason to regard as the heyday of the fool.

Although a degree of continuity of interest in the figure of the fool could be demonstrated by pressing into service the evidence of other media, e.g. manuscript illumination, there is no doubt that the late 15th/early 16thC. renaissance of the fool image in English woodwork is part of the late medieval pan-European craze for the fool which has been amply documented (1), and in which early printed books, above all Brant’s Narrenschiff (1494) with well over 100 influential woodcuts by Dürer and others, played a major role. It is significant, for example, that two English translations of Brant, both incorporating copies of the same woodcuts, were made as early as 1509.

Fool carvings are curiously absent from other ‘Trans-Pennine’ sites; there are none at Ripon (c.1490), for example, but there is a superb double fool’s-head elbow-rest at Manchester (c.1506) (see Appendix II. for full discussion of this important piece of English fool iconography). At Beverley, however, – as might be expected historically (see below) – several misericords and supporters are thus decorated.
The Manchester fool's-head elbow-rest is not isolated in English ecclesiastical woodwork, two other late examples can be seen at Godmanchester (1470s) and St. Davids (c.1500); the latter features only the close-fitting ass-eared hood, whereas that at Godmanchester includes the hood terminating in a bell, and long pendent sleeves which also come to a belled point.

The elbow-rest was a popular site for a decorative fool's-head and on the Continent there are several parallels; at Hoogstraeten in Belgium (1532-1546), for example, one fool stares intently at his marotte, while another 'looks through his fingers'; a fool's-head elbow with eared hood and decidedly simian features was carved between 1469 and 1474 by Jörg Syrlin the Elder on a stall in Ulm Cathedral (2). Another such elbow may be seen on a stall at Bolsward carved during the 1480s; here the hood bears long upstanding ass's ears and the remains of a tubular and probably phallic cock's neck (the cock's head having been, perhaps deliberately, broken off) (3). The bagpiping fool carved by the Rhenish/Flemish master Rodrigo Aleman on another stall-elbow in the cathedral of Plasencia in Spain (c.1500), is of particular iconographical interest in that, in tune with the erotic suggestiveness of the instrument itself, his genitals are prominently if 'accidentally' exposed.

Fool carvings abound at Beverley, as might be expected historically in a town where the popular medieval Feast of Fools seems to have survived longest in England (4). A document dated 1391 of great importance for the history of early English drama survives in the form of a letter from Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, concerning the better government of the church at Beverley and forbidding the ancient and customary [antique consuetudine] celebration of the Feast of the Rex Stultorum (Nationally, however, the feast was not formally abolished until a royal proclamation of 1542) (5).
The Feast of Fools, popular throughout Continental Europe in the late Middle Ages, is somewhat scantily attested in England, except at Lincoln and Beverley, and at Beverley despite his prohibition against clerical celebration of the Feast, even Archbishop Arundel is prepared to allow the continuation of the ancient custom known as 'les Fulles', as one of the Christmas games permitted to the laity.

We turn now, after these brief remarks on fool costume and fool carvings in woodwork in general, to a consideration of the Beverley fools in particular. They fall into two groups thematically: four misericords which present the fool's head in eared hood (including one uncertain example), and a fifth misericord depicting three fools dancing

[177:8] confronts us with a grinning fool in close-fitting eared hood, the forefinger of his right hand in the righthand corner of his mouth, while the forefinger of his left hand rests above or pulls at his left eyebrow [pls.33-4]. Both supporters depict web-footed birds intended for geese [pl.35], the appropriateness of which is discussed below. The only other conjunction of these same two gestures known to me is to be found on the early 14thC. 'gittern' terminal in the British Museum of probable English manufacture, recently compared by Charles Tracy to the Winchester stallwork carving (6).

As for the "meaning" of this fool's face, it might, of course, be purely whimsical, a piece of grotesquerie merely, yet both gestures considered separately can be assigned conventional meanings. The iconography of historical gesture is still in its infancy but -- in an admittedly modern survey -- the gesture termed 'the Eyelid Pull' signifies, "I'm alert, I'm no fool". Could this fool paradoxically be trying to tell us he is no fool, he is, in Hamlet's cryptic phrase, 'but mad north-north-west'? 
However unjustly, the goose is considered a proverbially foolish bird: it is precisely at this time in the early 16th century that comparisons such as Skelton's 'as wytless as a wylde goos' are first found in English and other European languages (cf. Fr. aussi sage comme une oye (7)). It is also the bird par excellence associated with the fool; a contemporary misericord at Christchurch (1515) depicts a jester offering a plate of bread to a goose [54:9], and the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York (1465-1503) record payment to 'John Goose, my lord of Yorkes fole'. s.v. Tom-fool, OED cites from a work by Calfhill dated 1565, 'I might byd them tell them, as Tom foole did his geese', which perhaps alludes to some humorous anecdote in which the fool is unable to count a flock of geese because they all look the same (?). In his study of a portrait of "Tom Skelton -- A Seventeenth Century Jester", E.W. Ives relates the following anecdote of this real-life North Country household-fool:

'He is supposed to have outwitted a condescending servant, who asked if the Esk was fordable at a particular spot, by saying that "Nine of our family have just gone over". The footman thereupon stepped into a very deep pool and was saved from drowning only by being helped out by his tormentor. The fool explained afterwards that the members of his family who had crossed the river were geese.' (8)

Another popular anecdote told how the fool, worried that the geese will drown, 'saved' them by tucking them under his belt, thereby throttling them. This appeared as an emblem in Wither's A Collection of Emblemes Ancient and Moderne (London, 1635), including the engraving (by Crispin de Passe) still labelled "Claus Narr" (!) taken directly from Rollenhagen's second emblem-book of 1613 and showing the fool with the geese hanging from his belt in mid-stream; it would be interesting to know whether the Ely stall of c.1342 [18:15], described by Remnant as 'Jester (body gone) standing in water', once alluded to this same folly motif. The magnificent 'Ambraser Narrenteller' painted in 1528 includes
a man -- with similar foolishness -- carrying a goose across the bridge over the river (9).

The OED's sense l.e. of goose is glossed, with characteristic editorial fairness, 'with allusion to the supposed stupidity of the bird', and sense l.f., 'hence fig. a foolish person, a simpleton'; the Dictionary's first citation in this sense, however, is peculiarly relevant to our present concern, and comes from a homily "Against Contention", intended for preaching throughout the churches of Henry VIII's realm in 1547:

'Shall I stand still, like a goose or a fool, with my finger in my mouth?'

This quotation significantly combines three of the elements which go to make up our misericord carving -- the fool, the goose, and the finger in the mouth -- and constitutes valuable proof that the goose supporters are not merely whimsical, decorative additions.

The finger in the mouth gesture perhaps originally betokened the drooling of the natural fool, the village idiot, rather than the 'artificial' fool or jester, but however that may be, it appears as a detail of fool iconography as early as the series of mid-13thC. Apocalypse manuscripts, which in their miniature depicting St. John being led away from Domitian's court, include a (?crippled) half-naked, tonsured fool kneeling beside the Emperor's throne, brandishing a decidedly phallic bladder-stick in one hand and having the forefinger of his other hand in his mouth (10). From then on the motif is relatively common in the atheistic fool of the Dixit Insipiens psalter initials, but is found in all media (11).

The neighbouring misericord [177:7] which also features two goose supporters [p1.37] (12), presents a fool's head in eared hood on top of which stand two birds -- not geese, for they do not have webbed feet --
pecking at the fool's head [pl.36]. As to the precise species of bird intended by the carver, along with its proverbial baldness, it is exactly at this time in the early 16th century, that the coot is first styled 'the mad coote' in Skelton's "Philip Sparrow" (a.1508), and cf. a line from Bale's *King Johan* (c.1548):

'Thow semyste by thy wordes, to haue no more wytt than a coote.'

The late W.B. Yapp, the authority on medieval depictions of birds, suggested to me, on the other hand, that -- especially when considered in comparison with the carving on a late 15thC. misericord at Lavenham [146:1], which he regarded as depicting a pair of spoonbills intended by the carver as ibises -- these Beverley birds may also have been intended as ibises (13). He noted that in two English 'Second Family' Bestiary manuscripts (14) the ibis is depicted, as on the Lavenham seat, feeding on human heads. In the context of the Beverley misericord, however, none of these Bestiary human heads wears a fool's hood, and I am still inclined to look for an appropriately 'foolish' bird -- as the coot undoubtedly was by the time of carving -- and to believe that the carver has done his best to delineate that bird with its wader-type feet.

The third misericord in this group situated nearby [177:11] -- has it, in fact, been moved? -- shows a grinning fool's head in the usual ass-eared hood as the central subject [pl.38], with somewhat puzzling supporters: an elderly man smiling, full-face, on the left, and a face of indeterminate sex with apparently puckered lips, in profile on the right [pl.39]. Is he perhaps whistling in derision at the fool he faces? cf. Cranmer in 1549:

'If we take it for a Canterbury tale, ... why do we not laugh it out of place, and whistle at it?' (15)
Or perhaps he is hooting -- another appropriate response to a foolish tale, cf. Leontes'  

'That she is living,  
Were it but told you, should be hooted at  
Like an old tale ... '  

A further possibility is referred to in one of Erasmus's Colloquies, "A Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake", first published in Latin in Basel in 1526, but referring to a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury which he made in the company of John Colet c.1513 (17). Under the pseudonym 'Gratian', Erasmus describes Colet's reaction to being offered a filthy rag, allegedly a relic of one of St. Thomas's garments, to kiss:

'He touched the piece with his fingers, not without sign of disgust, and put it back scornfully, puckering his lips as though whistling. (This is what he ordinarily did if he came across anything he thought contemptible.) '

The fool's head in ass-eared hood was a popular and attractive subject -- a triangular composition with the ears forming the upper two vertices of the triangle, as on the two fools' heads at Leuven (one of whom contorts his mouth into a lop-sided grimace), the luxuriantly moustached fool at Breda, and the fool who sticks out his tongue at Levroux.

The last member of this Beverley group of four fool's heads, [176:15], is somewhat uncertainly included in it. We are presented with the head and shoulders of a man pulling the corners of his mouth apart in the grimace known in German as a 'Gähnmaul' (18); in place of the usual fool's hood, however, he seems to wear a hat or cap with lappets where the fool's ass's ears would normally be, which flop forwards, rather in the manner of dog's ears [p1.40]. I am inclined to believe that these derive ultimately from some indistinct model which in fact
depicted the usual fool’s eared hood, the more so as it is possible to
point to examples of this same gesture performed by traditionally hooded
fools, most notably on one of the Westminster supporters [98:7 pl.41] --
if we can assume that, like his opposite number, he too is intended as a
fool. There can be no doubt, however, about the two fool’s heads carved
on misericords at Ulm by Jörg Syrlin in 1474; as well as pulling the
sides of their mouths apart, these fools in eared hoods also stick out
their tongues for good measure [pls. 43-4]. (Another fool in eared hood
who simply sticks out his tongue without making the Gähnmaul grimace is
depicted on the misericord at Levroux (19)). The Beverley grimacer is
flanked on either side by lion-mask supporters -- a common enough motif
in the corpus of misericord carvings as a whole -- but these lions also
stick out their tongues, as if in gestural support of the grimace of the
central carving [pl.45].

Lateral mouth-pullers not indicated as fools certainly occur
elsewhere in English woodwork, a particularly impressive example can be
seen on a misericord at Sherborne Abbey (c.1440) [38:2]; perhaps
inspired by the late 14thC. stone roof-corbel in the south transept),
and there are two at Winchester c.1308 [57:13 & 59:1 bis]; at Finch-
ingfield in Essex is a one-handed example of 13thC. date who pulls his
mouth downwards. There are also examples in stone from the corbel-tables
of Romanesque churches, e.g. the ‘Herefordshire school’ piece in the
Victoria & Albert Museum collection, and a figure on the façade of the
church at Cerne Abbas; a combined mouth-pull and tongue-out gesture
occurs on a figure on the roof screen at Willingham, Cambs., whose
tongue hangs down over the genital area (like some of the French Roman-
esque examples).

Röhrich, Marrow, and Hansmann/Kriss-Rettenbeck have taught us to
look closely at scenes of the Passion and Mocking of Christ for illus-
trations of often forgotten gestures of derision, and the Gähnmaul is
frequently depicted in that context. Schmitt has importantly emphasised the close connexion between late medieval paintings of this scene and contemporary dramatic representations:

'L'éloquence des gestes retient particulièrement l'attention dans les représentations dramatiques de la Passion du Christ, sur la scène du théâtre religieux comme dans la peinture des retables du Moyen Age tardif'. (20)

We may be sure that these gestures of derision had a currency in everyday life and it would be mistaken to look for a 'source' as such for them; however, especially in a town like Beverley with not one but two play-cycles, there may be a link with the drama in these frozen gestures.

A.H. Nelson has calculated that the Beverley Corpus Christi guild-pageants were most likely to have been not 'plays of moderate length', as in contemporary York, but 'brief presentations', probably little more than *tableaux vivants* staged for only a few minutes each before the pageant-waggon trundled on to the next station. Such a mode of presentation would mean, for example, that the players of the 'Scorgynge' which the late 15thC. list assigns to Beverley's Butchers, or the 'Stanginge' staged by the Weavers, would inevitably select for representation the most dramatic moments, precisely those, indeed, which the painters of altar-pieces and devotional miniatures had long established as traditional. The various acts of derision seen in many a painted 'Mocking of Christ' must have made a powerful impression on the onlooker when bodied forth by pageant actors frozen in mid-gesture. A simultaneous Gähnmaul and tongue-out gesture is made by one of the mockers of Christ on the outer side of the left wing of the Bamberg altarpiece, for example, dated 1429 (21). A small figure who makes the double gesture but also is given large ears possibly intended for those of a fool, directs his insult apparently at the spectator, but in the context of Christ's carrying of the cross, while he is assailed by a
woman with a club and a cripple with a spiked club in a fresco in the nave of Ottestrup church in Denmark, dated to 1515X1521 (22). The Gähnmahl is frequently 'amplified' thus by the sticking out of the tongue, as for example on one of the Leuven misericords where the woman's head and shoulders emerge from a window to offer the spectator this insult, her elbows making contact with the seat-ledge in exactly the same way as at Beverley, and in the Ulm misericords discussed above.

The misericord of the three dancing fools [176:21] is of particular interest for English fool iconography [pl.46].

The central fool of the main carving has the usual close-fitting eared hood with cock's comb ridge and scalloped tunic and holds the hands of the fools on either side of him. The lefthand fool's left arm is now broken off though it was entire when Wildridge made his drawing in the late 1870's. The righthand fool, as well as wearing the traditional fool's costume, 'holds behind his head a wooden scimitar', as Wildridge termed it (or perhaps it is, rather, a dagger), a fact overlooked by subsequent commentators. This is a suggestive attribute as pace Wildridge, who saw in it

'... the remnant of the gladius of the ancient Tuscan and Roman fools which is yet preserved in the wand of the modern harlequin'

-- it is not a part of the normal fool iconography. We should have expected to see the familiar marotte (or bauble as it was referred to technically in contemporary English), such, indeed, as the fool carries in the 'morris dance' engraved by Israhel van Meckenem in the late 15thC. [pl.47], and which Grässinger and others have cited as a comparison with our carving (23).

The contemporary figure for whom the wooden sword or dagger is a sine qua non at this date, however, is the Vice, as Sandra Billington
points out in discussing a most interesting illustration of a fool who is labelled *cachinor* (defined as 'one who laughs immoderately and without intelligence') in an "Etymologia" manuscript of c.1300 (24); the figure in question is depicted prancing naked except for a two-eared hood, a bauble, a single shoe (which Billington finds 'curious', but is, in fact, a well-attested folly-motif and feature of fool iconography (25)), and 'an ornamental sword'. She notes that this sword is to become 'the hallmark of the Drama Fool' (26), a confusing statement later amended to

>'the wooden dagger carried by the naked fool of c.1300 is kept by the Vice as a comic property and retained by the 18thC. Harlequin' (27)

Late Elizabethan and Jacobean writers were plainly convinced that the wooden sword or dagger was the Vice's characteristic attribute:

'It was a pretty part in the old Church-playes, when the nimble Vice would skip vp nimbly like a Lacke an Apes into the devils necke, and ride the devill a course, and belabour him with his woorden dagger, til he made him roare.'

[Harsnett, Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures 1603, p.114-5]

'... this roaring devil i' th' old play, that every one may pare his nails with a wooden dagger ...'

[Shakespeare, Henry V (1599) IV.iv.73f.]

'... the old Vice .../ Who, with dagger of lath, in his rage and his wrath, / Cries, "Ah, hal" to the devil:/ Like a mad lad, "Pare thy nails, dad./ Adieu, goodman devil!"

[Shakespeare Twelfth Night (1601) IV.ii.127ff.]

'... How like you the Vice i'the Play?'

'... But here is never a Fiend to carry him away. Besides, he has never a wooden dagger! I'd not give a rush for a Vice, that has not a wooden dagger to snap at every body he meetes.'

[Jonson]
In Jonson's play *The Divell is an Asse* (1616), the Vice (named Iniquity) recalls that about the year 1560,

'every great man had his 'Vice' [i.e. household fool]
stand by him,
In his long coat, shaking his wooden dagger.'

In *Bussy d'Ambois* (1604) Chapman alludes to the jester's 'wooden dagger' and some twenty years later Fletcher & Rowley in *The Noble Gentleman* (a.1625) similarly refer to the fool's 'guarded coat, and ... great wooden dagger' (28).

The Vice (named Inclination) does indeed carry a wooden dagger in the morality play *The Trial of Treasure* (1567), but there is a most suggestive entry in the Revels accounts for 1551, recording a payment to one Nycolas Germayne for

'one vyces dagger & a ladle with a bable pendante by hym garnished & deliverid to the Lorde of mysrules foole ... in december.' (29)

In a most revealing manner this entry proves that although, by 1551 at least, the wooden dagger was felt to belong to the Vice figure ('one vyces dagger'), on occasions it was also used by the Fool. We know that this was indeed the case in the drama too, for in Wager's *The Longer Thou Livest The More Fool Thou Art* (1559), the protagonist Moros [i.e. "Fool"] brandishes both a sword and a dagger, but he is given them by the Vice-figure, Wrath (lines 830f.). The figure of Moros, though ostensibly the fool, is typical of the mid-16thC. hybrid Fool-Vice; cf., for example, his last exit:

'Moros: If it please the devil me to have
Let him carry me away on his back...
[S.D. Exit Moros on Confusion's back]'

as we have seen above, this was the traditional exit of the Vice-figure in the morality play (see especially the Harsnett citation).
The Beverley seat carved in 1520 is thus important evidence that the Fool might borrow the Vice’s dagger at a time when ‘the old Church-playes’ in Harsnett’s phrase (i.e. the moralities) were still a living tradition.

To turn now to the fools carved on the supporters: the right-hand one plays a pipe and tabor, the instruments which traditionally accompany the ‘morris dance’, such as we see, for example, in both Van Meckenem’s engravings of the subject [p.47], in Erhard Schoen’s drawing (1542) and in that by Hans Süss von Kulmbach (c.1510), on the side of a ?Flemish ivory casket (c.1500) now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, Hans Leinberger’s woodcut illustration of c.1520, the Innsbruck Goldenes Dachl bas-reliefs of c.1500 and survivors from a similar mid-15thC. series formerly in the Figdor Collection in Vienna, and a leather coffer in the Museum at Clermont-Ferrand (c.1450X60), to cite only those representations from the late 15th and earlier part of the 16thC (30). A relevant native parallel is the little-known oak panel carved with an apparent morris-dance of probable 16thC. date from Lancaster Castle (31); again the dance includes a musician with pipe and tabor, four dancers and a fool with marotte, belled costume and hood (a rather mysterious seventh figure is interpreted as the ‘Maid Marion’ or ‘Bessy’, i.e. a man dressed up as a woman (32) ). It is a great pity we know nothing further of the silver cup carved with a ‘moreys dauns’ mentioned in a will of 1458 from Bury St. Edmunds (33).

In Huschenbett’s ”Die Frau mit dem Apfel und Frau Venus in Moriskentanz und Fastnachtspiel” (34), the best analysis of early representations of the ‘morris’, pipe and tabor are, indeed, referred to as the characteristic instruments of the morris-dance musician. In most of these ‘morris-dance’ representations, however, the musician is not costumed as a fool but wears ordinary dress, Erhard Schoen’s drawing is an exception, all four participants being in fool’s dress.
The lefthand supporter of our misericord is also of great interest; he wears the same scalloped tunic and eared hood as his fellows, but holds in his right hand a stick from which a decidedly phallic bladder (?) dangles. With his right hand he points upwards with his index finger [pl.48] (35).

Certainly fools do point out scenes of folly for us (especially in the graphic arts) and there is just such an ass-eared fool with pointing index finger on the 16thC. Hemingborough panel also in our county ([p1.49] though he points only at the neighbouring scenes of monsters fighting), and another very fine hooded fool with pendent belled sleeves and fool's-head-topped marotte-staff with apparently pointing finger from an originally secular context now in Kirkby Wharfe church, also in Yorkshire [p1.50] (36). Grössinger suggests that the Beverley supporter fool is pointing 'probably at the foolish behaviour' [of the central carving], but it is noticeable that his finger does not point at them (which perhaps explains her hesitancy), but up in the air. Especially given the form of the bladder and the pelvic thrust of this small fool, which has the effect of emphasising his codpiece, I believe the fool's erect finger may, indeed, have been intended as a phallic suggestion (37).

Grössinger has written of this seat in terms of the dance around the Woman (whether Frau Venus, Frau Minne or some other anonymous but equally beguiling Lady) who offers the best dancer a prize (whether apple or ring):

'Although there is no woman present on the Beverley misericord, a woman probably is meant to be the cause of the fools' gyrations' (38)

Although there is certainly evidence for this sort of courtly game at this time -- cf. the moresque staged at the young Henry VIII's court in 1514, which featured two ladies, called Beauty and Venus, dancing to
minstrelsy in an interlude with six men, one of whom was dressed as a fool -- the absence of a woman on our carving seems to me to constitute a fatal objection to this derivation. I see this misericord as simply depicting an exhibitionist dance of fools in the tradition of the Feast of Fools, a tradition still vigorous in the Beverley of the early 16th C.

As it happens, we are fortunate enough to have precisely contemporary evidence of this continuing tradition locally, in the Household Books of Henry Percy, Fifth Earl of Northumberland (1478-1527). Both seats of the Percy family were in Yorkshire, at Wressle near Selby, and Leconfield, just two miles north of Beverley. Ian Lancashire, in publishing the Earl's "Orders for Twelfth Day and Night circa 1515 in the Second Northumberland Household Book" (39) has used both extant Household Books to reconstruct the order of events over the Twelve Days of Christmas at whichever of his seats the Earl chose to spend the feast.

The Fifth Earl, known to later historians as the "Magnificent" Earl, was -- in Lancashire's words -- 'an outstanding patron of drama and the arts' (40). He kept four players of interludes, who also travelled about the country performing in other lords' houses (including the King's), entertained other visiting troupes of players at his houses, and, as we have seen, his almoner also acted as his 'maker of Interludys', being responsible -- so Lancashire conjectures -- for the extant play Youth of 1514. Another of the Earl's retainers, one William Peeris/Pyers, was paid by the governors of Beverley in 1519-20 to undertake a 'transposing' or 'alteration' of the town's Corpus Christi play. In addition, I have given my reasons above for the conjecture that John Skelton may also have composed 'pageants' played in one of the Fifth Earl's Northumberland castles [A.IV.]. It is clear that the Earl and his household were a highly important part of the local artistic scene.
On the Feast of Holy Innocents (Dec. 28th) the Boy Bishop ("Barne-Bishop") would arrive at the Earl's house, as recorded in the following entry from the First Household Book:

'Item. My Lord usith and accustomyth yerely when his Lordship is at home to yef unto the Barne-Bishop of Beverlay when he comith to my Lorde in Cristmas Hally-Dayes when my Lord kepith his Hous at Lekynfeld -- xx s.' (41)

Another entry which has been overlooked implies that the Boy-Bishop -- here termed 'Saynt Nicolas' -- was some years acted by one of the 'Childeren of his Chapell', i.e. one of the choristers who were part of the Earl's household, but provision was also made in the book for an annual salary to be paid to the 'Saynt Nicolas' who 'com owt of the T Owen wher my Lord lyeth' during those years in which the Earl 'kepe no Chapell' (42). The payment of 20 shillings to the Barne-Bishop was perhaps -- as Lancashire suggests -- in reward for a sermon, such as the few which have survived (43).

That the Earl also observed the Feast of Fools we can deduce from the following entry in the First Household Book:

'Item. My Lorde useth and accustomyth to gyf yerely when his Lordship is home and hath an Abbot of Miserewll in Cristynmas in his Lordschippis Hous uppon New-Yers-Day in rewarde -- xx s.' (44)

We have seen above, from the entry dated 1551 in the Revels accounts of Edward VI, that this 'Abbot' might have at least one attendant fool, described as 'the Lorde of mysrules foole', and we have seen that -- regardless of the prohibition on celebrating the Feast of Fools amongst the lower clergy of the Minster -- the Earl's household did regularly celebrate the Twelve Days with all the traditional types of both learned and popular theatre at the very time during which the Beverley stalls were being carved. Moreover, the fact that the Minster provided the Earl with a Boy Bishop when he passed Christmas at nearby Leconfield, and
that the town corporation paid for the services of the Earl's 'maker of Interludys' testifies to a close association between Northumberland's household and the Minster, where, indeed, he was to be buried in 1527. Nor should we forget that despite Archbishop Arundel's ban on what he styles the 'corruption of the King of Fools' [corruptela regis stultorum] in the Minster in 1391, his statute includes amongst the permissible Christmas games for the laity, 'the ancient church custom called "les Fulles"'. Moreover, Horrox has recently suggested that

'The town perhaps maintained a lord of fools on its own account, for in 1502-3 the keepers paid the expenses of the Lord of Misrule at the house of Edward Dugmanton ...' (45)

A feature which has not been noticed before in studies of the Beverley stallwork is the number of small subjects carved in low relief in the spandrels afforded by the projection of the elbows which divide each seat from its neighbour. Fools figure in four of these spandrel carvings, three in the form of fools' heads in the standard close-fitting ass-eared hood (one with one ear tipped by a bell [pl.52]), and the fourth a kneeling fool with pronounced codpiece, standard hood, and pointing finger -- cf. the similarly pointing finger of the supporter fool with phallic bladder.

A fifth small fool's head exists 'supporting' a corbel in the arcading which surmounts the stall-backs [pl.50a].

To at least three of these five fools' heads, I believe, a commentary function may be attributed. The grinning fool's head corbel-supporter is positioned directly above the misericord which illustrates the proverbial folly of 'putting the cart before the horse' [176:11], and one of the elbow-spandrel fool's heads [pl.51] grimaces straight at the misericord supporter which depicts the 'feeble' husband washing the dishes [175:10 bis]. The smiling fool's head flanking the misericord [175:3] has no obvious relation to the unicorn carved on it, nor to its
conventional foliage supporters, but in the spandrel opposite, the carver has placed a lion's head with sticking-out tongue -- this is surely what has occasioned the fool's smile.

The grim-looking fool's head above [176:2] regards the two nude men fighting with evident disapproval -- it seems clear here that the carver has wished to point up the folly of such violence.

The kneeling, pointing, and perhaps phallic fool [pl.53] who flanks the misericord of the hen and chicks [177:13] wears an air of derision, as if he is indicating something or someone worthy of mockery, but if so, it is not obvious what or whom he mocks -- maybe he points at us the observers?

He is perhaps another of the carver's jokes at our expense (or at the expense of the clerical occupants of the stalls), something akin in feeling to the 'We Three [Loggerheads]' topos, in which, by means of an inscription, the viewer is implicitly included in the number of 'fools' depicted, although they seem, at first sight, before the joke is understood, to be one less than the number identified in the inscription. The only properly medieval example of this topos known to me is a 13thC. stone capital in Douai Museum (reproduced by Maeterlinck) said to have come from a church in Picardy, which depicts three human fools, an ape, an owl and a cat above the legend "Nous sommes sept" (46).
The representation of historical gesture has only received systematic as opposed to desultory study in recent decades, Françoise Garnier's sonorously-titled, two-volume work, *Le Langage de l'Image au Moyen Age*, being the most notable example of an encouraging recognition of the importance of this hitherto all too neglected area of iconography (47).

The Beverley stalls provide several incidental examples of significant gesture, and most of these have been discussed above in the section on fools, for the fool is the pre-eminent gesture-maker, a fact which is itself of interest. As we have just seen, the pointing finger is a gesture used by one of the Beverley fools carved in low relief in one of the stall-partition spandrels; the 'Gähnmaul' of the ?fool on misericord [176:15], may be compared with the combined mouth- and eye-lid-pulling displayed by the fool carved on [177:8], and the supporters of the former seat are two lion-masks with tongues sticking out (another is found in one of the spandrel-carvings), with a further tongue out displayed by the 'Green Man' of [175:8]; yet another fool misericord [177:11] depicts the grinning fool's head 'answered' by a man's head in one of the supporters also grinning, and a ?whistling head with puckered lips in the other.

One misericord in particular, however, [174:8], may be said to consist entirely, main carving and supporters, of the representation of gestures, and given this burgeoning interest in the representation of historical gesture, seems to warrant an extended treatment of its very early record of one internationally recognised gesture of derision.

Remnant's description of the central scene is

'Two demi-figures of carvers wearing tight jerkins, quarreling; one raises a mallet, the other holds a chisel [pl.54].'

Wildridge calls it
'An interesting carving, representing a quarrel between two sculptors or carvers...'

and adds the surely justifiable suggestion that

'From the character exhibited in the faces, these may be judged to be an attempt at portrait, possibly of the artists of this set of misereres.'

On close inspection, however, the quarrel can be seen to be hardly serious, if indeed, it can be said to be a quarrel at all: both men are smiling and, while it is true that both have raised their tools, they do not face each other with these weapons as if squaring up for a fight. What both Remnant and Wildridge fail to point out is that the righthand carver points with his right index finger, in such a way that he can only be indicating the man on the righthand supporter whose pose is somewhat unnaturally rendered, but who is seen from behind, his head turned to face the man pointing at him, and holds up both forearms, his left in such a position that he appears to be 'thumbing his nose' at his colleague [pl. 55] (48).

Remnant describes him, quite inadequately, as

'man in flat cap, raises his hands'.

At first sight, it may seem as if Remnant has simply muddled his description of the righthand supporter with that of the lefthand, which he describes as

'man wearing cap puts his left hand derisively to his nose'

but this man too is, indeed, depicted raising his left index finger to his nose, his other hand not being visible.

Wildridge employs a mystifying piece of 19thC. slang to describe these two supporter figures
The two other half-length figures in the sides are engaged in the cabalistic movements known, I think, as "taking sight" at each other.

For a 20thC. readership this requires translation.

In his *Dictionary of Historical Slang*, Eric Partridge recorded s.v. **sight**, sense 5, the idiom used by Wildridge, citing Farmer & Henley's definition:

'A gesture of derision: the thumb on the nose-tip and the fingers spread fanwise.'

Apparently this particular term for our gesture derives, according to Partridge, from nautical jargon,

'the outstretched fingers roughly resembling a quadrant.'

He further adds that

'The custom seems to have arisen in late C.17: see the frontispiece to the English "Theophrastus", 1702, and cf. "Spectator", 1712, "The prentice speaks his disrespect by an extended finger."'

Partridge's earliest citation, however, for the term used by Wildridge in 1879, dates only to some 40 years earlier, so clearly, it would not have been the contemporary 16thC. term for the gesture.

Other English terms for this well-understood gesture of derision such as 'cocking a snook' [1879] and 'thumbing one's nose' [1916], as well as more internationally recognised expressions such as 'making a long nose' [1868] and 'the Shanghai gesture' [1926], are all of very recent date. It would be of great interest to know how the derisive 'nose-thumb' was termed at the time of the Beverley carvings.

The great paremiologist, Archer Taylor, devoted an entire monograph to the 'Shanghai gesture' in which he noted the description of a clearly closely related gesture in the well-known 'gesture-debate' between Panurge and the English scholar Thaumaste which forms the 19th
chapter of *Pantagruel* (1532); he also pointed to Bruegel's well-known 'Feast of Fools'/Sottebols' print published in 1559 (in the foreground of which a fool is depicted making a double nose-thumb) as the earliest representation of our gesture then known [he might also have noted that the more usual single nose-thumb is made by the man falling through a basket on the righthand edge of Bruegel's contemporary "Netherlandish Proverbs" painting]. Although the Beverley supporter thus provides an antedating by some 40 years of the Bruegel depictions, it is no longer the earliest known representation; this honour must now be ceded to a 14thC. Swiss wall-painting at Diessenhofen near Schaffhausen (49).

What would we not give for the alleged large book printed in London by Thaumaste which expounded the meaning of the various gestures used by the two protagonists in their debate (50).

That the man in the righthand supporter is, indeed, 'thumbing his nose' at the carver who raises the chisel would seem to be confirmed by the latter's pointing at him. We are then left with the workman in the lefthand supporter whose left index finger appears to lodge under his nose or even inside his right nostril.

The simplest explanation, perhaps, is that this is another variant of the familiar nose-thumb made by his colleague on the opposite supporter, maybe even hinting at one of the suggested origins of that more seemly version, what Desmond Morris has termed the 'threat of snot-flicking' (51). Morris points out that in the Rabelaisian description of one form of our gesture, at least, Panurge does actually insert the thumb of his right hand into his right nostril which he suggests might

'support the idea that the person thumbing his nose is performing the intention [sic] movement of flicking forward, at the insulted person, dirt from his nose.'

Late medieval courtesy-manuals, such as that printed by Caxton at West-
minster c.1477 as the Book of Curtesye (52), were quite unequivocal about the undesirability of picking one's nose:

'Ne with your bare honde/ no filth fro it fecche
For that is fowl/ and an vncurtoys teche' [habit]

At about the same date as our stalls were being carved, Richard Hill copied Caxton's entire text into his commonplace book, but the Book of Curtesye was also reprinted several times in our period.

Paul Vandenbroeck, as part of his 1987 discussion of the fool-figure, notes an early 16thC. anonymous Dutch drawing of four fools, one of whom points to his nose, and gives further examples of the gesture made by henchmen and mercenary soldiers (53), e.g. as we might expect, especially in scenes of the Mocking of Christ. Our Beverley craftsman, however, appears not to be pointing at his nose, so much as picking it.

It seems fairly certain that both the men figured in the supporters are demonstrating derisive gestures that involve putting the finger or thumb (of the left hand, be it noted) to the nose. From the fact that the carver with the raised chisel seems to point at the man in the righthand supporter, we may envisage the central carving and the supporters as one scene -- but quite what is the import of that scene?

It seems best interpreted as a piece of affectionate self-reference on the part of the Beverley atelier: the two principal carvers are depicted with the tools of their trade threatening in a jocular manner two of their playfully insubordinate juniors or apprentices -- fittingly occupying 'subordinate' and necessarily smaller positions in the 'supporters' -- who direct gestural insults at their masters. The whole work has a light and far from threatening air, the carver has commemorated for us the scene of himself and his fellow craftsmen indulging in a little workshop horseplay.
The details of the craftsmen's costume are worthy of comment. The two main figures wear close-fitting and presumably leather jerkins over their shirts, the lefthand carver wears nothing on his head, but his colleague wears a squareish beret, from the centre of which a band hangs down over the edge of the cap on either side of his head -- this is probably intended as the distinguishing-mark of the master-carver. The craftsman in the lefthand supporter appears to be wearing an overall over his shirt, a corner of which has come unfastened and hangs down untidily; on his head he wears a close-fitting leather cap (54). His fellow in the opposite supporter is seen from behind and wears a tunic belted at the waist and a different type of hat (55).

At least four other misericords in the English corpus depict carvers at work: two late 14thC. examples in Northamptonshire [114:1 & 121:3] (56), a third from King's Lynn carved c. 1419, now in the Victoria & Albert Museum [94:10] (57) and a fourth dated to 1515 in Christchurch Priory, Hampshire [55:16]. This last misericord, closest in date to our own, depicts a carver wielding a mallet and chisel, which is perhaps what we might expect. The Beverley carving is odd in that two craftsmen hold one tool each, and each tool is unusable without the other -- is it too speculative to read this piece of self-reference as an allegory of the co-operation necessary between the craftsmen in such a woodworking workshop?
The World Turned Upside Down

Several motifs at Beverley belong to the nexus of monde renversé or World-Turned-Upside-Down [WTUD] imagery so beloved of the Middle Ages.

To illustrate the monde renversé motif in the strict sense, it will be convenient to take the justly celebrated Manchester misericord [82:15] depicting the hunter spit-roasted by the hares while his hounds are boiled in the pot [pl.56] (58).

The Flemish folklorist, Maurits de Meyer, described this scene of the 'Rabbits' Revenge' as

"the oldest and best loved World Turned Upside Down motif" (59)

and, indeed, it is found carved in stone on Romanesque churches at Königslutter and Murbach as early as the mid-12th century (60), in the form of the hares tying up the hunter. In the succeeding Gothic era of drôleries in the margins of illuminated manuscripts, the late 13th and 14th centuries, it is relatively common (61), and then, in the late 15thC, it was crystallised in an engraving by the Flemish copyist, Israhel van Meckenem (d. 1503), active in the Dutch-German border region, whose oeuvre so perfectly sums up the spirit of the 'ausgehendes Mittelalter' [pl.57]. Importantly, as is apparent from the unmistakable, detailed resemblances (such as the hare who reaches into the salt-box for some seasoning to add to one of the dogs seething in the pot), it was this very engraving that the carver of the Manchester seat c.1506 had before him as his model, an unequivocal instance of the direct influence of 'Germanic' prints on English woodwork design. [see C.II.c.] This or a related image was doubtless also the source underlying the small detail carved by German craftsmen c.1490 as part of a frieze decorating the Toledo Cathedral stallwork, where we see a gleeful hare attending to a hound boiling in a pot (62).
Similarly the hare who rides the hound on a Worcester misericord of c.1379 [171:3] (63), is another classic traditional WTUD motif found in most media, including small-scale artefacts such as tiles (64) and seals (65). Just as we have suggested for the fool, it is apparent that these **monde renversé** motifs may also, at times, have a commentary function -- which is not, of course, to deny that they may also often be merely capricious -- the context, as we tried to suggest above [B.II.b.] is all. In the case of the Worcester supporter, for example, which flanks the Labour of the Month for June (three men mowing with scythes), its opposing supporter depicts a preaching fox standing behind an altar on which what appears to be a sheep's head rests -- there can be no doubt that in this latter popular motif we see symbolised the familiar satirical attack on the rapacity of the mendicant orders (66), nor that this example of the topsy-turvy sinful world in which the pastor feeds off his flock rather than nourishes it, is signalled by the ancient WTUD motif of the hare riding the hound. At Manchester it is the fox who rides the hound [p1.58]

A probably late 14thC. misericord at Castle Hedingham in Essex [45:5] depicts what Professor Varty describes as

'An erect fox carry[ing] off a monk or friar who hangs upside down from a staff slung over the fox's shoulder' (67)

Once again, this presentation owes much to a familiar WTUD motif, whose classic version depicts a hunter dangling from a stick shouldered by a hare (68), the popularity of which was doubtless re-inforced by the episode in the influential early 13thC. French epic "Le Roman de Renart", in which the hare Couard captures a peasant and transports him in this manner (69).

The 'Kleinmeister' of the 16th century seem really to have taken the WTUD motif of the hunter and his hounds captured by the hares to
their hearts, and in the second quarter of the century in particular, to judge from the number of surviving examples, representations of this scene became very popular, and indeed, as the century progresses scholars have found it necessary to coin the term 'hasomania' to express the tremendous popularity of such hare-motifs, especially in decorative wall-painting (70).

Another classic WTUD motif depicted in the English misericord corpus is the Great Malvern seat [167:3 bis] carved c.1480 with the scene of the cat hanged by the mice (71). The closely related scene of the geese hanging the fox found at Beverley and elsewhere, is discussed at [B.IV.c.] below. A further WTUD motif involving fox and goose, is to be found on a misericord supporter in Henry VII’s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, where an armed goose rides a saddled fox [96:3 bis], a motif I have discussed elsewhere (72).

It does not seem to have been remarked previously that one of the St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, misericords [8:3] (1478X1483), where the main carving is a man (? a cleric) seated next to a naked woman -- a subject ripe for satirical commentary -- is flanked by supporters which were surely intended to provide that comment; the classic WTUD motif of the hunting animal subservient to the hunted, in the form of

‘a couchant antelope with bow and sheaf of arrows’

(as Remnant -- taking over verbatim, as usual, M.R. James’s description -- has it) flanked by ‘a dog pointing at the rabbit’ on the opposite supporter. That other supporter depicts a naked man on a horse with a shield slung over his back, tilting at the rabbit, a variant of the familiar motif of the warrior (sometimes mounted) spearing a snail, which is found at Beverley, for which, see the discussion at [B.IV.d.].

At Beverley, the main subject of a misericord in the lower row
on the South side [174:6 pl.59], which Remnant describes as 'Hare riding fox' (73) is more cautiously described by Wildridge as

'A hare on the back of an animal whose species is uncertain.'

He goes on not only to compare the present image with the Worcester supporter, but correctly to refer it to the WTUD topos, in which

'among other absurdities, was a hare which went hunting mounted on a dog. The hare here is guiding its steed by a halter held in each of their mouths.' (74)

Close inspection confirms Wildridge's accuracy yet again, against Remnant's mistaken identification of the 'steed' as a fox; while, given the precedents, one might expect it to be a dog of some kind, it appears rather more dragonesque, and it is perhaps best to leave it no more closely classified than that.

In fact, despite its ultimate origin in the monde renversé, it would appear here to be one of those whimsical subjects carved just for the fun of the thing, the monstrous incongruity of a rabbit bridling a dragon, for the supporter subjects bear no apparent relation to this, the main carving, though they do to each other (see discussion at [A.I.b.]. Its proximate origin, however, is the margin of an early Parisian printed Horae [see discussion at C.II.b.].
Into the category of 'proverbial follies', I place the famous 'Putting the Cart Before the Horse' misericord [176:11], the 'Shoeing the Goose' [175:4 right] and the Saddled Sow supporters [174:18 left], as well as the 'Milking the Bull' supporter, more properly an impossibilium [176:11 right].

Despite Marshall Laird's recent attempt to see in [176:11 pls.60-61] a 'reaping-machine' (75) and Wildridge's oddly uninformative description, there can be no doubt (particularly in the light of the hitherto misunderstood right supporter) that the carver has here sought to depict the proverbial folly of 'putting the cart before the horse'.

It is doubtless the merest co-incidence, but the proverb is first attested in the selfsame year as our carving was made, in Whittinton's Vulgaria (1520) we read that

'... That teycher setteth the cart before the horse that preferreth imitacyon before preceptes.'

and it is next found twice, c.1530, in the English works of Sir Thomas More (76). Under the significant headword, arsy-versy, the OED gives as its earliest citation of that word, the following passage from Richard Taverner's 1539 edition of Erasmus's Adagia:

'Ye set the cart before the horse ... cleane contrarily and arsy versy as they say.'

A generation after the date of our misericord, the Marian Catholic, John Christopherson, in a book written immediately after the suppression of Wyatt's Rebellion in 1554, and entitled, An exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion, made good use of a passage of WTUD imagery, recently drawn to our attention in a stimulating paper by S. Clark (77), a passage which is well worth quoting in order
to convey the very serious purposes to which this *topos* was often put:

'dyd [not] children order their parentes, wyves their husbandes, and subjects their magystrates: So that the fete ruled the head and the cart was set before ye horse ... was not al things through it brought so farre out of order, that vice ruled vertue, & folishnes ruled wisdome, lightnesse ruled gravitie, and youth ruled age? So that the olde mens saying was herein verified, that when Antichrist shuld come, the rootes of the trees shulde growe upwarde.'

Whereas it is quite possible, chronologically at least, that Christopherson may have known the *monde renverse* broadsheets of the type represented by an Italian example, probably Venetian and of the 1560s (78), it is uncertain whether such broadsheets would have been available to the Beverley carver in 1520, none of those extant being as demonstrably early as this. The only earlier illustration of the 'cart before the horse' I am aware of, is an ingenious woodcut in the second edition of Locher's *Stultifera Navis* (Basel, 1497), not to be found in Brant's vernacular original edition (*Das Narrenschiff*, Basel, 1494). It depicts two horses harnessed in front of a cart on which a fool stands on his head beside a shield bearing a crab as its device (the crab proverbially goes backwards); the horses are urged on by another fool who follows them (rather than sits on one of them) holding his whip by the wrong end of the handle, and wears his spurs on the front of his boots (79).

The righthand supporter [pl.62] to this celebrated carving is described by Remnant as

'girl milking with pail with three hoops'

and so -- at first sight -- it would appear. Closer examination, however, reveals a lack of diagnostic udder to this cow. A craftsman who was quite capable of carving a milking-pail in sufficient detail to show its traditional stave-construction and single upright handle, would not have omitted what is surely the quintessential detail of the cow, her udder. There can be no doubt that what he has carved is the proverbial
folly of someone attempting to milk a bull -- the notion of the attempt to milk a male animal was a traditional adynaton, best known in the Virgilian form, popularised by Erasmus in his influential Adagia, as mulgere hircum [milk the billy-goat] (80).

These milking adynata have not to my knowledge been assembled for English before, so that it will be useful to make a small collection of them here.

There are two 16thC. references known to me. The earliest is from a text of c.1548 [cit. Tilley B 714], the Answer by one Barnes to Andrew Boorde's quirky Book of Beards:

'Who goth a myle to sucke a bull,
Comes home a fole, and yet not full.'

The other is found in a ballad licensed in 1588 with the refrain "Martin said to his man, 'Who's the fool now?'", containing the couplet

'I saw a maid milk a bull,
every stroke a bucketful'

Although a century later than our carving, a passage from the opening lines of Act V, scene ii. of Jonson's The Devil is an Ass (1616) is worth quoting in full as it includes our motif in company with several other proverbial follies:

'O, Call me home againe, deare Chiefe, and put me To yoaking foxes, milking of Hee-goates,
Pounding of water in a mortar, laving
The sea dry with a nut-shell, gathering all
The leaves are falne this Autumne, drawing farts
Out of dead bodies, making ropes of sand,
Catching the windes together in a net,
Mustring of ants, and numbring atomes.'

The suspicion must be that the 'he-goat' version represents the learned tradition deriving ultimately, and probably via Erasmus, from Virgil (81), while the 'bull' version represents the vernacular tradition, and
is accordingly the form given visual expression on our misericord.

The related idea of milking non-mammalian animals and, in particular, birds, seems to have been, if anything, rather more popular in England in the late Middle Ages. An attractive carol noted by Richard Hill into his commonplace-book, contemporary with our stalls, features a schoolmaster who reprimands one of his pupils for being late, asking,

'Wher hast thou be, thow sory ladde?'

to which the would-be 'clarke' answers impertinently,

'Milked dukkes, my moder badde'
[milking the ducks as my mother bade]

The predictable reaction to this facetious reply is that

'My master pepered my ars with well good spede.'

The absurdity of duck-milking seems to have enjoyed something of a vogue around the time the Beverley stalls were being carved, for Skelton -- a poet whose work has many affinities with the spirit of the grotesque in contemporary woodwork -- named one of the 'gossips' in his poem "The Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng" (1517x1521), 'Margery Mylkeducke', and used the name again in his play "Magnyfycence" (c.1519) (82). In one of the East Anglian, so-called 'N-Town Cycle' mystery-plays, "The Trial of Joseph and Mary", some 34 characters are summoned before the ecclesiastical court, and in the dubious company of 'Letyce Lytyl Trust' and 'Symme Smalfeyth', appears one 'Malkyn Mylkedoke'. That this adynaton was active in actual medieval East Anglian nicknames is attested by the record of one 'Herueus Milkegos' [Harvey Milkgoose] in the Norwich Leet-book for the year 1288 (83). The self-same adynaton was current in late medieval Germany too: Luther refers to hünermilch [hens' milk], and in a fastnachtspiel written in 1478, Hans Folz includes allter gens milch [old goose milk] as one of the typically dubious ingredients in an
example of that well-loved genre, the burlesque prescription (84) (an ingredient which -- together with hawk's milk -- is found in English medieval Latin as early as the 12th century, in Nigel Longchamps' prescription to lengthen the ass's tail in his "Speculum Stultorum" (85).

An extraordinary visual precedent, if anything, invoking a degree of reversal of the natural order of things higher even than the attempt to 'milk the bull', is the image in an early 14thC. Flemish Book of Hours which depicts a bull milking a woman into a pail (86). Other images of bull-milking would seem to be very rare, but recently Christa Grössinger has drawn attention to one of the playing-card designs of Hans Schäuffelein (c.1535) (87), the 8-of-Bells [pl.63], which is, indeed, very similar to our carving, and it seems possible that the hair hanging down her back from under the cap of the Beverley milkmaid may be a reminiscence of some lost earlier version of the pigtails of Schäuffelein's milking crone. The possibility that the Beverley carver may ultimately owe the inspiration for this supporter to a playing-card design is far from unlikely and, indeed, the certain dependence of late medieval English woodcarvers on such sources is demonstrated below [C.II.c].

The other supporter of this misericord is described by Remnant as 'cow lying down' and by Wildridge as 'Cow, recumbent, licking itself'. It is difficult, if not impossible, to see how this might fit in with the main carving and the other supporter. The first thing that needs to be said, however, is that it is visibly the same beast as that depicted on the other supporter, which we have just identified as a bull.

The ox is certainly a popular protagonist in the monde renversé, and figures in two motifs in particular on the 16thC. Italian broadsheet already referred to, for which there is medieval evidence proper, i.e. the ox who goads on the two men as they pull his plough, found already
in a 14thC. manuscript (88), and the ox who, having already slaughtered him, begins to disembowel the man hung up by his heels, as found painted on the ceiling of a church at Tensta in Sweden in 1437 (89).

At first sight, 'An ox when he is loose licks himself at pleasure' recorded by the Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, though not having any obvious WTUD application, does, at least, appear to describe our carving, but it is not found until 1706 and hardly qualifies as English at all, being cited from J. Stevens, A New Spanish and English Dictionary, s.v. Buev, with the additional information that the proverb is

'Much us'd by Batchelors against Matrimony, which is called a Yoke.'

I am unable to suggest any symbolic meaning for this little -- apparently naturalistic -- carving.

Despite attempts at a naturalistic explanation (90), the right-hand supporter to the misericord carved with the Preaching Fox [175:4], depicts a goose being shod. The bird's neck is secured within the shoeing-frame (of the type normally used for horses) while the blacksmith holds its left foot in the air and raises his hammer -- a horseshoe of the normal pattern is clearly discernible on the goose's webbed foot [pl.64].

This 'proverbial folly' enjoyed great popularity throughout Northern Europe in the late Middle Ages in several media, and so we have a surprising number of comparanda for our carving.

In England, the earliest known representation is to be found in another cathedral in our county, York Minster, where it was carved on a capital in the North nave aisle of late 14th century date (91) [pl.65]. This York carving is also significant in that it antedates the earliest known literary attestation of the proverb by a generation or so:
Whiting's earliest citation of the expression is from a poem by Hoccleve on Sir John Oldcastle written in 1415 [G 389]:

"Yee medle of al thyng, yee moot shoo the goose"

The next known citation, however, is a rare inscription accompanying the representation on a carving of the subject on a misericord at Whalley [84:3] in the neighbouring county of Lancashire and datable to the abbacy of William Whalley (1418-38) (92). The inscription reads

" Whoso melles hy[m] of y[at] al me[n] dos
let hy[m] cu[m] hier and sho ye ghos"
[Whoever meddles in everyone else's affairs
let him come here and shoe the goose]

The application of the expression to interfering busybodies is confirmed by later citations: in a poem dated c. 1475 and entitled "Why I can't be a nun" by its editor, we read

"For whoso chateryt lyke a py
And tellethe alle that he herethe and seethe,
He schall be put owte of company,
And scho the gose, thus wysdum us lereth."

Or, as John Heywood succinctly put it in 1546,

"Who medleth in all thyng, maie shoee the goalynge"

French attestations of this expression (ferrer les oies (93)) postdate the earliest English examples, being first found in Villon's "Grand Testament" and in a sattie, both dated to 1461. Interestingly, in the "Sattie des sot qui corrigent le Magnificat", the pedant Dando enters carrying a goose in his arms, for his speciality is said to be ferrer les oies -- an important reminder that proverbial expressions might also be enacted on stage (94).

In late medieval French art the motif appears on one of the fascinating 16thC. monnaies des Innocents, where it figures in a rebus of
the surname DAVERLOIS (95), as one of the many proverbs illustrated in the late 15thC. manuscripts known as "Proverbes en Rimes" (96), and on a 15thC. misericord at St. Martin-aux-Bois near Montdidier (97). Closely related is the 16thC. Parisian printer and bookseller Jacques Ferrebouc's device, a rebus on his surname, which shows a blacksmith shoeing a buck (male goat) in a shoeing-frame (98).

This proverbial folly also figures on another misericord at Walcourt in Belgium, contemporary with our Beverley stalls (99). Lilian Randall was able to list no fewer than five examples of the scene in manuscript marginal drawings, all of the first half of the 14th century, and all of Flemish provenance except one which was illuminated in Northern France (100) -- the inescapable conclusion must be that, in origin, at least, this motif is Flemish.

While all three porcine scenes of [174:18] clearly belong together, it is convenient to consider that of the saddled sow depicted on the lefthand supporter [p.66] here. That the notion of saddling a pig for riding is not strictly speaking an adynaton, is sufficiently demonstrated by the righthand supporter to another Beverley misericord [173:2] which depicts a

'boy riding pig and holding its tail'

albeit unsaddled. A parodic joust carved on one of the contemporary Bristol misericords [47:12] features a man mounted on a sow armed with a long hay-fork riding towards a woman mounted on a turkey-like bird (101) and bearing a broom. Two seats away [47:14], we see a

'Man, mounted on a boar, tilting with a pole at a large, full sack held by a large dog-like beast'

There can be no doubt that all three components of this Beverley
misericord, the main, central carving and the two flanking supporters, are copied from precisely the same arrangement of subjects at Manchester [83:13] carved some 14 years earlier; indeed, it is not overstating the case to describe the Beverley carving as a 'mirror-image' of that at Manchester, but the exact nature of the relationship of these two carvings has been discussed above [B.I.a.]. Our immediate concern is with the motif of the 'saddled pig'.

The first thing to establish is the sex of the animal, for the commentators either disagree or avoid the issue -- perhaps, mistakenly, not regarding it as of any significance: the Beverley beast is a 'pig' (Remnant) or 'hog' (Wildridge); the Manchester animal [pl.67], a 'boar' (Remnant) or 'pig' (Grössinger). The only term which is clearly not neutral is Remnant's description of the Manchester pig as a 'boar'; in fact, both it and the Beverley animal have been carefully provided with teats by the carvers and so we may assume that they were intended as sows. In fact, this is not as trivial a matter as it may at first seem, for the admirably comprehensive John Heywood in his proverb collection of 1546 records the expression

'As meete as a sowe
To beare a saddle'  [S 533]

The realm of poetic absurdity has an inner logic of its own and in this case -- as so often in such short 'folk-idioms' -- the guiding principle of that logic is alliteration; while other animals, as we shall see, might also be chosen as absurd mounts, if the saddled animal is to be porcine, the 'pig', the 'hog', the 'boar', or even the 'swine' (with its initial consonant-cluster) simply will not do.

Other available contemporary idioms which involve the word 'saddle' in connexion with other non-equine species, are

'It becomyth not a dogge to bere a sadyll'  [Whiting, D 311]
from the first extant English translation of the Dialogue of Solomon & Marcolf (1492) (in which the tempting emendation hogge, is ruled out by canis in the Latin original), and

"Now trewly yow becometh al your gere
As wel as Cowe a sadel to bere" [Whiting, C 501]

from a mid-15thC. poem entitled "The Chance of the Dice" -- this latter comparison to the saddled cow remained popular throughout the 16th century, being next noted in 1530 (102), but the saddled sow, for which, once again, our carving provides an antedating of the earliest literary attestation, was to retain its popularity well into the 19thC. (103)

Continental examples of the saddled sow are hardly common, but one may perhaps be inferred in the absurd choice which the boy Cargantua offers one of his father's visitors:

"Que aymeriez vous mieulx, ou chevaucher un oyson,
ou mener une truye en laisse?"
[Which would you rather, ride a goose, or lead a sow on a leash?] (104)

A saddled pig ridden by a small monster and lead on the leash by another is depicted in a "Temptation of St. Anthony" (whose attribute is, of course, the pig) painted by Aertgen Van Leyden in the 1520s (105).

It is clear from the above that the inversions of the natural order that were an essential feature of the late medieval Feast of Fools, which had endured at Beverley in particular (and was, indeed, the occasion of Archbishop Arundel's famous "Statutes" of 1391) were fully expressed by the carvers of the misericords in their representations of dancing and gesturing fools, adynata and proverbial follies.
1 The most recent and most comprehensive treatment of the late medieval fool with full bibliography is Werner Mezger's book (see Bibliography). My review-article, supplementing Mezger's work with instances drawn from English sources, in particular, is forthcoming.

2 Reproduced as Taf. 21 in W. Voege, Joerg Syrlin der Ältere und seine Bildwerke (Berlin, 1950), Bd. II.

3 Reproduced as pl. 22 in J.A.J.M. Verspaandonk, Breda, de koorbanken van de Oude Kerk ... (Amsterdam, 1983). I have discussed the semantics of the cock's comb and the relationship between the fool and the cock (punning on the sense 'penis') at length in a lecture delivered to the annual conference of the Association of Art Historians in London in 1991. For a similar, suggestively phallic cock's head crest to the fool's hood, see the painted glass roundel from the church of St. Vincent in Laon, reproduced as fig. 178 in Witkowski.


5 Quoted, for example, in S. Billington, A Social History of the Fool (Brighton, 1984), 3.


7 As found in the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles (1505-1515).

8 Shakespeare Survey 1 (1960), 90-105.

9 See Werner Mezger, "Der Ambraser Narrenteller von 1528: Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie der spätmittelalterlichen Narrenidee" in Volkskunde 75:ii (1979) 161-80. Mezger notes that the idiom 'einen über die Gänsebrücke führen' [lead one over the Geese-bridge] is equivalent to 'jemanden zum Narren halten' [take one for a fool].


11 Two examples from nearer the date of our stall are a mitred fool in a German wall-painting executed in 1486 (reproduced as Abb. 6 in H.L. Nickel, "Herleitung und Deutung der Gotischen Drolerie in der Wandmalerei" in ed. A. Karlowska-Kamzowa, Gotyckie Malarstwo Scierno W. Europie Srodkoko-Wschodniej (Poznan, 1977), 151-7), and a fool-figure cast in bronze c.1500 by the Flemish artist Arnt van Tricht from a candelabrum now in the Bargello (reproduced as Abb. 29 in E. Mayor, "Der Gotische Kronleuchter in Stano. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Dinanderie" in ed. E.J. Beer et al., Feetschrift Hans R. Hahnloser zum 60 Geburtstag (Basel/Stuttgart, 1961), 179). The continuing use of this motif in England is attested by a
characteristically tortuous quotation from Nashe’s *Strange Newses* of 1592: "[am I to] sitte still with my finger in my mouth, in hope to bee one of simplicities martyrs?"

12 Though Remnant sees them as goose and swan.

13 ‘I suppose that the Beverley birds are ibises but the artist had no model to use, so carved nondescript birds.’ Pers. comm., 31/10/89.

14 BL Harleian 4751 (late 12thC.) and Oxford, Bodley 764 (1225x50).


16 Shakespeare, *Winter’s Tale*, V. iii. 115ff.


18 There seems not to be any specific English term for this gesture; A. Weir & J. Jerman, *Images of Lust. Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches* (London, 1986), use the term ‘mouth-puller’.


21 Reproduced in Hansman & Kris-Rettenbeck as fig. 679.


23 Grössinger (1989a), 83 and pl.16.

24 Billington, *op. cit.* in n.5; the manuscript is Oxford, Exeter College, MS 42, f.12r.
25 A motif I shall be discussing elsewhere.

26 Billington, op. cit. in n.5, 4.

27 ibid., 26.

28 The last three references are taken from Leslie Hotson’s unjustly overlooked monograph, Shakespeare’s Motley (London, 1952), 58f.

29 ed. A Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary, (Louvain, 1914) 73.

It also, incidentally, confirms the existence of the hybrid marotte/ladle-cum-bladder; in this citation, ‘bable’ must allude to the bladder-type of marotte, rather than the fool’s-head-on-a-stick type -- such a combined ‘ladle with a bable pendante’ can be seen held by a traditionally garbed jester on English wood-panelling of early 16thC. date at Abington Hall, Northants., reproduced in a drawing by F. Roe, "Jesters on Panelling" in The Connoisseur 79 (Sept. - Dec. 1927), 196.

30 Most of these are listed in Huschenbett, op. cit. in n.34. The Van Meckenem dances are usefully discussed with comparative material by A. Winther, "Zu einigen Ornamentblättern und den Darstellungen des Moriskentanzes im Werk des Israhel van Meckenem" in ed. ibid., Israhel van Meckenem und der deutsche Kupferstich des 15. Jahrhunderts (Bocholt, 1972), esp. 88-100.


32 For the significance of the number seven for a group of fools, see Mezger, especially 327ff., to which may be added a mid-16thC. English example from the royal costume accounts for the Twelve Days of Christmas 1552-3, v. The Losely Manuscripts, ed. A.J. Kempe, (London, 1836), 47f.

33 cit. MED, s.v. moreys.


35 A pointing fool who is himself depicted as phallic appears on a piece of contemporary Flemish sgraffito-ware -- see H. van Gangelen, "Tot loring en vermaak: een moralistische narren-voorstelling op een Bossche voetschaal van sgraffito-aardewerk uit ca. 1500" in Ned- delingenblad Nederlandse Vereniging van Vrienden van de Ceramiek nr.
Reproduced as fig. 76 in Palmer; on p. 255, she notes that the carved panel derives from North Milford Hall, home of the Leedes family, and dates it late 15th century.

Alternatively it is a piece of 'relic' iconography, deriving from the Dixit Insipiens initial fools of illuminated manuscripts who point fearfully heavenwards at the God whose existence they deny, looming out of a cloud.

Grössinger (1989a), 83.

In English Literary Renaissance 10 (1980), 7-45.

Lancashire, op. cit., 11.


ibid., 343.

See Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop, ed. J.G. Nichols ([Camden Soc.] London, 1875); the earlier sermon was printed by de Worde a.1496.

Percy, op. cit., 344.

In VCH, 62, from HRO. BC/11/6/16. He goes on to note that "the context suggests, however, that the Lord in question may have been a member of the earl of Northumberland's household at Leconfield".

Mezger, 69f., reproduces two early 17thC. examples of this joke: the bas-relief fool who stares out at the viewer from a staircase of the Nördlingen town-hall staircase, inscribed NUN SIND UNSER ZWEY and datable to 1618, and a Swiss biscuit-mould inscribed VNSER SIND DREI and depicting a fool and his marotte (Abb. 18 & 19).

In England the joke was popular in the form of an inn-sign: several examples are mentioned in Larwood & Hotten, under 'Humorous and Comic Signs'.

A comprehensive bibliography does not yet -- to my knowledge -- exist, though is certainly an urgent desideratum: I give a selection of recent works in Jones (1989a), 215, n. 79.

A century before the Beverley stalls, a man on the left supporter of the Ludlow Preaching Fox misericord [134:9] raises his right hand
palm up to his face, the thumb against his chin, the fingers in line with his nose, as he whispers to his companion -- easily mistaken for the nose-thumb, at first sight.

49 see E. Jöst, Bauernfeindlichkeit: Die Historien des Ritters Neithart Fuchs (Göppingen, 1976), Abb.8 on p.333: 'In der Fensternische finden sich heitere Motive: Ein Mann, der den draussen Vorbeigehenden durch das Fenster mit beiden Händen eine lange Nase dreht ...' Jöst gives the date as 1300X1330. As this is another double nose-thumb, the Beverley supporter is still the earliest known depiction of the single-handed gesture.

50 closing lines of Pantagruel, cap. 20. This alleged book may not be quite as imaginary as some commentators have assumed: there may well have been an early 16thC. predecessor to John Bulwer's Chirologia of 1644.

51 D. Morris et al., Gestures: their origins and distribution (London, 1981), 36: "3 The gesture as a threat of snot-flipping".

52 ed. F.J. Furnivall, Caxton's Book of Curtesye, EETS E.S. 3 (London, 1868), 7, lines 41f.

53 Vandenbroeck, 49, & 161, n.262. The 17thC. example he notes in a "Driekoningenfeest" possibly by Jan Steen, is clearly an instance in which the fool is alluding to the smell of a fart he has just made. Hansmann & Kriss-Rettenbeck, Abb. 666, reproduces a figure from a scene of the Mocking of Christ in a German breviary illuminated by Johannes von Zittau c.1410; he lays the index finger of his left hand on the tip of his nose and with his other index finger points derisively at Christ.

54 Wildridge suggests that he 'may be intended to have the close-fitting cap of boiled leather (cuirbouilli)." 52.

55 Wildridge thought this hat 'somewhat similar' to that worn 'about the time of Henrys VII. and VIII.' by 'the knave on our playing cards'.

56 Great Doddington [114:1] and Wellingborough [121:3] both, reproduced in Remnant as pls. 14a & 13d. Charles Tracy in Alexander & Binski, Cat. No. 441, refines Remnant's date for the latter (to 1383X1392) and suggests that as the former is closely related to it, it was probably made by the same artist, and is not of late 15thC. date as Remnant thought. The unprovenanced example is dated in his 1980 Victoria & Albert Museum catalogue of English Medieval Furniture and Woodwork.

There is some doubt about a fifth example on the left hand supporter of a mid-14thC. misericord at Brampton, Huntingdonshire [67:2] not resolved by the small photograph reproduced as pl.14c in Remnant, where the caption describes both supporters as depicting 'clothmakers', though described as a carver on p.67 and listed under 'Carver' in his Iconographical Index.
58 Other representations of the hares spit-roasting the hunter and boiling his hounds are one of Erhard Schoen's designs for playing-cards of c.1528, the 6-of-Leaves [Geisberg 1308], and -- as part of a larger scene -- a marginal illustration by Jörg Glockendon in the Glockendon Missal of c.1541 based on an anonymous print, and Georg Pencz's woodcut illustration to Hans Sachs's "Die Hasen fangen und praten den Jeger" (1550) [reproduced as figs. 313, 314 & 312, respectively, in H. Zschelletzschky, Die 'Drei Gottlosen Maler' von Nürnberg (Leipzig, 1975).

The hanging of the hunter from a tree by the hares also features on a German playing-card, the 4-of-Leaves, produced by one 'Jeronymus' around the middle of the century. A woodcut attributed to Hans Sebald Beham, "Virgin and Child, with Hares pursuing a Huntsman", and dated to the late 1520s, is reproduced as pl.II B in "Rare Woodcuts in the Ashmolean Museum -- II" in Burlington Magazine 63 (1933).


60 For Königslutter (Niedersachsen), see Reallexikon der deutschen Kunstgeschichte IV (1958), 573, Abb.5; for Murbach (g.1134), see R. Will, Alsace Romane (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1965), 130.

61 See, for instance, the examples reproduced in Randall.

62 Reproduced as fig. 83 in D. & H. Kraus, Gothic choir-stalls of Spain (London, 1986).

63 Incomprehensibly labelled 'ape' in Remnant's description, quite obscuring the traditional nature of the motif.

64 e.g.), on the late 13thC. tiles from Derby Friary, now exhibited in Derby Museum and discussed and reproduced in L. Jewit, "Notes on Some Encaustic Paving Tiles, recently discovered in Derby", in The Reliquary 3 (1862-3), 92-5. There is another of the same pattern in the British Museum collection, recorded in E. Eames, Catalogue of medieval lead-glazed earthenware tiles in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum (London, 1980), no. 1897.

65 e.g., a seal inscribed with the legend I RIDE and dated 1316, belonging to John, son of Humphrey de Whitwell, alias John Humphrey of Nuneaton, PRO E 329/299, reproduced on pl.24 of R. H. Ellis, Public Record Office. Personal Seals. Volume I (London, 1978), P869. There are at least four such seals of this type listed among C.H. Hunter Blair's "Durham Seals" catalogue in Archaeologia Aeliana, 3rd.S., 7-11 (1910-14), nos. 912, 1121, 1219, & 2523; three are dated c.1316, c.1316-23, & c.1329 -- showing an extraordinary popularity for this
image (and cf. the tile of the previous note) in the decades around the year 1300. Two of the Durham seals are inscribed with what is evidently a fuller version of the PRO legend, viz. I RIDE ALONE A REVERE, and ALONE I RIDE A RIVER; no river being in evidence, it is clear that the last two words are a version of French à revers, i.e. 'upside down, topsy-turvy, etc.'

66 This subject has, of course, been amply documented by Kenneth Varty (see Bibliography) and more recently and specifically, by Rodin. For my recent identification of this motif on a fragmentary 14thC. desk-end now housed at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, see Jones & Tracy.

67 Varty, 134.

68 e.g. one of the lower border miniatures in the 14thC. Flemish manuscript, Bodley 264, f.81v., and closer in time to our stalls, an example on the Hell panel of Bosch’s "Garden of Earthly Delights" triptych, and another painted on the ceiling of Kumla church in Sweden by Albertus Pictor in 1482 reproduced as fig. 8 in G. Cocchiara II Mondo Alla Rovescia (Turin, 1963); here, however, the captured hunter is slung from a poleshouldered by two hares.

69 A similar motif depicts the hare with a hound dangling from the stick over his shoulder, as on f.161v. of the Gorleston Psalter [BL Add. MS 49622, ‘East Anglian’, p.1310X25]

70 As early as 1509, Maximilian I granted the ‘Hasenhaus’ in Vienna’s Kärntner Strasse to his hare-warden, Friedrich Jäger, the façade of which was painted with 32 separate scenes include the victorious war against the hunters [Jäger] and their hounds. Also early in the 16th century, the Basel town-hall was decorated with carvings in its main council-chamber depicting the hares dragging the hapless hunter in fetters and roasting him on a spit. In the 1540s small hare scenes were painted on the walls of the staircase-tower of the West wing of the Castle at Neuburg an der Donau in Bavaria [illustrated in Warncke, vol.I, Abb. 330]. In the late 1560s Heinrich Göding decorated the Hasenhaus at Kurfurst Augustus’s hunting-mansion on the Schellenberg above the Zschopau valley not far from Leipzig with almost 100 scenes of hare-life (a print dated 1593 records another Hasenhaus in Leipzig itself). Of the same period as the ‘Augustusburg’, Burg Trausnitz near Landshut in Bavaria was painted with hare-scenes, but the only array of ‘Hasenmalereien’, really comparable with those in the Augustusburg, are those in the ‘Hare-Room’ of Bucovice Castle in Czechoslovakia (completed in 1582). These details are taken from F. Sieber’s important Volk und volkstümliche Motivik im Festwerk des Barocks (Berlin, 1960), 80-95. Sieber draws attention to a remark by Fischart in the epilogue to his Flohaz (1573) attesting to the popularity of WTUD imagery at that time:

'Wer sieht nicht, was fur seltzam streit
Vnoer Briefmaler malen heut,
Da sie fuhren zu Feld die Katzen
Wider die Hund, Maus und die Ratzen?
Wer hat die Hasen nicht gesehe,
Wie Jager sie am Spiss umdrehen ...'
Who does not see what strange battles
our illustrators paint these days,
for they lead into the field the cats
against the dogs, mice and rats.
Who has not seen how the hares,
turn the hunters on the spit ...

71 For the history of the representation of this WTUD motif see, for example, M. Frei, "'Der Katzen-Mäuse-Krieg' in einer mittelalterlichen Wandmalerei im Ansitz Moos-Schulthaus (Eppan)" in Der Schlern 39 (1965), 353-9. See also H. Hunger, Der Byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg (Wien, 1968)

72 Jones (1989a), 203.

73 Similarly, Bond, 191: 'a rabbit has put a bit in the mouth of a fox and rides on it with the reins in its mouth ...'

74 Wildridge, 42f.

75 Laird, 25:

'Beverley Minster's proverbial 'cart before the horse' centrepiece seems likely to have had an overlooked 'August' meaning, for the earliest of all reaping machines was a cart into which grain was tossed from a front-end cutting or tearing device as a horse pushed it into the standing crop'.

Wildridge, 33:

'Man on a horse, which is harnessed to an agricultural cart tail foremost. The head of the figure, a spear he has carried [], and one of the cart-shafts, are broken.'

76 See Whiting, C 60

77 S. Clark, "Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft" in Past & Present 87 (1980), 113.

78 'Il Mondo Alla Riversa', reproduced in David Kunzle's important essay, "World Upside Down: the Iconography of a European Broadsheet Type" in ed. B. B. Abrahams, The Reversible World: Essays in Symbolic Inversion (Cornell UP, 1978), where it is reproduced as fig. 1.1 on p.44. It should be noted, however, that here it is oxen which are yoked behind the cart -- the horse version seems to be peculiar to English. 'A carte and the horse sett behinde to the tayle of the same' is the 107th 'Picture', i.e. the emblem proper, in Palmer's emblem manuscript of 1565, "Two Hundred Pooses" recently published by John Manning as The Emblems of Thomas Palmer: Two Hundred Pooses (New York, 1988).
Reproduced, for example, in H. Pleij, "De zot als maatschappelijk houvast in de overgang van middeleeuwen naar moderne tijd" in Groniek 109 (1990) ab.5. A somewhat more sophisticated version of this woodcut (reproduced in Mezger as Abb.8) was used as the title-page illustration to the Latin translation of the series of sermons based on Brant's Narrenschiff by the famous preacher Geiler von Kayserberg, Navicula sive speculum fatuorum (Strabourg, 1510). Here the horses are more clearly harnessed to the wrong end of the cart and the wheels are shown set at right angles to the direction of travel. In addition, it is clear that in this version, the fool holding the whip by the wrong end of its handle, hits himself on the head with it.

In his short note, "Milking the Bull and the He-Goat", in Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes 6 (1943), 225, E. Wind mentioned no visual representations of this adynaton.

Whence undoubtedly, for example, its use by Rabelais in the celebrated passage of adynata in Le Cinquiéme Livre (if, indeed, it is his, published in 1564): the similarities with Jonson's list are so striking as to make a common source certain.

All Skelton citations are from Scattergood; the present names are to be found on p.225, line 418, and p.153, line 457, respectively.


Reproduced as fig. 93 in Randall.

Grössinger (1989a), 76.

Reproduced opposite p.200 of Champfleury's Histoire de la Caricature au moyen âge et sous la renaissance (2nd ed., Paris, 1875) -- unfortunately, he does not identify the manuscript more closely, and the authorities at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris were unable to be of assistance.

The Italian broadsheet image is somewhat unusual in showing not a man but a stag being disembowelled. The Tensta painting is reproduced as fig. 4, p. 157, of O. Odenius, "Mundus Inversus" in Ary 10 (1954), 142-70. Unfortunately, I have mislaid the reference to the same scene...
carved on a stone capital of Romanesque date on a church in Alsace. One of the Toledo misericords, carved c.1490 by German craftsmen, is said to depict a pig turned butcher, wearing a knife at his belt.

90 As cited, for example in R. Wildhaber's study, "Die Gänse beschlagen" in ed. T.M. Lucero & A. Dornheim, Homenaje a Fritz Kruger (Mendoza, 1954), II, 339-56.

91 Reproduced as the scenes labelled 'S' and 'R' on pl. CXLVIII of John Browne's The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York vol.II (York, 1847).

92 I do not know to what the usually reliable Wildridge is referring, when he writes of the goose-shoeing motif, 'At Bristol is a carving of the subject' -- there is certainly no such subject still present among the misericord carvings, nor am I aware of its existence in any of the Cathedral stone-carving. Wildridge was writing in 1879; writing in 1888, in the third number of the first volume of the Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, Robert Hall Warren refers to 'the thirty-three Misereres', of which only 28 now remain. Charles Tracy (1990) has noted that at some point in the 19th century [probably in the final decade] several misericords removed from the Cathedral for reasons of prudery were sent to the South Kensington Museum, but he reports that they are not to be found in the Victoria & Albert Museum today. If the Bristol goose-shoeing carving to which Wildridge alludes were a supporter to one of the 'indecent' subjects which so outraged George Pryce in 1850 and which were to be removed in the 1890s, that would account for its disappearance from Bristol.

93 J. W. Hassell Jr., Middle French Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases (Toronto, 1982), 0 39.


96 Reproduced s.v. Gans, in LSR, 303, 2., together with a drawing of the Beverley supporter (3), and the marginal drawing from one of the 14thC. Flemish manuscripts.


98 Reproduced from a book printed in 1530 as fig.316 in Renouard.

99 Reproduced as afb. 39 in Verspaandonk.
100 Randall, 200, s.v. 'Proverbs: goose being shoed', and figs. 579-580.

101 It cannot be a turkey at this date, of course -- perhaps it is a bustard or similar? Whatever else it is, however, it cannot be a goose, as it is usually described, because it has claws not webbed feet. For the goose as an 'absurd mount', see n.104 below.

102 In Palsgrave's French-English Dictionary; he also used it in his translation of Acolastus from (contemporary) Latin (where the expression is not in his original), ten years later -- the expression doubtless owed its popularity amongst humanist and learned writers like Palsgrave, at least, to its occurrence in Erasmus's Adagia in the Latin form, Clitellae bovi sunt impositae. Our misericord supporters -- by providing an antedating of some 40 years to the proverb dictionaries' first citation of the phrase from Heywood -- give the lie to the modern editor of Palsgrave's Acolastus who claims that the 'father of English paremiography' 'improves both the sound and the meaning by altering 'cow' to 'sow'.' (P.L. Carver, EETS. OS. 202, p.240).

The same concept is expressed by the vernacular 'as honest a man as ever spurred cow', first recorded in Preston's Cambises (c. 1561).

A 'yoked sow' (i.e. as draught-animal?) appears in the late 15thC. Digby play, "The Conversion of St. Paul": "He was nether horse ne mare, nor yet yokyd sow" -- see ed. D.C. Baker.

103 The ODEP traces the history of the saddled sow idiom to its recording by Swift in 1738, but children's lore affords later examples. In their ODNR the Opies record a nonsense rhyme beginning 'The sow came in with the saddle, the little pig rocked the cradle', which they date to c.1760 and believe 'undoubtedly originated in the recitation of the mummers'. They also reproduce the frontispiece to the 1816 edition of Marshall's Mother Goose's Melody, which portrays both the little pig babysitting and the saddled sow, 395ff. & pl. VIII b. The motif reappears in J.O. Halliwell's Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales (London, 1849) in a nonsense-tale which begins, 'I saddled my sow with a sieve full of buttermilk and leaped nine miles beyond the moon into the land of Temperance'.

104 Gargantua (1534), cap. 12. For the goose as absurd mount, see Jones (1989a).

B. IV. a. Musicians (Animal Musicians & Animal Instruments)

Animal musicians, *i.e.* animals playing musical instruments such as we would expect to see only human musicians play, were a commonplace of late medieval *drôlerie*, though even here, it is possible to make out some method in the apparently arbitrary madness.

On the Beverley misericords we are concerned initially with a musical cat and two porcine musicians.

The lefthand supporter of the cat catching mice seat [174:5], features what Wildridge describes as

'A cat playing the viol or fiddle to four mice, which, raised on their hind legs, are dancing before her [pl.68]' 

Remnant and others see the dancing animals not as mice but kittens, though it is the 'cat and the fiddle' combination which most concerns us here. The very fact that we have this ready-made oral formulation in English should give us pause; we traditionally associate the cat with this particular instrument and no other. And so do the French, and what is more, it is an association of venerable antiquity in both languages. An English document dated 1361 mentions a tenement (probably an inn) named *le Catfithele* (1), and in medieval Amiens there was similarly a
house called **le Cat qui vielle** in the Rue des Orfèvres (2). Over a century later, we hear of a London inn called **Le Catte cum le Fydell** in Bucklersbury in 1501 (3).

Wildridge's first impulsive reaction to the present carving was to quote the opening lines of the well-known nursery-rhyme:

'Hey! diddle, diddle, the cat and the fiddle.'

But caution is needed here, for, as Iona Opie writes, although this is

'Probably the best-known nonsense verse in the language, a considerable amount of nonsense has been written about it. One of the few statements which can be authenticated is that it appeared in print c.1765.' (4)

She goes on to compare a couplet from Preston's *Cambises* (1569) as 'possibly' referring to the nursery-rhyme, but while it mentions 'a new dance called hey-diddle-diddle', a typical nonsense refrain, and rhymes it with fiddle (5), there is a fatal absence of cat.

Whatever the literary history of the nursery-rhyme, however, the fiddling cat is undeniably attested in the artistic record of late medieval England, so that Mary Remnant in her history of stringed instruments in the Middle Ages can state that 'c.1300 the predominant animal fiddler became the cat', and she cites BL MS Harley 6563 f.40 [1300-1325] as an example (6). In fact, the motif can be found a century earlier: it occurs in at least two English psalters of the first quarter of the 13th century -- at the centre of a C-initial filled with foliage in one manuscript, a cat fiddles to its kitten, while on the Beatus page in a border surrounding the B-initial in another, eight animal jugglers and musicians perform, including a seated cat playing the vielle and the ever-popular Boethian *topos* of the ass on the lyre (BL Lansdowne MS 420 f.12v.).
Turning now to closer parallels to the Beverley supporter, the cat and the fiddle is several times found in English woodwork, both on misericords and elsewhere. On two roughly contemporary 14thC. misericords at Wells (1335X40)[137:23] and Hereford (c.1340-55) [62:7 bis] the cat fiddles, alone at Wells, but in the company of a goat lutenist at Hereford. A well-known bench-end carving of an animal -- assumed to be a cat -- fiddling to two similar but smaller animals -- assumed to be its kittens -- (above a 'dog-in-the-pot' motif) which has sometimes been advanced as illustrating the nursery-rhyme or even as its origin, and of similar date to the carving at Beverley, is to be seen at Fawsley, Northants. (Mary Remnant lists another fiddling cat of 16thC. date at Northleach, Glos.). An example in another medium is a fragment of ?mid-16thC. wall-painting in a house at Fenny Stratford, Buckinghamshire, depicts a cat fiddling to birds within scrolls of foliage [p1.69] (7).

We turn now to the misericord featuring the musical pigs, [174:18 p1.70]. The central carving depicts a sow bagpiping to its four piglets, while on the righthand supporter another sow plays on the harp [the subject of the lefthand supporter, the sow bearing the saddle is discussed above, B.III.d.]. The sex of the animal is again important.

There is clearly an especially close relationship between the Beverley and Manchester misericords; the latter [83:13 p1.71] includes the same supporters (though reversed) and the same central carving, though the four piglets are disposed slightly differently and the Manchester carver has managed to include an indication of the pigs' sty as well. The bagpiping sow is also to be seen at Ripon [183:7] (but with only two piglets and with conventional 'rose' supporters [p1.72] -- is there a suggestion there of the Biblical proverb variant, "roses before swine") and at Durham Castle [41:2 p1.73] (which similarly features two piglets and rose supporters and was presumably copied from Ripon) and at Richmond [181:3 bis] (no supporters) -- in the English misericord
corpus, therefore, this motif of the bagpiping sow is restricted to the ‘Trans-Pennine’ group (the stalls at present in Richmond derive from Easby Abbey and are post-1515 (8)).

Also very relevant here is one of the wooden roof-bosses in St. Mary’s Church, Beverley, which depicts a pig playing the bagpipes [pl.74] and can be dated to the early 1520s; doubtless the "W. Hal[1] Carpenter" who signed one of the bosses had had a good look at the newly-installed Minster misericords.

The bagpiping pig is also found in contemporary Continental woodwork, however; Wilfried Schouwink writes


By no means all of these include one or more dancing piglets, but in any case, Schouwink’s list could easily be extended: further examples are found in Spain, for example, at Sta. Maria la Real de Najera (Logrono) (post-1481) and at Oviedo (1490s), where two pigs copulate to the music of a porcine bagpiper (10); in Flanders, there is another example at Hoogstraeten (1532X46), and in England, a carving of a bagpiping pig has been let into the modern pulpit at Ribbesford (Worcs.) (11), while another mid-16thC. example appears on a bench-end at Drax (Yorks., W.Riding) (12), and another bench-end example at Branston, Lincs., plays not to its piglets but to two women and a non-specific quadruped (13).

In other media, there is an interesting ithyphallic bagpiping boar badge of 15thC. date from Flanders, as well as examples in Flemish manuscripts (e.g. in the Duc de Berry’s ‘Tres Riches Heures’ n.1416, in a 15thC. breviary now in Geraardsbergen Abbey (14), and in two manu-
scripts of c.1300, cited by Randall), in a 14thC. English manuscript of Aristotle (BL Sloane MS 748, f.82v.), where the bagpiping pig is found next to a most interesting ithyphallic fool, and at least three English examples in stone at Melrose (a gargoyle of 1450) (15), Gresford and Bristol. We may therefore safely conclude from this list that the bagpiping pig was a commonplace of late medieval drôlerie.

As to the original meaning of this motif, which by discussing it here, I have assumed to be 'satirical', Druce (who was apparently unaware of the Continental examples) has this to say:

'The occurrence of the Sow playing music to her little dancing pigs is more difficult to account for. Possibly it was a mere variant forming a skit on the unmelodious squealing of pigs which was held to resemble the tones of bagpipes, and then was extended to pipes in general and other musical instruments, such as the fiddle and the harp.'

The harping sows of the Beverley [pl.75] and Manchester [pl.76] supporters, however, are otherwise only found in English woodwork on a Windsor supporter [7:9 pl.78] where there is an audience of three dancing piglets, a bench-end finial at Stowlangtoft in Suffolk [pl.77] and -- once again -- on a roof-boss in Beverley parish church (16). The only other instances of this motif I am at present aware of, are a marginal drawing in a manuscript of Froissart's "Chronicles" dating to the second half of the 15th century (BL Harley MS 4379), in which a sow on stilts and wearing a henin with veil plays a harp, though a boar playing the harp while a bear tumbles also appears in Harley 6563, the early 14thC. English Hours in which we have already noted a 'cat and fiddle' (ff.41v.-42).

We are fortunate, however, to have contemporary literary references to the harping sow in late 15thC. English nonsense verse. As a genre, Middle English nonsense verse has been little studied (in comparison with the French fatras, for example), which is all the more
surprising in that it has valuable insights to offer into the workings
of the medieval English mind. It is a commonplace that ‘pure’ nonsense
is very difficult to write -- not least because it would be very diff-
cult to read -- however nonsensical a piece as a whole may be, it will
often be found to be composed of individually meaningful units; for
example, collocations which the writer has been unable to avoid and
which are to be found elsewhere; in other words, nonsense -- literary
nonsense, at least -- has its own clichés.

Elsewhere I have drawn attention to the depiction of impossibil-
ities or adynata in medieval art (17), which often appear as a part of
the monde renversé topos, and I was able to show that one of the
apparently ‘whimsical’ supporters of a Windsor misericord carved c.1480
[10:5 left] which depicts birds of a vaguely passerine sort flying to or
from a post-windmill with sacks across their backs, was not a merely
arbitrary piece of drôlerie, but an established literary figure of
impossibility -- while in itself it might be nonsense, it is not, as
it were, an original piece of nonsense, but can be found in the contem-
porary nonsense poem opening:

'When nettuls in wynter bryng forth rosys red'

which contains the line

'When ... wrenys cary sekkes onto the myll' (18)

Another of its verses begins with a line which is highly appropriate to
our porcine harpist:

'When swyn be conyng in al poyntes of musyke',

but another nonsense-poem actually uses our image of the harping sow
itself. In a passage featuring nine animal musicians, the cacophonous
concert is introduced by the line
'The sow sat on a high bench and harped (a tune/ballad called) "Robin Hood"'

Then we are told that

'The schulerde schowttyde in a schalmas, the torbot trompyde to that, The ratton rybybyde, the fox fedylde, thereto clariyde the cat[te]. With a synfan songe the snyt, the laverock louttyde withalle, The humbul-be haundylt a horne-pype, her fyngurs wer smalle.'

[The shovelard (= spoonbill) made a loud noise on a shawm, the turbot played the trumpet, the rat played the rebec, the fox fiddled, the cat played the clarion (= shrill trumpet). The snipe played on a symphony, the lark played on a lute, the humble-bee played on a horn-pipe -- her fingers were small.] (19)

It will be observed that each animal musician has been allotted an instrument that alliterates with its name, except that is, for the sow. In the two known independent texts of this poem the line is the same, the alliterative connexion between instrument and animal is broken only for the sow harpist. This is all the more significant in that, had the author wished to preserve the alliteration and also retain the porcine theme, the word 'hog' was available or, alternatively, the sow could have been allotted an alliterating instrument. I believe the inescapable conclusion is that the harping sow was already a well-established collaboration which the author could not lightly avoid or adapt.

Precisely contemporary with the Beverley stalls, one of the misericords at Bristol also illustrates a couplet of this same kind of nonsense verse (20): it is described in Remnant [47:5] as

'A large slug beneath a tree, with corded pack on its back, being led on a leash by a man, while another man behind raises a double-thonged whip [p1.79]'
-- as might, indeed, be gathered from the content of the scene itself --
in the world of nonsense. John Skelton's poem "Collyn Clout", written in 1521/2, opens

'What can it avayle
To dryfe forth a snayle,
Or to make a sayle
Of a herynges tayle?'

Similarly, in the contemporary interlude Gentylnes and Nobylyte (1520s),
occurs the couplet

'In effect it shall no more avayle
Than with a whyp to dryfe a snayle'

The Bristol misericord depiction attests the existence of a variant
version of this nonsense couplet in which "flail" rhymes with "snail" --
it is a surprising result from this sort of iconographical inquiry that
we should thus be able to reconstruct a lost verse couplet.

Having looked at feline and porcine musicians, there are also
examples in medieval art of images in which the animal itself becomes
the instrument, and the Beverley stalls also include one such visual
joke.

On the righthand supporter of [174:16], and seemingly having
nothing to do with the main carving (a man on horseback leading three
chained bears) an ape 'plays' a dog as if it were a bagpipe [pl.80] --
in the words of Wildridge's description:

'Monkey holding a dog by the hind legs, after the manner of
bagpipes, and biting his tail to produce sound.'

This motif -- which is to be distinguished from representations of real
bagpipes which feature decorative animal heads or bodies -- is found
twice elsewhere on English misericords, at Lavenham in Suffolk [146
South side] (late 15thC.), where the animal-bagpipe is a pig [pl.81],

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and at Boston in Lincolnshire [85:8] (1390), a particularly attractive composition, depicting two fools in ass-eared hoods and with bells on their sleeves and shoes, biting the tails of two cats in this manner.

At roughly the same time as the Boston seat, an illuminator in the Boucicaut Workshop chose to illustrate the opening words of Psalm 52 in the Bible now known as BL Royal MS 15 D III (c.1415), with this motif (21): with his club over his shoulder, bells on his eared hood and round his waist, and torn shoes, the unbelieving fool contrives to hold the dog by its front legs while biting its tail -- to his right, two well-dressed men point at him, clearly discussing his folly, perhaps, indeed, the illuminator intended this representation as an example of the 'abominable iniquity' which the Psalmist attributes to those fools who have denied the existence of God.

Another example -- clearly deriving from this Dixit insipiens tradition of illustration -- is found in a manuscript of Petrus Comestor's "Historia Scholastica" illuminated in France in 1372 (Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 23, f. 293r.). The motif was certainly known to French artists half a century earlier, however; in the celebrated Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, painted a.1328 in Paris by Jean Pucelle (New York, Cloisters, MS 54.1.2. f.34v), a marginal grotesque with the upper body of a bald-headed man again bagpipes on a dog (22).

But perhaps it is not necessary to look so far afield as Paris, or even Boston, to find the probable inspiration for this Beverley supporter. On a corbel of the Percy Tomb in the Minster itself, dating to the 1330s, the sculptor has shown us a man playing a bagpipe whose bag is the body of a pig [pl.82] -- admittedly this is not quite the same situation as 'playing' the live animal, but it may perhaps have given the hint.

It is time now to consider who or what -- if anyone or anything, indeed -- is being satirised in these animal musician and animal-as-
Wildridge, in tune with the cultural historians of his generation such as Wright, writes of the bagpiping and harping sows:

'These have evidently sarcastic reference to the decline of minstrelsy, and the degradation of the minstrels of the period, in which the harp ... was either neglected for the bagpipes or tabor, or borne by unworthy disciples of the lyric art ... These may also have covert reference to the Guild or Brotherhood of "Mynstrells", which had extensive influence at the time; though nothing now remains to keep in memory the ancient fraternity except a few of its documents, a carved pillar in the Church of St. Mary, Beverley (presented by the Guild in the reign of Henry VII [1486-1509]), and such covert allusions as these carvings.' (23)

Iona Opie has suggested to me that the motif of the cat playing the fiddle might conceivably have its origin in a sort of cruel joke, an allusion to the use of cat-gut for stringed instruments. In similar vein, we have seen above how Schouvink attributes the popularity of the representation of the bagpiping pig in various media to a certain similarity between the sound made by the instrument and that made by the animal. In his "Muzerende Schweine" chapter, he writes:


His conclusion seems to me the commonsense one that whether or not such humorous motifs as the animal musicians began life as intentional satires, certainly by the time our stalls were carved they are devoid of any such serious moral purpose, now they are merely representatives of a traditional repertoire of 'emptily' amusing images.
B.IV.b.  Doctors (The Ape Urinanalyst)

I have referred in passing above to the motif of the ape urinanalanalyst on the righthand supporter of the Beverley lion-dragon combat misericord [173:5 pl.83] (inadequately described by Remnant as 'seated ape holding bottle'). We can say quite unequivocally that this is a direct copy of the same scene at Manchester [82:8 pl.84] (as, indeed, is the corresponding righthand supporter).

In her introductory essay to Remnant's Catalogue, Anderson referred to

'verthe numerous misericords which represent foxes and apes performing human actions, such as studying urine flasks in parody of doctors ...' (25)

The image of the ape urinanalyst inspecting a raised urinal is common in late medieval art, so common, indeed, that one suspects by the date of the Beverley stalls it has lost whatever parodic function it originally possessed (cf. the large number of illustrations of this motif in the margins of manuscripts listed by Randall (26) ). There are two ape urinanalysts on the Beverley parish church misericords -- not recognised as such by Remnant [i.e. 177:3 & 178:13bis] -- and six others listed by him (27), ranging in date from c.1440 (Cartmel [78:9]) to 1520 (Bristol [46:11]).

To judge from representations in art, at least, it would seem that the medieval physician had only this one diagnostic technique, and the urinal thus became the quintessential attribute of the medieval doctor. In 1302 in London, a quack doctor named Roger Clerk was subjected to a charivari during which he was forced to ride facing backwards through the city with

'duae ollae, quas 'jordanes' vulgo vocamus'
[two urinals which we call 'jordans' in popular parlance] tied around his neck, together with the liar's proverbial prize, a whetstone (28).
The religious were not immune from satirical attack, and in particular, the mendicant orders were always a comfortable target as far as the regular clergy were concerned.

In his comprehensive survey of medieval fox iconography, *Reynard the Fox*, Kenneth Varty showed how the motif of the Preaching Fox, or Fox-Friar preaching to a bird-congregation, was originally intended as a satirical hit at the rapacity of the various mendicant orders -- the two misericords at Beverley which illustrate this theme are relatively late examples of a tradition which has its beginnings in England c.1260 with a marginal illustration in the Rutland Psalter (29). In her recent review of European instances of the Preaching Fox (30), Kerstin Rodin has noted that

'Geese and pulpit appear to have been incorporated at a later stage' in the development of the motif.

The Beverley Fox-Friar [175:4] is a fairly standard presentation of the subject: holding a rosary (31), Brother Reynard preaches from a pulpit to a congregation of seven proverbially silly (32) geese [p1.85]. The scene of the revenge of the geese who are depicted hanging Reynard, is frequently, as here at Beverley [175:7 p1.86], paired with that of the fox's sermon; the best contemporary parallel in English woodwork for the pairing of these scenes is the pair of misericords at Bristol, [46:5] and [46:9]. The Revenge of the Geese is now separated from the occasion of their grievance, the loss of one of their number at the fox's sermon (who the Beverley carver has depicted being carried off in the jaws of another fox on the extreme left of the carving (33) ), by two intervening seats -- and at Bristol by three -- suggesting that some, at least, of the Beverley misericords are no longer in their original position (34). [see further below]
Since his *Reynard the Fox*, Kenneth Varty has dealt with the Bristol fox scenes at greater length, for at Bristol, scenes from the beast-epic proper are also depicted, e.g. Bruin trapped in the split log [45:1], Tybert the cat caught in the priest's gin-trap [45:2], Reynard led to the gallows before Noble the lion and his Queen [45:3], and Tybert clawing the priest [47:3]. As it is known that the Bristol carver copied his designs for four other misericords from early printed Parisian Hours [C.II.b.] it seems likely that he also took these four scenes at least, from another early printed version of the Reynard epic (35).

This traditional pairing of the scenes which form the main carvings of misericords [175:4] and [175:7] at Beverley -- and they are found represented together in English art as early as the miniatures painted c.1330 in the Smithfield Decretals, or the neighbouring bosses in the roof of Worcester Cathedral (1379), and in woodwork, on a fragmentary desk-end now at Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, and on the famous contemporary bench-ends at Brent Knoll, Somerset [pl.87], which Charles Tracy has recently redated to the late 14th century (36) -- is clearly independent of the Reynard beast-epic (37). Nor, Maude Blake, indeed, concluded that the four Bristol misericords are 'the only unambiguous representations of Reynard stories from the Roman in England'.

but it may be that another of the Beverley misericords depicts an incident from the Roman: the righthand supporter of [174:19] depicts the wily fox in bed being attended (nursed?) or perhaps shriven by an ape [pl.88] (38). In the other supporter the ape is shown riding on the back of the fox holding Reynard's tail with his right hand, and the ape appears with the fox for a third time on the righthand supporter to the gallows scene, where he appears to loosen the noose around the fox's neck. Varty wonders whether he has saved Reynard in the nick of time, or whether
this is merely a preliminary to his funeral procession. The ape also appears behind the pulpit from which Reynard preaches with a mace over his shoulder (39), looking very like the fox’s thuggish henchman. Varty has charted the partnership of the ape with the fox (40): at Brent Knoll, for instance, he appears to be guarding the prisoner, first brandishing a threatening cudgel and then, when Reynard is securely in the stocks, he sits on duty with a halberd. Similarly, on the Windsor misericord he appears to threaten Friar Reynard with his crossbow, whom he has caught in the act, with one goose by the throat and another hidden in his cowl.

In the parish church in Beverley, the fox and the ape appear again on one of the mid-15thC. misericords [178:13bis], a mysterious and perhaps meaningless composition: on the right of the carving an ape urinanalyst chained to (and perhaps intended to be seated on) a clog holds up the urinal in the traditional inspection-pose, opposite a fox holding out a purse who is transfixed by an arrow from the bow of a wodehouse on the left of the carving.

The Beverley goose-shoeing scene of [175:4] has already been discussed in its own right as a proverbial folly [B.III.d.], but what is the reason for its depiction here as a supporter to the Preaching Fox? In the first instance it was perhaps brought to mind merely by the goose congregation of the central carving, for it is admittedly not easy to see quite how the application of this proverb -- at least, as given on the Whalley stall, for example -- is appropriate to the Preaching Fox motif. Perhaps it is intended to convey the uselessness of trying to intervene to warn the proverbially silly goose mesmerised by the preacher’s oratory -- one might as well try to shoe a goose.

The other supporter to [175:4], the owl, must in this context have a commentary function, peculiarly appropriate on account of his bird-form, the traditional bird of ill-omen (41) warns by his very
presence of the fox's evil intentions. It is notable that at Brent Knoll a distinctly rendered owl perches in the top of the tree behind Bishop Reynard as he preaches, but, significantly, faces away from the preacher and in the following scene too, where the carver has depicted the apprehended fox in fetters, an owl looks down on the criminal, a visual embodiment of his evil.

There are other fox scenes of presumed satirical intent both in the Minster and in the parish church. When, in the very year that the Minster seats were being installed, a new roof had to be built on the parish church (the original having been destroyed when the tower collapsed onto it in 1520), two of the new roof-bosses carved depicted fox motifs; a fox running off with a goose, and a fox preaching from a pulpit to five geese, a cockerel already hidden in his cowl (42). The parish church misericords carved c.1445 include one depicting a fox in a pulpit between two monks but atypically addressing a congregation of two smaller foxes [177:12], while another represents two foxes holding bishops' croziers in each of whose cowls a goose is to be seen [178:4].

In the Minster itself, Varty has drawn attention to one of the 14thC. label-stops in the North aisle on which is carved the clearly related subject of the fox with pilgrim's staff preceding a cock, a hen and a goose which plucks at his elbow with its beak [pl.89] -- is this unlikely pilgrim 'leading them astray', as Prof. Varty suggests (43)?

By contrast with the clearly fabulous scenes in which animals carry out such human activities as preaching, hanging and riding each other, and ministering to one of their number lying tucked up in bed, two of which we have assumed to have an, at least originally, satirical function, another pair of Beverley stalls [174:19 & 20] would seem to represent what Kenneth Varty calls 'The Natural Fox'.

The main carving to [174:19 pl.7] depicts a perfectly ordinary fox-hunt, and similarly 'naturalistic' appears the tripartite scene,
apparently to be 'read' from left to right, carved on the neighbouring misericord: on the lefthand supporter two foxes (? intended as male and female) back to back, turn their heads to face each other, while the central carving depicts a fox running off with a goose pursued by an irate woman threatening it with a now broken distaff, and the lefthand supporter shows it having made good its escape with its paw resting on the neck of the dead goose (44). This central scene is certainly derived from the very similar one at Manchester [02:7], as discussed above [B.I.a.]. Is there perhaps a hint of humour in the stag-hunt misericord [175:1] which also features a fox (mysteriously termed a 'wolf' by Wildridge) looking out of its earth as the hunt careers over his head?
Another motif, originally of quite specific satirical application, is that of the 'Snail-Combat' in which an armed warrior, sometimes mounted, is depicted attacking or even fleeing from a snail.

The English misericord corpus contains no obviously racist motifs of the anti-Semitic 'Judensau' type found, for example, on a 13thC. Basel misericord (45), but Lilian Randall has shown that the 'Snail-Combat' was in origin a satirical attack aimed at the alleged cowardice of the Lombards (46), though it would seem most unlikely that it was still recognised as such by the artist who carved the lefthand supporter to [174:17] in Beverley in 1520.

By 1520 the motif already had a history of representation some two and a half centuries old, and as early as 1340 was already something of a literary commonplace in English:

'Tho anlikneth than that ne dar naght guo ine the pethe vor thane snagge that sseaweth him his hornes.' [You resemble him who dares not go on the path for (fear of) the snail that shows him his horns] (47)

Coming closer to the date of our stalls, in his Royal Book of 1484, a translation of the 13thC. 'Somne du Roi' by Lorens of Orléans, Caxton made use of the same image:

'They resemble hym that dare not entre in to the path or waye for fere of the snaylle that sheweth his hornes.'

but between his book and the carving of this supporter, the motif was suddenly invested with new vigour and must have achieved great popularity through its appearance in the many editions, both French and English (48), of The Shepherds' Calendar, a work which has an excellent claim to be considered as the first piece of truly popular literature in print (49).
Chapter XXXIV of Notary's edition of the Kalender of Shepheardes of 1518 [STC 22410] includes the translation, "Of an Assault against a Snail", and a woodcut illustrating it [Hodnett 2270] which does, however, retain -- albeit in garbled fashion -- the allusion to the Lombards, but both appeared also in at least two of the earlier English editions, de Worde's Kalender of Shepheardes of 1516 [bearing a false date '1508', STC 22409; Hodnett 984], and Pynson's Kalender of Shepheardes of c.1517 [STC 22409.7; Hodnett *1577a].

Randall showed that the highpoint of the popularity of this motif, especially in manuscript marginal illustrations, was the decades either side of the year 1300 because, precisely at this time, the power of the Lombard bankers in Europe was at its highest and their influence most resented. It was not, however, until the publication of the first edition of the Shepherds' Calendar to be illustrated with the Snail-Combat wood-cut -- Vérard's French-language edition of 1493 -- and its reappearance in succeeding editions, both in French (such as Marchant's of 1500) and other languages (for English, see above) (50), that the motif once again enjoyed a renaissance.

The Snail-Combat appears nowhere else in English woodwork (51), or indeed, except for the woodcuts referred to above, in any other medium at this period, as far as I am aware, though it is found depicted on at least two Spanish misericords, on opposite supporters of a misericord at Barcelona carved by the Spaniard Pere Sanglada between 1394 and 1399 (the only set of Spanish misericords to have supporters), and as the subject of a seat at Talavera de la Reina (early 16thC.) carved by 'Germanic' craftsmen (52).

The Beverley snail-fighter, 'hooded' according to Remnant, attacks the snail as it emerges from its shell, thrusting the tip of his spear (the shaft of which he holds with two hands) down through its head [pl.90]. This mode of attack is itself suggestive of the source of the
carver's original model. Of those snail-fighters who attack the snail on foot with a spear, I know of none who does not also bear a shield; in the Vérand edition woodcut [pl.91], however, and those ultimately derived from it, such as Marchant's [pl.92] and, in the English version, Notary's [pl.93], the foremost warrior wields a spear which he holds two-handed, the point of the weapon almost touching the snail. The hood which Remnant correctly discerns, if compared with this putative woodcut source, can now be seen to represent the shape of the helmet worn by the spearman, who is similarly presented in profile.

It is curious that less than a generation after the Beverley stalls were carved, the attack of the cowardly soldier on the snail could be seen on the English stage; in the eponymous Tudor interlude (written in 1537 by an unknown Oxford scholar), Thersites is a miles gloriosus who, despite his outrageous boasting, dares not fight the snail single-handed. When he first enters, one of his boasts is that

```
... when I am harnessed well,
    I shall make the dasters to renne into a bagge
    To hyde them fro me, as from the devyll of hell.' (53)
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The supporter opposite the Snail-Combat is described by Wildridge as

''Man knelt; head, shoulders, and one arm in a sack [pl.94].''

a gesture which is surely now explained by this threat of Thersites to make his opponents 'run into a bag' -- the only other example of this motif known to me (in any medium) also appears on a misericord carved in 1474 by the Fleming, Arnt Beildesnider, at Klee on the Lower Rhine in Germany, just over the Dutch border [pl.95] (54). This righthand supporter thus depicts another cowardice motif, so that both supporter subjects constitute a deliberate contrast to the courage displayed by the main carving's dragon-fighter (whatever its original significance, if it derives from a Monstrous Races prototype -- see [B.V.b.] below).
The episode of the Snail-Combat in the English Thersites interlude derives from a popular Latin schoolbook, the *Dialogi* of the French humanist scholar, Ravisius Textor (Jean Tissier de Ravissy) who died in 1524, but the first complete edition of whose Dialogues, which included this tale (55), was not printed until 1530; Textor's influence is further discerned at work in 16th century England below (56).
B.IV.e. Anti-Feminism (the Virago)

Anti-feminist satire -- if that is not rather too dignified a name for medieval misogyny -- is exemplified by at least four Beverley misericords, three of which being so structurally similar in lay-out, must surely have been intended as a series (although [175:10 bis] is now no longer adjacent to [176:17] and [176:18]), and the slightly differently arranged [173:9].

‘It is the properte of a woman to use scoldynge.’

This somewhat startling sexist observation translating Latin

‘Ingenium est mulierem conviccia exercere’ (57)

was part of the everyday reading of the Tudor schoolboy from at least 1509 -- de Worde had issued at least seven editions of Stanbridge’s Vulgaria by the date our stalls were carved (58) -- and it is against the background of such images of women impressed upon the Tudor male unconscious that the misericord discussed below must be seen.

Christa Grössinger (following Anderson in Remnant (59)) has recently suggested that:

‘activities like grinding corn [presumably she is thinking of the left supporter of [176:10], depicting the woman pounding the pestle in the mortar], blowing the fire with bellows, chopping logs [i.e. presumably, the two side figures in the central carving of [173:9]] and a man warming himself at the fire [i.e. [175:10 bis]], stem from a long tradition in calendar pictures of the Labours of the Months, a tradition exemplified in an early 16th-century Flemish Hours of the Virgin (Pierpont Morgan MS 399), and the so-called Golf Book [i.e. BL Add. MS 2409C]’. (60)

In other words, the implication is that the carvers have here produced a number of ‘genre scenes’ of everyday life derived ultimately from the margins of illuminated manuscript calendars, in the same way that they
have certainly been shown to have employed 'grotesque' subjects from early printed versions of such Books of Hours [C.II.b.].

Yet, when we look closely at [173:9], for example [pl.96], we notice, between the two men performing these household chores, the broken figure of a woman with -- in the words of Wildridge --

'At her side ... a rod, perhaps part of a distaff she held' (61)

Similarly, in the contemporary, early 16thC. mystery play from the Digby MS, "The Killing of the Children", the miles gloriesus, Watkin,

'drede[s] no thyng more thanne a woman with a rokke [i.e. distaff]' (62)

and later admits that

'the most I fore is to come among women,
For thai fight like deuelles with ther rokkes' (63)

With this outburst, we may compare the several English and Continental misericord representations (e.g. Hoogstraten) which show a (sometimes armed) man threatened by a woman with her distaff; not least, one such at Beverley itself, another of these virago scenes, [176:18 pl.97], which in Wildridge's words, depicts

'Woman clutching man by hair, and thrashing him with some article, which (together with her arm) is broken off.'

The right supporter to [176:10] is also a 'man chopping', in Remnant's carefully truncated description ('chopping a sausage', according to Wildridge -- see below), its opposing supporter is Grässinger's 'grinding corn', but, according to Remnant, the main carving is

'Woman standing and seizing man by his hair, dog helping himself from pot.'
Similarly, Grüssinger's 'man warming himself by the fire', is only half of the main carving of [175:10 bis pl.98], the rest of the scene is again the familiar 'woman chases dog which has stolen meat from the pot', and the supporters:

'man, with apron over short tunic, kneeling before a pot washing platters [and] man pulling up his hose; shoes on ground, wallet hung on wall'

Comparing Remnant's description of the main scene with that of Wildridge, however, a discrepancy immediately becomes apparent, for the Victorian antiquary calls the broken figure a man. Close examination of the carving confirms Wildridge's identification that this is, indeed, a 'Man in large apron' -- doubtless the presence of the apron misled Remnant -- and, in addition, he wears the same sort of characteristic-ally male shoe with strap, as is worn by the man lifting the weights on the right supporter to [173:7]. In this sort of domestic context, with the dog stealing from the cooking-pot, it is highly unlikely that the second figure is another man, and, sure enough, on closer examination, the 'man warming himself at the fire', is seen to be a wrinkled crone of the same facial type (and wearing the same type of headgear, styled by Wildridge a 'bag-cap') as the old woman in other virago-scenes, e.g. the barrowing and dog-flaying [176:17 pls.144 & 147] [for which, C.I.] (64).

Given the rest of the context of these carvings, it seems unlikely to me that they should derive, as isolated examples, from manuscript calendar Labours of the Months, especially when we consider the example of the only unequivocal series of such illustrations in English stallwork, at Ripple, in which all 12 Labours are represented, and occupy the central carvings of their misericords. The satirical context of the Beverley scenes argues, rather, to my mind -- if free invention on the part of the craftsmen is to be ruled out -- for derivation from satirical images of the type which certainly underlie the depiction of the man
barrowing the woman ([41:1]; [176:17]; [183:9]) and which -- despite its later adaptation as a Labour of the Month -- was not originally intended or circulated as such, being one of a pair of satirical prints [C.I.].

Let us look in more detail at that left supporter to [175:10 bis], described as

'man, with apron over short tunic, kneeling before a pot washing platters [pl.99]'

Such a man, who acted what was felt to be exclusively the housewife's role, was known to the Elizabethans as a cotquean, and Nashe's use of this word in his An Almond for a Parrot of 1590 takes us straight back to the satirical world of the earlier misericords:

'groping his own hens like a cotquean' (65)

for the hennetaster [= hen-groper], a type of the effeminate man in Flemish art, and -- so it would seem -- in the Elizabethan mind too, is depicted c.1500 in stallwork at Emmerich, Kempen and Aarschot, and, more familiarly, in Bruegel's "Netherlandish Proverbs" painting of 1559. A generation or so earlier, the same insulting insinuation of effeminacy presumably lies behind Dame Chat's assertion that Hodge came

...creeping into my pens,
And there was caught within my house grooping among my hens' (66)

in Gammer Gurton's Needle (p.1563). The word cotquean is also found, again in significant company, in Hickston & Doktor's The Roaring Girl (1611)

'I cannot abide these apron husbands: such cotqueans ...' (67)

Here we see how pointed is the fact that the carver has given our Beverley washer-up an apron. Though, curiously, OED does not seem to recognise it as such, the apron, certainly in a domestic context, has come to
be seen as a pre-eminently feminine garment; as the characteristic
garment of the mother, for example, it is found in the idiom, 'being
tied to] one's mother's apron-strings', first noted in Udall's trans-
lation of Erasmus's Apotheqms (1542). Röhrich, s.v. Schürze, notes that

'Die Schürze als ein Hauptbestandteil der Frauenkleidung ist zum
Symbol geworden und steht para pro toto für die Frau.' (68)

That there was, indeed, something of a tradition of portraying
such 'Pantoffelhelde' in English art and literature (69), we may infer
from several little-regarded works of art, most notably the plaster
panel dating from the final decade of the 16th century at Montacute
House near Yeovil, Somerset, depicting a 'stimmington ride', the
occasion for which is clearly represented in the lefthand scene of the
panel, where the husband, in the act of feeding the baby, is hit over
the head by the wife's slipper/clog (itself reminiscent of the them-
atically related German expression, 'unter dem Pantoffel stehen'(70)).

In this connexion, there is an interesting detail in the domestic
brawl carved c. 1480 on a misericord at Great Malvern [167:5 pl.100]:
while the wife beats the husband over the head with her distaff, he
kneels before her in a posture of submission and -- according to
Edminson (71) -- 'draws off her boot', but like the similar scenes in
Hereford (1340? 1355) [62:8 pl.102] and Fairford (late 15thC.) [40:6
pl.101], which latter Remnant reports is 'sometimes described as a
quarrel over a shoe', it seems more likely that this should be
interpreted as his placing his hand under his wife's foot as a further
token of his submission -- a gesture which interestingly accounts for
the tamed shrew's notorious recommendation to obedient wives to

'place your hands below your husband's foot' (72)
Similarly, that the husband should wash the baby's nappies was felt to be equally demeaning, and as early as c.1536 in a woodcut attributed to Hans Schäuffelein [Geisberg 1107], we see a man with up-raised washing-beetle doing just this, supervised by his hefty-looking wife who threatens him with a stick. Significantly, given the ease with which such playing-cards might be disseminated, this same composition appears reversed on the 2-of-Acorns in a German pack of c.1600, depicting fearsome, cannon-ball-breasted viragoes subjecting their unfortunate menfolk to similar humiliations (73). The Schäuffelein woodcut illustrates a Hans Sachs poem entitled "Der Uindeln waschende Mann," but there is also a German singspiel of 16thC. type, "Der Uindelwäscher", published in Engelische Comedien und Tragedien (Leipzig, 1620). C.R. Gaskervill points to the possible English source of this singspiel in Ingelelnd's Disobedient Child of 1560, in which a shrewish wife forces her husband to wash clothes, a work itself based on a school dialogue, "Juvenis, Pater et Uxor", by the humanist, Ravisius Textor (Jean Tissier de Ravis, d.1524), of which an English adaptation known as The Prodigal Son (c.1530-4. [STC 20765.5]) is extant in a fragmentary copy (74).

Another relevant English parallel, though again, known to us only at a similar remove, is afforded by the title-page woodcut of a book published in Antwerp in 1550 (but the first presumed edition of which is dated to c.1530), Vanden X Esels; according to the work itself, it is a Dutch translation of an English original, and the translator is presumed to have been the book's publisher, Jan van Doesborch, who printed many books in English both in Antwerp and London [C.III.h.1.] (75). Among the various 'asses' depicted in ass-eared fool's hoods on the title-page woodcut [pl.103], is one washing clothes in a wooden tub, representing 'esol' no.2, defined as the man who allows himself to be dominated by his wife.
Significantly, popular prints of the feebie husband in the Netherlands feature one "Jan de water" [i.e. 'the washerman']. A further medieval example of the husband dish-washing occurs in the tale known as "The Wright's Chaste Wife", in which the husband foolishly undertakes to do all the wife's household chores (and she his) -- it was illustrated, together with so many other popular tales, in the lower margins of the Smithfield Decretals (BL Royal Ms 10.E.IV, illuminated in England c.1330-c.1340).

A previously unnoticed detail concerning this Beverley supporter, which seems to me to confirm the suggested satirical reading of the carving of the washer-up, is a small fool's head carved in low relief in the spandrel of the elbow dividing this stall from the next, directly opposite the supporter [pl.104]: the carver seems to be suggesting, via this commentary fool's-head, that for the man to undertake this traditionally female chore is folly.

In the light of this reading, then, what of the other supporter depicting the man pulling his stocking on/off, his shoes lying on the ground beneath him [pl.105]? At first sight, this would seem a better candidate for derivation from some winter month's Labour in a late Book of Hours, but in the light of the suggested import of its opposite number, and the familiar humiliating consequence for the husband whose lax supervision has allowed the dog to get into the pot (as in the central carving), could it too be capable of bearing an equivocal meaning?

In the medieval misogynist tradition there is one widespread and ancient expression which implicitly compares marriage to an ill-fitting shoe, and survives in current English as "I know best where the shoe pinches". Its earliest attestation in English is in Chaucer, where it is twice used in this marital context: the Wife of Bath admits that she made her fourth husband's life a hell,
In "The Merchant's Tale", Justinus admits that he has

\[\ldots\ldots\ldots\text{wopt many a teere}\]
\[\text{Ful pryvely, syn I have had a wyf.}\]
\[\text{Preyse whose whole a wedded mannes lyf,}\]
\[\text{Certein I fynde in it but cost and care ...}\]
\[\text{And yet ... my myneighbours ...}\]
\[\text{Seyn that I have the mooste stedfaste wyf,}\]
\[\text{And eek the mekest oon that bereth lyf;}\]
\[\text{Out I woat best where wryngeth me my sho.}'\] (76)

Chaucer was well-versed in antifeminist literature and made much use of it in the "Marriage Group" of "The Canterbury Tales". In the "Adversus Jovinianum" which Chaucer knew, St. Jerome cites Plutarch's story from chapter 22 of the "Coniugalia praeepta", concerning the Roman sage who, blamed for divorcing his wife, said that only the wearer of an ill-fitting shoe knew where it pinched. Closer to Chaucer's own time, the story was repeated by both John of Salisbury in his "Politicus", and by Walter Map in "De Nugis Curialium" in the 12th century, and we are entitled to consider the application of the anecdote as a commonplace of antifeminist literature in the Middle Ages (77).

Perhaps another significant use of the symbolic proverb of the ill-fitting shoe -- at least, according to the gloss given by Henkel/ Schöne (78) -- engraved only a little later than our carving, may be seen in Gilles Corrozet's Hecatomorphie (first extant ed. 1543, but original ed. 1540, Sig. E b), where under the motto "DESSOUZ BEAUTE GIST DECEPTION" is a woodcut depicting a barefoot woman on déshabillé watching her husband who appears to be having trouble putting on his shoe [pl.106]. Significantly, there is no reference whatever to shoes pinching in the text of Corrozet's emblam, which is concerned with the deceitfulness which may lie behind the facade of beauty; indeed, there is not even any definite reference to wifely beauty, but it is clear the
artist has so interpreted the emblem, and chosen the figure of the shoe that pinches to illustrate it.

The late 15thC. Walters Art Gallery MS of the celebrated "Proverbes en Rimes", illustrates stanza CLXXVIII, 'trouver soulier à son pied', which seems to have meant 'to find a suitable marriage partner', but also 'to meet one's match' (79), with a man trying on shoes till he finds one that fits [p.107]. This image of the fit of the marital shoe also, it seems to me, better explains the elbow figure of the Hoogstraeten stalls (1532X46), who seems to be removing his right boot, than the explanation advanced by J. Lauterys, that it illustrates the idiom "Hij zit er met de knie door", which seems particularly inappropriate as the figure is not wearing trousers but a tunic (80).

There is, however, another possible interpretation of our supporter carving: writing in the 1390s, the poet John Gower employs the shoe in a monde renversé figure to represent the effeminate man:

'To son a man fro his astat
Thurgh his sotie offenat,
And leve that a man schal do,
It is as Hose above the Scho,
To man which oghte noght ben used.' (31)

Of course, he is referring to the topsy-turvy situation of a man wearing his hose over his shoes rather than vice versa, but it is also at least possible that our carver -- with this idiom in mind, which clearly would be well-nigh impossible to represent at all convincingly in wood -- chose to portray the man's stockinged leg vertically above his shoe in order to suggest the similar 'unnatural' situation of a wife who lords it over her husband.

We turn now to a detailed discussion of Grössinger's putative Labour of the Month, the 'grinding corn' supporter of [176:10 p.110], remembering that the other supporter depicts a 'Soy or man chopping
sausage with an axe' -- bizarrely, Wildridge appeared to regard this strange activity as an example of a 'better occupation than [the] wrangling' of the central carving (82).

Given the context of the main scene, which shows the wife be-labouring the husband with her distaff for having allowed the dog to get into the pot (as discussed above), and the plainly bizarre scene of a man taking an axe to a sausage, we are surely entitled to suspect that, in the action of the crone pounding the pestle in the mortar, there is more than meets the eye.

As the argument which follows is somewhat involved, it may be helpful to summarise it in advance: given the dominant central image of the wife beating the husband while pulling his hair, there can be no dispute that the carver has depicted this woman as a virago, and her spouse, consequently, as the sort of feeble husband we have discussed above, forced into performing what are properly regarded as the wife's household chores. It is in this light, of dominating wife and emasculated husband, I believe, that we are intended to read these particular subsidiary carvings, i.e. not as 'genre scenes' of ordinary everyday domestic activities, but as symbolic allusions to the sort of 'unnat-ural' ménage which horrified all right-thinking medieval men.

The action of the pestle pounding in the mortar has struck many European writers, since at least the Middle Ages, as an obvious analogy to the sexual act. Although I have yet to happen upon any contemporary (i.e. early 16thC.) English instances of this metaphor, it is certainly evidenced from c.1600, and medieval usage on the Continent, must make earlier English employment of the figure well-nigh certain.

In Italy, at least, the image was something of a cliché, as affirmed by the tongue-in-cheek complaints of both Boccaccio, who in the mid-14thC. "Decameron", protested about the difficulty of using ordinary words capable of bearing sexual innuendo, and singled out 'pestle' and
'mortar' among others (including 'sausage'), and the arch-pornographer Aretino, who in one of his Dialogues published in 1534, similarly affected to disapprove of this particular innuendo (83). The image is particularly well attested in France, from the 13thC. "Dit du 'mercier", through Deschamps and Villon, to Rabelais and beyond (84), while in Germany, as might be expected, it is a commonplace of erotic innuendo in the fastnachtspieler (85).

The earliest usage I have so far found in English literature, comes from a play published in 1609, the very title of which attests to the familiarity of this erotic metaphor, Beaumont & Fletcher’s Knight of the Burning Pestle, in which Rafe, the eponymous knight, declares

'I have a lady of my own ... whom I vow
Ne'er to forsake whilst life and pestle last' (36)

and, s.v. mortar, OED has a relevant citation from a play entitled The Marriage Broker (1662):

'this Pestle shall ne're pound i' th' widow's mortar' (87).

As for the man who chops into the sausage -- or 'pudding' as it would more usually have been called in the English of 1520 -- on the opposite supporter [p.109], as outlined above, the very bizarreness of this act must alert us to suspect some satirical intention on the part of the carver (85).

It is another commonplace of European erotic diction that words meaning 'sausage' may stand for penis, e.g. 'Murst' in German fastnachtspieler, 'andouille' in French fabliaux, in Rabelais and in a scurrilous charivari couplet (89), not to mention late medieval Flemish verse (90). Due principally, no doubt, to the rather poorer survival of earlier popular material in English, this obvious erotic image is not at
all common before such Jacobean instances as Shakespeare's syphilitic and previously unnoticed innuendo in "Measure for Measure":

'young Drop-heir that killed lusty Pudding' (91).

There is one example, however, dated a.1525 and therefore exactly contemporary with our carving, from a late medieval carol, which constitutes quite unequivocal evidence of the availability of this phallic sense of the 'pudding':

'Podynges at nyght and podynges at none;  
Here nat for podynges the world were clone done ...  
I will have a podyng that will stand by hymself ...  
I will have a podyng that grows out of a man.' (92)

It is hardly surprising in an atmosphere in which every Tudor schoolboy learned to translate into Latin such sentences as 'It is the propriety of a woman to use scolding', and viragoes were a commonplace in both the traditional and the new humanist drama, that they should also figure in the carvings of the Beverley misericords. The corollary to this anxious attack on the increasingly emancipated woman of the late medieval and early modern era was, of course, a similar holding up to ridicule of the feeble husband, the 'cotquean', such as the man depicted washing-up at Beverley, pointedly mocked by the grin on the face of the small fool's head carved in the stall-elbow spandrel directly opposite him. In their representation of the conventional relations between the sexes the Beverley misericords are absolutely typical for their date.
1 cit. MED s.v. cat.


4 ODNB, 203.

5 As, indeed, does Skelton, 50 years earlier, in his "Garland of Laurel" 740f.

6 H. Remnant, English Dowed Instruments from Anglo-Saxon to Tudor Times (Oxford, 1986). A mid-14thC. example from the margin of a French "Roman de la Rose" manuscript, bib. nat. ms. fr. 25526, f.151v., is cit. Randall, s.v. 'cat with vielle'.

7 F.U. Reader, "Tudor Mural Paintings in the Lesser Houses in Buckinghamshire" in Archaeological Journal 89 (1932), 167f., & pl.22.

8 See Remnant, 102.


10 Kraus, pl.28 (at Burgos).

11 G.C. Druce, "The Sow and Pigs; a Study in Metaphor" in Archaeologia Cantiana 46 (1934), 1-6.


13 Well illustrated in Varty (1967), as fig. 122.

14 Reproduced as fig.11 in N. Smeyers, "Bijzondere randversieringen in een 15de-eeuwse brevier" in Spiegel Historinol 4 (1969) 77.

15 Scott, op. cit., 207f.

16 Cave, 70.

17 Jones (1939a).

19 Printed in T. Wright & J.O. Halliwell, *Reliquiae Antiquae* (London, 1841-3), I. 85f., from the late 15thC. manuscript National Library of Wales, Porthkerry MS 10, f.152; some of these same animal musicians including the sow who harped 'Robin Hood' recur in another contemporary manuscript, now known as Edinburgh, Advocates' Library, MS 19. 3. 1., printed in ibid., 81.

20 A discovery I first discussed in Jones (1989a), 209f.; q.v. for full references.


22 This conceit is one which has survived (or perhaps been independently rediscovered?) into the popular culture of our own day; in *The Second Official I Hate Cats Book* (London, 1981), S. Morrow has drawn a pair of burly bagpipers in kilts playing two cats as if they were bagpipes squeezing the animals under their elbows and biting their tails.

23 Wildridge, 24f. In fact, the famous minstrels' pier in the parish church is to be dated to the early 1520s as it commemorates the money the Guild gave towards the cost of erecting this particular pier when the nave was rebuilt after the crossing-tower collapsed onto it in 1520 — See Pevsner, 62.

24 Schouwink, op. cit., 100f.

25 In Remnant, xxxiv-xxxv. Compare Remnant's own comment on the right-hand supporter to Windsor misericord [7:2]: 'a satire on the despised medieval doctor'.

26 Randall, s.v. "Ape as physician (with urinal)" in the Iconographical Index.

27 Remnant, 213.


31 Bond notes that this "may be intended to show that he is a follower of St. Dominic, who introduced the rosary."

32 A century before our misericord was carved, the gullibility of the geese who, as the admonition implies, would be quite foolish enough to go to hear the fox's sermon, was already proverbial; in the mystery-play, "The Castle of Perseverance" (? c.1425) we find, "whanne the fox prechyth, kepe vel yore gees" [Whiting F 605. For the proverbial silliness of the goose, see B.III.a.]

33 Though, of course, it could also be the same, preaching fox seen just a little later.

34 We know that the Bristol stalls were moved in the 19th century. Cf. K Varty, "The Death and Resurrection of Reynard in Medieval Literature and Art" in Nottingham Medieval Studies 1C (1966), 87: "These two [Bristol] misericords were surely meant to form a sequence, though they do not stand next to each other now. This is also probably the case for two misericords in Beverley Minster. ... We may only guess that these misericords were meant to be sets, since they no longer stand side by side."

35 Though probably not the pair of scenes with which we are here concerned, as they are not, in fact, found in the Reynard epic proper, and indeed, do not seem to be found in the literary record until well after the date of their first appearance in art, and certainly later than the Beverley and Bristol stalls.


36 See Jones & Tracy. Dr. Tracy kindly informed me personally of his redating of the Brent Knoll bench-ends, pers. comm. September 1991.

37 N.F. Blake, "Reynard the Fox in England" in Rombauts & Welkenhuysen op. cit. in n.35, 62. Remnant (1969), 45, implies (mistakenly) that the Preaching Fox and Goose Hanging Fox scenes also derive from this early printed book.

38 Bond, 160, saw the ape as a 'sick nurse'.

39 Grössinger is certainly mistaken to think it a goose (1909b).


42 The latter is excellently reproduced in colour as the frontispiece to Varty, (1967).

43 ibid., 132.13 and pl.63.

44 For Varty (1967), this scene derives ultimately from the late 12thC. "Roman de Renart" (though here, of course, Renard runs off with the cock Chantecler), and more immediately, from Chaucer's version of the episode in his "Nun's Priest's Tale" (c.1390). That the Manchester carver (from which this Beverley scene is undoubtedly derived) should have based his composition directly on a specific literary version (de Jorde had, for example, published The Canterbury Tales in 1496) reflected in certain details of the carving, seems to me unlikely (N.F. Blake, op. cit. in n.37, is similarly dubious), yet Varty pronounces them "almost certainly inspired by the incident in the "Nun's Priest's Tale" and again writes that "we can detect with certainty Chaucer's influence on these carvings" (1967), 41. Another fox stealing a goose is carved in low relief in one of the stall-division spandrels.


47 cit. Whiting, S419, "To be afraid of a snail".

48 The first 'English' edition, significantly, was printed in Paris by Verard in 1503, having been translated into Scots, probably by Thomas Levyntton. Herbruggen, op. cit. in following note, lists the 22 known editions before 1556; including Verard's, there were seven English editions printed before the carving of the Beverley stalls.

49 pace N.Z. Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford, 1975), 197-9; for a discussion of what exactly constitutes popular literature at this period, see F.D. Grovet, "Spätmittel-


50 Herbrüggen, *op. cit.*, 272-4, lists six Flemish editions up to the year 1520, and two Low German editions both dated 1519.

51 Pinon’s citation, *op. cit.* in n.46 above, 80 & n.38, of the Bristol 'snail' is an example of a different motif, discussed at [B.III.c].


54 Reproduced as fig. 51 in H. Naeurer, *Das Klever Chorstesuhl und Arnt Boelcsanider* (Dusseldorf, 1970).

55 Itself clearly derived from the pseudo-Ovidian "De Lombardo et lumaca" which "appeared towards the end of the 12th century particularly in England and France" -- Randall, *op. cit.* in n.46 above.

56 Marie Axton, *op. cit.* notes in her introduction to the play that in the 1530s Ralph Redcliffe of Jesus College, Cambridge, dedicated the manuscript of his prose translation of three of Textor’s Dialogues (now Univ. Wales MS, Bregyntyn 24) to King Henry VIII -- viz. "The Good Man and the Church, "The Poor Man and Fortune" & "Death and the Goer by the Way".


58 See *STC*, s.n.

59 Remnant, xxxviii.

60 Grössinger (1909b), 183.
In fact, in typical hyperbolic style, women were sometimes depicted beating devils into submission with club or distaff — e.g., Barthel Beham's print of c. 1532 showing the Devil being worsted by an old woman with a stick; the woman with the wooden spoon who routs an army of devils, published at Augsburg c. 1475 (see H. L. Schreiber, Handbuch der holz- und metallschnitte des xv. jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1926-7) IV. cat. no. 1974m); the three old hags in an engraving by Daniel Hopfer who are beating a prone devil with washing-beetles [Bartsch 71]; a lone old woman similarly forces the Devil to submit to the blows of her distaff in an engraving by Jacob Bink [Bartsch 56], and the topos of the old woman or women who are so fearsome that they can bind the Devil to a cushion, as shown in a Florentine engraving of c. 1460, undoubtedly based on a lost work by the 'Master of the Dandrelas' (in which their weapons are whips and cudgels) — this was a popular subject with Flemish woodcarvers, e.g., on misericords at Aarschot, L'Isle-Adam, and Barcelona (this last misinterpreted by Gomez, op. cit.), as well as appearing in Bruegel's 'Netherlandish Proverbs' painting, and in his 'Dulle Griet', where one of Griet's female hell-raiders performs this feat (illustrated as fig. 3 in W. Gibson, 'Bruegel, Dulle Griet and Sexist Politics in the 16th Century' in ed. O. von Simson & H.Winner, Pieter Bruegel und seine Zeit (Berlin, 1979), 9-16). Ultimately, no doubt, the motif is likely to derive from the legend of St. Margaret, as depicted, for example, in the Heidelberg manuscript of the 'Sachsenspiegel' (c. 1330), in which, merely to symbolise the Saint's day on which the corn-tithe is payable (St. Margaret's Day, 13th July), she is shown binding the Devil — perhaps to a cushion even in this very miniature.

I too misinterpreted this misericord through mistaking the sexes of the two actors concerned in Jones (1990), 72.

cit. OED, s.v. grope, sense 3e.


III. ii. 30.

Röhrich.

cf. character named 'Pantofle' in Mason's 'Mulesasses] The Turk' (1667).

Röhrich, s.v. Pantoffel.

72 The quotation is from the closing lines of the reformed Katherine's final speech in Shakespeare's "The Taming of the Shrew" (V.ii.173); in his Arden edition (London, 1981), Brian Morris writes of this gesture: 'no precise origin for Katherine's symbolic offer has been proposed.' I thank my wife, Suzanne Alford, for bringing this line to my attention.


74 Another of Ravisy's Dialogues underlies the English play Thersites--see comment on the supporters of [174:17], [B. IV.d.] above.


76 The quotations are from "The Canterbury Tales" III (S) 409-92 and IV (E) 1544-53, respectively. See following note for details of edition.

77 I take these details of the history of this particular misogynist topos from The Riverside Chaucer, the most comprehensive edition available, ed. L.D. Censon (Oxford, 1955), 869. See further R. Jente's excellent bibliography for this proverb in Proverbia Communia (Bloomington, 1947), 194.


79 ed. G. Frank & D. Liner (Baltimore, 1937), 32, lines 1417ff., and note on p.94.

80 Steppe, 230ff., and pl.28.

81 Whiting, 549, citing from "Confessio Amantis", Bk. III, lines 4303-7

82 Wildridge, 29.

Examples are cited in F. Sautman, ""Des vasses pour des lanternes": Villon, Holinet and the Riddles of Folklore" in Neophilologus 69 (1985), 161-84, esp. 174 and nn.70f. Similarly, the collocation of couille (scrotum) and brayer (pound in a mortar) in the opening paragraph of chapter 32 of Gargantua is presumably not fortuitous.

K. Filzeck, Metaphorische Bildungen im älteren deutschen Fastnachtspiel (Würzburg, 1933), 45.


X. Filzeck, Metaphorische Bildungen in älteren deutschen Fastnachtspiel (Würzburg, 1933), 45.

For the use of the image in the broadside ballad, see R. Uehse, "The Erotic Metaphor in Humorous Narrative Songs (Schwank Songs)", in ed. N. Burlakoff & C. Lindahl, Folklore on Two Continents (Bloomington, 1930), esp. 223f. The equivoque "pestle" = penis, was undoubtedly assisted in Elizabethan English by the near homophony of "pizzle" (a word attested from 1520) -- see H. Kokeritz, "Punning Names" in Modern Language Notes 65 (1950), 240-3, with reference to Mistress Quickly's addressing Pistol as "Peecel" in Henry IV, Part II. iv. 159.

Sadly, I do not think it can be related to the French proverbial folly, "rompre l'andouille au genou", which seems first to be found in literature around the middle of the 16th century. I have noted attestations of this variant of the earlier "rompre l'anguille au genou", in Du Fail (1540), Amadis de Gaule (1540), and Rabelais's Quart Livre (1552), but these are antedated by its appearance in art as a 'proverbe en rime' on f.49r. of 3L Additional MS 17297 (1515; 1525), reproduced in Vandenbroeck as afb.3. But whereas the fool who attempts this adynaton in the manuscript painting is manifestly not succeeding, the mad axeman of our misericord patently is.


Bax, 223ff.

IV. iii. 15 -- not listed in the standard works on Shakespearian bawdy. Karl Hentersdorf has recently drawn attention to Jonson's piece of nonsense-verse in his masque "The Vision of Delight" (1617), and the poet's own footnote to it: glancing at the proverb, "Everything has an end, and a pudding has two": following the words 'peep forth at a codp新城', he wrote that 'The politic pudding has still his two ends' and annotated it, 'The pudding retains its dual nature (serving both lechery and gluttony), even though lechery claims all for itself'.

cit. NED, s.v. podying.
A glance at the "Iconographical Index" to Remnant's Catalogue will suffice to demonstrate the great profusion of animal subjects to be found in the English misericord corpus; while many are domestic animals naturalistically portrayed, many others are -- or, at least, were originally -- symbolic in import, and owe their widespread diffusion in medieval art to the Bestiary. The importance of the Bestiary as a source for medieval knowledge and belief about animals cannot be overstated.

This text, which continued to evolve throughout the course of the Middle Ages, seems to have begun its career in late Antiquity as a collection of observations and folklore about real and imaginary creatures, subsequently to be "moralised" by a Christian and probably English redactor. The earliest extant illustrated Bestiary is the 9thC. Senn MS, but its style of illustration shows that it derives from a late Antique model of the 4th century or earlier. Otherwise, the extant English Bestiaries begin in the 12th century, though there is evidence for illustrated manuscripts of the work available to the Anglo-Saxons (1).

Unless some particularly specific quirk of Bestiary-lore is depicted -- such as the sentinel-crane with the pebble clutched in its claw which will drop on its foot and wake it, should it fall asleep, carved on a misericord at Denston -- it is not always easy to decide whether an image is likely to derive immediately from the Bestiary, or only possibly, at some remove.

The Trans-Pennine carvers were not overly interested in Bestiary subjects but, pace Purvis, there is at least one such motif at Doverley which is probably to be attributed to this source, the Elephant & Castle [175:13] (cf. the similar composition at Manchester [02:5 p.110]). It is the presence of the howdah that betrays its ultimate Bestiary derivation, unlike the more naturalistic elephant depicted on the Exeter
stall in the early 1240s (2). Nor is the misericord elephant the only one present in the stallwork, an even more splendid Elephant and Castle is carved in the round as one of the stall-end 'poppyheads' [p.111], and so too at Ripon. The supporters of the Beverley seat confirm the impression that the Beverley elephants are Bestiary-derived: the lion is clearly not necessarily of so specific an origin, but the camel of the left supporter is a comparatively rare subject, rare enough to suggest that it too derives from the Bestiary (cf. other examples, e.g. that at Boston, Lincs.).

The mermaid [175:9] and the unicorn [175:3] & [174:7 right] at Beverley (3) are probably not directly from any Bestiary source; both had become common iconographic currency by this time, and the unicorn is not shown, for example, with its head in a virgin's lap, the well-known Bestiary method of capture as illustrated at Stratford-upon-Avon [163:2], nor is that at Manchester [82:14] with its serrated horn. The Durham Castle unicorn [41:5 pl.112] is said by Anderson to be

'trampling on the human-headed Serpent associated with the Fall of Man' (4)

while that carved as a supporter at Ripon [182:1 bis] would seem to be purely decorative.

Whatever else it is, the cervid creature which opposes the lion on the central carving of [174:7 pl.113] — called a 'deer' by Romnant — cannot be a unicorn as it has two branched antlers, and is perhaps intended to be a stag or Bestiary antelope (Antalops) (5), but on the supporter nearest the animal, the carver has depicted an unmistakable unicorn scratching its head with a hind hoof (6). On the opposite supporter next to the central lion is another lion, but this one wearing a crown — it is difficult not to see in this opposition a deliberate confrontation of these two heraldic beasts on the part of the carver.
Another confrontation which cannot be fortuitous is afforded by the unicorn which occupies the central carving of [175:3]; opposite its pointing horn, carved in low relief in the stall-division spandrel, is a positively provocative lion-mask with sticking-out tongue [pl.114].

Long before the lion and the unicorn came to be heraldically confronted as 'royal beasts' in the arms of England at the Act of Union in 1603, they had appeared opposite each other, for example, as heraldic supporters of the Valois arms on the famous late 15thC. 'Dame à la Licorne' tapestries now in the Musée de Cluny, and an only slightly older contemporary of our Beverley stalls. Closer still in date to the misericords, they also support the shield of the early 16thC. Parisian bookseller Olivier Senant (7). The lion and the unicorn, flanking the man and the woman, respectively, are also found on two 15thC. Linno-kästchen, one German, the other French (8),

'the lion symbolizing the strength and courage of the man and the unicorn the chastity of the lady.' (9)

There is also an interesting record of a vestment powdered with lions and unicorns in an English inventory of 1530 (10).

The history of this iconographical confrontation between the lion and the unicorn goes back to the earliest illustrations of the words of Psalm 22:21 (AV), in which the Psalmist prays:

'Save me from the lion's mouth: for thou hast heard me from the horns of the unicorns.'

In the representation on the relevant folio of the earliest extant illustrated psalter, the Stuttgart Psalter (c.020X030), the Psalmist is shown menaced by both beasts, but by the later Middle Ages, the two beasts are shown attacking each other and independent of Psalm 22, e.g. in the bas-de-page of f.190v. of Queen Mary's Psalter, which contains the opening words of psalm 31. [English 1300X1325. BL Royal MS 2 D VII],

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and in a similar position in the contemporary Treatise of Walter de Milmete illuminated for Edward III c.1326 [Oxford Christ Church Library, MS. E. II, f.46v.] (11).

A literary, non-Biblical reference, contemporary with the Beverley stalls which also mentions this by now traditional opposition between the lion and the unicorn is found in a most interesting book entitled Of the nexe landes and of ye people founde by the nessesers of the kynge of portynuale named Emanuel [STC 7677], the first book printed in English to mention America.

"These uncorones slee many Lyons, and the Lyon sleeth the uncorne with subtynes."

Franssen has shown that this remarkable book, containing the accounts of five voyages of exploration, is a compilation of parts taken from three different books published in Dutch between the years 1506 and 1508, and translated into English, possibly by the publisher, Jan van Doesborch himself, and printed in Antwerp c.1520 [see C.III.h.1.] (12).

The mermaid originally appears in the Bestiary as a siren of the bird-type, but later manuscripts depict the siren as the familiar fish-tailed type. At Beverley, the mermaid has lost her traditional (and non-Bestiary) attributes of mirror and comb, but at Ripon [103:6] she still retains the mirror and brush which are also the properties of other seductresses elsewhere, such as the Vice Luxuria, Oiscuse in the illustrated manuscripts of the "Roman de la Rose", and the Whore of Babylon in the Angers "Apocalypse" tapestries (13).

Uncharacteristically, Wildridge does not expatiate on the symbolism of the mermaid accompanied by the dolphin on the central carving of [175:9]. F.D. Anderson pointed out that misericords depicting the mermaid with traditional comb and mirror at Nantwich [27:4 bis (c.1390)]
and Ludlow [134:4 (c.1415X25)] and suckling the lion at Norwich [107:9 (1390)], are all accompanied by dolphin supporters,

'presumably because these animals were said to be attracted by the human voice' [i.e. just as sailors were attracted by the mermaid's voice?] (14).

The possibilities of a symbolic interpretation of the piscine triad on the righthand supporter are discussed above [B.II.b.]. On the other supporter a large fish (? intended as a dolphin) is about to swallow a smaller one [pl.115]. The Bestiary moralised the whale's appetite for small fish, lured by a sweet odour emitted from its mouth, comparing it to the Devil whose attractions lure men of little faith to their destruction, but there was also a ready-made proverbial formula which described this 'law of Nature' whereby 'the big fish eat the little fish', as an armrest at St. Botolph's Church, Lincoln (c.1390), and at least two East Anglian bench-end carvings would seem to illustrate (15).

A possible Bestiary basilisk/cockatrice (damaged) together with a cock appears at Manchester [02:13], and a similar monster appears as one of the sculptures in the round carved on the Beverley desk-ends [pl.116], like the similarly positioned elephant and castle (16).

One of the Beverley lions, the main subject of [176:6], is almost certainly derived from the Bestiary tradition, which is perhaps what Wildridge implied by his description of it, though he did not identify the source:

'In this carving one of the stereotyped allegories of the Church is treated. Lion with paw on the head of a prostrate man. In such representations, when a lion simply holds a figure, it symbolizes the gentleness of the Church to converts and neophytes; when, however, the figure is shown torn or seized, her severity is typified.' (17)
The 'moralisation' given by Wildridge is not found in the Bestiary proper, though the lion's alleged unwillingness to get angry unless wounded and its sparing of the prostrate are both commended to the attention of every decent human being (see below).

It is possible that the other misericord which depicts the confrontation between a man and a lion [175:2], in which the man spears the lion, was originally paired with [176:6], and that it is to be interpreted as illustrating the Bestiary assertion that despite its courageous nature, it would not look directly at a hunter's spear (13). Wildridge further noted that to the extreme right of this carving there is what he termed 'a small fiend'; in fact, there is a small dragon on either side of the confrontation, but that on the left has been mostly broken off. What is the significance of these minute dragons? (19)

[For the Bestiary-derived 'Pelican in her Piety' motif, see B.II.a.]
The 'Monstrous Races', a sort of humanoid Bestiary, whose canon was most influentially established -- like so much medieval 'natural history', indeed -- by Pliny, inhabited the margins of the known world in the Middle Ages, and are thus to be seen depicted at the extreme edge of the Hereford mappamundi of c.1290 (20).

At Ripon the carvers depicted a pair of 'canonical' blemyae [103: 17 pl.17], headless humanoids with their faces in their chests, which certainly attests their familiarity with the series (21), but one of the Beverley carvings [174:17 pl.117] affords an important and rare opportunity of tracing a specific source for the mysterious subject called by Anderson (22) 'Child rising from shell to fight dragon', as I believe it is based ultimately on a Monstrous Races prototype.

Anderson records seven such examples of this motif (though her Leintwardine example does not include the dragon, and she does not include the Beverley carving in this list), the earliest of which is that at Lincoln of c.1370 [39: 4 bis]. The 'shell' in these depictions is of the spiral whelk-type from which the 'child' emerges vertically. In the Vatican Library there is an illustrated South German manuscript of Brabanus Maurus's encyclopedia "De rerum naturis" dating to 1425, which includes on f.75v. a depiction of the various Monstrous Races. On the lowest register, next to and facing a scianepd sheltering under its outsize foot, the torso of another small human figure appears to emerge, hands upraised, from a conical coil which was probably intended for a hole in the ground [pl.118]. There must be some misunderstanding of the Latin text here, because in the original, Fesitus explained that pygmies are so small that seven of them could rest beneath a single stem -- sub uno caule -- Wittkower does not explain how he comes to render this phrase 'in a hole' (23), but at some point Classical Latin caule,
properly the ablative case of *caulis* = 'stem, stalk', was misunderstood as an oblique case of the plural noun, *caulae* = 'opening, hole, passage'.

That the conical coil was intended as a hole or burrow can be confirmed from examples of earlier medieval illustration practice, e.g. the ?dog emerging from the burrow on f.159r. of the rabbit depicted on the opposite f.158r. in Walters Art Gallery, MS 37 (Flemish, late 13thC.) (24). Also significant and hardly coincidental is the related carving on a 'poppyhead' in the church of St. Margaret, King's Lynn, depicting a man emerging from a whelk-shell below a rabbit emerging from a burrow [pl.119].

The monster on the right of the emerging pygmy in Bibl. Vat. Pal. lat. 291 is not a humanoid, but a nine-headed hydra with the body and tail of a dragon. The pygmy's left hand appears to stab at the lowest of the hydra's heads, and this, I suggest, is the image-type which ultimately underlies the Beverley carving, described by Remnant as 'Man between two dragons whose tails surround him'.

There is perhaps some reminiscence of the correct 'stalk, stem' meaning in the illustration of the Monstrous Races on f.1v. of Westminster Abbey Library MS 22, a late 13thC. Bestiary which opens with two pages of Monstrous Races illustrations (the text of 'Third Family' bestiaries such as this was amplified by Isidore's account of the Monstrous Races, "De Portentis", part of Book II of his "Etymologies"). A pygmy with halberd stands on top of a flowering stem and is thus able to look the tricephalic giant in the face or, rather, faces (25).

The Beverley carving might well be seen as an 'improvement' of the earlier single dragon model as seen at Manchester [81:7 pl.120] and Durham Castle [41:7 pl.121] (26), with a second dragon added to the left of the shell-figure for the sake of symmetry, and indeed, there is an earlier precedent for this arrangement in the example of the motif at Chester [25:31], the only other to include a second flanking dragon; and
yet the upraised arms of the Beverley figure are so like the pose adopted by the pygmy in the Vatican manuscript, that it seems likelier that such a model, perhaps via the intermediary of a 'pattern-book' lies behind the Beverley carving. It is noteworthy that the Vatican manuscript departs in the order and selection of its Monstrous Races from that of the older illustrative tradition represented by the Monte Cassino manuscript of the 11thC. (which, quite correctly, does not present the hydra at this point, it not being a monstrous human, but a monster tout court).

The supporters of this Beverley misericord both symbolise cowardice [see B.IV.d.], so that it seems very likely that -- as far as the 16thC. carver was concerned -- this original Monstrous Races motif embodied the virtue of courage or fortitude (27). Bond says quite simply that the carving denotes 'the conflict of purity and vice' (28).

A figure related, thematically at least, is that of the Wild Man or woodhouse, covered in shaggy hair and usually carrying a club; though he is not one of the 'canonical' Monstrous Races as established by Pliny, he may be considered -- in Friedman's summary -- as 'a descendant of several' (29). He may be encountered, for example, like his more canonical peers, by Alexander in late medieval accounts of his legendary expeditions in India and elsewhere.

The Beverley wild man and dragon [176:14 pl.122] owes much to the earlier example of the motif at Manchester [83:12 pl.123] (30), but the same composition also occurs on other earlier misericords, e.g., at Lincoln [90:22] and Faversham [71:6], and it is worth noting that wild men with clubs confront dragons on a misericord in Beverley parish church [177:5].

More importantly still, the early printed book of the Historie ende Leven Vanden Nailyghen Herenijt Sint Jan Van Beverley (Antwerp, c.1512), roughly contemporary with our stalls, tells how St. John
becomes a wildman when he retires into the wilderness after having murdered his sister -- it seems inconceivable that local people were unaware of this tradition regarding their patron saint [see A.II.] (31).

In another parish church misericord which includes a depiction of a wodehouse [177:10], Anderson tentatively advanced the theory that the carver might have intended to illustrate the romance of Valentine & Orson (32), perhaps most familiar in Bruegel's woodcut depiction of actors performing it as a folk-play in his "Masquerade of Valentino & Orson" (33); but in the revised edition of his excellent book on Robin Hood, J.C. Holt points out that the putative Orson figure is not depicted as a wild man and convincingly suggests instead that the scene should be interpreted as Robin Hood (the bowman) meeting the King (34). Remnant similarly identified the 'man holding club and wearing chaplet of oak-leaves and acorns' at Ripon [182:16] as 'may be meant to represent Orson', with equally little justification. [A specific non-narrative source for the jousting scene between a wild man and woman on Manchester [82:6] is suggested below -- C.II.c.]
After the Bayeux Tapestry borders (35), and at least one of the contemporary capitals of William's palace at Westminster Hall (36), fables in the familiar Aesopic versions seem to have been depicted only sporadically in surviving English late medieval art (37), as witness their complete absence from the misericord corpus -- the only one identified in the Iconographical Index to Remnant's Catalogue, a Fox and Grapes at Faversham, was carved by 'an unnamed Pole in 1374' (38).

On the Continent, on the other hand, Aesop fables certainly do appear as the subjects of misericord carvings; Selling the Cat (which also makes an appearance in the Rutland Psalter, c.1260 (39)), and the Fox and Crane, for example, both appear on the Kempen stalls (1493). Several other fables appear in the Spanish stalls carved by 'Germanic' craftsmen: at Ciudad Rodrigo, for instance, the Ass in the Wolf-skin and the Fox and Crane again (40).

In fact, it seems that the Fox and Crane was easily the most popular fable to be depicted, other instances -- without attempting to be exhaustive -- are/were at Venlo, Aarschot, Oirschot and Emmerich. It seems to have been popular in all media, overwhelmingly the most popular fable in manuscript marginal decoration (41), but appearing as well on altar-cloths, caskets, biscuit-moulds, and not least in stone -- at Andernach, Sonn, Magdeburg, Paderborn and Schaffhausen (42).

Varty's interest in the Fox and Crane enables us to recognise a considerable gap in the English record of the portrayal of this fable, at least, between the Romanesque group and his next example, a 16thC. 'poppymhead' carving at Swavesey, Cambs. Is it possible that the central subject of [174:4] at Doverley, two 'cranes' dipping their beaks into a tall, vase-like sack [pl.125], is a garbled version of such a Fox and Crane prototype? Apart from the inherent improbability that the Doverley carver would not recognise a Fox and Crane original for what it was,
there is a closely similar scene carved some 80 years earlier on a misericord at Cartmel Priory, Lancashire [78:3], described by Remnant as 'two geese eating from a sack or bowl of corn' (43), and what appears to be interest in this or a related subject at Lincoln: the lefthand supporter of misericord [80:20] depicts a single crane dipping into a sack of grain [pl.126], while both supporters to [90:15] are described by Remnant as 'two cranes drinking from a fountain' [pl.127] (44). Perhaps the Beverley birds are no more than avian opportunists who have happened on an unguarded sack of grain.

One further possibility is worth considering, however, in the light of what the Secretary has to say about the habits of the cranes:

'Lest there should be a high wind which might prevent their light bodies from going straight ahead to their destination, they eat sand and pick up small stones of moderate weight to give themselves ballast' (45)

Could the Beverley (and Cartmel) cranes be taking ballast on board prior to undertaking a flight in adverse weather-conditions? Maybe the small round objects are not grain but sand or small stones?

The two addorsed cranes with bills upraised on a misericord now in the Victoria & Albert Museum [95:1 pl.128], are not, in fact, English at all, but belong to a set of stalls which has recently been attributed by Verspaandonk to the southern Flemish carver, Claes de Bruyn or his school, and related to the stalls in the St. Pieterskerk in Leuven (46) — this particular crane carving being of particular significance as it would seem to derive from the 5-of-Birds design of the Master of the Playing Cards [pl.129] [see C.II.c. below], his original thus providing a useful terminus post quom for the V&A's set of Flemish stalls.

The two single crane supporters of the Beverley stall adopt the same 'display' posture as the near-contemporary and Descriptive-derived crane which is the main carving on a misericord at Denston, Suffolk
[145]: in the bird's hind claw the Denston carver has clearly depicted the stone which the bird on guard-duty was said to hold in its upraised claw, dropping it, should it fall asleep and thus ingeniously waking itself up. Has the Beverley carver merely omitted this essential but easily overlooked detail from his supporter cranes?

The depiction of the hawk (if that is what it is) flying after the bat [176:5], is another subject which it is impossible to classify with any certainty. The supporters of this misericord are described by Remnant merely as 'bird[s] scratching head', while Wildridge sees that on the left as a goose (despite its clearly unwebbed foot!) and that on the right as a cock. Christa Grössinger has recently demonstrated convincingly that the righthand bird is copied from the 8-of-Birds of the Master of the Playing Cards (47), and there is reason to believe the lefthand bird may derive from the same source [see C.II.c. below].

Given the undeniable bat, and the 'hawk' also on the main carving, if we could identify one of the supporter birds as a cuckoo, then we should have assembled all three necessary actors in the fable of the 'Featherless Bat' (49). It must be admitted, however, that the then redundant presence of a fourth bird on the other supporter, the uncertainty as to species of the birds, and the rarity of this particular fable's attestation (in the vernacular, apparently restricted to German authors), make such an identification highly unlikely.
The fight between the lion and dragon is a common subject in medieval art; Cave, for example, describes it as 'extremely common on roof-bosses', and Remnant lists 23 instances of the motif in English misericord carving alone (49).

Randall's "Iconographical Index", however, most surprisingly shows it to be found solely in manuscripts of English provenance, such as the 'East Anglian' Fitzpayn Hours, f.55v. (c.1303), and Christ Church MS E.II, f.31v. (c.1326), and from outside East Anglia, Queen Mary's Psalter, f.148v. (1st half 14thC.). Significantly, Randall's extensive survey which involved a close examination of some 226 medieval manuscripts of which 60 were illuminated in England, does not record this motif from any French or Flemish manuscript -- clearly, unlikely though it might seem on purely a priori grounds, there is good reason to believe that this motif is of English origin. In her introductory essay to Remnant's Catalogue, on the iconography of the English misericord corpus, Anderson considers 'this very common subject' in allegorical terms as representing the fight between good (as symbolised by the lion) and evil (50).

A symbolic interpretation, especially in an avowedly Christian context, must, indeed, have often been the carver's intention, but in connexion with the apparently English origin of this motif, it is interesting to note that it occurs as part of the secular narrative of the adventures of Guy of Warwick, a very popular and quintessentially English hero with a strong patriotic appeal, as he was thought to have saved England from the Danes. The lion-dragon combat is illustrated as part of his tale in at least two English manuscripts, the Smithfield Decretals (DL Royal MS 10.E.IV, f.80v (1325-50)), and the Taymouth Hours (DL, Yates Thompson MS 13 ff.12-14. (c.1330)).
A knight fighting two 'griffins' on one of the late 14thC. Worcester misericords [171:6], bearing a shield on which is a bear sejant is probably intended to be Guy, as the bear was his badge (51). Another Worcester stall [170:9] features the lion-dragon combat which, as we have seen, was part of his legend. The great popularity of the Guy of Warwick tale in England and, indeed, in Continental Europe, has been discussed by R.S. Crane:

'No legend, it would seem, of all those then [sc. the latter years of the 15thC.] in circulation was more widely familiar' (52)

but it is appropriate to recall some of the English evidence.

In 1393 Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, was obliged to forfeit an arras of the history of Guy of Warwick. In the base of a mazer bowl belonging to St. Nicholas's Hospital, Harbledown, Canterbury, is a silver print with Anglo-French inscription of the first half of the 14thC., depicting Guy's rescue of the lion from its fight with the dragon. In the late 14thC "Speculum Vitae" of William of Nassington, proctor in the ecclesiastical court of York, he protests against the recital of such romance adventures as exempla in sermons:

'... I will make no vain carpyng
Of dedes of armys, ne of amours,
As dus mynotralles and jeestours
That makys carpyng in many a place
Of Octovyane and of Isambrose
And of many other jeestes,
And namly when you come to the festys.
Ne of the lyfe of Buye of Hampton
That was a knyght of grett renown;
Ne of Sir Guye of Warrnyke.
All if it myght sum mon lyke ...'

A lion-dragon combat does, indeed, feature in at least two of the exempla indexed by Tuchach, the 'Virgin and the Lamp' [5307] in which a prince who pulls a thorn out of a lion's foot, then kills a dragon with its help, a tale found in some versions of the "Gesta Romanorum"; and in
the tale of the grateful lion who follows the knight who rescued him
from a dragon (3057) (53).

While many preachers were clearly prepared to use episodes from
the tale of Guy of Warwick to enliven their sermons, as William's crit-
icism implies, one mid-14thC. sermon manages to allude to the romance
only obliquely by telling the story of a man who, during Passiontide,
heard the deeds of Guy of Warwick read aloud to him, and wept at the
death of Guy's Grateful Lion, whereupon he was reproached by a friar for
shedding tears over a romance rather than weeping for Christ. Allusions
to the romance are frequent in English; Chaucer alludes to it and simul-
taneously sends it up in his "Sir Thopas", but despite the mockery of
more sophisticated readers such as Chaucer and Skelton (in "Philip
Sparrow"), it was to be found amongst Sir John Paston's books in 1474,
and by 1500 there were already two editions of the tale in print.

But to return to the Beverley carving of this motif (pl.130):

Purvis noted that

'the lion-dragon combat on the Beverley stall ... is not

copied from the bracket on the Percy tomb there'

which also features this subject, but that the Manchester carving (pl.11
pl.131) is, being 'a lateral inversion' of the Beverley tomb corbel of
1325x40 (pl.132) (as first pointed out by Hudson) -- the significant
detail of the resemblance (repeated, for example, on the c.1370 stall at
Lincoln [89:4 ter]) would seem to be the lion's biting and pulling at
the wing of the dragon.

At first sight it is something of a shock to the theory of English
origin for this motif, to discover the identical composition on the
stall-backs of the 13thC. woodwork at Poitiers (2.1257), in the area of
France at that time under English control. However, it is precisely at
Poitiers that an English derivation seems likely -- morphologically, at
least -- for these stalls feature the only misericords in France with,
albeit embryonic, supporters, which are usually considered an English invention (54).

Philip Lindley comments on the distribution of the present motif as follows:

'The repetition of subjects such as the lion fighting the dragon which appears on misericords at Exeter, Manchester and Worcester (as well as in the Lady Chapel at Ely, on a capital in the [Ely] Octagon and on the Percy tomb) suggest the widespread availability and use of model books like those analysed by R. U. Scheller' (55)

The possibility of a model-book or pattern seems strengthened if we compare especially the very close similarity between the examples of our motif at Carlisle [33:23] (c.1413) and St. Davids [192:20] (c.1500), in particular (56). The Beverley example [173:5] is somewhat remarkable in that it resembles neither the Manchester nor the Percy tomb carving at all closely.

One of the supporters to the misericord featuring the lion and dragon combat, [173:5 left pl.133], depicts a seated ape holding a baby in swaddling clothes. Remnant believes it is 'obviously connected with the next misericord', i.e. that depicting the Apes Robbing the Pedlar, in which case the ape is holding not a baby but a doll, yet I believe the situation is by no means quite so 'obvious'. This particular supporter is admittedly a straight copy of one at Manchester [02:5 right pl.134], which does indeed flank the scene of the rifling of the pedlar's pack, but dolls are not to be found in other representations of this popular late medieval subject, e.g. the English illustrations in the Smithfield Decretals (CL Royal MS 10.E. IV, ff. 149v.-151) or the two late 15thC. Italian engravings (57) or the Swedish woodcut contemporary with them, or the woodcut by the Petrarch Master, or, indeed, in
the other English misericord examples, at Windsor [7:4 bis] (c.1400) and Bristol [46:4] (c.1520) [see further below].

Rather, I suggest that an independent motif of an ape with swaddled baby, first found in Flemish sources, has not unnaturally been drawn into the orbit of the scene of the Robbing of the Pedlar. Equally, the other supporter [173:5 right], described by Remnant as 'seated ape holding bottle', an item which sounds as if it could, indeed, have come from a pedlar's pack, turns out on closer inspection to be not a bottle but a urine-flask, making this carving an example of the popular ape urinanalyst, a well-known satiric pose adopted by this animal [pl.83].

The ape with swaddled baby motif is fully discussed by Janson (59), who is unable to cite any definite source for the implicit anecdote of the stealing of a human infant by an ape, though he does refer to an incident in Ireland in 1303, in which an ape is alleged to have rescued a baby from a fire (59).

There is, however, another interesting tale of an ape stealing a young child -- though, admittedly, not a baby, and not in the domestic context sometimes implied by the presence of an empty cradle -- in "Octavian", a romance for which there is representational evidence in Flemish tapestries, for instance, one of which is mentioned in the inventory of Charles VI of France (1422-35), and another which was loaned from the collection of Pope Paul II in 1465; Henry V of England (d.1422) is known to have owned a third (63). In addition, two 14thC. versions of the romance exist in English verse, testifying to its familiarity in England, at just the time we have seen William of Nassington railing against the

'mynstrolles and jocestours
That makys carpyng in many a place
Of Octovyane..."
Some thirty years ago, in a seminal article entitled "Exempla as a source of Gothic marginal illumination" (61), Lilian Randall discussed this important source for some of the marginal curiosities to be found in late medieval illuminated manuscripts, as well as in other media. Since she wrote, Tubach's Index Exemplorum has summarised some 5,400 of these moral tales designed to enliven preachers’ sermons and thus provided an invaluable resource for iconographers (62).

By 1300 there were friaries of both Dominicans and Franciscans established in Beverley. The use of exempla is particularly associated with the mendicant orders and it is of particular interest in this context, therefore, that Ker records a copy of an important collection of exempla, The "Alphabetum Narrationum", in the library of Beverley's Dominican Priory in the 14thC (see below) (63). Many such marginal scenes still remain to be identified, amongst which a fair proportion can be expected to be recognised as exempla; typical of such unrecognised exempla is the bas-de-page scene on f.113 of the Rutland Psalter, CL Add. MS 62925, English, c.1260 (64).

Curiously, as yet, no literary source -- whether exemplum, fable, or some other variety of popular tale -- has been discovered for the motif of the sleeping pedlar whose pack is rifled (and person ruffled) by a troupe of apes.

The scene is depicted on misericords Beverley [173:6 pl.135], Manchester [12:3 pl.136], Bristol [46:4 pl.137] and Windesor [7:4 bin] and on a 'poppy-head' at Halton Halegate (65). Although the earliest known depiction of the motif is in the English "Smithfield Decretals" of c.1330x1340, Aby Warburg was of the opinion that it was likely to be of
Flemish origin and it was certainly known in Flanders by 1375. The motif is further discussed under [C.II.c.] below.

There are at least two subjects at Beverley which might be considered as possible illustrations of exempla of the simplest type, complete in themselves; these are the misericords depicting the cat catching mice [174:5] and the hen with her chicks [177:13]. A typical conflict of interpretation can be seen in the words of Bond who instances both these carvings as examples of the 'many cases' in which 'animal subjects are no more than observations ... of natural history' (66), whereas the Bestiary-scholar, G.C. Druce, has footnoted this statement with the remark that both are Bestiary subjects.

The cat in the central carving is shown pouncing on two mice [pl.138], while that on the righthand supporter is clearly in the process of playing with its victim, throwing it up in the air [pl.139]; an exemplum in BL Harleian MS 263, a 14thC. manuscript of Arnold of Liège's "Alphabetum Narrationum", composed originally in 1333, and a manuscript of which we have just noted in the library of the Beverley Dominican Priory, compares the Devil and the human soul to a cat playing thus with a mouse. Under the heading 'As a Cat plays with a mouse', Whiting assembles several quotations dating from the 14th and 15th centuries which exemplify this moral reading of cat and mouse; the closest in date to our misericord is from Caxton's Royal Book published in 1484:

'The devyl playeth ofte with the synnar, lyke as the catte doeth with the mouse.'

It is a subject which is, of course, exceedingly popular in manuscript margins as well as in woodwork (where it appears on misericords at Wells [137:17], Godmanchester [69:7 big] and Winchester [57:25], and on a stall ołbow at Boston, Lincs.) and, indeed, in all media — the personal
seal of one Gilbert Stone appended to a document of 1392 depicts a cat eating a mouse with the humorous legend, CRET: UEL: GIBBE: GURE: CAT, evincing a lightness of touch that proves that far from all such depictions were intended to be read in malo (67).

The hen with her chicks appears as one of Odo of Cheriton’s "Parables", and in at least one other exempla collection in which Christ is said to be like a hen gathering her chicks to protect them from a kite (69). The image probably derives from Christ’s own words as recorded in Matthew 23, 37. Wildridge is correct, therefore, to say with regard to [177:13 pl.140] that

‘The hen with chickens is the emblem of God’s providence, and one of the special emblems of Christ’.

He goes on to note that it was ‘frequently adopted as a device’, and that ‘James III. of Scotland (A.D. 1460) used it as such’, though that can hardly be relevant here. Much more relevant for any possible allegorical reading of this carving, is a print by Erhard Schoen issued c.1534 concerning "Clean and Unclean Birds" [G 1194]; beneath the small picture of the hen with her chicks is a verse beginning:

‘Die henn legt ayr und speyst die lout
Also an Christ auch von im geyt...’
[The hen lays eggs and feeds people just as Christ also does ... ]

But with neither of these two carvings is it possible to say for certain that we were intended to read them in a moral sense -- the lefthand supporter of [174:5], depicting a cat fiddling to a group of mice [pl.68, a motif discussed above D.IV.a.] seems impossibly frivolous, indeed, as if to mock any such earnest intention.
The mobbed owl of [177:9] [pl.141], according to M.D. Anderson,

'is one of the few Bestiary stories which conform to reality and it was used to typify the Jews who preferred to remain in the darkness of their disbelief.' (69)

This is not, in fact, what the Bestiary says; it does not mention the mobbing of the owl by small birds (Bestiary artists seem often to have chosen to depict this behaviour, however, without any textual prompt), though it does, indeed, state that owls are symbolic of the Jews (70).

However, as Brunsdon Yapp wrote in his Birds in medieval manuscripts,

'Owls attacked by small birds are not necessarily symbolic, since such scenes were well known' [i.e. familiar from everyday observation] (71)

Indeed, we may cite from the early ME "Owl & Nightingale" (c.1200), the nightingale's scornful reproach:

'... ye art loth al fuelkunne, [you are hateful to all birds & alle ha be drive pe honne, & they all drive you away, & be bischrichep & bigredet & screech around and caw at & vvel narewe be biledet ... you/ & pursue you very closely (= mob)]

this behaviour of the 'smale fogle' is confirmed by the owl herself:

"Hi me bichermet & bigredet [they scream & cry out at me & hore flockes to me leded.] & lead their flockes to me] (72)

A late Dürer woodcut, contemporary with our misericord, depicts an owl mobbed by four smaller birds, and Röhrich records a passage in a sermon by Geiler von Kaisersberg, delivered c.1500, in which the famous preacher alludes to a man who, though ridiculed by his neighbours, is yet a useful member of society, by means of a comparison with the mobbed owl:

'Er ist under inn'n nit anders wie ein kützlein odor ein ul under andern vögeln.' [Among them he is like nothing else but a howlet or owl among other birds] (73)
Whatever the metaphorical possibilities of such a representation, however, I suspect that here again the motif of the owl attacked from all sides by smaller birds simply afforded the artist the opportunity of executing a satisfying, aesthetic composition -- a composition particularly well suited to the circular roof-boss, for example, as at Sherborne (74). The Norwich misericord example [106:24] is generally agreed to be a particularly successful carving.
In discussing the roses carved on [176:4 pl.29] under the heading 'Heraldry' we have already begged an important question and concluded, pace Gertrude Stein, that "Rose is a rose is a rose is a rose" is not always the case.

Somewhat paradoxically, it may be thought, we have concluded that the tree bearing four naturalistic roses which is the central carving of this misericord, by its very individuation, which so markedly separates it from the rest of the floral carvings on the stalls which are formal and stylised (indeed, it is itself flanked by two such stylised 'rose' supporters), was thereby intended to draw attention to itself as the carver's expression of loyalty to the House of Tudor.

If all the Beverley misericord flowers had been carved naturalistically as readily identifiable real species, then our rose-tree would have been just one more, and no more symbolic than any of the other flowers -- the context is all. It is rarely possible to identify whether any particular carving in isolation was intended symbolically or merely decoratively, but taken in the context of the rest of the misericord-carvings, it should usually be possible to pronounce one way or the other, and I believe that the rest of the Beverley flowers and leaves can be accepted as merely decorative.

H-J. Raupp has recently summarised the history of modern scholarly interpretation of the 'profane Bilder am Sakralbau', into which category the great bulk of our misericord carvings fit (75). Two earlier attitudes he sees as now superseded are the mainly 19thC. attempt to see all such apparently secular images as symbols within an all-inclusive theological programme, and the opposite extreme position, identified with the views of Emil Hélo, that such imagery was pure decoration, an expression only of the free play of the artist's imagination.
Thanks largely to the debate these earlier scholars' opinions have generated, I believe we are now in a position to accept that by the date of the carving of our stalls (1520), their 'secular' imagery might be capable of either interpretation, i.e. an individual motif that is not overtly religious might theoretically be symbolic or purely decorative, but once again, the context will usually enable us to come down on one side or the other. A particular case in which the context suggests a symbolic reading of the image in question, and that in malo, is the owl supporter to the misericord which depicts the Preaching Fox [p.85].

The problem of the equivocal motif which might conceivably be symbolic or alternatively 'emptily' decorative arises most commonly with carvings involving animals, not least because of the well-attested and huge influence of the Bestiary [B.V.a]. Motifs such as the 'mobbed owl' of [177:9], the cat and mice of [174:5], and the hen and her chicks of [177:13], which have been discussed along with exempla above, were certainly capable of 'moralisation'. Similarly, as discussed above [B.II.b.], the 'rabbit trinity' of the righthand supporter to [174:6] was capable of the most abstruse interpretation as a symbol of the eternal cyclicity of creation, time, etc., but this erudite theological symbolism of the earlier Middle Ages (the device is found from the 9thC. on) had surely waned by the time of our carving -- as we have said above, it is difficult to believe that an earlier artist would have allowed a sacrreligious bowman, as on the other supporter at Beverley, to take a pot-shot at his rabbit triad -- which raises another key issue in the interpretation of such potentially 'equivocal' scenes, that of date.

For all its apparent continuity, the Middle Ages is not the unchanging continuum which cultural and art historians have sometimes too readily assumed -- there are differences between the attitudes of 1000 and 1500 A.D. I have termed the era in which the Beverley stalls were carved the 'Ultimate Middle Ages' in order to stress that the assem-
blage is still essentially medieval in 'feel', but by 'medieval' I do
not mean to imply thereby that the imagery is thus, by definition as it
were, necessarily to be read symbolically -- an image may be figural
without being figurative.
In "Animals in medieval art: the Bayeux Tapestry as an example" in Journal of Medieval History 13 (1987), 15-73, the late W.B. Yapp convincingly demonstrated that one of the Tapestry's border birds derives from a Bestiary Assida, and thus -- as it is agreed to be the work of late Saxon embroiderers -- implies the existence of an illuminated Anglo-Saxon Bestiary. M.R. James published an early list of the books in Peterborough monastic library which also included a Saxon Bestiary -- see his Lists of Manuscripts formerly in the Peterborough Abbey Library [= Transactions of the Bibliographical Society Supplement 5 ] (London, 1926).

However unlikely it may seem that an English artist could have drawn such a life-like elephant in the early 1240s, the weight of evidence for placing the other misericords at Exeter in this period forces us to accept no other conclusion. 'Charles Tracy, unpublished lecture on the Exeter stalls, p.8 -- I thank Dr. Tracy for a copy of this lecture in advance of publication.

Bond prefers to term them monoceroses.

In Remnant, xxxvii.

Unconvincingly, to my mind, Bond, 33, appears to imply that the 'hart beside a pool on the supporter of a misericord in Beverley Minster' [? = 175:1 right] is another Bestiary subject.

Grässinger (1989b), 183f., remarks on the apparent fondness of the Beverley cavers for depicting animals scratching their heads.

Reproduced as fig.1033 (a.1526) in Renouard.

Reproduced as pls. 69 and 70, respectively, in M.O. Freeman, The Unicorn Tapestries (New York, 1976), 59.

ibid., 65.


Reproduced in Randall as fig.320.

Franssen, 266.


Anderson, 153.
15 The carvings are at Lakenheath and Earl Soham in Suffolk and are reproduced in A. Gardner, Minor English Wood Sculpture 1400-1550 (London, 1958), as figs. 152 & 154 respectively; the latter is also illustrated in a most informative article by U. Mieder entitled "Die grossen Fische fressen die kleinen": Geschichte und Bedeutung eines Sprichwortes über die menschliche Natur" in Muttersprache 98 (1988), 1-37 (a translation appears as chapter 6 in the same author's Tradition and Innovation in Folk Literature (Hanover/London 1987)).


In the alleged 'Ape attacked by lion' at Ripon [182:7], which might well have alluded to the Bestiary tale of the lion who eats a dead monkey to cure his sickness -- as is indeed depicted at Windsor [10:10] -- the larger beast is more likely to be a bear.

17 Wildridge, 48.

18 Payne, op. cit., 19.

19 Are they perhaps symbolic of the wounded lion's righteous anger referred to in the Bestiary:

"So far as their relations with men are concerned, the nature of lions is that they do not get angry unless they are wounded ... The compassion of lions, on the contrary, is clear from innumerable examples -- for they spare the prostrate ..." White, op. cit., 9.

20 The standard work on this subject is that by Friedman (Bibliography).

21 Describing the Ripon supporters as blemyae, Remnant nevertheless remarks that "These may be meant to represent Anakim" [183:17], i.e. "the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants" of Numbers xiii. 33 (AV); this seems unlikely, as there is no mention that the Anakim are unusual in any other way apart from their size.

22 In Remnant, 210.


24 Reproduced in Randall, fig. 81. A further example is the rabbit burrow depicted on f. 25r. of BL Add. MS. 366 (Franco-Flemish, f. 1310).

25 The four half-length figures in a shelter under the stem are apparently intended as 'Brachmani', some of whom are said to be cave-
dwellers, though their location under the boughs of a tree is perhaps reminiscent of a model such as that in the Monte Cassino manuscript.

26 Which might itself derive from the example now in Durham Castle, but originally in the Castle at Bishop Auckland [41:7], which Tracy dates to c.1490, and states is close to Hand C at Ripon.

27 See previous chapter for a detailed discussion of the supporter motifs.

28 Bond, 157

29 Friedman, 200.

30 Itself perhaps based on that now at Durham Castle [41:6 pl.121], of c.1490.

31 ed. G. J. Boekenoogen (Leiden, 1903). One of the illustrative woodcuts depicts him as a woodhouse on all fours being beaten by his captors having been run down by hunting-dogs [pl.1].

32 In Remnant, xl.


34 J.C. Holt, Robin Hood (London, 1989). See the section on the Beverley and York printer Hugo Coes [A.III.], for a discussion of the figure of the Northern Robin Hood.

35 A recent work on the depiction of fables in the late Middle Ages, which includes bibliography of earlier studies, is D. Pohl, "Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in der Fabelillustration des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit", in ed. U. Harms, Text und Bild, Bild und Text (Stuttgart, 1990), 150-67.

For the Bayeux tapestry fables, see H. Chaufour, "Les fables dans la tapisserie de Bayeux" in Romania 60 (1934), 1-35, 153-94, and more recently, the late W.D. Yapp’s paper referred to in n.1 above, whose opinion on the unreliability of Herrmann’s ‘identifications’ I share.

36 See Smirke in Archaeologia 27 (1837). I intend to discuss elsewhere the popularity in late medieval art of this fable of the ass who began to imitate his master’s dog in the hope that he would be treated as well as it.

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37 Other such strays are a Fox and Crane on an 11thC. coffin-lid in Bridlington (probably imported from Tournai in Flanders, like the characteristic group of contemporary imported marble fonts), and two further depictions of the same fable on the capitals of Romanesque churches at Holt, Norfolk, and Melbourne, Derbyshire. -- see Varty (1967), pls. 165, 164 and 161, respectively.


39 Significantly the sole instance of a fable depicted in a manuscript of English provenance recorded in the Iconographical Index to Lilian Randall's book is the Fox and Crane on f.34r. of the Rutland Psalter. Neslop reproduces as his pl.3 the fable of the stork removing the bone from the wolf's throat and that of the cock and the fox which are contained within the initial 'S' on f.239 of volume II of the Dover Bible, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 4, of c.1150.

40 I. Mateo Gomez, "Fabulas, refranes y emblemas, en las sillerias de coro góticas españolas" in Archivo Español de Arte 49 (1976), 145-60.

41 See Randall, Iconographical Index, s.v. Fables, fox and stork.


43 A likeness first remarked by Bond, 8.

44 Tindall Uildridge, in late 19thC. mythological mode, describes them, however, as 'the altar of light and the birds of darkness' -- The Grotesque in Church Art (London, 1899), 38.

45 White, op. cit., 110f.


47 Grössinger (1939b). Similarly reversed, it seems to me that the bird of the left-hand supporter is also derived from the same card of the Master's Bird suit, viz. bird no. 6 in the bottom left corner.


49 That the motif also became part of the repertoire of the 'Germanic' carvers responsible for the Spanish stalls, is proved by the appearance of a lion-dragon combat at Plasencia reproduced in Gomez, fig.51.
50 Remnant, xxxv.

51 In 1414 at Guines in the marches of Calais, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, on the third day of a series of jousts, wore the arms of Guy quartered with Beauchamp.

52 PHIL A 30 (1915), 127.


Although Charles Tracy has recently dated the Exeter misericords to the early 1240s, the Exeter lion-dragon combat [35:1] was felt by Glasscoe and Swanton to be executed in a somewhat later style to the rest, and is assigned by them to the early 14th century, probably at the time of Bishop Stapeldon's refurbishment of the choir -- H. Glasscoe & M. Swanton, "Medieval Woodwork in Exeter Cathedral" (Exeter, 1978), 10.


56 cf. also the similarity between the examples of a different motif, the so-called 'Judas swallowed by Satan', in these two cathedrals [28:1] and [190:24], and a third example of c.1379 at Worcester [171:20].

57 Reproduced in Hind (1938-43).


Janson is able to list some half a dozen examples of the motif to which may be added the misericord supporters under discussion, miniatures in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (c.1450), The Hague MS Y 400 (Amiens, 14thC.), as well as two further Flemish manuscripts of the first quarter of the 14thC., cited in Randall's "Iconographic Index", i.e. Oxford, Bodleian MS Douce G f.07v. and DL Add. MS 29253 f.36, plus a tapestry contemporary with the Beverley stalls designed (according to Vasari) by the Italian, Giovanni da Undine, and woven by the Fleming Peter van Aelst in June 1520 for Pope Leo X.

59 Evans, 93.

62 Tubach.


64 I intend to publish my identification of this exemplum elsewhere.


66 Bond, 106.

67 Ellis, cat. no. 756.

68 Dr. Jean Michel Massing kindly draws my attention to the Early Christian group depicting this subject in Monza -- see Cahiers Archéologiques 1.

69 Anderson, 153.


71 Yapp, 37.

72 See ed. E. G. Stanley, "The Owl and the Nightingale" (Manchester, 1972), lines 65ff., and 279ff., respectively.

73 LSR, s.v. Eule.

74 See Cave, 73 and pl. 206.

75 Raupp, 85.
C. THE WIDER CONTEXT

C.I. Motifs of Northern European Origin on the Beverley Misericords

The overwhelming majority of subjects carved on the Beverley misericords are familiar from the traditional native repertoire of such scenes, the lion-dragon combat, for example [see B.V.d. above], or the fox stealing the goose; a small but appreciable percentage of the figural subjects carved on the Beverley misericords, however, are explicable only in terms of imported Northern European iconography, the bulk of it Flemish/German, but with a few important motifs which are shown here to derive from early printed Parisian Hore. These motifs of Northern European origin are a valuable index of the sort of visual material available to English woodcarvers in the early 16th century.

After first discussing the motifs in question at Beverley, I shall try to suggest the channels by which they might have entered this part of the country (principally via Beverley's port of Hull) and then move on to a consideration of other examples of imagery of similar origin elsewhere in English woodwork (most notably, somewhat earlier at Windsor), and the graphic sources from which they derive. Finally, I attempt to gather together the documented, yet oddly uncollected, evidence, for both the commission of works of art from Germany and the Low Countries in the late 15th and early 16th century, and to the actual presence of artists from those countries in English cities at this time.
Perhaps the most obviously derivative 'alien' motif to occur on the Beverley misericords, first noticed by Purvis, is the carving which depicts the crone wheeled by her man in the barrow, some account of which has necessarily already been given under the heading "Viragoes" at [B.IV.e.] above.

The Master bxg, active in the Middle Rhine area c.1470-90, is a Germanic engraver, at least one of whose prints must have reached England (1); his 'Man Pushing Woman in Wheelbarrow' [pl.142], as Purvis was the first to point out, is the source for one of the Ripon misericords [183:9 pl.143], as well as the present example of the subject at Beverley [176:17 pl.144], and another at Durham Castle [41:1 pl.145] (At least, ultimately, for it is quite possible that these derive immediately from the Ripon carving -- see [B.I.a.] above). This motif can be shown to have been widely popular throughout Europe, eloquent testimony to the dissemination of this particular print, and, in the case of its appearance at Ripon, the speed of that dissemination.

The print in question [pl.142. Lehrs I: 106, Lehrs II: (bxg) 25] was copied into the 'Hours of Charles d'Angoulême' (Paris, bib. nat. ms. lat. 1173) probably in the early 1480s [pl.146], which serves as a terminus ante quem for the print, which has, in fact, most recently been ascribed to the latter half of the 1470s (2). It was originally issued with a companion piece depicting a similarly tattered but perhaps younger peasant dragging a similar-looking crone along by a rope attached to a basket, while she brandishes a clenched fist at him [Lehres I: 105, Lehres II (bxg) 24].

Important to the dissemination of these images were the copies made by other graphic artists, such as the engraving of the basket-dragger, made a.1503 by the ubiquitous Israhel van Meckenem [G 394], and it would appear to be his version which is the source of the image in the Zagreb Cathedral Treasury Missal, f.124v (3). Later copies include
one by Balthasar Jenichen who put a whip in the hand of the crone, and a playing-card, the 5-of-Hearts, engraved c.1535 by Hans Schäufelein.

This pair of prints seems to have been very popular with wood-carvers, in particular, but both designs are also found carved in stone a.1504 on a frieze on the south side of the townhall in Wroclaw. They are also both depicted on stall-divisions in Baden-Baden, and Walther Loose, in addition to the Beverley and Ripon examples of the barrowing, claimed it was further represented at Hoogstraeten (Belgium), Bordeaux, and Beauvais; while the Hoogstraeten misericord is a late example (1532x1546), that at St. Seurin, Bordeaux, does not, in fact, depict this barrowing motif (4). To Loose's examples, we can, however, now add two more: the Durham Castle barrowing [41:1], and another example of the basket-dragger, on a misericord in Toledo Cathedral, carved by the famous Rodrigo Aleman in the early 1490s (5).

Given that the main subject of this misericord derives from such a source, it seems far from impossible that the righthand supporter to the barrowing scene should also be based on a 'Germanic' original. The supporter in question depicts the crone who appears in the central barrowing scene with a small dog which she is described as 'lifting or holding' (Wildridge), 'holding by its neck' (Remnant) [pl.147].

In fact, I believe that she is meant to be fleaeing the animal, a motif for which there are at least three 16thC. parallels in Flemish art, one of them a misericord at Hoogstraeten (carved 1532x46) on which a man fleas his dog [pl.148]. An engraving by Lucas van Leyden dated 1510 depicts a naked and unattractive woman similarly picking fleas from the head of her dog [pl.149], but to determine the meaning of this apparent genre-scene an anonymous engraving of c.1550 or later, attributed to Frans Huys after Cornelis Messys, which depicts a number of proverbs on Sloth in a village setting, including a man who fleas his
dog [pl.150] is pressed into service (6). In its first state, the scene is accompanied by the inscription,

'Ghy luijaerts ghesellen, die garen den hont vloijen'
[You lazy fellows, who gladly pick fleas from the dog] (7)

If we can accept that the carver intended to label this supporter crone as idle -- for in this topsy-turvy ménage it is her husband who must do all the housework -- a conclusion which would certainly chime with the harridan of the central carving who pulls at her man's hair as he is forced to transport her in the barrow [pl.144], then what should we make of the opposite supporter which both Wildridge and Remnant agree depicts a man lifting a beam from the ground [pl.151]?

If the 'Germanic' origin of this righthand supporter is accepted, as that of the central carving (at least, ultimately) must be, then this should perhaps predispose us to look for a 'Germanic' model for the lefthand supporter. Logically, if the woman of the righthand supporter is seen as identical to the woman in the barrow of the central carving, then we might expect the lefthand supporter man also to be identical with the hen-pecked husband of the central carving.

Again, I know of no native English parallels for this motif, but there does seem to me to be a Flemish parallel which would explain the man with the beam and which also belongs to the same area of sexual iconography.

I suggest that the beam-lifter is a somewhat misunderstood version of another motif found in Flemish stallwork and prints, the bloksleener, i.e. 'log-dragger', who appears in a print attributed to Van Meckenem [pl.152], where the banderole above the log-dragger is inscribed 'Al, al verlaren aerbeit' [All, all wasted labour], and as the subject of two misericords at Cappenberg (carved 1509X20) in Nordrhein-Westfalen [pl.153], and in Toledo Cathedral (1489X95), carved by Germanic crafta-
men (8). In origin the motif alluded to the agricultural practice of
dragging a heavy log across a ploughed field in order to break up the
clods of earth, a heavy and exhausting task, but as Grauls was able to
show by means of citations from 16thC. literature and proverb collect-
ions (9), the expression bloksleepen came to be used of a man who sought
in vain to please a woman who rejected him, and also of the unhappily
married man. The bloksleeper of the lefthand supporter would therefore
seem to chime with what we have deduced about this menage from the other
two scenes of this misericord.

Noting in passing that the supporters here present us with polar
opposites, we may now suggest the following reading of the misericord as
a whole: the young man who married the much older woman is subjected to
exhausting labour, and the additional humiliation of having to transport
her by wheelbarrow, while she is so proverbially idle that she has leis-
ure to flea her little lapdog — in short, this misericord represents
the 'Unequal Lovers' topos, so beloved of the Late Middle Ages (10).

At [B.II.a.] above, we have already considered the motif of the
Spies returning from Canaan shouldering the outsize bunch of grapes
hanging from a pole [175:11] and noted that it derives, ultimately, at
least (for, like the Beverley barrowing also, it perhaps derives more
immediately from the similarly rendered example at Ripon), from the mid-
15thC. Netherlandish blockbook Biblia Pauperum.

Christa Grössinger has recently suggested two misericord subjects
at Beverley which she sees as deriving from other engravings by the
'Germanic' artist, Israhel van Meckenem, who seems to have been active
in the Bocholt-Kleve region of the Lower Rhine, especially in the last
quarter of the 15th century (d.1503); the dancing fools of [176:21] and
the pedlar robbed by apes of [173:6] (11).
Although at least one engraving by Van Meckenem of a 'morris dance' does show a certain similarity with the Minster's three dancing fools [pl.47], as I have noted above [B.III.a], the absence of the woman around whom van Meckenem's 'morris' fools dance, seems to me to cast serious doubt on such a derivation.

As for the pedlar robbed by the apes, despite the undoubted derivation of one of the Westminster Abbey misericords [98:1 bis] from one of this artist's engravings of pairs of apes [see C.II.c. below, and pls.224-5] her suggestion that some, at least, of the Beverley ape-robbers derive from another in the same series, seems to me unlikely, but I do feel that a 'Germanic' print (now known only from Italian copies) has a good claim to be the original inspiration.

Janson noted that the earliest prints of this subject are Italian, one dated c.1470-80 by Hind, the other c.1470-90. Significantly, the 1470s engraving betrays its Low Countries original in the name 'Pieterlin' given to the pedlar in its inscription, a feature which strongly suggests that there was a no longer extant Flemish or North German print which may well have been the model for the depiction of this scene on the English misericords, the Beverley and Bristol examples of the subject being so close as to suggest a common source.

At [B.V.d.], I have given my reasons for believing that the left-hand supporter to the lion-dragon combat misericord [173:5], which depicts a seated ape holding a baby in swaddling clothes, is not a detached part of the pedlar robbed by apes scene, but an independent motif found in the margins of Flemish illuminated manuscripts and interestingly in a tapestry exactly contemporary with the Beverley stalls (12), and not surprisingly attracted into the orbit of this other popular ape-subject.
The image of the man on the righthand supporter to misericord [174:17 pl.94] who scrambles headfirst into a sack is interpreted above ([B.IV.d.]) as a cowardice motif in the light of Thersites' boast to so terrify his opponents that they will 'renne into a bagge', and it is there argued that it is as a symbol of this failing that the Beverley carver uses it on the misericord in question; the striking similarity, however, with the main subject of a misericord carved in 1474 by the Fleming Arnt Beeldesnider at Kleve on the Lower Rhine [pl.95], just over the German border, must suggest that it derives more immediately from just such a Flemish model.

'Playing-card' designs have been suggested by Grössinger as the origin for the animals and flowers of 'many of the Beverley supporters' (13), which seems to me to be considerably over-stating the case; from the detailed examination of this claim below [C.II.c.], however, I have concluded that the distinctively crested bird scratching its head, the righthand supporter of [176:5 pl.228], is an undoubted derivation from this source (known to have been available for use in manuscripts illuminated in England in the 1450s), so that others of the Beverley animal subjects, in particular those carved on the supporters, cannot be ruled out (the doe scratching its nose with its hind leg, the righthand supporter of [175:1] seems a distinct possibility). I have also been able to add from this same source the misericord depicting the two (semi-) naked men fighting, [176:2 pl.244], which would seem to be based on one of the Wild Men suit, e.g. the 6-of-Wild-Men card [pl.245] on which the man holding the face-shield similarly confronts the nude man with the spear; if this derivation is accepted, it is also then probable that the former's weapon (which is broken off) was not the sword one might expect, but a club, as on the card.
There is no known antecedent instance of the bull-milking adynaton known to me in English art before the supporter carving to misericord [176:11] at Beverley. As noted above [B.III.d.], however, Christa Grössinger's citation of the Schäuffelein 8-of-Bells card which depicts this same image some 15 years after the date of the Beverley misericords, and in particular, a certain resemblance in the milkmaids' hairstyles perhaps argues for the dependence of the Beverley carving on a lost prototype similar to Schäuffelein's engraving -- the use of the 'playing-card' format as a convenient set of patterns for artists has already been demonstrated as the certain source of other English woodcarvers' designs at Beverley and elsewhere.

Although the majority of this 'alien' imported iconography would seem to hail from the northern 'Germanic' lands, especially Flanders, three further motifs are shown below to derive from marginal woodcut blocks in early printed Parisian Horae, principally those printed by Pigouchet for Vostre.

The use of these motifs by English artists seems first to have been noticed by Cave with regard to the decorative stone-carving of the De La Warr chantry at Boxgrove, Sussex c.1532, and subsequently shown by Anderson to be the basis of misericords at Bristol and Throwley, Kent. Below I extend the incidence of the use of these motifs by English woodcarvers to include -- amongst other examples -- three of the misericords at Beverley: the dragon with second head in its belly of [176:19], the ape riding the 'equine' pursued by the wild man with raised club [173:2], and the rabbit riding the dragon [174:6]. These designs are an important part of the repertoire of non-native imagery available to early 16thC. artists and merit a larger study than I am able to afford them here -- there are undoubtedly many more such instances of their employment by English carvers to be discovered.
I have also suggested above [B.IV.d.] that the sudden reemergence of the classic 'Snail-Combat' motif in the early 16th century, is due to the popularity of an early printed book called The Shepherds' Calendar, originally published in Paris, first by Marchant in 1491, with a third edition by him for Vérard two years later. It is this Vérard edition which includes the first woodcut illustration of the Snail-Combat [p.91], and which was to re-appear in Vérard's English-language Kalender of the Shyppars [STC 22407], published in Paris a decade later, the English editio princeps. Copies of Vérard's woodcut appeared in at least three subsequent editions issued by three different English printers before 1520, viz., de Worde's Kalender of Shepeherdes [STC 22409 (1516); Hodnett 984], Pynson's Kalender of Shepherdes [STC 22409.7 (c.1517); Hodnett *1577a] -- interestingly this cut had not appeared in his earlier 1506 edition [STC 22408] -- and Notary's Kalender of Shepardes [STC 22410 (1518?); Hodnett 2270 pl.93].

The Beverley snail-fighter [pl.90] has hair sculpted into a bowl-like shape which gives the impression of a close-fitting cap (remnant's 'hood'), but when compared with the earlier French woodcuts of Marchant [p.92] and Vérard [p.91], can be seen to be based on the bowl-like helmet worn by their spearman, rather than the conical helmet worn, for example, by the spearman in Notary's derived cut [pl.93] -- the conclusion seems to be that, given that the Beverley Snail-Combat is based on a woodcut from an early printed Shepherd's Calendar, it is perhaps more likely to derive from a Parisian than an English edition.

The only other sets of misericords known to me which exhibit a greater propensity for designs based on Continental iconography are those at Windsor and Westminster (see below), but they are special cases in that both were royal commissions, and sited one in the metropolis, the other not far from the capital and within a royal palace.
Given the appreciable proportion of such 'foreign' motifs at Beverley, what might have been the means of their transmission? The nearby port of Hull and the city of York immediately suggest themselves.
'Cut off by their geographical remoteness from the French and Flemish influences that were affecting artists farther south, the wood-carvers north of the Trent confined themselves to the erection of screens and stalls of a conservative type ...'

Lawrence Stone's statement in his standard work, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages*, fairly represented the state of knowledge in 1955 as to the relative cultural isolation of artists and craftsmen in the Midlands and North of England, despite his familiarity with the work of Purvis, published twenty years earlier (14).

In the last 35 years, however, evidence for the penetration of 'Germanic' images in a variety of media in the North as well as the South of the country, has slowly been accumulating, though it has not -- to my knowledge -- been collected in one place before. The recent publication of *The Customs Accounts of Hull* by W.R. Childs, for instance, has afforded us the opportunity of scrutinising in detail the sorts of cargo arriving at Beverley's port from Northern Europe in the closing decades of the 15th century, and hence of assessing one of the probable mechanisms for the channelling of Continental artistic influence into the region (15).

For the second half of the 15th century, based on the figures which Kerling derived from the Hull accounts (16), about one half of the ships arriving at and departing from the port, were based in Holland and Zeeland (17); moreover,

'There was a sharp decline in the last 20 years [of the century] in Boston and Lynn; only in Hull do these ships seem to have kept up their activity at the end of the 15th century.' (18)
We have seen above [A.III.] how the Beverley and York printer Hugo Goes -- on the evidence of his name, himself a Fleming in origin -- was the first known manufacturer of woodblock-printed wall-paper in England, an experiment he was perhaps encouraged to make due to his familiarity with Continental 'painted papers'.

There is a most interesting record of a form of what is most probably early wallpaper, described by the customs official at Hull as paynted pauper, where 'painted' might mean 'painted with designs', or, perhaps, merely 'coloured': on 14th January 1472, two ships, the 'Roos' [i.e. 'Rose'] and the 'Cristofure', both arrived in Hull from Scheydam, carrying paynted paupers. The 'Rose' brought two pipes (19) full, and the 'Christopher' 10 dozen [sheets? rolls?].

Twenty-four quires of papiro depict were similarly imported into London along with 5 printed books for the merchant Peter t'Jalkyn in 1479/80 (20). On 24th April 1509 a ship entered the port of London with a cargo which included 12 gross [sheets? rolls?] of painted paper and another on 7th May with a dozen painted cloths and 10 1/2 gross of painted paper (21). [see further A.III. above]

Here we recall the statute promulgated by Richard III in 1483 intended to prevent unemployment in England through a ban on the import of cheap foreign manufactured goods; at the request of the various guilds it was ordained that

'no merchant stranger ... shall bring into the realm of England to be sold any manner of ... painted glass, painted papers, painted images, painted cloths, etc.'

The painted cloths mentioned are such an important but strangely neglected category of the visual art of this period that a separate section is devoted to them below [Appendix III.], but it is evident from this statute that painted paper (papiro depict') probably intended as wall-paper, of the type which is recorded as coming into England, most
probably from the Low Countries, both via the port of Hull (as above) and London (e.g. in 1479/80 and 1509, for example (22)), was already by this date arriving in sufficient quantities to cause resentment amongst native traders. This resentment was famously to boil over in the Evil May Day riots of 1517 in the City of London.

The Hull records of the import of both dozens of painted cloths (see below) and quantities of painted papers (not to mention similar references for other ports, most notably London -- see information cited from Woods below), confirm the ominous complaint of a broker named John Lincoln, reported in Hall’s Chronicle as one of the events leading up to the Evil May Day, in which ‘Dutchemen’ in particular, were singled out for attack by London artisans:

‘for the Dutchemen bryng over Iron, Tymber, lether and Weynskot ready wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskettes, Cupbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, gyrdels, with poyntes, sadelles & painted clothes so that if it were wrought here, Englishmen might haue some worke & lyuynge by it.’ (23)

Other items in Lincoln’s list are to be found in the Hull customs accounts: ‘chests’ and ‘coffers’ are a relatively common constituent of cargoes coming into Hull, especially earlier in the 15th century.

On 9th June 1403, for example, the ‘Nicholas’ (homeport Gdansk) put in at Hull with a cargo consisting almost exclusively of woodwork, including 30 painted platers, 2 single cofers and 1 nest of coffers, and 1 nest of countoures (i.e. tables or desks for counting money and making up accounts) (24). On 22nd August 1463 the ‘Mary’ (homeport Gdansk) brought to the various Hansard merchants resident in Hull, a cargo which included 4 chests (destined for three different traders), 2 nests of coffers, 4 counters and a nest of counters, and 8 painted coppes [=cups]. Two days later a ship of the same name also based in Gdansk brought thirteen different Hansard merchants a total of 17 chests, 30 nests of coffers and 21 nests of counters.
The number of chests and coffers entering the country in these and earlier years is a particularly significant find in the light of the several examples of presumed Flemish provenance still extant in England, and the

many references to imported chests [in the later Middle Ages] by far the greatest number of which refer to those from Flanders: the coffres de Flandres of French sources and the Flemish chests of English wills and inventories (25)

e.g. from the Prior of Durham's inventory of 1446:

'Garderobe ... Item una larga Cista de opere Flaundresi'.

Another inventory taken in 1460 refers to j flandyrs kyst (26). From Beverley itself, the prosperous merchant, John Brompton, in a will dated 1444 bequeathes his son Nicholas

'j. cathedram magnam de Flaunders worke'  
[a great chair of Flanders work]

'una nova archa de Flaunderse factura'  
[a new chest of Flanders make]

To his godson John he also leaves

'j. cathedram magnam de Flaundres werke'

while to his granddaughter Helen he leaves

'j. archam kervid cum Sancta Georgio et aliis ymaginibus'  
[a chest carved with St. George and other scenes]

perhaps similar to the St. George chest now at York, described by Eames as of c.1380 and Flemish (27). To each of his grandsons, Thomas and Robert, he bequeathed

'j. pelvem [planum] cum lavacro de Flaundresshapp'  
[a [flat] basin and a laver of Flanders make]
These were presumably brass vessels of the dinanderie type.

That Flemish chests were still being imported in large numbers at precisely the time that our stalls were carved, is proved by their being singled out as one of the commodities brought over by the 'Dutchemen' against whom John Lincoln complained, but they are also recorded in Beverley inventories of the period: in 1547 Watton, the Beverley miller, left to his daughter Alison, 'a Flanders chest' (28), presumably acquired earlier in the century.

F.H. Crossley, indeed, saw these imported Flemish chests as the inspiration for

"Much of the flamboyant work so freely used in the south-western counties [...] though absolutely un-English in feeling, [it] cannot have been carved by aliens, since the technical details of the cusping are worked in a manner essentially English and unknown on the Continent. There can be no doubt that in these cases the native carvers took their ideas from the imported Flemish chests."

Perhaps even more important than the number of coffers and chests of Flemish origin, however, was the amount of prefabricated wainscoting entering the country on these ships. It will be remembered that Lincoln also singled out Weynskot ready wrought. Such panels of wainscoting ready for assembly are one of the commonest and most numerous items in the Hull customs accounts of this period: the Mary of Gdansk, for example, put into Hull on 24th August 1463 with no fewer than 2,000 wainscottes for four Hansard merchants, and the three ships which put in two days earlier had already brought in, respectively, 1,200, 800, and 100, amounting to a similar quantity. Twenty years later, the master of the 'Nicholas' imported 1,200 wainscottes on his own behalf, while in 1490, two ships put in on 21st June (?) carrying 400 and 2,000 wainscottes, respectively, and two further shipments are recorded that year of 1,100 and 400. The vast bulk of this wainscoting is likely to have been quite plain, but it seems likely that some -- at least, by the
1520s -- will have included special decorative panels of the type that are among the first signs of the appearance of the Continental Renaissance in England -- this is perhaps especially likely in the case of the smaller quantities imported, e.g. the 1/4C [i.e. 25] wanscottes, brought in on the local ship, the 'Christopher' on 20th March 1490. [See further, C.IV.a., below]

Kim Wood's very thorough work on the contemporary records of the import of early 16thC. Netherlandish carved altarpieces into England, for which table seems to be the commonest English term, notes several such imports in Hull documents (30). The Hull merchant Thomas Dalton, in a codicil added to his will and dated 15 June 1501, made provision for the purchase of two such tables of ye behind-see warke to be placed in Holy Trinity parish church. In the same church the merchants of Hull had a chantry chapel and in 1521 an altarpiece imported from Zeeland was placed on the altar of their chapel; two years later, a second altarpiece from Flanders was imported for the altar of Trinity House, the almshouse founded by the merchants' Guild of the Holy Trinity.

In 1519, the year immediately before the Beverley stalls were carved, a ship owned by two Hull merchants, John Browns and John Dan-yell, paid duty on a cargo brought over from Flanders which included a crucifix (cf. the 'tablett of the Crucifixe of our Lorde of Flaundors work', recorded at the Dissolution as being in the rood chapel of Elsing Spital in London (31)), images of St. Anne and of Our Lady -- is this what the royal statute of 1483 meant by painted images? -- 10 small gilt images, and a small table for an altar (32).

In 1515, the year following his consecration as Archbishop of York, in whose see Beverley, of course, is situated, Wolsey received a letter from Brussels informing him that he would be receiving from Antwerp
'a table for an awter, which was made by the best master of all this land' (33).

It is noticeable, on the other hand, that the Hull accounts record no import of tapestries as such, they are records of humbler, more workaday goods such as painted cloths, with the single exception of a bedde de tapestrewerk, i.e. a set of tapestry bed-hangings brought into Hull aboard the 'Mary' on 20th July 1465, together with 3 banquers, i.e. bench-covers. A dozen bancors were also brought in on the 'Jesus' on the 28th January 1490. On the 2nd August 1465, the 'Jacob' put in from Veere with 1/2 dos' quysshyn-clothes, i.e. 6 cushion-covers, and with just 2 cusshyns six years later; interestingly, in his will dated 1444, John Brompton left his son Nicholas

'dim. dos. quissyngges clothes cum gaytes de arras werke cum duobus banquers rubeis et nigris.'
[half dozen cushion-covers with [pictures of] goats of Arras-work with two red and black bench-covers]

and to his grandson William

'dim. dos. whyisshynges clothes de mensibus anni of arras werke'
[half dozen cushion-covers of Arras-work [depicting] the months of the year]

and his grand-daughter Joanna also received another set of the same Arras-work cushion-covers, presumably featuring the Labours of the Months. To judge from the 'Jacob's' cargo and these bequests, a half-dozen was a standard set.
Already by the second half of the fifteenth century there were specialists in Flanders who are described in contemporary documents as print-dealers; we hear of one such in Louvain in 1472, and in the final decade of the century, two were members of the Bruges Guild of Illuminators, Pieter van Middemblic, styled prentvercoopere (1481/2-1494), and Haertin van Axele, prenter coper (1490-2) (34).

Apart from the implicit evidence for the import of such prints into England in the shape of the very carvings we have been discussing, there is also valuable, albeit rare, documentary evidence: on 2nd March 1491, for example, the alien Frank Mathew came to London with 'one dosen printed bookes' and 'pictures' (35), which may well mean what we should now call prints.

As we shall see below, in the late 15th century, many of the alien merchants and booksellers resident in London and responsible for importing printed books and also the wherewithal for the making of printed books (e.g. paper and binding material), seem to have come from Germany or the Low Countries, or the city of Paris (36); the activities of Freez in York and Goes in York and Beverley itself, show that this pattern was repeated elsewhere in the few other cities large enough to support book-sellers and printers. It seems inconceivable that Germanic prints should not have entered the country in the same way, perhaps in numbers too small to warrant individual record, or perhaps they were ordinarily exempt from import duty, in which case, there would similarly be no record of them.

When William Barett of Bishop's Lynn, Norfolk, died in 1506, the inventory made of his effects mentions that in his parlour he had
which Foister suggests was 'perhaps a woodcut' (37). While a woodcut is certainly a possibility, of course, given the long-standing relationship between East Anglia and the Low Countries, a Flemish or German engraving brought in by ships plying in and out of King's Lynn is a further intriguing possibility.

It has recently been shown by John Mitchell, for example, that the figure of St. Simon Zelotes painted on the Worstead (Norfolk) chancel-screen in 1512 -- at least, that is the date of its construction -- is based on Lucas van Leyden's engraving of St. Peter made in c.1511, and it has long been known that the 'Temptation of St. Anthony' painted on the rood-screen at Tacolneston in the same county, is

'an exact reproduction of the engraving of that subject by Lucas van Leyden, which is dated 1509' (30)

and Mitchell has also shown that the other surviving screen-painting at Tacolneston, an Annunciation, is similarly based on an engraving of the subject by the Monogrammist FVB, c.1490, and regards it as likely that the screen painter had been trained in the Netherlands. One of the four other artists working on the decoration of the Worstead screen based his figures of Saints Peter and Andrew on an Apostle sequence originated by Schongauer, but probably immediately on Israhel van Meckenem's version. Another Annunciation painted on the rood-screen at Ashton in Devon 'is closely related to a Flemish engraving of the subject' (39). The Transfiguration scene in the celebrated stained glass of Fairford church, Gloucestershire, has also recently been shown to be dependent on an Antwerp painting of 1509 (40). It seems likely that Stone's remarks quoted at the head of this section will shortly be shown to be as untrue for Yorkshire as they are for East Anglia and the West Country, and, indeed, it is hoped that the above remarks concerning the provenance of
several of the designs for the Beverley misericords, have already gone
some way to prove his assessment of the situation seriously inadequate.

That motifs from printed Parisian Horae should provide the models
for subjects carved on the Beverley misericords, and others in wood and
stone elsewhere [see C.II.b.], is readily understandable once it is
appreciated in what volume these books were entering the country.

Eloquent testimony to the great numbers of these early printed
Horae arriving in England in the decade or so before the Beverley and
Bristol stalls were carved is provided by the Book of Rates compiled for
goods arriving at the port of London on 15th July 1507, which includes a
customs duty of xx d. per dozen Prynted prymers, ‘primer’ being the
contemporary term for a Book of Hours (41).

From statistics culled by H.R. Plomer from Customs Accounts for
the port of London in the late 15th and early 16th centuries this
impression is confirmed (42): in the roll for 1494-5, for example, 344
printed primers are recorded, but by the 1502-3 accounts this figure has
jumped to 1,832, with just three merchants taking almost 1,500 between
them. Jean Bienayse, a well-known Paris and Rouen bookseller, later
associated with the York stationer, John Gachet, took delivery of one
pipe of printed books in the same year (43). Another noted Parisian
printer, Georges Mittelhus, is also recorded as importing printed books
into England in the same accounts roll -- both men must therefore have
had shops in the capital by this date. Similarly, Michel Morin, whose
brother Martin was the probable printer of a Sarum Horae printed in
Rouen c.1494 [STC 15877], as he certainly was of a Sarum Missal two
years earlier [STC 16166], imported two pipes and three coffers of
printed books according to the 1503 accounts; he is again one of the
main consignees in the roll of 1505, and in 1497 together with de Worde
(and Levet in Paris) had had a Sarum Missal printed for him by two
Parisian printers (see below). It is also known that Francia Regnault
established himself in London c.1496, returning to Paris only in 1516 to take over his father's bookselling business -- in 1511, the Regnaults had printed Holcot's Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon for the English market (44), and several copies of a Sarum Horae printed for Francis in Paris in 1519 are known [STC 15924], as well as two editions of the Missal [STC 16199] and a Breviary [STC 15816] all in the same year.

Caxton had ordered the first printed edition of the Sarum Missal [STC 16164] from the Parisian printer Maynyal on 4th Dec. 1487, and a Sarum Legenda [STC 16136] eight months later; another Sarum Missal was printed and published by Martin Morin (see above) in Rouen in 1492 [STC 16166], and another printed in Paris in 1497 by Gering and Rembolt for Martin's brother, Michel Morin (and de Worde), resident in London [STC 16169]; this list should be considered as representative not exhaustive -- as Elizabeth Armstrong has written, 'the great majority of all books produced for the English church were printed in Paris or Rouen or occasionally in Antwerp even when published by London-based stationers or in partnership with them.' (45)

As we shall see below [C.II.b.], Robert Fabyan decorated the manuscript of his "Chronicle", completed in 1504, with border woodcuts which he cut out from a copy of the Pigouchet for Vostre Horae published on 20th Oct. 1501 [STC 15896]. There is evidence, however, that books newly printed in Paris could reach England even more swiftly: Armstrong cites two examples of Parisian books bought by their English owners in 1510 (one a Durham monk, the other an Oxford don), and only printed the previous year or earlier in the very year of publication (46).

She also notes that an inventory of 101 books owned by the Vice-Provost of King's College, Cambridge, in 1521, 'shows a decided trend towards editions imported from France'. Similarly, even excluding service-books, of the 400 identifiable items recorded in the catalogue
of Sion Monastery -- all books acquired during the first quarter of the 16th century -- 87 or 22% were printed in the city of Paris.

There is plenty of evidence therefore for the import of considerable numbers of Parisian Horae into England in the late 15th and early 16th century and for the presence of Parisian printers and booksellers in London; the bulk of these imports, however -- at least, those that we know about -- arrived via the port of London; no record of the import of printed books, let alone books specified as 'primers', appears in the Hull customs accounts. What is the likelihood that Parisian Horae might have been available in Yorkshire c.1520?

While unequivocal evidence is lacking, there are several suggestive data which seem to confirm that they were indeed available at that date. There is, for instance, the evidence from the lawsuit of 1510 for the availability of French liturgical books in York; from this dispute it emerges that the York stationer Gerard Freez had ordered from the Rouen printer Pierre Violette in 1507 an edition of an *Expositio Hymnorum et Sequentiarii* [STC 16119], and a great many more books (for which Violette may have acted as middleman rather than necessarily as printer) remained in Freez's stock in his house in York at his death, viz. 252 missals [cf. York Use, STC 16220, dated '1509?'], 399 breviiaries [cf. York Use, STC 15857, dated 'c.1507'] and 570 ordinals.

It is also a fact that at this period in the development of the book-trade, the majority of printers were also booksellers, and one suspects that this was even more likely to be the case in provincial centres such as York and Beverley -- certainly the bookseller Frederick Freez (Gerard's brother) is also once styled buke-prynter (though none of his productions are extant). Thus, it is more than likely that during the period that Goes was printing in Beverley he also sold other printers' books.
The other main channel for the dissemination of printed books was the fair.

‘In the first two decades of the sixteenth century booksellers became active in all the leading towns, purchasing their stock from London agents or direct from abroad, and retailing on their own premises or at the major fairs.’ (47)

Frederik Egmont, a Dutchman who himself commissioned many English service-books, including a York Use Breviary published in 1493, is known, for instance, to have attended Nottingham Fair. Beverley Fair itself was so popular with London tradesmen in the 17th century that it was actually organised by them, leading to the naming of Londiners Street by 1660 (48), and the fair may reasonably be expected to have lured London traders in the previous century too.

By whatever means links with the trade in Parisian printed books were effected, however, the most reasonable mechanism for the acquisition by the Beverley carver of Horae motifs is hardly through the direct purchase of the books, but rather via a pattern-book which had already copied the motifs from such Horae itself, of the type of Ashmole 1504 [see C.II.b. below], or possibly via a ‘scrap-book’ of the sort which Fabyan’s "Chronicle" manuscripts, completed in 1504 with their illustrations formed by woodcuts cut out from Parisian Horae and pasted in, allow us to posit.
For another of this Master's engravings, seen by Wayment as influencing a detail in one of the windows of King's College Chapel (1515-17), see [C.III.f.] below.

See A. Matthews, "The Use of Prints in the Hours of Charles d'Angouleme" in Print Quarterly 3 (1986), 4-18. Its use as a Labour of the Month for August in the Hours Calendar is an example of an illuminator copying a print and not vice versa as stated in Grössinger (1989a), 78.

The dating 'ca.1475-80' is from J.P. Filedt Kok et al., Livelier than Life: the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master c.1470-1500 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1985), cat. nos. 103 & 102, respectively.

This information (apart from the Schäuffelein card) is reproduced from earlier scholars in J.C. Hutchison, The Master of the Housebook (New York, 1972), 77.

W. Loose, Die Chorgestühle des Mittelalters (Heidelberg, 1931), 46, n.1. I have not been able to confirm the status of the Beauvais barrowing.


W. Loose, Die Chorgestühle des Mittelalters (Heidelberg, 1931), 46, n.1. I have not been able to confirm the status of the Beauvais barrowing.

There is some evidence that the idiom was known as an idleness motif in England as well, but not until 1700, in Congreve's "The Way of the World": "Go, flea dogs and read romances!"

The motif also occurs later in Bruegel's "Netherandish Proverbs" painting (see next note). The Toledo misericord is listed in H. Arena Die Chorgestühle des Meisters Rodrigo Aleman (Buenos Aires, 1965).


Respectively, (1989a), 83, and (1989b), 191f.; and (1989b), 109, and
12 Manuscript examples are cited in a note/my discussion of this motif at [B.V.d.]; the tapestry is said by Vasari to have been designed by Giovanni da Udine, and woven by the Fleming, Peter van Aelst for Pope Leo X in June 1520.

13 (1989b), 189.

14 See Bibliography.

15 All citations from the Hull accounts in what follows are from Childs.

16 N.J.M. Kerling, Commercial Relations of Holland and Zeeland with England from the Late 13th Century to the Close of the Middle Ages (Leiden, 1954).

17 For the period 1453-83, the average percentage of 'Flemish' shipping is 46.3%; for the period 1461-83, 54.3%.

18 Kerling, op.cit., 195.

19 The pipe was originally a liquid measure equivalent to half a tun or two hogsheads, i.e. roughly 125 gallons, but was also used of the volume of dry goods which could be carried or packed into a pipe.


21 Gras, 562, 570.

22 For the latter example, see previous paragraph.

23 Hall's Chronicle (London 1809), 507.

24 s.v. Flanders, OED cites a will made in 1557, which refers to ij flanders counters wth ther carpetts.


26 Ripon Chapter Acts. II (Surtees Society, 1874), 365. Inventory of John Monkton. The MED conveniently assembles several such references s.v. Flaundres and Flaundrish: a York will of 1400 refers to unam
flaundres kyst and j flawndirsark [= 1 Flanders 'ark'], while the Accounts of the church of St. Michael in Oxford, refer to unum forsar [= 'forcer', a type of chest] ... de Flandrich work cum sera & clave in 1430.

27 Eames, op. cit., 146f.

28 cit. English & Neave.


30 K.W. Woods, Netherlandish Carved Wooden Altarpieces of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries in Britain, unpbd. University of London PhD. thesis (1990), Part I: Netherlandish Carvings in England, esp. 92ff. It should not be forgotten, however, that table can mean a variety of things at this date -- cf. Foister, op. cit. in n.37 below. The context of the notice has to be very carefully examined before we can conclude that an altarpiece is definitely intended -- several of Dr. Woods' references seem to me to be insufficiently specified, others are at best ambiguous.

31 pace Woods, op. cit. 119, n.62, Elsing Spital was not the name of a Middlesex village, but of a charitable foundation situated between Gayspur St. and Philip Lane, next to Brewers' Hall, founded by the mercer William Elsyng in 1332 for the support of 200 poor blind men.

32 ibid., 93. For a record of the import of carved images into London in 1509, see C.III., n.135.

33 ibid., 100.


36 Frenchmen are in a decided minority; see Kerling, op. cit.

37 S. Foister, "Paintings and other works of art in sixteenth-century English inventories" in Burlington Magazine 123 (1901), 273-82, esp. 276.

38 W.G. Constable, "Some East Anglian Rood Screens. Part III" in The Connoisseur (1929), 294. Recently John Mitchell has shown that this is only one of a group of early 16thC. Norfolk rood-screens painted by an artist who had available to him an assortment of engravings by
Israhel van Meckenem (after Schongauer) and Lucas van Leyden, in A.W. Moore, Dutch and Flemish Painting in Norfolk. A history of taste and influence, fashion and collecting (London, 1988), where the van Leyden example is reproduced on p.2 as fig.7 and discussed as cat. no. 3b, 82f., where the screen-painting is dated 'c.1510-1520'. The Monogrammist FVB's engraving is reproduced together with the screen version as fig. 51 on p.83. The Worstead screen is discussed by him as cat. no. 2, 81f., and the van Leyden St. Peter and screen St. Peter (wrongly captioned 'after Lucas van Leyden') reproduced as fig. 50. I am most grateful to Dr. Mitchell for sending me photocopies of the relevant entries at very short notice.

39 ibid.

40 Wayment, 23.

41 The 1507 book of rates is printed as Appendix C in Gras.

42 Plomer (1924), esp. 148-50. The recent publication of the Index volume to STC now makes an assessment of the contribution of Parisian booksellers and printers of liturgical books for the English market a realistic desideratum.

43 ibid., 149.

44 Plomer (1925), 33.

45 E. Armstrong, "English purchases of printed books from the Continent 1465-1526" in English Historical Review 94 (1979), 268-90. esp. 280.

46 ibid., 285.


C.II. Graphic Sources of Northern European Origin for Designs in Late Medieval & Early Modern English Woodwork

C.II.a. Woodcuts of Flemish and French Origin in English Early Print Books

Thanks to Hodnett’s pioneering and authoritative work, it is possible for us to draw comprehensive conclusions concerning the provenance of the woodcuts which illustrate the earliest productions of our native printing-presses (1).

In as much as the great majority of the early printers in England were of foreign extraction, it would be surprising, if they had not been obliged to have recourse to foreign woodcutters for the illustration of their books, and such, indeed, we can now confirm to be the case.

Even the native Englishman Caxton, who, of course, learned his craft on the Continent, made use of Netherlandish cuts for his lost Horae (known from their later re-use by Rood & Hunt of Oxford) and his Speculum Vitae of 1486, and the cuts in his Fifteen Oes of 1491 are also Flemish.

His successor, Wynkyn de Worde, of Alsatian origin, between 1495 and 1503 made great use of a schoolmaster cut he acquired from Govaert van Os of Gouda, but by 1504 it had passed into the possession of the York printer, the Fleming Hugo Goes [see A.III.], and was still appearing in books printed by Ursyn Miller in York in 1516. Cut in England, but as Kenneth Varty has shown, based on Antwerp work, de Worde’s Reynard the Fox of c.1495 is important not just as a further example of visual inspiration drawn from the Netherlands, but because these cuts also provided the models for the Reynard scenes of the Bristol misericords (2).
Although similarly cut in England, the 19 folio cuts in de Worde's De Proprietate Rerum (1495) were copied from Bellaert's 1485 Flemish edition. He also used actual Flemish cuts in his Fruyte of Redempcyon (1514) and Myrrour of the Chyrche (1521), the cuts in the latter said by Hodnett to resemble those in Van Doesborch's English Mary of Nimmegen (?1518). A few second-hand metal-blocks (no metal cuts are known to have been made in England) 'done in the Haarlem manner' seem also to have come into his possession at the end of the century, first appearing in books printed in 1497 and 1502, while another of the factotums, an elephant and castle, occurring, for example, together with one of Hodnett's 'Haarlem manner' cuts on the title-page of de Worde's Hyckescorner [STC 14039 (1515/6)], was said by Pollard to have 'a common original with that of an elephant in Van Doesborch's Van Pape Ians landen [NK 1675 (c.1506)]' (3).

Of great interest for the history of early printed popular literature is Copland's Howleglass of c.1555 [STC 10564], to illustrate which he copied the title-page cut from Gerard Leeu's Marcolph (Antwerp, 1492 [STC 22905]), although the earliest known English Tyll Howleglas was also published in Antwerp by Van Doesborch c.1519 [STC 10563; NK 1144] (4).

Lastly, a considerable number of crible cuts from French Horae were re-used in his printed Horae (and other devotional works such as the Arte to Lyve Well of 1505) issued by de Worde from 1502 until the end of his career.

Richard Pynson, a Norman by birth, seems mainly to have borrowed from French woodcuts; for his 1506 Kalender of Shepherdes, for example, the first edition of this popular work (in both senses) to be published in England, he used the blocks from Verard's Kalendyr of the Shyppare issued in Paris in 1503, the English editio princeps. Similarly, for his 1509 publication of another important work, the Ship of Fools, the
woodcuts are actually based not on the German originals, but on the copies issued in the Parisian printing of 1497. In Pynson's Passion of Our Lord [STC 14557] translated by a Dutchman and printed abroad in 1508 (probably by Vérard in Paris), most of the 19 cuts are signed by the Swiss artist Urs Graf, but are themselves ultimately based on designs by Johann Knobloch of Strasbourg -- one of the series reappears the following year in de Worde's York Use Manuale [STC 16160], also printed abroad -- cf. the substance of the York law-suit between Frederick Freez (alias Wandsforth) and Ralph Pulleyn which details the large number of liturgical books shipped to York for the stationer Gerard Freez from the press of Pierre Violette of Rouen [C.I.b.].

The remaining printer of note at this period is Julian Notary, who is also thought to have been of French origin, one of his earliest ventures, a Sarum Missal of 1498 [STC 16172], being a co-production with the French printer, Jean Barbier, in which he styles himself "Notaire". He seems to have turned naturally to French cuts to illustrate his Golden Legend of 1504, including 8 criblé metal cuts which, according to Duff, are French copies in reverse of similar ones by the Master of St. Erasmus (Lower Rhine, c.1450-60); he also made use of several series of small cuts of saints from French Horae (5).

William de Machlinia, whose surname shows him to be a native of Mecheln, when he came to print the earliest known illustrated Sarum Horae in 1485, included eight apparently Flemish cuts. Another 'minor' and short-lived press, that of Rood and Hunt of Oxford, printed a Liber Festialis in 1486 with a dozen large cuts from a Golden Legend series, 'possibly picked up in the Netherlands' at the same time they acquired the Horae cuts closely related to those of the lost Caxton edition.

Other 'minor' printers were still using Flemish cuts in the early 1520s: there is a 'Flemish-looking' cut of Joachim and Anna in Hilton's Songe of Aungelles, printed by Pepwell in 1521; The IX Drunkardes issued
by Bankes in 1523 [STC 7260] proclaims itself to be translated from the Dutch, and there is no doubt that the 17 illustrative cuts are from the same source; Franssen has pointed out that not only are

'a larger part of the woodcuts in this text ... found in books which he had published earlier, [but] the stories of the nine Biblical drunkards and their unhappy fate are derived from texts which can to a large extent be traced back to publications of Jan van Doesborch, especially Den oorsprongck onser salicheyt [NK 1628 (1517)] and Die bibele int corte [NK 4424 (c.1519)]'. (6)

Furthermore, Van Doesborch is also known to have been resident in London in that year [see further the discussion of Van Doesborch's English-language productions at C.III.h.1.]

Lastly, the Cambridge printer Siberch, a native of Siegburg in Germany, included in his Galen of 1521 a worn-looking Nativity 'in the Flemish manner'. Furthermore, this printer's bindings, termed by Plomer 'amongst the best produced in England during the early sixteenth century', also included a Netherlandish panel of seven dancing figures (7).

While our knowledge of the origin of many of the illustrative woodcuts in early English printed books is thus, thanks to Hodnett's work, fairly complete, we are considerably less well served with regard to the marginal woodcut strips to be found decorating the borders of early printed Horae, especially those imported in large numbers into this country, of Parisian origin, and occasionally -- most notably in Notary's Golden Legend and Chronicles of England, both issued in 1504 -- used en masse to form whole pages of decoration [see C.II.b. below].
C. II. b. Border Woodcuts in Parisian Early Printed Books of Hours

In her valuable book, History and Imagery in British Churches, M.D. Anderson, whose work on the iconography of English misericords has achieved a certain (and only rarely undeserved) authority, after discussing the derivation of four of the Ripon stalls from the mid-15thC. Netherlandish blockbook Biblia Pauperum, closed her chapter, "How the Craftsmen got their Designs", thus:

'It was not only figure subjects which the carvers copied from books; they also made use of the grotesques found in the margins of early printed Books of Hours ... The romantic conception of the medieval craftsmen glorifying in his own freedom to create endless original designs, is thus shown to be an illusion. He was no more averse to saving himself trouble by copying other men's ideas, than are many of his descendants." (8)

In a later chapter (9), she goes on to detail three misericords at Bristol (c.1520), first noted in her 1959 paper (10), the carver of which took his designs from border-scenes in an early Parisian Book of Hours: the misericords in question are

1. [pl.154] Dragon with second head in its belly pursuing three naked boys [47:7 pl.156].
2. [pl.160] Ape riding 'equine' pursued by naked/'wild' man holding mount's tail and brandishing club [46:8 pl.162].

[For the sake of convenience, I add here (though not found at Bristol)]

4. [pl.169] Two wildmen confronting each other brandishing clubs, one with leaf-apron and floral shield, the other naked with ovoid bossed shield.
In Remnant (1969) she was also able to add further examples of designs 1. and 2. amongst the misericords carved c. 1520 at Throwley in Kent [75:1 & 75:2].

A third example of design 2. is now to be recognised at Beverley, i.e. [173:2], though reversed, and with the whole ape -- not just the head -- turned to face the pursuing man [pl.161]; showing, in fact, the same degree of light adaptation from the model to be seen in the case of the barrowing scene [176:17 pl.144], discussed above [C.I.]. I find now that this same resemblance between the Beverley and Bristol stalls was noticed by Wildridge over a century ago (12).

In the light of the pairing of design 1. with design 2. at Throwley -- Anderson showed that both scenes occurred on a single double-page spread in, for example, the 1507 edition of a Parisian Horae printed by Thielman Kerver [pl.166] (13) -- and the presence of both at Bristol, we might expect to find design 2. at Beverley also. In fact, it is present, or, rather, half of it is, in the shape of the dragon with the second head in its belly [176:19 pl.158], but without the three naked boys of the full design as presented at Bristol [pl.156] (and Boxgrove [pl.155]) already reduced to one only at Throwley. The Beverley stall may well constitute evidence that by 1520 in England some of these motifs already circulated in truncated versions -- such as we know to be the case for the very dragonesque motif we are currently considering which appeared thus independent in a book printed in Antwerp in 1509 (see below).

Another Beverley carving which may now be recognised as based on another of these small marginal woodcuts from early Parisian printed Horae is [174:6 pl.178], described inaccurately by Remnant as 'hare riding fox', and by Wildridge as 'a hare on the back of an animal whose species is uncertain'. Suspicions that the mount is, in fact, intended to be a dragon, are borne out by the identification of the original woodcut on which this carving is based; it depicts a snail riding on a

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dragon which it controls by means of the reins held in its paws [sic], and is to be seen, for example, in the *Horae* printed by Pigouchet in Paris in 1498 [pl.177] (14).

In view of the presence of designs 1-3 at Bristol, it seems highly likely that half of another Bristol misericord [46:1], described by Remnant as 'Mounted woman bringing a sack of corn to a post-mill' [pl.176], also derives from another *Horae* woodcut which omits the mill itself [pl.175] -- this proverbial folly, which I have elsewhere termed 'The Humane Rider' (15), was a popular motif to be found independent of these printed Hours in a variety of media. There is another example in wood carved on a Somerset bench-end which perhaps strengthens the case for regarding the Bristol Cathedral misericord's mill as an addition to the original design.

Design 4, which has not previously been noticed in English woodwork is now to be recognised on one of the misericords in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey [97:7 pl.170]; although the central portion of the carving is damaged, depriving us of the wild mens' shields and the intervening floral motif whose stalks are still visible, there is no mistaking the provenance of what Remnant describes as the righthand warrior's 'heavy hat or cap'. This Westminster Abbey use of design 4, c.1512 is now the earliest dated employment of a Parisian *Horae* motif in carving, and the earliest in England in any medium -- it is noticeable too that the full design is presented here.

It has long been known that the full design 4, also appears carved in stone c.1532 in the De La Warr chantry at Boxgrove Priory in Sussex [pl.171] (16), but is also found in contemporary woodwork, being now recognised as the basis for part of one of the bench-ends at Crowcombe, Somerset, which are helpfully inscribed with the date 1534. As can be seen from pl.173, two apparent mermen emerge fighting from the ears of a 'Green Man'; in fact, the lefthand warrior is taken (from the waist
upwards) from the lefthand wildman of design 4. [cf. pl.169]. He retains the club raised above the head, the floral shield, and the beard; the leaf-apron he sports in the original design here becomes a fringe of overlapping plates, but a large leaf swirls up from it reminiscent of the foliate scrolls of the wood-cut. His opponent is simply a reversed version of himself, interestingly suggesting -- if, indeed, it is not simply to be attributed to the carver's desire for symmetry -- that he was working from an already halved version of design 4., such as we know was available to the printer John Rastell in 1526 (see below).

Another Crowcombe motif, the well-known gastrocephalic dragon [see pl.159], also derives from another such half-design, i.e. half of design 1., the naked men fighting it are unlikely to be an adaptation of the three naked boys who flee from it (as seen in the original design in its complete state), however, but again imply that only the lefthand half of the original woodcut was available to the Crowcombe carver, as it is suggested above it was also to the Beverley carver some 14 years earlier. Newly attested at Crowcombe, however, is another Horae motif [pl.180] to be seen in a small, square panel carved just below this dragon-combat [pl.179]: it is a grotesque in the form of a long-necked monster in the mouth of another which is simply a head on legs, the distinctive detail which rules out any possibility of spontaneous creation on the part of the carver, however, is the basket of birds which hangs from a collar round the neck of the former monster.

As noted above, eloquent testimony to the great numbers of these early printed Horae entering the country in the decade or so before the Beverley and Bristol stalls were carved is provided by the book of rates compiled for goods arriving at the port of London on 15th July 1507, which includes a customs duty of xx d. per dozen Prynted prymers, 'primer' being the contemporary term for a Book of Hours (17).
Fascinating confirmation that these early printed Horae were, indeed, valued especially on account of their border woodcuts, is afforded by the two manuscripts which make up the autograph of the New Chronicles of England and France by Robert Fabyan (also known as Fabyan's Chronicle), completed in November 1504, and the very copy from which Pynson printed his edition of 1516 [STC 10659].

The first volume, British Library, Holkham MS 671, contains many small woodcuts and printed borders pasted into it and coloured, from two Sarum Horae printed in Paris by Pigouchet. The earlier is the edition he printed in 1494 for Jean Richard of Rouen [STC 15879] from which no fewer than 36 borders were taken, including several which feature the designs in which we are particularly interested here, and the other, that dated 20th Oct. 1501 and printed for Vostre [STC 15896]; from this later Horae the borders cut out include the Apple-harvest, the Stag-hunt scenes and the Dance of Death series -- on f.17v., the Horae full-page cut of the Death of Uriah the Hittite in Battle has been pressed into service to illustrate the Death of King Harold at Hastings in 1066! The use of this latter edition printed only three years before Fabyan completed his second volume is interesting testimony both to the speed with which these Parisian books entered England, and to the apparent ease with which their images, at least, might be 're-cycled'.

Also of great interest to the present inquiry is the presence of woodcuts cut from another early Parisian printed book, and of independently issued prints by Van Meckenem.

The Holkham manuscript includes, for example, three larger woodcuts from the first edition of Desrey's Les Faits et Gestes du preux Godefroy de Bouillon printed c.1500 in Paris by Le Petit Laurens for Jean Petit. Used as a frontispiece to the same manuscript is a Virgin & Child on Crescent Moon by Van Meckenem in a late, possibly the fifth, state of c.1480, and two small roundels from a series of six by the same
engraver, a Nativity and a Man of Sorrows, in the third state dating to the 1490s. The first volume, British Library MS Nero C. XI, also contains an initial 'T' from the alphabet engraved by Van Meckenem c.1487 (18).

Since the pioneering article by Geneviève Souchal, the author of these Parisian Horae woodcut designs is assumed to have been the same artist who made the patterns for the celebrated Unicorn Hunt tapestry series now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and is therefore styled the 'Master of the Unicorn Hunt', and his original woodcut designs thought to belong to the 1490s (19). Curiously, Souchal does not cite a single instance of one of the Master's Horae border cuts used as the source for some other work of art; she does, however, point out that his 'Vierge aux litanies', as found, for example, in a Parisian Horae published by Kerver in 1505 [1506], formed the basis for a mural painting in the Burgundian church of Saint-Seine l'Abbaye, and his 'Tree of Jesse' as found, for example, in a Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre in 1501, underlies the tapestry of the same subject from the 17-piece 'Life of the Virgin' series in Reims Cathedral woven c.1510 (20). To these instances we may now add an amusing scatological motif found painted on a beam in the church at Bignon, which does, indeed, derive from one of these woodcut border strips found in Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, whether or not it was originated by this Master (21).

Rather more significantly for our present purpose, Kerver's version of the 'Tree of Jesse' as seen, for instance, in the Horae he printed on 23rd June 1507 (which unlike Pigouchet's includes, for example, a crescent moon beneath the Virgin & Child, and the dreamer's left hand placed against his cheek [pl.185]) was clearly the source for the version of the subject carved on one of the eight so-called 'Beaton panels' [pl.184], thought to have come originally from Arbroath Abbey, whose 'style suggests Flemish workmanship', and one of which bears

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'three shields within fruited branches, the upper shield showing the arms of Beaton over an abbot's crozier flanked by D.B. for David Beaton (Archbishop of St. Andrews 1539-46). The other two shields show the arms of his parents'. (22)

They are dated 'c.1530', but David Beaton became Abbot of Arbroath on his uncle's resignation in his favour in 1523, receiving a papal dispensation permitting him to postpone taking holy orders until 1525. Details of Beaton's biography are especially relevant in this instance; in 1510, at the age of sixteen, he went to study civil and canon law in Paris and

'from a very early age he was resident [i.e. diplomatic representative, lower in rank than ambassador] for Scotland at the court of France ...'

It was Beaton who negotiated the marriage of James V of Scotland with Magdalen, elder daughter of François I (married in Notre Dame on 1st January 1537). After her death at the age of sixteen in July of the following year, Beaton returned to France and arranged for James's second marriage with Mary of Guise, which took place in June 1538 (23). It is clear that David Beaton had ample opportunity and resources to become acquainted with early printed Parisian Horae and also to commission work from Continental and, specifically, it is suggested, Flemish, wood-carvers.

It is perhaps also worth noting that the Master of the Unicorn Hunt's woodcut border designs might also be found in non-religious, if still morally edifying works, e.g. the Tourneys of the Virtues and Vices in Gringore's Le Chasteau de Labour, printed by Pigouchet for Vostre in Paris in 1499 -- Barclay's English translation of which, was issued by Pynson c.1505 [STC 12380] and c.1506 [STC 12381] with close copies of the woodcuts (24).

The influence of these border woodcut strips from early Parisian Books of Hours on carving in both wood and stone, has still to be fully studied (25), but it is already apparent that these designs must have
circulated fairly widely in the early decades of the 16th century, for already by c.1520 they had been used by misericord-carvers in the South West of the country at Bristol, at Throwley in the South East, and at Beverley in the North. It is surely most unlikely, however, that the carvers worked directly from printed Books of Hours -- unless we can envisage a sort of scrapbook collection of cut-out illustrations pasted in, as Fabian's Chronicle manuscripts give us some reason to suppose may once have existed -- and we should perhaps rather think in terms of a collection of the designs in some pattern book.

Curiously, in his otherwise very thorough examination of the design-sources of what he oddly terms Two East Anglian Picture Books (26), i.e. two related early 16thC. herbal-cum-bestiary manuscripts, one of the few possible sources not considered by Nicolas Barker is the printed book.

The Bodleian manuscript, Ashmole 1504 (to be dated to the 1520s and produced for the English market in either Germany or the Netherlands) features two bas-de-page compositions on f.23v. and f.24v., the central portions of which are our designs 2. [p.1.163] and 4. [p.1.172], respectively. Design 2. is flanked by a bagpiping fox and an ape playing pipe and tabour, which led Barker to write that

'Foxes, apes and naked men are familiar inhabitants of the marginal decoration of manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is hard to guess what the immediate source of this rather unexpected element [of decoration] might be. They may all be copied from a single manuscript, ... or they may come from a lost source of models.' (27)

In fact, the presence of these designs in the Ashmole manuscript, all of which could derive from Parisian printed Horae [cf. pl.164] (28), also importantly confirms their currency in northern 'Germanic' ateliers, as well as providing evidence of a secondary route by means of which these motifs might be made available, for example, to the carvers of the
Boxgrove chantry-chapel in Sussex c.1532 -- and, indeed, the manuscript itself reveals signs of having been 'pricked' for copying, in the pinholes which are found on at least two folios.

The other salutary point to note here, is the fact that -- as we have seen with the example of the barrowing scene in the Hours of Charles d'Angoulême [C.I. above] -- the traffic in borrowing was not only in the 'expected' direction, i.e. from manuscript to printed book, and an increasing number of cases of the borrowing of printed book cuts by late illuminated manuscripts is now being recognised. In the case of Ashmole 1504, Barker was able to add to the known dependence of some of the animals on Dürrer's "St.Eustace", the derivation of others from Cranach's "Adam and Eve" of 1509, to which we may further add Israel van Meckemem's "Five Foxes" -- the fox sitting below the unicorn on f.37v. being an exact copy of the seated fox occupying the same bottom left position on the Van Meckemem engraving (29).

Importantly -- if his identifications can be relied on -- Barker also claims that some of the flower motifs in these manuscripts derive from the Flowers-suit playing-cards (30) [see further C.II.c].

We should not forget, of course, that English printers made use of Continental printers' designs in the decoration of their own books; in 1526 John Rastell printed A.C. mery talys [STC 23664], the title-page of which includes four small square woodcuts, one being a copy of the left half of design 4. (but here the wild man's shield is a 7-foil rather than the 6-foil of the original [pl.174]). (31) Similarly, William Copland issued a prayer for the dying Edward VI in 1553 [STC 7508] which included as one of its 'filler' border ornaments the left half of design 2., i.e. the wild man with upraised club [pl.165], as well as the vertical 'Apple-Harvest' strip (32).
The dragonesque portion of design 1. -- precisely the same portion of the design that we have detected as the source of misericord [176:19] -- was similarly abstracted by the Antwerp printer Adriaen van Berghen and appears as a woodcut ornament on the title-page of his 1509 edition of *Der Zielen Troost* [NK 2084] [pl.157] (33).

Undoubtedly other English misericord motifs derived from such Parisian printed Hours remain to be discovered, and I would like to suggest that the naked boys or *putti* which are so common in the borders of these books found their way onto one of the Westminster Abbey misericords [98:3 pl.181] from just such a scene. The lefthand supporter depicts a child leaning on a blank shield of the sort used to display coats of arms rather than intended for actual combat, and carrying a whirligig or stick surmounted by windmill-blades; his opposite number features a boy astride a hobby-horse, the whip or stick in his upraised hand broken off [see quotation from Peacham on such windmill-toting *putti* as a typical Renaissance decorative motif at B.I.a.]

The case of Julian Notary is instructive in this matter of the use of Parisian-style border-strips in a book printed in England, and provides a very clear case of the sort of transmission of motifs implied by the resemblances noticed above. In 1497 in London, Notary printed a Book of Hours (Sarum Use) for Wynkyn de Worde [*STC* 15884], together with Jean Barbier and I.H. (possibly Jean Huvin of Rouen); although only four leaves of this book are preserved in the Bodleian, these include border ornaments of the type we have been considering executed in the *criblé* technique,

'part of a stock of some twenty or five-and-twenty blocks which the printers would appear to have obtained from France'. (34)

These same border strips appear again, massed dramatically, at the end of Notary's *Golden Legend* of 1504 [*STC* 24877] and at the beginning of
his Chronicles of England also of 1504 [STC 9998]. A.M. Hind described them as being 'exactly in the same style' as another Parisian Book of Hours (Sarum Use) of c.1495 [STC 15881], attributed to the printer, E. Jehannot, as well as

'some used by [Wolfgang] Hopyl at Paris, e.g. in the "Somestuk" of his "Passionael" [= Golden Legend in Dutch], Paris 1505, 1507.’ (35)

One of Pigouchet's border-strips [pl.182, top register] shows three putti of the type carved on the Westminster supporters against a floral background, two of whom ride hobby-horses, one carrying a stick, the other a whirligig of the type described (copied in reverse by Vérard, see pl.183). A relatively early edition of the Hours, such as that of 1498 [STC 15889] now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, printed by Pigouchet for Vostre -- one of the foremost Parisian publishers, who established a shop in St.Paul's Churchyard in London -- contains not only this block, but also all four designs above (36).

Richard Pynson too appears to have re-used criblé border-blocks deriving from Parisian printed Hours; surrounding his device on the title-page of the Year Books of the Reign of Edward III [STC 9553], printed in 1518, are two in particular which,

'look French in style, both are criblé and bear a close resemblance to those in use by Notary' (37).

He also used two other criblé border-pieces in his Sarum Missal [STC 16190] printed in 1512 (38), and a further four varieties to border the copied Parisian woodcuts in his 1509 Shyp of Folyes [STC 3545] (39).
Purvis was not, in fact, the first to point out that four of the Ripon misericords, i.e. [183:8], [183:14], [183:15] and [183:17], carved c.1490, are derived from illustrations in the blockbook *Biblia Pauperum*, a work now believed to have originated in Utrecht, and produced in several variant versions around the middle of the 15th century, principally in the Netherlands (40). The only motif which derives from this source to appear at Beverley [175:11], Manchester [81:4] and Ripon [183:17], and interestingly not found anywhere else in the English misericord corpus, is that of the Return of the Spies, which serves once again to demonstrate the close iconographical link between these sets of stalls.

In Continental Europe the number of scenes now recognised as deriving from the blockbook *Biblia Pauperum* increases annually. Manuscript illuminations were also copied from these woodcut books, yet another reversal of the ‘expected’ direction of borrowing (41). The earliest non-manuscript borrowing is a sculpted relief of the Repentance of Mary Magdalen on a tomb made in Louvain c.1460 for canon Guillaume de Wavre (d.1457). By the early years of the 16th century, the list of designs derived directly from these influential blockbooks is so varied as to include wall-paintings in churches in Denmark and Sweden, ivory caskets, portal sculptures in France, and glass in Germany, Switzerland and France, as well as a Life of Christ tapestry in La Chaise-Dieu (42).

In England, apart from the Ripon misericords, the blockbook seems to have been used by glaziers, to produce at least one of the panels in the south window of Exeter Cathedral Lady Chapel, and a series of designs in Tattershall Church, Lincolnshire (43). Francia Cheetham also considers an English alabaster panel depicting the Incredulity of St. Thomas, now in the Museu Machado de Castro, Coimbra, Portugal, to be
'very similar to the printed representation of the scene in Biblia Pauperum' (44),

and finds the Harrowing of Hell on another English panel now in the V&A Museum, 'reminiscent' of the Biblia Pauperum scene (45).

Several of the early German engravers trained as goldsmiths, such as the enormously influential Master E.S. (fl. c.1450-70, active in the Upper Rhine & Switzerland), whose engravings served both as models for other goldsmiths and for other artists. Significantly his work also shows a certain relationship to the new technique of book-printing, at least five of his engravings employing characters from a type-font in their inscriptions (46).

There is also evidence that German goldsmiths made use of other engravings of his, circulating as prints and not intended specifically as patterns; e.g. the body of an ornate silver beaker now in the British Museum and bearing the hall-mark of Hans Timmermann (active in Lübeck from 1506-27), is engraved with a frieze of leaf ornament in which are inset four partial or whole motifs from mainly secular designs by the Master, the only religious motif being his Samson rending the jaws of the lion in front of the Philistine woman from Timnath (47). The same version of this subject, i.e. [L 3 p1.186], is also now to be identified as the model for a misericord at Windsor [0:5 bia p1.187], inadequately described by Remnant following James as

'Samson, bearded and long-haired, in a tunic, tight hose, and boots, astride the lion and pulling its jaws apart, right, a woman holding out to him a mace (broken). Trees and two horses [(!] recte houses] in the background. Supporters: Left, seated ape with ring about his middle takes food from another ape ...'[For right supporter, see below]

In fact, it would seem from his beard and baggy boots, that the Windsor carver may also have known the Master's version of Samson and the Lion alone [L 2], but other details of the carving, principally the presence
of the woman from Timnath (whose missing attribute would have been the rose symbolic of her sexual attraction as seen in the engraving), but also the background trees and houses, and the fact that an ape eating a fruit sits on the wall to Samson's left -- a detail which surely suggested the apes eating in the lefthand supporter of the misericord -- confirm that the carver was also familiar with [L 3] ([L 4] is another version of the same subject, also by the Master E.S.).

The pair of lovers with the fool playing the bagpipes engraved on the beaker, are said to derive from the incomplete "Small Love-Garden" [Lehrs 207 pl.188] (or, perhaps, more likely, from the Van Meckenem engraving which also copied only this central portion of L.207), and this design of the Master can now be added to the number of 'Germanic' prints which are being recognised as the original sources of an increasing number of late English misericords. A close examination of the St. George's Chapel stalls in Windsor (1477X1483), has led me to identify this same engraving by Master E.S. (i.e. [L 207]) as the ultimate source for the main subject of [5:4 pl.189], described by Remnant thus:

'Jester plays on bagpipes, lady sits with falcon on arm and cat at feet. Man sits on ground, dog comes to him. Supporters: Left, man with pointed shield. Right, man with crutch.'

Interestingly, the details suggest that the misericord design was based immediately on "The Fountain of Youth" engraving (c.1460-70) by the Master of the Banderoles [L 92 pl.190], which is itself dependent in part on Master E.S.'s "Small Love-garden" [L.207]; the 'cat' of Remnant's description, at the feet of the lady and to the left of the basin on the misericord is, in fact, a dog scratching itself, and derives from the similar scratching dog depicted immediately below the stone-built basin between the couple on the engraving. The young man's dog similarly derives from the second dog of the engraving.
The man leaning on the crutch carved on the righthand supporter (whose head seems to face backwards in a most awkward manner [pl.191]), is also likely to derive from the "Fountain of Youth" engraving, as it includes several elderly men on crutches or walking with sticks, prior to their rejuvenation in the Fountain; similarly, the man with the pointed shield of the lefthand supporter was probably suggested to the carver by the figure of the Guardian of the Fountain who stands on guard in full armour with pike and sword (and styles himself "rector fontis iuventutis" in the banderole).

Another Windsor misericord-subject, that of [6:14 pl.192] (48), is also almost certainly derived from a similar German fool-print. Remnant describes it thus:

'Man in cloak seated beside a seated naked woman who is trying to pull the cloak over her (St. Zosimus and St. Mary of Egypt).'

His description is taken from M.R. James's booklet (49), but he has also taken over St. John Hope's 'guess', as James styles it (and which he is surely correct to 'doubt') -- apart from the inherent unlikelihood of the depiction here of such a rare iconographic subject as a detail from the life of the little-known St. Zosimus, on close inspection, the 'man' is seen to be wearing a hood with ears and a belled ridge, i.e. a fool's hood. Far from trying to pull the fool's cloak over her to cover her nakedness, the shameless woman is encouraging him to disrobe forthwith. There are at least two engravings by the Master E.S., for example, which depict a fool in the company of a naked woman [L 208, L 213], and, in addition, the raised seats which the carver has depicted, clearly derive from the square earthen-bank seats which are a common feature of the gardens portrayed in contemporary prints. A particularly good parallel except that the figures stand, is reproduced by Fuchs under the title
"Das geile Weib und der Narr" [p.193] (50). The very similar [8:3 pl.194] clearly has a very similar origin.

Also at Windsor, I have been able to identify at least six further motifs from early German engravings, and it seems likely that any student with readier access to the stalls in this royal chapel, and a better knowledge of the likely source engravings than mine, would be able to detect several more: the lefthand supporter to [10:8 bis pl.195] depicts two Bestiary birds, described by Remnant following James, thus:

'ibis with snake in beak, ostrich with horse's legs and hoofs, horseshoe in beak, another horseshoe on ground.'

Comparison with one of the animal prints, which Lehrs characterised as models for goldsmiths and miniaturists, attributed to the so-called Master of the Berlin Passion, his "Swan, Stork and Ostrich" [L 91 pl.196], reveals such an exact correspondence, that what James took for a second horseshoe lying on the ground, can now be seen to be the upcurled tip of the tail of the snake in the beak of what was probably intended by the anonymous Master to be a stork rather than an ibis. In discussing the copying and, indeed, tracing, of designs from this Master's prints (including this one) in the Harley Hours, James Marrow was able to date that book to 1463X1476, which is thus also a terminus ante quem for the Master's bird-print, and -- in order for it to have had time to reach the carver of the Windsor misericord, a date towards the earlier part of that bracket is perhaps likely (51). Lehrs was also able to instance the copying of [L 96] and [L 101] on f.173 of a missal in Agram Cathedral Treasury, as well as [L 103] (see further below), [L 104], [L 108], [L 109], [L 112], and various engravings by Van Meckenem elsewhere in the manuscript (52). Marrow favours Flemish Limburg in his search for the localisation of the Master of the Berlin Passion's workshop (53).
The opposite supporter on this misericord depicts an owl mobbed by small birds [pl.197], a common enough subject in itself, of course [B.V.e.], but the idiosyncratic 'bewhiskered' appearance of this owl, to my mind, also suggests derivation from another engraving of the same series, one of the so-called "Three Chimerical Birds" of [L 98 pl.198].

All "Three Chimerical Birds" of another engraving in the same series, [L 97 pl.199], were faithfully transferred to the righthand supporter of [8:5 bis pl.200], understandably misinterpreted by James as a Bestiary subject:

'Two crested birds, hoopoes (?) attack a third, or filially pull out their parent's old feathers ...'

Lastly -- but a derivation I do not insist upon -- the crossbow-man supporter of [5:2 pl.201] who has his feet on the bow-stave while pulling back the string and holds the bolt tucked under his chin is very reminiscent of [L 103 pl.202] -- the shrubby trees carved to the left of him then perhaps owe their origin to the riotous foliage of the Master's engraving?

Another example of the influence of 'Germanic' prints to be seen at Windsor is in the design of the supporters to misericord [6:9 pls. 203-4], both (though similar, they are not identical) are described by Remnant, again following James, as

'craftsmen with hammer and graver, a large covered cup between them.'

These somewhat surreal images of metalworkers working around the stems of covered cups twice as tall as themselves, become suddenly comprehensible when one is aware that the carver's model for these images must have been late 15thC. German playing-cards of the Cups-suit, and very probably those engraved by the Master of the Banderoles [L 101 pls. 205-6] (54).
After an initial period of anarchy with regard to playing-card suits, Germanic packs settled down into a relatively small number of suits, one of which was 'cups' -- there is now real doubt, however, as to whether some of the earliest non-Tarot packs, such as those designed by the Master E.S., were ever intended for use in card-games at all; they were certainly used as handy, pocket-size design-sources by contemporary artists, and perhaps they were never intended to be anything else (55).

Windsor [7:2 pl.207] is a bizarre scene described by Remnant following James thus:

'Turbaned man kneeling with his breeches down, holding a flower. Behind, another man kneels with wallet on back. A scarf passes from the first man round the other's neck.'

Apart from the fact that the leading man is, in fact, wearing a feather-headdress (56), the description is accurate, but omits to note that the 'scarf' which passes round the neck of the following man has the effect of pulling his nose into the anal cleft of the man in front, the tail of whose tunic is raised and whose hose are falling down, thus exposing his buttocks -- it may also be not without significance that both men have a scalloped edge to their tunics (57).

There is an undoubted relationship with the identical and plainly scatological antics of the ass-eared fools who inhabit the margins of the 1498 Basel edition of Brant's "Narrenschiff" (pl.208) (58). As the Windsor stalls were carved at least 15 years before this, the implication must be that the motif was available either in earlier printed book margins or, indeed, in the form of a print no longer extant.

Another pair of lovers figured on the beaker made by Timmermann, the Lübeck silversmith, derives from the right hand side of the Master E.S.'s "Large Love-Garden with Chess-Players", and perhaps of greatest interest, the third design of his to be engraved on the beaker derives
from the Queen-of-Animals card in the "Small Pack of Cards" [L 229 pl.209], a wildwoman seated on a rock with a unicorn, holding its foreleg across her knees. This same 'playing-card', was also the model for one of the Konstanz stall-ends carved in 1465-70 [pl.210]. Another of the stall-ends here, carved with scrolling foliage inhabited by birds, similarly derives from a design by Israhel van Meckenem [G 568] (59).

One of the court-cards from this Master's "Large Pack of Cards" (p.1463) can now be added to the number of his designs used by the English misericord-carvers: the Jack-of-Birds [L 269] depicts a wild man riding a prancing unicorn holding its mane with his left hand and its tail with his right [pl.211], and was clearly the source for the righthand supporter to a misericord in Westminster Abbey, [96:2 bis pl.212]. Similarly, a design carved on one of the desk-front spandrels on the south side of the choir at Windsor, described by James as

'A wild man crowned, habited in skin or feathers, riding a unicorn in a wood ... [pl.213]' 

can now be recognised as deriving from another 'card' in the same pack; particularly convincing is the posture adopted by the king in regard to the unicorn's horn: his left arm is crooked around the beast's backward-pointing horn and his hand rests along it precisely as in the playing-card design of the King-of-Birds suit [L 272 [pl.214]. The Master's "Large Pack of Cards" designs are not precisely dated, but on heraldic evidence must be p.1463, perhaps c.1470; the Windsor stall-front now provides a terminus ante quem of 1478-83, and importantly attests to the availability of the latest designs to the carvers of these royal stalls.

Grossinger states that Manchester [82:6 pl.215], on which

'a wild man and woman ride against each other on a camel and horse respectively ... derives from a print after the Master E.S.' (60)
The print in question [Lehrs 307 pl.216] is one of the small number of the Master's designs which Lehrs regarded as patterns intended for goldsmiths, and depicts a wild man on a unicorn jousting with a hay-rake against a wild woman on a hind, using a distaff as her lance. Whether or not it was the immediate inspiration for the Manchester misericord (which may be doubted), it certainly would seem to be the source for another of the Windsor misericords, [6:16], which Remnant describes as

'Wodehouse man on unicorn tilting at wodehouse woman on another beast [pl.217]'.

Another subject at Windsor which must be considered unequivocally Flemish is [9:22], described by Remnant, following James as usual, as

'Merman in tunic and hat, holding buckle and leg of a bull [pl.218]'

The merman is relatively common in English medieval woodwork, though not as frequent as his female counterpart, of course, whom he sometimes accompanies. If he bears any particular attribute, it is a mirror which he holds up for his partner while she combs her hair, as at Great Malvern [168:2] c.1480, though his contemporary at Stratford [164:3] is holding what Remnant calls a 'stone', while he describes the late 14thC. paired mermen at All Saints, Hereford [62:1 bis] as being 'each with a club and one claw foot'.

The Windsor merman [9:22] is really a zeeridder, that is, a 'sea-knight/-warrior', a marine hybrid as unknown to native English iconography as the verbal compound is to English lexicography, but common in Flanders. As a sea-warrior, the merman on the Flemish misericords carries sword and buckler, and often confronts a mermaid with traditional mirror and comb on the neighbouring seat-carving, as at Leuven (c.1438-41), the related stalls now in the Victoria and Albert...
Museum (1435X1450), Diest (a. 1491), Walcourt (c. 1520), and Aarschot (1510X1525) (61).

All the examples of 'Mermaid as knight' which Lilian Randall lists in the Iconographical Index to her book, appear in the margins of 13th and 14thC. Flemish or Franco-Flemish manuscripts (62). Another zeeridder may be seen fighting a wild man mounted on a ferocious seabird in the bas-de-page illustration of f. 269r. of the Book of Hours illuminated for William Lord Hastings in the late 1470s by an artist of the Ghent-Bruges school. A contemporary lead badge of a zeeridder was recently acquired by H.J.E. Van Beuningen (63).

In his book The Triumph of Honour, a much-needed corrective to the then prevailing (and still current) assumption that the arts in early Tudor England were dominated by the culture of the Italian Renaissance, Gordon Kipling demonstrated that, on the contrary, it was from the Burgundian courts of Flanders that the early Tudor kings drew their artistic inspiration. The disguisings at the court of Henry VII in 1501 devised by the multi-talented William Cornish, Gentleman of the Chapel Royal at Windsor, were no exception.

'When Cornish became a deviser of disguisings ... several changes in [the] basic form took place. First of all, the presence of Burgundian pageant cars begins to characterise the prologue ... In its design, Cornish's pageant closely resembles several others that had appeared in Burgundian-style entremets on the Continent ... his final disguising, designed specifically for the new Richmond Palace, triumphantly adapts Burgundian form once more to English tradition.' (64)

This final Richmond Palace pageant devised by Cornish took the form of a two-storey tabernacle throne, around the base of which were mermen and mermaids (played by the Children of the Chapel Royal at Windsor) dressed in armour from head to waist who sang in counterpoint (65). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to note that as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal
whose home was St. George's Chapel, Windsor, Cornish may well have
remarked the very zeeridder discussed above [9:22].

The zeeridder with sword and shield was also the device (from
1508 onwards) of Thomas vander Noot, printer of the (Dutch) Life of St.
John of Beverley (Antwerp, c.1512), in which volume it appears on the
final page [p.219] (66).

The cloven-hoofed foot which the Windsor armed merman brandishes
aloft is probably not that of a bull, pace James, but a pig's trotter --
another avowedly Flemish iconographical motif.

Dirk Bax in his ground-breaking book on Bosch symbolism notes
several instances of the trotter in that painter's oeuvre and in other
contemporary Flemish art (67). As might be expected, in some contexts
such as the 'Gula' of the "Seven Deadly Sins tabletop", where a fat-
bellied man chews on a trotter held in one hand, a tankard of beer in
the other, it is clearly symbolic of gluttony, as also on one of the
Kalkar misericords (1505X1508), depicting two gluttons, one similarly
swilling from a beer-jug, the other holding a trotter in one hand, while
he raises the fingers of the other hand to his mouth in a gourmet-like
gesture; but it seems it can connote lechery too, for in the bottom half
of Bosch's "Ship of Fools" panel, it is the sign dangling outside the
brothel-tent.

In a late 15thC. Florentine engraving of a morris-dance, related
to Daniel Hopfer's similar composition, the old woman around whom the
dancers cavort in obvious abandon has over her shoulder a spit on which
sausages are impaled, while in her left hand she holds aloft -- as if
the prize for the best dancer -- a trotter; clearly, the context sug-
gests that here again, the trotter symbolises some compound of gluttony,
lechery, and folly generally (68). On one of the Diest stalls (a.1491),
a man similarly holds a trotter aloft in one hand, and points upwards
with the index-finger of his other hand, while a pedlar of leather bolts
depicted on a Breda misericord (c.1440), holds out his tray of belts with one hand, and with the other holds a trotter towards his mouth. The trotter poking out of the jacket of Bosch's Rotterdam pedlar and that atop the hood of one of the fools awaiting the stone-cutting operation in Bruegel's "Witch of Mallegem" print (69), confirm the general impression that the trotter is associated with the disreputable (70).

A hitherto unnoticed detail on one of the Bristol misericord supporters -- contemporary with those at Beverley -- the righthand supporter to [47:7], Remnant's 'ape with lute' [p1.220], on close examination, can be seen to be strumming its lute using a trotter as a plectrum. While I know of no other examples in English art, in Bosch's "Concert-Party in a Mussel-Shell" [p1.221] one of the 'musicians' plays a bellows with a trotter-plectrum, in one of the many types of musical parody to be found in medieval art (71). Another significant detail, however, is the fleshy-leaved flower from which -- in common with many of the supporter subjects -- the Bristol ape-lutenist emerges, a motif to be compared with the man and ?fox emerging from similar flowers in an engraving of a couple playing chess [L 115 p1.222] by the Master of the Berlin Passion, whose designs we have shown above to have been copied at Windsor some forty years earlier.

Another type of musical parody is the subject of one of the late 15thC. misericords [146:3 p1.223] at Lavenham, Suffolk. The misericord in question is described thus by Remnant,

'Composite creatures; one, half woman, half beast (perhaps a dragon) playing a viol, and another, half man with the hind-quarters and tail of a beast, mimicking her by playing a pair of bellows with a crutch.'

In fact, it is a pair of tongs with which the second grotesque 'bows' its bellows, a motif which is popular in the early 14th century; in a similar grotesque context in the Ormesby Psalter ('East Anglian', c.1310
X1325) (72), on a French painted glass roundel in the Abbey at Jumièges (73), and in at least four contemporary examples in the margins of Franco-Flemish manuscripts listed by Randall (74).

It is in the church at Lavenham, that a chantry chapel was built in the 1520s to accommodate the tomb of the wealthy local merchant Thomas Spring (d.1524), and -- as might be expected from its geographical position and Spring's trading links with the Low Countries -- the carved wooden screens to this chapel and that of John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford (d.1513), are, in the words of F.H. Crossley,

'examples of the influence of the art of the Low Countries' (75).

Like the Master E.S., Israhel Van Meckenem (c.1445-1503) was also a goldsmith, the bulk of whose oeuvre consists of copies of earlier engravers' work, not least that of the Master E.S. himself, and copies of Van Meckenem's engraved prints have been shown to be the source of several early 16thC. English misericords: an unequivocal instance (as we have seen above, B.III.c., pls.56-7) is Manchester [82:15], the favourite monde renversé theme of the 'Rabbits' Revenge', in which the hapless hunter is seen being spit-roasted by the rabbits, while his hounds boil in pots (76).

The scene of the Ape Family Feeding at Westminster [98:1bis p1.224] is another particularly convincing derivation first made by Barnard, the correspondences with one of the four pairs of apes engraved by Van Meckenem being so detailed [p1.225] (77).

Andersson has pointed out another example of a woodcarver basing his sculpture on a Van Meckenem engraving, in the shape of the Deposition group now in Sollentuna church, Uppland, Sweden (78).

Two further Van Meckenem engravings suggested by Groasinger (79) as possible sources for the Beverley dancing fools [176:21] (80) and Apes Robbing Pedlar [173:6 p1.135] (81), seem to me (as explained above,
B.III.a.) much less convincing, though in the case of the latter composition -- found also at Bristol [46:4 pl.137] and Manchester [82:8 pl.136] -- I do feel a 'Germanic' print (now known only from Italian copies) is indeed a good candidate for a model.

Janson noted that the earliest engraved prints of this subject are Italian, one dated c.1470-80 by Hind, the other c.1470-90. Significantly, the 1470s engraving betrays its Low Countries original in the name 'Pieterlin' given to the pedlar in its inscription, which strongly suggests that there was a no longer extant Flemish or North German print which may well have been the model for the depiction of this scene on the English misericords (82).

'Germanic' prints have been recognised as the inspiration for several English misericord designs for well over a century now, since J.L. Barnard's pioneering article of 1871 (83). Purvis was the first to suggest 'with some confidence' other identifications of Van Meckenem prints as sources for Westminster Abbey misericords (84): from the adjacent pair, [98:6] & [98:7], he suggested that the latter derives from a well-known Van Meckenem engraving in which the virago of a wife raises her distaff to beat her man who is already down on the ground and who has already been forced to remove his breeches. He went on to suggest a lost 'companion picture' for the subject of the neighbouring carving, a man kneeling before his wife with his trousers down, exposing his bare buttocks, while he winds yarn onto a winding-frame, and she stands poised ready to administer a sound thrashing. In the context of this latter misericord, Grossinger draws attention to a playing-card engraved by Erhard Schoen c.1528 which provides a good parallel, though is, of course, too late to be a direct source (nor does it contain the demeaning winding-frame motif) (85) -- for a full discussion of such Virago scenes at Beverley, see B.IV.e. above.
Barnard was also able to show that other misericord designs at Westminster owe their inspiration to early Dürer prints of the 1490s: again, the 'Unequal Couple' motif of [96:1 ter pl.225], is absolutely convincing when compared with the Dürer (Bartsch 93 pl.226). Bartsch 92 was possibly adapted for misericord [98:5] (though Grossinger compares an engraving by the Master E.S. [Lehrs 211] (86) ), and Purvis again posited a lost 'companion picture to B.92' as the model for [98:1]. Samson rending the jaws of the lion [97:5 ter] is said to be 'almost certainly influenced by, if not copied directly from, Dürer's print of Samson tearing the lion, Bartsch 2, of 1496-8'.

The 'Master bxg', active in the Middle Rhine area c.1470-90, is another Germanic engraver, at least one of whose prints must have reached England (87), for his "Man Pushing Woman in Wheelbarrow"[pl.142] as Purvis was again the first to point out, is the source for one of the Ripon misericords [103:9 pl.143], as well as (ultimately, for it is perhaps more likely that these derive immediately from the Ripon carving -- see further below) two further examples of the same subject at Beverley [176:17 pl.144] and Durham Castle [41:1 pl.145]. This motif can be shown to have been widely popular throughout Europe, and gave rise to copies in both wood and stone as has been fully discussed above [C.I.].

The export of alabaster altar-panels throughout Europe was perhaps the one area in which English artists successfully cornered the late medieval art market, and Hull, of course, was one of the English ports involved in this trade (88); the artistic commerce was not all one-way, however, for as Francis Cheetham has recently pointed out, 'Examples of medieval English alabaster carvings which appear to have been influenced by contemporary prints are known, although there has been little or no research on the relationship by previous writers.' (89)
Perhaps the most convincing example of such influence he offers is the comparison of an early 16thC. alabaster panel depicting Christ before Herod, with a woodcut of Christ before Pilate, published in Antwerp in 1500, in which there are detailed resemblances, rather than -- as so often with such vague talk of 'influence' -- merely general compositional similarities such as might, in any case, surely be expected, from quite independent treatments of the same subject in the same medium (90).

As we have already noted above, by the second half of the 15th century there were specialists in Flanders who are described in contemporary documents as print-dealers; we hear of one such in Louvain in 1472, and in the final decade of the century two were members of the Bruges Guild of Illuminators, Pieter van Middembliic, prentvercooper (1481/2-1494), and Maertin van Axele, prenter coper (1490-2) (91). Apart from the implicit evidence for the import of such prints into England in the shape of the very carvings we have been discussing, there is also documentary evidence: on 2nd March 1491, for example, the alien Frank Mathew came to London with 'one dosen printed bookez' and 'pictures' (92), which may well mean what we should now call prints.

In the late 15th century, the alien merchants and booksellers resident in London responsible for importing printed books and also the wherewithal for the making of printed books, seem almost all to have come either from Germany or the Low Countries or the city of Paris (93). It seems inconceivable that Germanic prints should not have entered the country in the same way that we have seen Parisian 'primers' did, perhaps in numbers too small to warrant individual record, or perhaps they were exempt from import duty, in which case, there would similarly be no record of them.
In 1974, building on the pioneering work of Lehms and Geisberg, and more recently of Lehmann-Haupt, Van Buren & Edmunds produced an important paper entitled "Playing Cards and Manuscripts: Some Widely Disseminated Fifteenth-Century Model Sheets", in which, amongst many other original findings, they were able to show for the first time that at least three manuscripts illuminated in England in the 1450s made use of these ‘Playing Card’ models (94).

In 1986 the foremost student of Flemish misericord carving, J.A. M. Verspaandonk, as noted above [B.V.c. and pls.128-9] suggested that the two addorsed storks carved on a southern Flemish misericord of 1435X1450 now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (W 35) were modelled on the central stork of of the 5-of-Birds playing-card, following up his 1983 discovery that the bird carved on one of the Breda misericords of the early 1440s was certainly derived from the 2-of-Birds (95).

Still more recently, Christa Grössinger has suggested that not only the animals but the flowers in many of the Beverley supporters are modelled on engraved playing cards.’ (96)

If we can accept her suggestion -- and as long ago as 1908, Lehms established that the motifs occur on tooled leather and enamelled objects, not just in manuscripts (97) -- then this too is an important finding with regard to the ultimate design-sources of the Beverley carvings (98).

We know from the researches of Van Buren & Edmunds that the ‘Playing Card’ models were available in England, in London, at least, in the 1450s, so it is not unthinkable that further examples should be found to underlie some of the smaller-scale wood-carvings in particular (e.g. misericord supporters) of the Trans-Pennine workshops c.1500.

The four animals and birds at Beverley which Grossinger identifies as derived from ‘Playing Card’ designs (99) -- significantly, all to be found on misericord supporters -- are:
1. Stag resting or grazing: not located more precisely than on one of the misericords; presumably [175:6] is intended, though if so, whether referring to the 'hart leaping' of the left supporter, or one of the two 'deer browsing' of the main carving, this seems to me the least convincing. *cf.* the 3-of-Deer card (100).

2. Stag [*recte* doe] scratching nose with hind leg: right supporter of [175:1]. Again, *cf.* the 3-of-Deer card. This seems, at least, a distinct possibility.

3. Bird scratching its head: right supporter of [176:5 p1.228] *cf.* -- though again Grössinger does not specify -- the bird in the top left corner of the 8-of-Birds card, if reversed [p1.229]. This seems the most convincing identification, the long distinctive swept-back crest on the bird's head making it practically certain, and it is known that birds from the 9-of-Birds were copied in Bodley, Laud Misc. 302, a Sarum Missal produced in London in the 1450s (101).

4. Bear: right supporter of [174:13]. Describing this as a 'possible borrowing', her footnote compares the bear in the top right corner of the 9-of-Beasts-of-Prey card (102) -- though it should be noted that the Beverley animal wears a muzzle. The resemblance strikes me as no more than general and by no means definite.

Despite her assertion that many of the Beverley flower supporters derive from the same 'Playing Card' series of model-sheets, Grössinger does not specify any particular examples. It is perhaps possible -- though she does not suggest any instances of motifs derived from these sheets among the stallwork of other Trans-Pennine sites -- that the stylised columbine supporters at Manchester [81:5 p1.230] and Ripon [183:8 p1.231] may ultimately derive from that figured as the lower of the 2-of-Flowers card [p1.232] (103). Apart from the Flowers, there was also a Roses-suit (which was certainly used as the model for roses in the Berkeley Hours produced in London in the 1450s), and it is just possible that some of the Beverley supporter roses owe their origin to this suit. Both supporters of a misericord at Manchester [82:14 p1.233] and the righthand supporter of a seat at Ripon [183:7 p1.234] unusually depict roses seen from behind, as is one on both the Playing Card Master's 7-of-Flowers [p1.235] and 7-of-Roses [p1.236] cards (104).
Christa Grössinger is the only scholar who has ventured to suggest a design source for some of the many floral and foliate motifs to be found on the Minster misericords, and especially on their supporters. As we have noted above, she goes so far as to state unequivocally that

'\text{the flowers in many of the Beverley supporters are modelled on engraved playing-cards}' (105)

We have accepted above at least one of her suggested derivations of the Beverley supporter animals -- the head-scratching bird of [176:5] -- from one of the designs originally engraved by the 'Master of the Playing Cards', an important finding, but unfortunately she does not specify a single example of this same suggested origin for any of the flower supporters. The flowers seem to me a much less certain proposition for such derivation, the Playing Card flowers being somehow already more stylised and less unmistakably individualised than the other suits, but given the now proven availability to the carvers of designs from the Master's Birds suit, we cannot, of course, rule out such a derivation.

Another possible derivation for some of the more stylised floral and foliate motifs on the Beverley misericords is, however, suggested by a scrap of decorative wall-painting [pl.237] recorded in 1892 from a house added to one of the original Beverley Friary buildings when the friars were expelled, which may thus be dated to c.1540 (106). The hub of the cruciform motif bears a distinct resemblance to the central foliate motif on the main carving of [177:12 pl.238], but so too to a motif in the lower register of the Goes printed wall-paper design of c.1511/12, as used at Christ's College, Cambridge [pl.239, and see A.III. above], and ultimately, perhaps, as importantly suggested by Oman (107), to the velvet brocades of Oriental origin brought into the
country by Venetian and other traders, examples of which may be seen quite routinely amongst the costumes depicted in late 15thC. Flemish painting such as the works of Memling, and reflected in the work of native artists, such as the designer of the title-page woodcut [pl.240] to the interlude *Fulgens and Lucrece* (London, c.1515). Actual examples of such luxury patterned cloths survive from early 16thC. England, as in the most interesting funeral pall for draping over a hearse-frame of late 15thC. Italian velvet, owned by the Vintners Company, one of the City of London livery companies, to which edgings depicting traditional symbols of skeletons with shovel and hour-glass in embroidery were added early in the following century [pl.241] (108).

Two particularly interesting examples of this floral motif precisely contemporary with the Beverley stalls appear in painters' renderings of velvet drapes, one behind the banqueting-table of Herod's feast painted on the wall of the Oxenbridge chantry in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1522 [pl.242], and the other behind the throne of King Priam in his similarly anachronistic Renaissance-decorated hall in one of the miniatures added to the Fifth Earl of Northumberland's manuscript of Lydgate's poems (BL Royal MS 18 D II, f.93r.) by a Flemish miniaturist c.1520 [pl.243].

If we can accept any of Grössinger's suggested playing-card derivations for some of the Beverley supporters -- and, personally, I find only the head-scratching bird of [176:5] convincing -- then the Beverley stalls also importantly provide evidence of the surprising longevity of these 'widely disseminated' model-sheets, in fact, some 60 or so years after the otherwise latest recorded use of the sheets (109).

There is, however, one other Beverley misericord for which a good case for ultimate derivation from a playing-card design can be made, [176:2], described by Remnant as
'Two men fighting; the right- [recte left-] hand one has a
shield, sword, and scabbard; the other is nude and holds a
dagger [p1.244].'

In fact, as Wildridge realised, the nude man was thrusting with a spear
at his adversary, but his right arm and most of the spear-shaft are now
missing. Wildridge was also careful to note that the shield

'forms a human face, and is not at all like the English mil-
itary shield of the time.' (110)

It is principally this shield, but also the naked or semi-naked con-
dition of the two hirsute combatants, which suggests their ultimate
derivation from one of the Wild Men suit of playing-cards. The naked
wild man brandishing upraised club in one hand and holding his face-
shield in the other, occurs on the 5-, 6- [p1.245], and 9-of-Wild-Men
copy-cards (111), and was copied as a marginal drölerie into the
Olbrachta Gradual [p1.246] illuminated 1499X1506.

If designs which were later to become playing-cards and subse-
quently the cards themselves served as models for Flemish and German
misericord carvers in the 15th century (112), it should not strain our
credulity to find that same easily portable medium as one of the design-
sources behind the later English misericords, especially when we already
know that late 15thC. prints were so used. The Beverley head-scratching
bird may well prove to be only the first such to be recognised.
1 See Bibliography.

2 Varty (1980). The second edition of STC now dates the earliest appearance of de Worde's print of Lydgate's The Horse the Sheep and the Goose [STC 17020] in which one of de Worde's Reynard cuts is used [Hodnett no. 1288], to c.1495 -- valuable confirmation that his Reynard series woodcuts must have been copied directly from the Amsterdam edition of 1487, and not indirectly from the Lübeck edition of 1498.


4 See further, Franssen, esp. 268ff.

5 I have recently been able to prove that Notary's A mery gest and a true howe Johan Splynter made his testament of c.1520 [STC 23102], is a translation of a Dutch book published in Delft, c.1508 [NK 1998].

6 See Franssen, esp. 273.

7 H.R. Plomer, Wynkyn de Worde and his Contemporaries (London, 1925), 244.

8 Anderson, 173.

9 ibid., 215


11 Design 3. appears, for example, in the bas-de-page panel of the opening full-page cut in the early Horae printed by Vostre and reproduced in J. Renouvier, Des Gravures sur Bois dans les Livres de Simon Vostre (Paris, 1862).

In Anderson (1954), 18, she noted that 'four [misericords] in Bristol Cathedral ... are certainly copied from designs used by Thielmann Kerver and others to decorate the books they printed in Paris about 1500'; similarly, in Remnant (1969), 47, the figure is again given as four, where the additional example is "Man riding face to tail on a horse, another man at his side" [i.e., 46:2], although in her introductory essay to Remnant, entitled "The Iconography of British Misericords", the number is again given as three (p. xxxiv).

In my own examination of these border-strips in early printed Parisian Horae -- which, admittedly, cannot claim to have been exhaustive -- I have not come across any example of this fourth motif, and it is a subject which is certainly found elsewhere in the English misericord corpus, and for which one certainly does not need
to posit a printed source. Given the chronology of this discrepancy in number, we should perhaps take her latest published opinion (that of 1971) to represent her final thoughts on the matter, and as an implicit rejection of a *Horae* derivation for this fourth scene.

12 Wildridge, 16; Grössinger (1989b), 190, also notes the similarity, but copies Wildridge's mistaken description that the ape is 'carting off sacks of grain'—apart from the complete absence of any cart, the only sack is—as is quite normal—serving the ape as a saddle

13 op. cit. in n.10 above, pl. L.

14 I was able to consult the copy in the University Library, Cambridge, cat. no. Inc. 5. D. 1. 29.


16 The De La Warr Chantry example of design 4 is reproduced in Purvis as fig.5 on pl. XXV. Another motif of the same origin, the 'Apple Harvest' also appears on the De La Warr chantry and is reproduced as pl.63 in J. Harvey, *Medieval Gardens* (London, 1981) where, however, the discovery of the motif's source is credited to Miss Verena Smith!

17 The 1507 book of rates is printed as Appendix C in Gras.


20 ibid., 37 and figs. 64 and 65 ('Vierge aux litanies'); 38f. and figs. 69 and 70 ('Tree of Jesse').

21 I noticed the strip in question in the Sarum Use *Horae* [SIC 15089] printed in Paris in 1498, but it is doubtless to be found in other Pigouchet for *Vostre Horae*. The Òignon beam ['poutre'] painting is reproduced as fig.336 in Witkowski, 272.

22 Angels ... 108f., cat. no. F10.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Paul Quarrie, College Librarian, for allowing me to examine the copy of this book in Eton College Library, shelf-mark A 2.2.2.1, the folio in question being sig. G iiiii v., reproduced as my pl.184.
Details of Beaton's biography from the entry in DNB, and also that on James V of Scotland.

See Hind (1935) 674ff., and Hodnett.

It is a pity that Croft-Murray, 22, restricts himself to saying vaguely:

'A fruitful source of ideas, besides the direct contacts with foreign visitors, would no doubt have been the illustrations and borders of printed books such as the many Horae of the kind issued in Paris by Philippe Pigouchet and Thielman Kerver.'


Barker, op. cit., 37.

In pl.164 I have assembled just such a procession as is found in the Ashmole bas-de-page entirely from the Horae woodcut blocks.

The print in question is Lehra IX. no.496, who notes that the neighbouring scratching fox was copied into the Gradual of Ladislaus von Sternberg, illuminated by Jacob von Olmütz c.1500 = Wiener Hofmuseum, MS 5001, vol.I, f.171v., lower margin.

Barker, op. cit., 37 n.2, and 38. See further the section on the use of playing-card motifs below [C.II.c.].

Rastell's title-page is reproduced on p. 59 of ed. P.M. Zall, A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1963). On p.153, Zall reproduces the title-page of Copland's c.1555 edition of Howleglas [STC 10564], which was first used by the Dutch printer, Gerhard Leeu, as the title-page cut for his Antwerp English-language version of the Solomon & Marcof Dialogue (1492), a book and woodcut which I discuss in Jones (1991a).

This is not the place to dilate on the influence of these Parisian Hours border woodcuts on Dutch printing, but at least one of the blocks used as a border by Van Doesborch, and appearing, for example, in his English Parson of Kalenborowe [STC 14894.5, c.1520], i.e. that depicting the torso of a bishop with mitre and crosier emerging from a flower and confronting a man's head emerging from a snail-shell, would seem to derive from the similar block used by Pigouchet in, for example, his 1498 Horae for Vostro.

Dr. Jean Michel Massing informs me that these Parisian Horae designs were even used by African artists in the early 16th century! [On the key role played by Van Doesborch in Anglo-Dutch
relations, see C. IIIIII.


33 Reproduced on p. 27 of Vervliet.

The righthand border strip which appears on the title-page of Bebel's De Romanorum Magistratibus, printed in Ghent by Pieter de Keysere in 1521 (NK 260) and is termed by J. Machiels 'part of an unidentified French woodcut', is in fact two of the Fifteen Signs of the Judgment series (but with three tituli), which is also, of course, one of the regular series of woodcuts to be found illustrating early printed Parisian Horae -- reproduced in ibid., p. 139.


35 See Hind, 734. Plomer, op. cit. in n. 7, 41f., describes 22 of these border cuts used by Notary, some of which are of intrinsic iconographical interest, beyond their presumed Parisian origin. Lucas Wüthrich, in his book, Der sogennante "Holbein-Tisch" (Zürich, 1990) reproduced as his Abb. 30, the lower block of 8 of these border scenes from Notary's Golden Legend, pointing out that one of them depicts the sleeping pedlar robbed by mischievous apes (as does another from one of the upper registers of the same page, also reused in his ?1518 edition of the Kalender of Shepards (STC 22410)), and another shows two naked boys astride cockerels jousting with whirligig-lances, showing once again one of the ways in which this essentially foreign motif entered Britain -- Wüthrich, 104.

36 There is a most useful collection of such motifs and a stimulating discussion entitled "Winzchenlanze und Steckenpferd: Kinderturnier und Kampfspeiezeug um 1500" by Wüthrich in Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 30 (1981), 279-89. While it is possible significantly to antedate his earliest example of 1445, on the Alsatian "Wild Folk Haymaking" tapestry of the first quarter of the 15th century in the Burrell Collection Museum, Glasgow, his lengthy list of these motifs does serve to demonstrate how common they are in the Continental (mainly German) printed books of the opening decades of the 16th century.

37 R. B. McKerrow & F. S. Ferguson, Title-page Borders used in England and Scotland 1485-1640 (London, 1932), 161. The same volume also contains Hodnett 1507a, an 'obviously foreign schoolmaster cut', said to be 'Flemish or German' in Hodnett, 34.

38 Hind, 733, n. 4. This book also includes a French Resurrection woodcut [Hodnett 1356], as noted in Hodnett, 43.

39 Hind, 733. The illustrative woodcuts are, in fact, copied not directly from the 1497 Van Olpe Basel edition (as Hind thought), but indirectly via the Parisian 1497 edition of De Marnof & Maystoner -- see Hodnett, 41f.
40 It was noticed in Wildridge (1899), 113. The most recent and authoritative treatment is Henry, esp. 35.

41 ibid., citing Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 2772, f. 46v., and BL Additional MS 10162, f. 51v.

42 ibid., 36f.

43 The latter are discussed in detail by R. Marks in Archaeologia 106 (1979), 133-56.

44 Cheetham, 20.

45 ibid., 19.

46 For England, Thrupp made the intriguing suggestion that one John Hawkes, living in Langbourn ward, a 'Theutonicus' who is styled 'bokeprynter' in the exchequer record of the last 'Alien Subsidy' of 1484, if related to the John Hawke living in the same ward -- a man of this name being known from other sources to be a founder -- 'may be the link that has been missing, so far, between the printers and founders' (265f.).

47 For the Timmermann beaker, see J. M. Fritz, Gestochene Bilder. Gravierungen auf deutschen Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätgotik (Köln/Graz, 1966), 504.

   R. Becksmann et al., Die Mittelalterliche Glasmalereien in Schwaben von 1350 bis 1530 ohne Ulm (Berlin, 1986), 97, notes that one of the glass panels at Hirsau derives from Master E. S.'s "Martyrdom of St. Sebastian".

   His compositions are also known to have been used for works in other media, cf. the late 15thC. clay mould from the Rhineland (?) used to make devotional plaques, possibly of papier mâché, depicting the Virgin and Child seated in a Garden [L 67], published by D. Fox and C. Bouman, "A 15thC. Clay Mould Found in Scotland and the Master E.S." in Pantheon 40 (1982), 225-9, and a carved group of the Virgin and Child with St. Barbara and St. Dorothy in Ekero church in Uppland Sweden, based on [L 75] -- v. A. Andersson, Medieval Wooden Sculpture in Sweden, III [Museum of National Antiquities Stockholm, 1980], 166, fig. 100; IV, 112; V, pls. 262f.

48 Well reproduced in Laird as pl.148.

49 M. R. James, St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The Woodwork of the Choir (Windsor, 1933; reprinted 1985), unpaginated.

50 E. Fuchs, Illustrierte Sittengeschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. I. Die Renaissance & Ergänzungsband (München, 1909), fig. 82, attributed no more precisely than "Kupferstich aus dem 15 Jahr-
51 J. Marrow, "A Book of Hours from the Circle of the Master of the Berlin Passion: Notes on the Relationship between Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination and Printmaking in the Rhenish Lowlands" in Art Bulletin, 60 (1978), 590-615; the Master’s print is reproduced as fig. 24 on p. 604.

52 Lehrs, III, 129.

53 Marrow, op. cit., n.74.

54 F.W.H. Hollstein, XII, Masters and Monogrammists of the 15th Century (Amsterdam, 1955), 73.


56 cf. ‘They have whingis behynd redy to flye’, from Medwall’s play "Fulgens and Lucre" (1490s), cit. J. Scattergood, "Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages" in Williams, 266.

57 i.e. this may imply derivation from an original which also featured fools in similarly fringed tunics.

58 Reproduced as fig. 2 on p. 212 of C. Gaignebet & J.D. Lajoux, Art profane et religion populaire au Moyen Âge (Paris, 1985) with a badly garbled caption.

59 J. Erschweiler, Konstanzer Chorgestühl (Friedrichshafen, 1949).

60 Grossinger (1989a), 79, n.28.

61 Dates from Verspaandonk.

An armed merman similarly confronts a mermaid on the side-panel of a cuir bouilli casket, reproduced in H. Kohlhausen, Minnekästchen im Mittelalter (Berlin, 1920), Kat. Nr. 69. The same pairing is also found on two ‘cheminées’, at Antwerp and at the Château des Ecaussinnes.

62 Randall, 187f.

63 Information kindly communicated to me by Dr. Brian Spencer; the badge is item no. I 1906 in the Van Beuningen collection.
64 Kipling, 102, 103, 111.

65 ibid., 111f.

66 Vander Noot's device was copied by the 16thC. Parisian bookseller, François Regnault, who maintained a shop in London from c.1496 -- c.1536 -- it is reproduced as fig.938 in Renouard.

67 Bax.

68 cf. Jonson's remark quoted at B.IV.e.

69 A most interesting earlier appearance of the trotter as a fool attribute may be seen in the illustration of the atheistic fool in BL MS Harley 2097, f. 42v. who holds his traditional marotte in one hand, and a trotter in the other.

70 For further examples see C.M. Armstrong, The Moralizing Prints of Cornelis Anthoniszoon (Princeton University Press, 1989), 33 and n.59, and n.112 to cap. 2.

71 Hollstein, III, No. 27, p.141.

72 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 6, f.120v., and Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, MS 3384.8°. f.108, depict apes wearing bishops' mitres carrying a crozier in one hand and a trotter in the other.

73 Reproduced as fig.33 in E. von Witzleben, Gemalte Glasscheiben (München, 1977).

74 The examples culled from the pages of Randall's "Iconographical Index" are an ape in Nancy, bib. mun., MS 249, f.03v. (Franco-Flemish, early 14thC.), a cleric in Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS B.11.22, f.20r. (Flemish, early 14thC., reproduced as fig. 508), and two instances in The Hague, Meermanno-Westreenianum Museum, MS 78.D.40, f.154r. & 130r. (Amiens, 1323).

75 Crossley, 23.

76 First noted in Purvis, 122.

77 J.L. Barnard, op. cit. in n.83 below; well reproduced in Grösinger,
Lehrs, IX. no. 497, notes that this engraving of the four ape-couples, provided the source for a wooden relief-frieze of early 16thC. date sited below the first-storey window, third from the right, of a house at Neuestrasse 9 in Braunschweig.

78 Andersson, op. cit. in n.47 above, 165, figs. 98f.

79 Grössinger (1989a), 83.

80 See section on Fools [B.III.a.].

81 Grössinger (1989b), 189.

82 This seems a preferable derivation to that of the extant van Meckenem engraving of the pair of apes playing with the mirror and cosmetic brush from a ?pedlar's box lying on the ground between them, reproduced in Grössinger (1989b) as pl. XXXIIIG. The Beverley and Bristol scenes are particularly closely related and suggest a common source.

83 J.L. Barnard, "Carved Misericordes in the Chapel of King Henry VII at Westminster", in The Sacristy 1 (1871), 266.

84 Purvis, 125f.

85 Grössinger (1989a), 79 and pl.9.

86 Grössinger (1989a), 80.

87 For another of this master's engravings, seen by Wayment as influencing a detail in one of the windows of King's College Chapel (1515-17), see [C.III.f.] below.

88 See C.I.a.

89 Cheetham, 20.

90 Ibid., 20. On the same page he offers comparisons between other English alabasters and one French and three German prints. I have serious doubts as to the validity of many such inevitably subjective art historians' comparisons and putative derivations -- though, in raising the issue here, I by no means wish to imply that I consider Cheetham any worse an offender in this regard than many others.

91 L. Campbell, "The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century" in Burlington Magazine 110 (1976), 100-90, esp.

93 Frenchmen are in a decided minority; see Kerling, *op. cit.*

94 In *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974), 12-30; the manuscripts of English provenance are discussed on p.29 & in n.23, they are the Berkeley Hours (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 9), the Wingfield Psalter (New York Public Library, MS Spencer 3) and a Sarum Missal in Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 302).


95 J.A.J.M. Verspaandonk, "Laatgotische Zuidnederlandse misericorden in het Victoria & Albert Museum te London" in *Antiek* 21 (1986/7), esp. 16f. & afb. 20-21, and ibid., Breda, de koorbanken van de Grote- of Lieve-Vrouwekerk (Amsterdam, 1983), 52f. & 84f. Another Breda misericord may have been modelled on the 5-of-Birds.

96 Grössinger (1989b), 189.

97 M. Lehrs, I. 142f.

98 I do not necessarily imply that those English woodwork motifs accepted as derived from playing-card models are directly so derived -- a mediating source such as the combined Bestiary- & Herbal manuscripts of the Ashmole 1504 type (discussed above [C.II.b.]) is always a possibility, perhaps a probability.


100 Reproduced in *Van Buren & Edmunds, op. cit.*, 13, fig.3.

101 ibid., 29, n.23.

102 Reproduced in *ibid.*, 14, fig. 4.

103 Reproduced in *ibid.*, 22, fig.20.

104 Reproduced in *ibid.*, as figs.23 and 27, respectively.

105 Grössinger (1989b), 189.
106 F.W. Reader, "Tudor Domestic Wall-Paintings. Part II" in Archaeological Journal 93 (1936), 223, and pl.IIIB. The 'surviving wall-paintings' are, however, said to be 'probably of the late 15th or early 16th century' in VCH, 181, citing Miller et al., 48ff.


109 See the examples recorded in Van Buren & Edmunds, op. cit., 25-30.

110 Wildridge, 50.


112 Van Buren & Edmunds, op. cit., 18, point out that the Master of the Playing Cards' designs were intended from the outset to serve precisely as artists' patterns, and were only later actually made up into packs of playing-cards.

In a secular though royal context, Henry VIII's writing-desk which dates from c.1520, was painted with scrolling Renaissance-type foliage by one of the Flemish artists employed in his court and with figures of Mars and Venus flanking the royal arms which were based on woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair.
C. III. The Influence of the Arts of Northern Europe

"if we wyll have any thinge well paynted, kerved or embrawdered... [we] abandone our own countraymen and resort unto straungers"  
[Sir James Elyot, Boke named the Governour (1531)]

The influence of the arts of Northern Europe (as opposed to those of Italy, for example) on 15th and 16thC. English culture seems, oddly, relatively neglected in histories of art, especially in the era before the well-documented arrival of Huguenot refugees. The reputation enjoyed throughout the late Middle Ages in England and on into the Tudor era by artists from the Netherlands in particular, however, is documented, though has not seemingly been collected together in one place before, and as it provides a background to the occurrence at Beverley of motifs not explicable in terms of the native tradition, it has seemed a worthwhile exercise to attempt to make such a survey here.
The Flemish Settlement

Many English towns in the late Middle Ages included areas in which communities of Flemings or other immigrants from the Low Countries lived and worked. Beverley was no exception, and the modern streetname "Flemingate" is found as early as the 12thC. in the form Flammengaria, while in 1318 this area of the town is referred to as vicum Flandrensiun. These Flemish settlers were presumably engaged in cloth manufacture and the export of Yorkshire wool; Beverley cloth is mentioned several times in the late 13thC. Hundred Rolls, and in a Close Roll dated Oct. 24th 1319 we hear of a suit instituted by the burgesses of Beverley and other merchants of the realm who had freighted three ships of Flanders at Hull with cloth, which were seized by Flemish pirates. Throughout the succeeding centuries too, 'Hull' cloth continued to be exported to the Low Countries -- lists of English cloth deposited with or bought by the citizens of Middelburg (Zeeland) in 1454 and 1465 include white cloth from Hull (usd by a Middelburg man to clothe his children), Hull blue, and Hull green (1). Also in the early 1460s there is a record of visits to Zeeland and Brabant by one Thomas Sloley, a factor, to settle certain business affairs of a Thomas Wellys who shipped cloth out of Hull (2).

Edward III is frequently quoted as having been at pains to tempt over to England craftsmen from the Low Countries in the first half of the 14th century; cloth-workers, of course, but also -- so the story goes -- craftsmen of a more artistic bent. Certainly, particular trades and professions had long been monopolised by immigrants from the Netherlands, such as high-class embroidery (3), tapestry-making (4), and especially, goldsmithing (5), but -- despite the oft-repeated assertion -- there is no evidence that he ever specifically encouraged Flemish wood-carvers to emigrate (6).
By the mid 15th century, whether for painting on panel or manuscript, the English monarchy and nobility and the princes of the church seem naturally to have turned to the artists of Flanders. Throughout the second half of the 15th century and on into the early decades of the 16th, Books of Hours and Psalters were illuminated in increasing numbers in Flanders for the English (and Scottish) market.

It so happens that a secular manuscript with a Beverley connexion illustrates this trend towards Flemish decoration most appositely. BL Royal MS 18 D II originally consisted of two Lydgate texts but illustrated with only eight of the projected twenty-five miniatures in 'fairly good English work', leaving seventeen blanks. The manuscript was illuminated for Sir William Herbert, probably as a gift for Edward IV in the year of his succession (1461). In its unfinished state, however, it passed, presumably on the marriage of Herbert's daughter (c. 1476), into the library of her husband, the Fourth Earl of Northumberland, and thence into that of their son, the Fifth Earl, who not only added various items of Percy family history to it between the years 1516 and 1523, but also arranged for the seventeen missing miniatures illustrating the Lydgate poems to be 'filled in by an artist of the Flemish school' (7), and one, moreover, who importantly included some new Renaissance-style decoration in at least one of his miniatures [pl. 248] (8).

From at least a century before this, however, the evidence from several

'early fifteenth-century manuscripts, among them several Books of Hours, indicate[s] that there was considerable artistic interchange between the Southern Netherlands and England.' (9)

Henry IV (1400-1412), for example, commissioned an illuminated copy (executed in grisaille) of the French translation of Pseudo-
Bonaventure's "Meditationes" from a gifted Flemish artist in the early years of the century (10).

It must not be thought, however, that these 15thC. Flemish manuscripts were only produced for metropolitan or royal patrons; Bodley MS Lat. Liturg. f. 2, for example, although a Sarum Use Book of Hours, was made for an anonymous patron in or near York, a fact attested by its commemoration of St. John of Bridlington and his uncanonised contemporary, responsible for the translation of his relics in 1404, Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, executed as a rebel a year later, and around whose tomb a miracle-cult grew up (11). The Calendar of this Hours contains such obviously Flemish saints as Gudule, Dymph[na], and Waletrudis and the book was illuminated in the Anglo-Flemish style by two artists, one of whom was Hermann Scheerre, some time between c.1405 and 1413 (12). Another Sarum Use book of Hours now at Downside Abbey is said to have affiliations with the work of the painter Melchior Broederlam (13).

A further Book of Hours of York Use, with St. John of Beverley's name in red in the Calendar, was executed probably in a Bruges workshop a.1489 (14), importantly demonstrating that the Flemish market was sufficiently specialised to be able to supply to order liturgical manuscripts following local Uses other than that of Sarum, and implying a familiarity with late medieval Yorkshire which we can confirm from elsewhere, most notably from the origins of the cargoes imported into Hull [C.I.a.] (15).

It was not only liturgical or religious manuscripts which were ordered from Flemish artists, however; when Edward IV was exiled in Flanders in 1470-71, the King was befriended and hosted by Louia de Bruges, seigneur de Gruthuyse, the Duke of Burgundy's governor in Holland, and a great bibliophile and patron of the arts (16).

'His example no doubt encouraged Edward IV to build up his own library; the king commissioned numerous manuscripts to be ex-
executed for him in Flanders, such as the [richly illuminated] copy of Wavrin ["Croniques d'Angleterre" = BL MS Royal 14 E IV, and 15 E IV (17)], and that of Froissart ["Chroniques" = BL MS Royal 18 E II (18)] -- besides those of the "Arrival [in England of Edward IV". 'Edward apparently had de luxe copies of the shorter version especially made in Flanders for distribution to important people: two of the extant copies are lavishly illuminated", i.e. University Library, Ghent, MS 236, and Bibliothèque Municipale, Besançon, MS 1168] (19)

A little later in Edward's reign, probably in the late 1470s, the earliest production of the Ghent-Bruges school, the so-called 'Hastings Hours' (attributed to the Master of Mary of Burgundy's atelier (20)) was illuminated for William Lord Hastings (21). A second Book of Hours illuminated in the same style and possibly slightly earlier, also commissioned by Hastings, is now in Madrid [Museo Lazaro-Galdiano, MS. 15503], and his patronage would seem to have been important in the development of this style:

'As leader of the Burgundian party at the English court, Hastings had extensive contacts with the Burgundian court, from which he received a pension. In 1466 and 1467 he was one of the ambassadors who negotiated the marriage between Edward's sister, Margaret of York, and ... the future Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy.' (22)

This marriage took place in 1468 and although no Books of Hours in the new Ghent-Bruges manner are known from the library of Margaret of York,

'she commissioned or received a number of important large historical, religious, and philosophical texts written in Ghent between the years 1474 and 1477 and employed some of the finest illuminators and scribes of the day.' (23)

Nor should it be forgotten that, having learned his craft in the workshop of Colard Mansion in Bruges, it was in this very court, at precisely this period, that Caxton presented Margaret with a copy of the first book printed in English, probably in Bruges in early 1475, the translation, which she had encouraged him to perfect, of Raoul Le Fèvre's "Recuyell of the Histories of Troye". The Huntington Library
copy is prefaced by an engraving in the style of the Master of Mary of Burgundy, of the author presenting his book to the Duchess (24).

'And because of the King's Burgundian alliance, many of Edward's courtiers had become bibliophiles in the Burgundian manner too. Catering to the specialised tastes of this noble clientele, Caxton continued to print in England translations of texts that can be traced directly to [David] Aubert's atelier in Bruges: "The Mirror of the World", "Godfrey of Boulogne", "The Knight of the Tower", and "Blanchardine and Eglantine." ' (25)

The princes of the Scottish church also had strong and regular contact with the artists of Flanders: the Aberdeen Hours was executed in the Low Countries in the mid-15th century and was certainly in Scotland before the Reformation. Three other liturgical manuscripts of Flemish origin can also be associated with Aberdeen: the Epistolary of Aberdeen Cathedral was commissioned in Antwerp in 1527 by Bishop Gavin Dunbar, while a combined 15thC. Psalter and Hours of Flemish workmanship is associated with the Hospital the Bishop founded in 1531. Dean Brown's Hours was commissioned for James Brown, Dean of Aberdeen Cathedral c. 1498; it is described as being 'atelier work' in the Ghent/Bruges style

'and was probably commissioned by Brown during his stay in the Low Countries.'

The Perth Psalter was evidently made for use in Perth some time in the second half of the 15th century, but as

'The style is slightly rough. It may be Scottish work using a Flemish model.' (26)

As early as the reign of Henry VI, the English nobility had patronised Flemish artists for portraits; in 1446 Edward Grimston commissioned Petrus Christus of Bruges to paint companion portraits of himself and his wife (27). Late in the reign of Henry's successor, Edward IV, c.1480, Sir John Donne, brother-in-law of Lord Hastings, commiss-
ioned an altar-piece, now in the National Gallery in London, from Hans Memling in Bruges (28) (Janet Backhouse has recently identified three manuscripts in the Royal Collection which feature Donne’s arms, one with miniatures in the style of the Dresden Master (29)). In 1519, if we can believe a record made c.1700, the Ashwellthorpe triptych now in the Castle Museum, Norwich, depicting the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin and the donor Christopher Knyvett and his wife Catherine van Assche, a native of Brabant, was commissioned from the so-called ‘Master of the Magdalen Legend’ also based in Bruges, and in the words of Andrew Martindale,

‘fits into a clearly established pattern of Netherlandish domination of English patronage’. (30)

The tradition was still very active in the early 1520s when Henry VIII’s governor of Calais and translator of chivalric romances, Lord Berners, had his portrait painted by an unknown Flemish artist (31).

The Scottish monarchs were just as eager to acquire paintings of Flemish origin; the most famous example is James III’s commission from Hugo van der Goes of the Trinity College Church Triptych, some time in the 1470s (32). His son, James IV, commissioned a Book of Hours illuminated by the Ghent-Bruges school on the occasion of his wedding to Margaret Tudor in 1503 (33). In addition, there is an interesting notice in Edinburgh’s Burgh Records of

‘Ane hingand brod of oley cullouris fra’ Flanderis.’
[A ‘hanging board’ of oil colours from Flanders]

imported by the cloth-merchant, Francis Spottiswood (fl. 1521) (34).

For the coronation of Henry VII in 1485, one Hanche described as ‘Doucheman’ is recorded as having been paid for heraldic painting (35), while a Flemish painting at Sudeley Castle purports to depict Henry’s marriage to Elizabeth of York in the following year, but the church
depicted is certainly not Westminster Abbey where the wedding actually took place (36). In 1505 the Flemish artist Michel Sittow, court painter to Isabella the Catholic, Queen of Castile and Aragon, and subsequently to Margaret of Austria, Governor of the Netherlands (both of whom patronised the Ghent-Bruges school of manuscript-painters (37)), painted Henry's portrait at the request of Herman Rinck, agent of Emperor Maximilian I -- the likeness was intended for Henry's prospective bride, Maximilian's daughter, the widowed Margaret herself (38).

Another indication of how much the Flemish style of painting was in favour in the late 15th century, may also be seen in the series of "Miracles of the Virgin" painted by Baker and Gilbert on the walls of the Chapel at Eton College, a royal foundation, of course, probably begun before Henry VII's accession and completed in the early years of his reign (1486/7) (39), and another similar early 16thC. set in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral (40). Croft-Murray sums up the situation thus:

'Of the contemporary continental influences, that of Flanders is always regarded as having been predominant; and certainly this is most obvious, in different ways, in the monochrome wall paintings at Eton, Winchester and Westminster Abbey, and in what remains of the screen panels at London. The rounder modelling and more naturalistic proportions of the saints at Cawston, and the donors at Aylsham [both in Norfolk] also come from ... those Flemings ... such as Roger van der Weyden, Memling and Gerard David. And there is a distinct touch of Antwerp mannerism in the fanciful head-dresses of the figures on the screens of Bramfield and Yaxley in Suffolk, and of Alphington, Bradninch and Kenn in Devon. ... Occasionally a German flavour may be discerned, as in the brutal types of Our Lord's tormentors and the lavish use of gold at this late period in the Dacre Ratable [of 1514] at Naworth.' (41)

The courtier Sir Thomas Thwaytes, Henry VII's Treasurer of Calais, commissioned an enormous anthology of illuminated French chronicles, the "Chroniques de France", as a present for the King, one of the first examples of English and Flemish artists working together, the scribe being one Hugues de Lembourg (who recorded the point he had reached in
1487), but the directions to the miniaturists being in English, and the English illuminators evidently handling the Flemish style with some difficulty. A complete five-volume Froissart and a Xenophon in French translation, both bearing his arms, also found their way into the Royal Collection (42).

In 1492 Henry had established a Royal Library with a Fleming, Quentin Poulet from Lille, as Royal Librarian (43):

'He recruited illuminators from the Ghent-Bruges School and eventually formed an atelier to provide manuscripts for this new Royal Library at Richmond Palace. Lucas Horneout [the Ghent miniaturist who came to England in the mid-1520s together with his father, Gerard, and who illuminated letters patent connected with Wolsey's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, as well as an Epistolary and Lectionary for the cardinal] fits into this series of artists imported from the Netherlands to work for the Tudor Court.' (44)

Some of the earliest productions of this workshop seem to have consisted of modifications of existing manuscripts still in the earlier English style, such is a Book of Hours in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in which the older illuminations have been extensively overpainted and revised (45).

Two of the earliest fully 'Flemish' productions of this scriptorium are thought to be a manuscript of the "Imaginacion de vraye noblesse" of 1496 (which concerns the pilgrimage of a Flemish knight from Lille to Hal in Hainault) copied by Poulet himself in the fashionable Burgundian bâtarde hand and unmistakably illuminated by a Flemish-trained painter (46), and a compilation manuscript of the poems of Charles d'Orléans and three didactic works, which includes miniatures by the same artist. One of the instructional pieces is the "Grace entière sur le fait du gouvernement d'un prince" by Bernard André, the blind tutor to his son (the illuminator has included a double portrait of Prince Arthur in study and in prayer) and head of his court literary
circle, whom Henry had brought with him when he returned from exile in Charles VIII's court (47).

Auerbach was able to demonstrate that the illuminators of the initials which depict the young Henry VIII enthroned, on the Plea Rolls of the King's Bench of 1514, were also products of this scriptorium (48). He further drew attention to a record of payments made by Sir Richard Wingfield on behalf of the monarch in Flanders which refer to the 'portrates of the Kynges visage' set in the window of St. Nicholas Church, Calais, and commissioned from 'a paynter of Gaunt' in the same year -- the same document also makes mention of a glazier of Antwerp whom he identifies as 'probably Galyon Hone' (49). Nor should it be forgotten that for more than five years in the second decade of the 16th century, Tournai was occupied by the English, having been taken by Henry in 1513 (50).

Six years later, at Guisnes near Calais, Hone was certainly employed in his capacity as King's glazier 'setting up the King's glass' in preparation for the extraordinary summer pageantry of the Field of the Cloth of Gold (51). Particularly significant is the fact that Henry sent his Neapolitan painter, Vincent Volpe, on a royal mission 'probably to procure the necessary material' for the lavish exhibition of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, not to his native Italy, but to Antwerp (52).

There are also two Flemish music manuscripts illuminated in the second decade of the 16th century for the young Henry VIII; one was made in the circle of the famous Flemish music scribe, Pierre Almire, who is known to have supplied both books and instrumenta to Henry between 1515 and 1518 (The Scottish King, James IV, similarly gave his 'scholar-minstrels' leave of absence in 1503 'to buy them instrumenta in Flanders' (53) ). The second manuscript includes a motet, "Sub tuum presidium", first published in Antwerp in 1515, by Benedictus de Opitiis, an
organist from that city, who entered Henry’s service in 1516 and who features regularly in the royal accounts until 1522 (54).

We learn of another artist from Antwerp (who became a denizen in 1544, as did his compatriot, the painter John Corvus of Bruges), recorded as resident in Candlewick Street Ward for sixty years in a return of aliens for 1571, suggesting that he too must first have settled in London at the very beginning of Henry VIII’s reign, c.1510 (55).
Gordon Kipling suggests that it was the embarrassing experience of finding himself without a painter of his own to execute such portraits as the Flemish ambassadors brought him of the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy in 1496 when they arrived in England to negotiate the 'Magnus Intercursus' (see above), that persuaded Henry VII to employ a Fleming, Maynard Weywik, as his first 'King's painter'.

Gordon Kipling has recently restored this Flemish artist to the prominence he deserves, as part of his important re-assessment of the Burgundian influence on the early Tudor courts, a much-needed corrective to the conventional wisdom that the early sixteenth century in England is pre-eminently the era of the influence of Italian-derived humanism and Renaissance culture (56).

It is possible, however, to further flesh out the skeleton of Maynard's career outlined by Kipling, by the use of sources unknown to him (which, indeed, provide us with the painter's surname, similarly unknown to Kipling) to show exactly what a 'Renaissance man' this Flemish artist and entrepreneur was.

A year or two before we first hear of Maynard, Kipling conjectures that he was involved in the interior decoration of Henry's magnificent Burgundian-style palace at Richmond, which was building between 1498 and 1501, and whose great hall Henry desired to fill with large wall portraits of the English kings of the past;

'This essentially Flemish use of historical portraits was as new to England as the brickwork of Richmond Palace. At the very least, the adoption of this new kind of decoration for an English palace, coinciding as it does with the appointment of a portrait artist to the royal household, suggests that Maynard may well be responsible for the design and execution of the series.' (57)
Maynard first appears in the historical record at the Scottish court of James IV in September 1502 (where he stayed for just over a year), where the King was preparing for his wedding to Margaret Tudor, when one 'Mynour' is described as

\[ \text{the Inglis payntour [i.e. from the English court, the English King's painter] quhilk brocht the figuris of the King, Quene, and Prince of Ingland and of oure Quene.} \] (58)

By this time, therefore, he is assumed to have already painted the 'standard' portraits of Henry and his Queen, Elizabeth of York (surviving only in late 16thC. copies), and Prince Arthur (who died in 1502; what is assumed to be Maynard's original portrait is still extant, in the Royal Collection), as well as a lost portrait of Margaret Tudor. Henry's accounts for the years 1502-5 are unfortunately missing, but when they resume, Maynard is mentioned three times between March 1505 and January 1507 and styled 'King's Painter', he is also the only painter rewarded for pictors. The remarkable allegorical Flemish painting of "Henry VII, Elizabeth of York and their Children with St. George and the Dragon", which Horace Walpole reported served originally as an altarpiece at Sheen, is also attributed to Maynard, and must belong to the period between 1503 (birth of the youngest child depicted) and 1509 (Henry's death) (59). He may have already been at work on Henry VII's great memorial project at Westminster in 1505, if Stone's conjecture is accepted (60).

He is next heard of in 1510 in a York context; in October that year, a Mr. Mayner Weywik of London is named as one of his executors in the will of the York stationer, Gerard Freez (alias Wandsforth), along with his brother, Frederick Freez, said to be a buke-prynter in York (and styled 'Dutchman' in a local document dated 1506), and Ralph Pulleyn/Polan, a York goldsmith and probably of Walloon origin. Shortly after Gerard's will was proved, however, two of his executors were
involved in an unseemly lawsuit, from which it emerges that Mayner Weywik, together with Gerard Freez, and Ralph Pulleyn, had financed the import, presumably via Hull -- which was also Beverley's port, of course -- of a very large number of service-books from the printer Pierre Violette of Rouen, of which some 250 missals, 400 breviaries and 570 ordinals still remained at Freez's sudden death in King's Lynn in 1510 (61). Clearly, as one of the London 'Doche', Maynard was well aware of the increasing demand for this new commodity, and was investing some of his royal stipend in a presumably profitable venture. Duff records that a stationer named 'Johannes Warwyke' appears on the 1529-30 list of York freemen (62), and he may well have been related to Maynard, and the means of his introduction to Freez.

Maynard was certainly responsible for a remarkable and revolutionary full-length memorial portrait of the Lady Margaret Beaufort (d.1509), commissioned by her executors to hang in the college she founded, Christ's College, Cambridge. Apparently without either English or Continental precedents, Maynard may have been inspired to enlarge the normal three-quarter bust format of the Flemish portrait, by his series of large English royal portraits for Richmond Palace, executed a decade earlier (63). This full-length portrait is documented as having been painted by Maynard in 1511-12, at exactly the same time that he was designing Lady Margaret's tomb for Westminster Abbey, and Kipling suggests it was probably painted from the full-size pattern he had drawn for her tomb-effigy (64); he may, indeed, have been earlier involved in plans for painting Henry VII's tomb, according to the abandoned scheme proposed by Guido Mazzoni, if he can be identified with the 'John Maynard' of an estimate made in 1506 (65). There could be no more eloquent symbol of early Tudor relative values than the fact that the great Florentine sculptor, Pietro Torrigiano,
was obliged to sculpt the monumental royal effigies for this Westminster tomb, according to the Flemish artist's pattern; it was

"Maynard [who] actually designed the tomb in the modern sense, while Torrigiano merely executed his design." (66)

An early portrait of Henry VIII, dated by Strong c.1520, may perhaps be the last work which can be attributed to Maynard — Kipling's original caution (67) arose from his (continuing) ignorance of the record of Maynard's residence in the parish of All-Hallows in 1523 (68), which he was not aware of in 1977. In his 1981 article, however, he was able to add the new information that

"As late as 1526, when he was described as "olde Maynard Wewoke peynter", he was drawing an annuity larger than that of Lucas Horenbout, who had recently joined Maynard as a portrait painter in the royal household" (69)
C.III.d. Metalwork

Many skilled metalworkers too were brought into the country by successive monarchs in order to produce ordnance -- in 1471, for example Edward IV brought over more than 300 armourers from Flanders who settled in Ravenspring in Yorkshire, in order to produce hand-guns for his army (70). The famous embossed horse-armour in the Tower Armouries known as the 'Burgundian bard' was probably a gift from Emperor Maximilian I to Henry VIII on the occasion of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon in 1509, and was made by the Netherlander Martin van Royne who later became the first master armourer of the royal workshop known as the 'Almain Armoury', at Greenwich. Furthermore, the whole armour was engraved with scenes from the Lives of Sts. George and Barbara and gilded by Paul van Vrelant of Brussels; by 1514 he was working for Henry at Greenwich (71).

Craftsmen with more peaceful metal-working skills were also highly valued; Henry VII's coinage, for example, is said to have been designed by the Badener, Alexander of Bruchsal in 1494, acting as chief engraver at the Tower Mint, an office in the 15th century occupied almost exclusively by goldsmiths (72) -- the new 'sovereign', in particular, first issued in 1489, depicting Henry in an emperor's closed crown, was a careful imitation of a Low Countries coin, Maximilian's real d'or issued two years earlier (73). An example of a kindred craft, a portrait medal, of William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews, dated 1491, is attributed to the Flemish artist Quentin Metsys, from whom Wolsey is known to have ordered a painting (74); at much the same time, William Elphinstone (d.1514), bishop of Aberdeen and founder of its university, had his portrait painted by a Flemish artist, and it still hangs in the University (75).

Stone notes that a brass lectern at Norwich -- unusually, rather than an eagle, it is in the shape of a pelican -- is from the same mould
as another from Bornival, near Nivelles (76). Many of the more usual brass eagle lecterns also

'are likely to have been imported from Flanders from where other brass items such as candelabra and tableware came into the country ...

multiple branch candelabra, incorporating a devotional image ...

were imported into Britain from Flanders in great numbers' (77)

In fact, the Hull port accounts record the return of the 'Trinity' on 20th April 1490 with a miscellaneous cargo which included, along with painted cloths [see Appendix III.], drinking-pots and paper, 1/2 dos' candelibre for one merchant and a hooq'[shead] cum chandelabre for another; earlier in the year, on 28th January, the 'Jesus' had returned to port with five cradles of glassware and 1 bar'[rel] candelab- rorum for another. One such brass candelabrum of Flemish origin survives in St. John's Church, Perth, other examples are still to be seen in Bristol Cathedral's Berkley Chapel (made c.1460), and at St. John's Church in Timberhill near Norwich (78).

Stone also notes that the great cast bronze cooking-pot for the nuns of Lacock Abbey, Wilts., was made by Peter Wagherens of Malines/ Mecheln in 1500 (79).

In St. Mary's church, Warwick, the London-based goldsmith 'Bartholomew Lambespringe, Dutchman' was commissioned to gild, polish and burnish the copper tomb effigy of the Earl of Warwick and the subsidiary 'weepers', and enamel the armorial plates underneath the weepers, as early as 1452-3; according to the original contract, he was resident in London in 1449 (80). Croft-Murray was also able to recover something of the early history of the Cologne painter, Henry Blankston, who in 1506 is recorded as carrying out gilding work in Reading. Throughout the 1530s he was painting at Henry VIII's Hampton Court palace with a countryman, Robert Schynck, by which time he was probably already resident in Southwark, as part of the artistic community of
Flemish and other Germanic craftsmen there (81); clearly it behoved these artistic exiles -- like many another medieval artist, indeed -- to have more than one string to their bows, and Blankston's artistic versatility was far from untypical, of course.

The spectacular revels which were held at Greenwich in 1527 to mark the treaty between England and France employed many Germanic artists and craftsmen, including, most notably, the painter Hans Holbein, the Bruges artist Jan Raf (alias John Corvus) (82), and several Flemish or German gilders: Hans Spetill, Hans Crutche (83), and the Hollander Cornelis Hayes, an evidently accomplished goldsmith, made a freeman at the King's personal request two years later, in which year Henry commissioned no less than £1,222 of gold plate from him for his New Year's gifts (84). Cornelis Harman worked on decorative carvings for the same occasion, though is next heard of as a founder (85). Yet another aspect of the Tudor dependence on Flemish artistic craftsmen is revealed in the entry under 11th November 1502 in Henry VII's accounts of the payment of £20 6s. 8d. 'to John vandel for divers Iuells of gold' (86).
In his textbook account of Early Tudor sculpture, Laurence Stone was surely justified in stating that

"Far more important in its effects than Italian Renaissance art was the migration of Low Countries artists into London and their employment by the Crown. The close commercial links between London and Antwerp through the channelling of the expanding English cloth trade into these two ports resulted in an intimate exchange of goods, persons, and ideas. ... Easily the most powerful influence on English sculpture during the early Tudor period was the result of this migration of artists and objects, a style conveniently, if inaccurately, described as Flemish. But its acceptance involved no radical break with the past, since it was itself rooted in medieval art." (87)

The most important evidence of the achievements of German and Flemish craftsmen, however, demonstrating how highly their work was esteemed by the early Tudor dynasty, is to be found in the royal chapels at Westminster and Windsor.

Stone sums up the importance of Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey:

"The central story of the last phase of medieval sculpture is the evolution of an Early Tudor court style whose ultimate expression was the decoration and statuary of Henry VII's Chapel. Behind this astonishing building lies over a generation of development, powerfully affected by continental and in particular Flemish influence." (88)

The iconography of Henry's Chapel also confirms the Flemish influence in its creation; statues survive there of two saints particularly popular in Flanders, Wilgefortis and Erasmus. The former saint of transparently ambiguous sexuality originated in 14thC. Flanders and the only other images of her/him known in England are all significantly to be found in Norfolk, at Worstead, Boxford and Norwich. In a port like Hull which had frequent contact with the Netherlands it is understandable that Holy Trinity Church should also have had an altar dedicated to..."
St. Erasmus, and by the mid-15th century, a guild of St. Erasmus, according to the evidence of local wills (89).

The bronze screen that surrounds the tomb of Henry VII at Westminster was the work of ‘Thomas Ducheman’ begun in 1505-6,

‘possibly in association with the Flemish painter Meynnart Vewicke’ (90)

(who, as discussed above, is known to have provided the design for Torrigiano to execute the effigy of Henry’s mother, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, in the Abbey in 1511 (91)), and the six surviving bronze statuettes (from an original sixteen) of this grille, are also of probable Netherlandish craftsmanship (92).

At Windsor, the imported bronze grille around the tomb of the Earl of Worcester is almost certainly the work of the Malines/Mecheln founder, Jean van den Eynde, of about 1520 (93). To this list Charles Tracy has recently added the iron gates of Edward IV’s chapel, contemporary with the Windsor stallwork [i.e. c.1480], which can also be shown to be of Flemish manufacture ‘on account of the use of Flamboyant-type panel tracery’ and must have been imported from the Netherlands (94).

As for sculpture in stone, c.1500:

‘It is very suggestive that almost all the sculptors known to be in royal employment in the period seem to be either Flemish or German. ‘Master Laurence (?Ymbar) with ‘Fredrik his mate’, ‘Wechon Kerver’, and Hans van Hoof, made the funeral effigy of Queen Elizabeth of York in 1503 ... ’ (95)

The upper tier of statues of the West front screen of Exeter Cathedral, according to Stone, shows the influence of the Flemish sculpture of c.1500, as does a late 15thC. statue of the Virgin and Child in Winchester Cathedral, a ‘general resemblance’ to which, Charles Tracy has recently found in the contemporary Virgin and Child group on the north wing screen of St. George’s Chapel at Windsor (96).
'Even the obstinately conservative midland alabaster carvers were affected by the new Flemish influence, and a wall-monument to Robert Gylbert of the 1490s at Youlgreave, Derbyshire, is an evident copy of the designs of the contemporary Tournai tomb-makers.' (97)

It seems likely too that actual Flemish alabasters, despite the flourishing condition of the native industry, were imported in small numbers in the early 16thC.; the 'Christ before Pilate' panel found in the Pleasance, Edinburgh, is thought to have been part of a small retable depicting the Passion behind the altar of some private chapel (98).

In East Anglia, an area of the country long settled by Flemings, as early as 1415 we learn that one of the Norwich Cathedral Cloister bosses was carved by John Watlington and Brice the Dutchman (99). The subject of the boss is what I have elsewhere termed 'the humane rider', and significantly, is also found as one of the several monde renversé/ 'Gothamite' motifs on a mid-14thC. monumental brass of Tournai manufacture at King's Lynn, also in Norfolk (100).

Another monumental brass of c.1495 in a Norfolk church which figured in a recent exhibition (101),

'belongs to a group engraved in Norwich around 1500 which show the influence of Flemish brass-engraving.'

Indeed, the naturalistic figure-style is such as to prompt the comment that

'Norwich was not dependent upon the capital for influences from the Low Countries, but was assimilating them more directly'.

Furthermore,

'There are close stylistic links between this group of brasses and stained glass made in Norwich'.
The Southwark-based glaziers ('The Southwark School') were another major group of Northern European artists to settle and work in England in the early 16th century (102).

Although this school of Northern European glass-painters was based in Southwark and its surviving oeuvre therefore mainly to be found in the southern counties, it included a few provincial craftsmen affected by the new style, most notably John Almayn of York, whose work may still be seen in the church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey and in the Minster in the form of the 13 'Tudor Panels' from a life of St. Thomas à Becket, perhaps made in the 1530s for the church of St. Wilfrid's, pulled down some twenty years later. The great rose-window in the south transept of the Minster is the earliest work attributed to him and can be dated from the presence of the arms of Archbishop Savage to 1502X7. Milner-White concluded that Almayn had been one of the glaziers at Fairford (103), and Wayment notes that one of the North aisle windows in York Minster is 'probably a slightly later work by the same glazier' who worked on the 'Birth of the Virgin' window at King's College, Cambridge (104).

Some fifty years earlier the Minster fabric rolls record that the custos vitri bought his glass from one Peter Faudkent, 'Dochman', and, naturally, it came via Hull (105).

Perhaps the most celebrated production of Flemish glaziers in the opening decades of the 16th century, however, is the work at Fairford, Gloucestershire; Wayment's recent monograph suggests that the most probable date for the design of the East window (which he attributes to the Master A.M., perhaps to be identified with Adrian van den Houte of Mecheln) is c.1500, but that the Creed series of Prophets and the south clerestory windows were glazed between that date and 1517 (106). One of the Fairford panels records the name of Sir John Savile (d.1505) of
Thornhill, Yorkshire, who Wayment interprets as overseer of the work on behalf of the crown. He was Steward of the town and lordship of Wakefield, Justice of the Peace for Yorkshire, and 'a knight of the king's body' at court. He is known to have had close contacts with Flemish glaziers, and as early as 1493 similarly acted as overseer of the glazing of a memorial window to his grandfather in Thornhill church; Wayment notes that the glass there contains bird-silhouettes, 'a device used by Flemish painters and miniaturists to suggest recession', as at Fairford and King's (107). This is a most interesting demonstration of how the latest Flemish styles might be available even in a part of the country traditionally thought of as relatively remote (108).

One of the Fairford glaziers, the so-called 'Master of the Fairford Transfiguration' [a window, details of which Wayment argued were based on an Antwerp painting by Quentin Metsys dated 1509], also worked on royal commissions in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster, and at King's College, Cambridge, where glazing began in 1515 (109), in company with four other glaziers who had worked with him earlier at Fairford (110).

At Fairford, Wayment identified certain designs which are indebted to contemporary engravings and early printed book woodcut illustrations; according to Wayment the 1493 edition of the "Nuremberg Chronicle" was drawn on for a few scenes, and the late 15thC. Delft 'Master of the Virgin Among Virgins' engravings were used as the basis of three of the Fairford panels. Wayment also detected the influence of the paintings of Memlinc ('a major influence'(111) -- more surprising perhaps is his assertion (seemingly refuting his earlier derivation of the design from the Metsys painting) that the celebrated 'Transfiguration' window

'seems to be connected with a woodcut in a Westminster edition (?Pynson, c.1494) of the English translation of the 'Meditations on the Life of Christ'; the engravings [sic] are close to the Paris style of the time.' (112)
Of the seven King’s College glaziers identified by name in the contracts, one was German, three hailed from the Netherlands, and the remaining three

‘were probably English, but must ... have spent a good deal of time on the Continent.’ (113)

The German, Barnard Flower, began his career as a glass-painter in England at the royal palace of Woodstock in 1496, but by 1505 he was already King’s Glazier -- a sign of the times, for all his predecessors had been English -- an office he held until his death in 1517. By 1520, one of his colleagues on the King’s College campaign, the Hollander, Galyon Hone, had succeeded him in the office. From c.1510-12, Flower was probably employed at Westminster Abbey, glazing of Henry VII’s Chapel.

Henry VII, who appointed Barnard Flower as his King’s Glazier, is known to have given a window to a church in Antwerp in 1503

‘no doubt by an Antwerp master who had worked in England: perhaps the same who later painted the Crucifixion now in St. Margaret’s, Westminster.’ (114)

The glass now in the east window of St. Margaret’s was probably originally given by Henry VIII, who appears together with Catherine of Aragon in the window, to Waltham Abbey c.1520, and transferred to his palace at New Hall, Boreham, after the dissolution of the monastery in 1540; it is the work of Dutch glaziers ‘who no doubt lived in Southwark or Westminster’ (115), and

‘the design as a whole seems to come from the circle of Cornelis Engebrechts [of Leiden]’ (116).

The designer of the King’s College glass is now known to be the Flemish master-glazier, Dierick Vellert, and

‘it is possible to conclude with some assurance that he himself painted several of the main figures in window 6 (1517).’ (117)
Sixteen scenes distributed throughout six windows at King's, are identified by Wayment as belonging to the early campaign of 1515-17, and while it has long been clear that the overall typological arrangement of the subjects represented depends on the earlier mid-15th C. Netherlandish Biblia Pauperum and Speculum Humanae Salvationis blockbooks, in an earlier article (118), Wayment identified seven scenes as based on engravings by Durer, Van Meckenem, Master bxg, and Van Leyden (119).

The British Library owns a most interesting leaf from a sketch-book which must have belonged to an early 16th C. Flemish draughtsman, on which, as John Harvey pointed out

'the peculiar window-tracery which accompanies [the fan vaulting of late type], with its 4-lobed compartments, has something in common with several of the side-chapel windows at King's College ... and the juxtaposition of this tracery with a Wastell type of fan-vault certainly suggests a possible connexion with this building'. (120)
C. III. g. Woodwork

Also at King's, the wooden rood-screen and the misericords of the 1530s are in an unmistakably Renaissance idiom which here makes almost its earliest appearance in English woodwork (121) -- here again, it is likely that the carvers were of the same origin as the glaziers.

Now that Charles Tracy has subjected the woodwork of the choir-stalls of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster, to his authoritative scrutiny, we are in an excellent position to apportion the relative contributions of 'native' as opposed to Flemish woodworkers (122).

'The Windsor furniture is recorded as having been manufactured by English craftsmen. Moreover it can be shown to be largely a native product. The Henry VII Chapel, Westminster, choir-stalls on the other hand seem to have been made by Flemish craftsmen working under English supervision. The Westminster executants may well have had second-generation 'denizened' status. The style of the decorative carving in London points unmistakably to the Low Countries for a stylistic ambience.'

Although two Flemings, Dirike Vangrove and Giles van Castell, are mentioned in the records relating to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in connexion with carvings made for the rood in the late 1470s and the statues of St. George, St. Edward and others (123), and Tracy considers that the niche sculpture of the wing screens is also quite possibly Flemish (124), Flemish craftsmen were not apparently employed on the choir-stalls themselves, all the carvers having seemingly English names.

Even at Windsor, however,

'Continental influence can be detected in the design of the canopies and the wing screens flanking the return stalls. ... the design source is Flanders. The figures on either side of the return stalls, with their heavy voluminous drapery and slightly swaying poses, are most probably Flemish. ... Although the syntax of this furniture can be seen to be English, the language of architectural expression is inspired by Flemish art ... The Windsor choir-stalls are pervaded by a distillation of mid-fifteenth-century Low Countries art.' (125)
At Westminster, on the other hand, Tracy is prepared to allow that 'The manufacture must have been the responsibility of Flemish craftsmen working under the close supervision of an English architect. Alternatively the work was designed and executed by Flemish craftsmen who had lived in England long enough to have fully absorbed the native practice of choir-stall designing. The decorative carving can be closely compared with Flemish work.' (126)

In addition to noting the dependence of some of the Westminster misericord subjects on figural engravings by Dürer and van Meckenem which we have been able further to extend (127), Tracy also finds an example of 'the same ornamental vocabulary' in a foliage ornament design by Van Meckenem [L 620] (128).

There is a further monument of this period on which we know Flemish woodworkers were employed, but which sadly is now completely destroyed, the Savoy Hospital in London. The joiners at work there have unmistakably Flemish names: John Duche, John Vanclyffe, Henry Vanshanhale, Garrard Wesell and Meneard de Freseeland (129). Barnard Flower, King's Glazier, was also engaged on the glazing of the Savoy Chapel between 1513 and 1516 (a Doom is the only subject mentioned by name), immediately before moving on to his final job at King's College, Cambridge (130).

In the previous century in Scotland, however, we do know that in 1441 the Abbey at Melrose in the Scottish borders ordered a set of carved oak stalls like those of the choir of the abbey church of Dunia in Flanders but with carving similar to that in the church of Thosan near Bruges, from Cornelius de Aeltre, a master-carpenter in that city (131), and there must have been other similar commissions which -- like the Melrose stalls themselves -- have long since been destroyed. What is of particular interest with regard to the Melrose commission from Cornelius de Aeltre, is the specificity, which shows a definite familiarity with the stallwork of named churches in the Bruges area on the part of one of the Melrose monks, a certain John Crawford, to the extent that he
orders the stallwork as a whole, i.e. the architectural framework, to be in the style of one set of Flemish stalls, but the carving [scissura] to be in the style of another.

The Scottish National Museum in Edinburgh has several pieces of woodwork from the late medieval choir of St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen:

'The complete furnishing of the choir with the woodwork of the stalls, the screen and the chancel door and other wood parts was the responsibility of John Fendour who was contracted with the Burgh of Aberdeen to do the work on the 26th December 1507. It is thought that the stalls with the canopy fronts were made in Flanders and fitted up by Fendour who probably added some parts which do not reach the high standard of the canopies. Fendour may have come from [Flanders]. He also did some work for St. Machars Cathedral [Aberdeen, (contract dated 1511), and for King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, but not the stalls].' (132)

Similarly, eight cut-down sections of panelling known as the Beaton panels, whose 'style suggests Flemish workmanship' and which are thought to date from c.1530 are believed to have come originally from Arbroath Abbey: they bear the arms of David Beaton (Archbishop of St. Andrews 1539-46) (133). The panel depicting the Tree of Jesse is discussed under section C.II.b. above.

Kim Woods has recently reviewed the evidence for the import of Netherlandish carved altarpieces into England and Scotland in the early 16th century and shown that in the year 1508 alone, at least four Flanders tabernacles were brought into Scotland. These altar-pieces were commissioned for the high altar and the altar of Our Lady in the Benedictine monastery of Pluscarden, and for the high altars of Dunkeld and Dundee Cathedrals. Two years later a Perth merchant imported from the Netherlands on behalf of John Browne, the Bishop of Dunkeld, two ymagis, one of Sanct John, and one of Sanct Keterne and a tabernacle which may not be identical with that for Dundee Cathedral already mentioned (134).

One of the ships recorded as putting into London in 1509 included amongst its cargo, 3 dozen painted tables [i.e. altar-pieces], 15 carved
images, a basket containing 14 wooden images, a further 15 small wooden images, 42 Gent' carpetts and hundreds of painted cloths (135); while from the records of a trading dispute between Flemish and English merchants, we learn that in 1512 at St. Bavo's Fair in Antwerp, one Lysbette Lambrechts, presumably an entrepreneur, bought two carved wooden altar-pieces, polychromed and gilded, specifically for sale to England (136). At the end of the 15th century in Cologne, we even hear of South Netherlandish painted altarpieces in which the place for the portrait of the donor was left open, to be filled in to order, once the sale had been negotiated (137). In 1523 the Mercers Company, having first examined a platt [design] devised & drawen by oon Walter Vandale of Andewerp karver, ordered from him a very expensive altar-piece for their new chapel in London (138).

We have already remarked elsewhere how John Lincoln on the eve of the outbreak of the Evil May Day disturbances of 1517 in London inveighed against the Dutchemen for bringing over various commodities including Cupbordes, Stooles, Tables, and Chestes -- if the tables he had in mind were the carved wooden altarpieces for which this was the usual English term, then the will of Thomas Cromwell drawn up in 1529, and the earliest inventory of his goods dating from 1527, show that he possessed examples of all four categories of Netherlandish workmanship; he even had an emissary, Stephen Vaughan, stationed in the Low Countries purchasing such goods for him (139).
The printers are a small group, though one of disproportionate importance for the exchange of cultural material. The London printer William de Machlinia, whose surname is a Latinisation of Mecheln/Malines, active in the 1480s, was Pynson's predecessor, but 'is missing because of imperfection in the suburban lists [of taxable aliens]' (140); his sometime partner, John Lettowe/Lettou (whose surname implies ultimate Lithuanian ancestry), however, is recorded as a boke-prynter, as is similarly, Bernard [van Stondo], believed from an alternative version of his surname, to be a native of Utrecht (141).

We have already noted above that William Caxton learned his trade in Bruges where he had produced the first book printed in English by early 1475. It was Caxton who issued his own translation of Reynard the Fox in 1481 based on Gerard Leeu's Dutch edition, Die Historie van Reynaert die Vos issued in Gouda in 1479 (for Leeu's printing of books for the English market, see below) (142).

Another early English printer who showed a keen awareness of the contemporary Dutch book-trade, was Julian Notary. The unique surviving copy of his mery gest and a true howe Johan Splynter made his testament [STC 23102] in the Huntington Library, which STC dates c.1520, is a translation of a Dutch original published in Delft c.1508 [NK 1998], though to my knowledge, this has not been noticed before.

Other early English printed books which are actually translations from the Dutch, include several of Van Doesborch's publications (see below) and, surprisingly to students of early English drama, the famous morality play, Everyman (first edition printed by Pynson c.1515, [STC 10604]) now accepted as a translation of the late 15thC. Dutch morality Eckelrijc by Petrus Dorlandus (143), first printed in 1495. The Passion of Owr Lord Iesu Christe [STC 14557] published abroad for the English
market, probably for Pynson, by ?Vérard in ?1508 was translated from the
French by a Dutchman.

Nor should we forget that the earliest known printed book intended
for use in the English church, the Sarum Breviary, was produced c.1475
in the southern Netherlands [STC 15794] (144), a fact accounted for by
the close commercial relations existing at the time between England and
the Netherlands. Elizabeth Armstrong notes that

'The shipping which brought the earliest known consignments
of printed books to England, seems to have been English,
Flemish, Dutch or occasionally Venetian',

and further notes that

'from 1495 ... the great majority of all books produced for
the English church were printed in Paris or Rouen or occasionally Antwerp, even when published by London-based stationers or in partnership with them.' (145)

A very interesting record of the import of such (French) service
books -- demonstrating the channels by which such Continental books (and
prints, of course) might enter Yorkshire -- is preserved in the details
of a lawsuit of 1510, already mentioned above, involving the York
stationer Gerard Freez, brother of the early York printer, Frederick
Freez, whose surname shows them to have been of originally Frisian
stock. In 1507 Gerard ordered from Pierre Violette of Rouen a very large
number of service books, of which there remained in his house in 1510,
when he died suddenly at King's Lynn (presumably on a bookbuying trip,
about to take ship for the Continent), 252 missals [cf. STC 16220, dated
1509?], 399 breviaries [STC 15857, c.1507] and 570 ordinals. The lawsuit
informs us that this purchase had been financed in three equal shares by
Freez himself, a York goldsmith named Ralph Pulleyn/Polan, and a Mr.
Meyner Weywik of London -- presumably, from the evidence of his surname,
one of the London 'Doche', and as I have suggested above, none other than Henry VII's 'King's painter' (146).

Not only were liturgical and other books in Latin commissioned from Continental publishers during the infancy of the native printing businesses -- involving texts which differed only slightly from Continental usage, and were, in any case in the well-understood language of scholarship -- but very soon books in English were being printed abroad. Some of the earliest efforts such as Vérard's edition of the Kalendayr of the Shyppars printed at Paris in 1503, imperfectly translated by a Scotsman, were less than happy, justly described by the writer who revised the translation for Pynson's 1506 edition, as in 'corrupte Englyshe'.

The Continental city which soon came to dominate this trade of producing books in English for the English market, was not Paris, however, but Antwerp.

There is interesting evidence that the relations between Dutch and English printing was not all one way; the Antwerp printer and type-cutter, Jan Lettersnijder, whose activities span the first three decades of the sixteenth century, seems to have been of English origin according to his nickname, 'Dingelsche'. He seems not only to have cut his own types but also engraved the woodcuts in the editions he published, some of which he signed with the monogram 'ID' [Jan Dingelsche] (147).

The Antwerp printer Gerard Leeu, began by specialising in reprints of English works; here in 1486 he printed an edition of Terence, a series of Latin sentences with translations into English, the first edition of which had been published by the earliest Oxford press. In 1492 and 1493, just after Caxton's death, he printed four books in English, three of which were reprints of Caxton publications, The History of Jason, The History of Paris and Vienne and The Chronicles of
England, the fourth being the important, but still oddly neglected, Dialogue of Solomon & Marcolph (148).

The Antwerp-based printer, Thierry Martens, also printed two books for the English market in the final decade of the fifteenth century, a Liber Synonymorum at Antwerp in 1493 and a Sarum Breviary at Leuven in 1499 (149).

Nicolaas de Grave issued an English translation of Jasper Laet de Borchloen's Prognostication for the year 1517 [STC 470.3], in Antwerp in 1517 (150), just as the one for the previous year had been printed for the English market by Van Doesborch in 1516 [STC 470.2; NK 1303] translated by Nicholas Longwater (who styled himself Claes vanden Langhe Water in Dutch and Nic. de Aqualonga in Latin).

A Deventer printer, Richard Paffroed, issued two grammatical works late in the fifteenth century, John Anwykyll's Compendium totius grammaticae in 1489, and a Liber equivocorum (151), and c.1503, Adriaen Van Berghen printed the first edition of Arnold's Chronicle [STC 782; NK 142] (essentially, the commonplacebook of Richard Arnold, an English merchant trading with the Low Countries (152)) in Antwerp, but it was Jan van Doesborch, who really cornered the Continental anglophone market
In his first paper on the Antwerp-based printer, Franssen has confirmed that it was Van Doesborch's practice to issue editions of certain books in both English and Dutch, and while only two such are extant in both languages, a lost English translation of certain Dutch works printed by Van Doesborch and lost Dutch originals of works which are now only extant in English, can be presumed. He has also established the criteria which Van Doesborch observed before venturing into the English market: apart from reprints of very popular school textbooks, he would only print books in English if they were in prose and if he was the first to publish that particular title. Between 1505 and 1530 Van Doesborch printed some 22 English texts and he is known to have been resident in London in 1523 (the year in which Robert Bankes printed *The IX drunkardes* which declares itself to be translated from the Dutch and uses a majority of woodcuts from earlier Van Doesborch publications), for in that year he is recorded as resident in the parish of St. Martin in the Fields.

Van Doesborch followed the lead of earlier Netherlandish printers and turned out at least four Latin textbooks for the English market in the period c.1507-c.1515, as did his contemporaries Govert Bac (see below) and Adrian van Berghen -- native printers, seemingly, simply could not keep up with the demand (153).

The book *Van den X Esels* (1st ed. c.1530) is also attributed to Van Doesborch, a work which expressly states that it was translated 'wt den Enghelschen in Duytscher spraken'; the presumed English original, *The IX Asses* (the chapter "Den Thiensten Easel" [The Tenth Ass]) proclaims itself to be an addition in the Dutch book) is no longer extant, but is also of interest to the present inquiry in view of its subject matter and title-page woodcut [B.IV.e., and pl.103 above].
Alongside the printers of Northern European origin in London and York in the late 15th and early 16th centuries were compatriots of theirs working as stationers and booksellers, in an especially good position to sell both the 'native' product and wares imported from their former homelands.

Two such, described in a contemporary document as 'merchants of printed books', are Barnard van Stondo and Henry Frankenberg -- it is Frankenberg who is recorded in the Customs Roll of the Port of London on 30 December 1477 as importing a box of books, described as 'divers histories', valued at £6; on 2 October 1480, he and Van Stando received 44 volumes with 'some small books'.

John Reynes, a prosperous stationer and book-binder active in London c.1510-44, was a native of the Low Countries (154); we hear too of Govert Bac, who took delivery of one basket of printed books imported into London in 1503, and visited his townsman John Boidens of Antwerp, at his bookshop in East Cheap.

Peter Kaetz, whose shop was in St. Paul's Churchyard, sold several Antwerp-printed religious titles during the early 1520s (155). Also operating out of St. Paul's Churchyard by this period (though as early as 1503 he is recorded as receiving two consignments of printed books in England) was Francis Byrckman, who in 1504

'opened the long series of his issues of Dutch and French printings, sold in London, by publishing together with [Wolfgang Hopyl,] a Dutchman, Gerard Cluen de Amersfoort, a [Sarum Missal [STC 16101]]'(156)

It is Byrckman who in a letter from Cambridge dated 21. Dec. 1513 was described by Erasmus as the 'great importer of books into England' (157). As early as 1480, Andrew Rue of Frankfurt, another of the booksellers of St. Paul's Churchyard, is recorded as importing 177 volumes,
the Savoyard Peter Actors (later stationer to Henry VII), no less than 700 volumes, and "John van Akon" [= Aachen], alias John of Westphalia, the first Belgian printer, resident in Leuven from 1474, 73 volumes (158). Furthermore, he, in company with Peter Actors, is known to have called on the Oxford printer and bookseller Thomas Hunt in 1483, arranging with him to take a selection of their scholarly editions on a sale or return basis. It seems likely that the introduction was effected by Peter Actors' son, Sebastian, who had settled as a bookseller in Oxford where he died in 1501 (159).

It was not only in the capital, then, that these alien bookmen set up their shops; the Oxford bookseller, John Dorne, was of Dutch extraction, and a volume of his accounts for the year 1520 survives as a most valuable record of the stock-in-trade of such an entrepreneur in the very year the Beverley stalls were carved: one of the volumes he offered for sale, for example, was "of the n[e]w[e] fo[n]de land" (160), which can only be Of the newe landes [STC 7677; NK 1311], Van Doesborch's 'remarkable compilation of parts', then recently printed in Antwerp c.1518, and taken from at least four of his own Dutch-language publications concerning voyages to the New World, published c.1506 (161).

Another Dutchman, Frederick Egmont, commissioned many English service-books at Venice, such as the York Use Breviary published in 1493, imported twenty pounds worth of books into the country during an eight-month period in 1502-3, and was present at Nottingham Fair (162). At this period much trade was carried out at fairs, and every major town held one or more per year, attended by tradesmen from all over the country and even from abroad. Beverley, of course, was no exception, and Londoners, in particular, are documented as attending the ancient Ascensiontide 'Cross fair' in the 1560s (163), suggesting another possible route by which the wares of both alien and native printers might be disseminated.
Hugo Goes, a shadowy figure, but one of the greatest interest in the present context, as he is known to have printed in both York and Beverley itself in the decade immediately prior to the carving of our stalls, has been discussed separately above [A.III.].
By the late Middle Ages there were sizeable Flemish communities in many English towns like Beverley, those of East Anglia in particular, but the largest such settlement was, as might be expected, in London, and specifically, in Southwark. In an Exchequer record of the 'Alien Subsidy' for 1469, 113 alien goldsmiths are listed as working in the City of London, Flemish names predominating. As Sylvia Thrupp has shown,

'The vast majority of the London aliens were classed as 'Doche', a term latinized as 'Theutonici' but today untranslatable, since it covered the Flemish as well as those we call Dutch, and Germans as well. In the last City roll [of 1483-4] over eighty per cent of the names are so marked... but for the London area as a whole the proportion of 'Doche' must then have been nearer ninety per cent, and had probably been so all along. In the last listing for the Middlesex suburbs and Westminster the names are solidly 'Doche'.' (164)

As far as these Metropolitan 'Dutch' are concerned, there are two groups of especial interest in the present context, those involved in goldsmithing and those involved in printing.

To some extent, printing and goldsmithing were 'allied trades'; the goldsmith was familiar, of course, with the process of engraving on metal, and it was in the goldsmith's workshop that line-engraving had originated earlier in the 15th century. While early printed books make much greater use of woodcuts rather than metal-cuts, there was clearly some intercourse between practitioners of the related techniques, and one class of early printed ornament with which, in particular, we are concerned here, i.e. the marginal border strips on dotted ground in early printed Books of Hours of Parisian origin, seems to have demanded the use of metal blocks to achieve the required delicacy (165).

The community of 'Doche' goldsmiths in London was not only numerous -- in the period 1479-1514, 417 aliens, the vast majority of them 'Doche', swore to observe the rules of the Goldsmiths' Company
(which figure is a minimum, for many must have escaped the Company’s searches) -- but so well-established as to have its own 'fraternity of St. Eligius of the Dutch goldsmiths of London', which was certainly in existence as early as 1386 and still flourishing in 1502 (166), though

'when Henry VIII’s commissioners were seeking details of such fraternities, it had prudently disappeared'.

In short, 'the Doche were indispensable in London goldsmithing' (167).
In 1471 Wellys was importing madder, presumably for the dyeing of his cloth -- Kerling, op. cit., 129, from P.R.O. E 122 62/13.


The culmination of this tradition is the fact that between 1521 and 1558, four Flemings occupied the office of arras-maker to King Henry VIII -- as noted by T. Wyatt, "Aliens in England before the Huguenot" in Huguenot Society's Proceedings 19 (1952), 74-94, esp. 83. Kipling, op. cit. in n. 64 below, 140, lists them in order as Cornelius van de Strete (appointed by Henry VII, confirmed in his office by Henry VIII in 1510, died 1529), John Musting of Enghien, John Bukk, and Nicholas Morrent.


The origin of this claim, variously embroidered, would seem to be a passage in Book III of Thomas Fuller's The church-history of Britain (1655), ed. J.S. Brewer (Oxford, 1845), II. 285f., s.a. 1337, which, however, only concerns weavers -- it is quoted in J.F. Bense, Anglo-Dutch Relations from the earliest times to the death of William the Third (Oxford, 1925), 37f.

Warner & Gilson, II, 310.

See further C.IV.a. below.

G. Dogaer in Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries (Amsterdam, 1987), 25. In the light of Nicholas Rogers' research, is now a serious under-estimate.

Dogaer, op. cit., 25.


duced by the atelier set up by Herman Scheerre in England in the first decade of the 15th century, and others illuminated by this workshop, see G. M. Spriggs, "The Nevill Hours and the School of Herman Scheerre" in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974), 104-30.

13 See E. Colledge, "South Netherlands' Books of Hours Made for England" in *Scriptorium* 32 (1978), 55-7. The manuscript is Downside Abbey, MS 26530.

14 The manuscript, now in Australia, is Victoria State Library, MS *FO 96/ R 66 H 13*; see M. Mannion & V. Vines, *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections* (1984), 135-8. I thank Professor John Block Friedman for drawing this, the manuscript referred to in n.12, and the following 'Books of Hours almost certainly made in Flanders for the English market' to my attention:

- Bodleian MS Lib. Auct. C. infra 2. 13
- NLW MS 15537C ['the De Grey Hours']
- Chicago, Newberry Lib., MS 35
- Parma, Bibl. Palat. 1652
- Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76. F. 7. ['Hours of Catherine of Aragon']
- BL MS Harley 3000
- Los Angeles County Museum, (unnumbered MS)
- Private Coll., (sold Sotheby's, 8 Dec., 1981, lot 115)

15 The following Sarum *Horae* are referred to in N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford, 1969) as 'manuscripts written in Flanders for the English market' (and are not mentioned elsewhere in this chapter):

- London, Dulwich College, MS 25 (15thC.)
- London, Law Society Library, MS 2 (107.e) (15thC. 'written in the Netherlands for English use')
- London, Victoria & Albert Museum, MS Reid 45 (15thC. 'written in S. Netherlands for English use')

The following British Library manuscripts are cited by Ker but details are from Warner & Gilson, III, 4f.,

- King's MS 9 (Flanders, early 16thC.)

and *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1864)

- Add. MS 17012 ('belonged to a lady of Henry VII's court')
The following manuscripts are also cited by Ker, but details are taken from Pacht & Alexander, op.cit., I, German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools (Oxford, 1966):

- MS Liturg. 98 (c.1460 ‘made in England’ [sic])
- MS Liturg. 401 (1450X75 ‘written in England’ [sic])
- MS Rawl. Liturg. f. 5 (mid-15thC. ‘written for England’)
- MS Rawl. Liturg. g. 3 (end 15thC. ‘made for England -- Lincoln diocese’)

Two other examples noticed in ed. P. Lasko & N.J. Morgan, Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520 (Norwich, 1973), 48 and 59, are Swaffham, St. Peter and St. Paul, MS.1, a Book of Hours probably produced in Bruges c.1450, and a late example, a Psalter produced in Bruges or Ghent some time in the first two decades of the 16th century, Norwich, Castle Museum, MS. 158. 926. 4a.

Another early 15thC. Horae written in Flanders for English use is Southwark Catholic Cathedral Library MS 7.

16 The most recent discussion of Edward’s manuscripts is J. Backhouse, “Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts” in ed. Williams, including an Appendix of the 30 or so ‘Manuscripts in the Royal Collection which are or may be associated with Edward IV and his immediate circle’.

17 This latter is one of the manuscripts attributed to the School of William Vrelant in Dogaer, op.cit., 105; another manuscript attributed to the same School is Edinburgh University Library MS 195, an illustrated Virgil made for a member of the Scottish Royal family, conjectured to be Eleanor, daughter of James I of Scotland in Angels ..., 85, cat. no. E60.

18 A very similar copy was originally illuminated for Hastings, Edward’s chamberlain and companion in exile, i.e. BL MS Royal 18 E I, cit. Gransden, 29-30.


Another manuscript illuminated for Edward in 1479 is the two volume ‘Bible historiale’, BL MS Royal 18 D IX & X, decorated by the so-called ‘Master of Edward IV’ -- see Dogaer, op.cit., 117, and Backhouse, op.cit., 26-28.

Four more manuscripts commissioned by Edward are attributed to the ‘Master with the White Inscriptions’, two of which are dated 1479 and 1480, they are all in the Royal Collection of the DL and are numbered 14 E V (Laurens de Premierfaits’s translation of Boccaccio’s
"Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes malheureux"), 18 E III-IV (Simon de Hesdin & Nicholas Gonneau’s translation of Valerius Maximus’s "Memorabilia"), 18 E VI (vols. ii. & iii. of Jean Mansel’s "La Fleur des Histoires"), and 19 E V (Jean Mielot’s translation of Roberto della Porta’s "Romuleon") -- see Dogaer, op. cit., 124.

20 This Master is identified by some with Alexander Benninck (d.1519), an identification rejected by Dogaer in op. cit., 145. Be that as it may, Benninck’s daughter married a Scottish merchant named Andrew Halyburton. Halyburton’s ledger reveals that between 1496 and 1498, William Schevez, Archbishop of St. Andrews (for whose Flemish-made portrait medallion, see below), Sir Alexander Scot, the Duke and Duchess of Ross, and three others commissioned ‘throwchts’ [i.e. tombstones] from Bruges -- C. Thompson & L. Campbell, Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1974), 54.

21 The manuscript is BL Add MS 54782. See the facsimile edition with commentary by D.H. Turner, The Hastings Hours (London, 1983). For a third manuscript illuminated in Flanders for Hastings, v. n.18 above.


23 ibid., 30 n.11.

24 For doubts as to the traditional identification of the presenting author in this engraving as Caxton, see N.F. Blake, Caxton and his World (London, 1969), 219f.

25 Kipling (1977), 34.

26 Angels ..., 83f., cat. nos. E52, E56, E51, E54 and E55, respectively

27 Evans, 106. The portrait of Grimston from the Earl of Verulam’s collection is on loan to the National Gallery, that of his wife is in the Berlin Museum.


(Woodbridge, 1989), 107-23, esp. 119.


32 See Thompson & L. Campbell, op. cit. in n.20 above.

33 The manuscript is now Vienna, Österreichisches Nationalbibliothek Cod. 1897. Dogaer, op. cit., 166, attributes it to the hand of Gerard Horenbout himself.

34 cit. J. Arnold Fleming, Flemish Influence in Britain (Glasgow, 1930), I. 268.

35 Auerbach, 166.

36 The painting is attributed to Jan Gossaert ("Mabuse") whom Henry VII is said to have persuaded to settle in England, but who left "dissatisfied with his rewards" -- Lees-Milne, 14.

37 cf. the 'Isabella Hours', Cleveland, Museum of Art, 63. 256, illuminated c.1492, and worked on by the 'Master of the Dresden Hours' (see n.29 above), Gerard Horenbout, and the 'Master of the Bruges Books of Hours' (see n.44 below) -- Dogaer, op. cit., 129, 166, 159.


40 Croft-Murray, 13.

41 ibid., 16f.

42 Kipling, op. cit., 32 and n.4, and Backhouse, op. cit. in n.16 above, 30 & 34f.

43 In ed. D. Williams, op. cit. in n.30 above, Janet Backhouse refers to [Kipling's] 'recent misguided attempts to credit Henry VII with a large and flourishing Flemish-orientated manuscript workshop at Richmond in the years around 1500', and further refers the reader to her earlier work, op. cit. in n.16 above, for 'a reexamination of Henry's claims as a patron of illuminators', where, on p.33, she writes: 'recent attempts to credit Quintin Poulet with the establishment of a major manuscript workshop at Richmond, supplying the royal library
with Burgundian-style illuminated books to suit Henry's personal tastes, simply cannot be substantiated. Henry himself seems to have been more interested in the acquisition of printed books than in contemporary manuscripts. In a footnote she further opines that 'Kipling's ideas were accepted uncritically by Roy Strong and repeated, with some embellishment' in the work referred to in the next note below.

44 R. Strong, Artists of the Tudor Court. The Portrait Miniature Discovered 1520-1620 (London, 1983), 34f. BL Royal MS 16. F. II, is an example of one of the manuscripts illuminated by a Flemish hand working in Henry's English scriptorium according to Strong; Backhouse, however, op. cit. in n.16 above, 36f., shows that the decoration of this manuscript 'represents two distinct campaigns', a.1483, when it was begun for Edward IV, and the late 1490s, when it was completed for Henry VII. Dogaer, op. cit. in n.9 above, 159, identifies the Flemish miniaturist as Winkler's 'Prayerbook Master of c.1500', but notes that he would be more accurately styled the 'Master of the Bruges Books of Hours'; Backhouse notes that the same illuminator's work appears in the "Imaginacion de vraye noblesse" of 1496, referred to in n.46 below, but that this Master's œuvre is overdue for re-examination.

Apart from Wolsey, another high-ranking ecclesiastic who favoured the Flemish style was Bishop Foxe of Winchester, whose portrait was perhaps the very first commission given the Bruges painter Jan Raf (alias John Corvus) when he arrived in England c.1518. For his work for the 1527 Greenwich revels, see below.

45 The manuscript is Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 57 -- Kipling, 42, n.5. He cites BL MS Royal 15 D IV, the elaborate copy of Vasco Fernandes de Lucena's French version of "Les faiz du grant Alexandre", originally made for Sir John Donne (as proved by his (erased) arms) and probably presented to him by the Duchess of Burgundy, Margaret of York, on whose daughter's marriage negotiations Donne worked as English ambassador in Flanders, as another example, (see Kekewich, op. cit. in n.19 above, 484), but Backhouse, op. cit. in n.16 above, 31, thinks it 'unlikely that [it] passed into the royal library as early as Edward's time'.

46 Kipling, 37. The manuscript is BL Royal 19 C VIII. For the identification of the illuminator, see n.37 above.

47 ibid., 43. The manuscript in question is the first referred to in n.37 above.

48 Auerbach, 26ff. See further below.

49 ibid., 28 and n.5.

See J. Backhouse, "Arms and the Manuscripts. The King's Illuminated Books" in History Today (June 1991), 43-47, esp. 43f. The manuscripts are BL Royal MS 8 G VII and Royal MS 11 E XI, respectively -- the motet appears on f.10v. of the latter.


Wyatt, op. cit. in n.4 above, 90.

Maynard's career, as far as Kipling was aware of it in 1977, is outlined on pp. 52-67 of his book.

Kipling, 58.

ed. J.B. Paul, Compota thesaurariorum regum Scotorum (Edinburgh, 1877), II. 341.

In the Royal Collection at Windsor; R. Strong in the National Portrait Gallery catalogue, Tudor and Jacobean Portraits (London, 1969), 151, considers it was 'probably painted c.1505-9'.

Stone, 212. See further below.

The lawsuit is discussed in Duff, 47f., and Plomer, (1925), 246f.

Duff, op. cit., 48. It would be natural for their English neighbours to assimilate a Flemish name which Maynard signed as 'Wewyck', to the well-known English surname Warwick. His signature, 'Maynnart Wowyck', is appended to a document of November 1511 concerning 'a certen table and ij patrones drawnen for my ladie the kynges grandamm tombe', reproduced in R.F. Scott, "On the Contracts for the Tomb of the Lady Margaret Beaufort ... " in Archaeologia 66 (1914-15), 371.

Kipling, op. cit., 66.


65 As Colvin accepts, op. cit. 218, n.5, Kipling implicitly does, and Lindley seems quite willing to, op. cit. in following n., 117. A.P. Darr, "The Sculptures of Torrigiano. The Westminster Abbey Tombs" in The Connoisseur 200 (1979) 177-84, and Colvin date the estimate 1506.

66 Kipling, 65f. This view is endorsed by P.G. Lindley in the most recent detailed examination, "'Una grande opera al mio re': gilt-bronze effigies in England from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance" in Journal of the British Archaeological Association 143 (1990), 112-30, esp. 114f., e.g. 'When Torrigiano signed the contract on 23 November 1511, it was on the basis of Maynard's full-size painted patterns of the effigy and tabernacle that he was to work'.

67 Kipling, 50, n.25. The version now at Anglesey Abbey is reproduced in Kipling, op. cit. in n.64 above, as fig. 5.6.

68 Where he appears as 'Maynard Waynwyk' -- Auerbach, 191 -- I now see that this was also noted by Colvin, op. cit.

69 Kipling, 136, n.47, citing BL MS Egerton 2604, f.6.

70 Fleming, I. 293.

71 Starkey, op. cit. in n.31, 42f.

72 Reddaway, op. cit. in n.5 above, 172. Bruchsal was based in London from 1489-1511.

73 Discussed by P. Grierson, "The Origins of the English Sovereign and the Symbolism of the Closed Crown" in British Numismatic Journal 33 (1964), 118-34. Stone, 223 and n.50, uses the 'high-domed' or 'arched' crown as proof of Flemish influence in the Eton College wall-paintings of 1479-88, and as 'conclusive evidence' of 'the retarded effect of Flemish and Burgundian realism at long last making its appearance in English architectural statuary' on the late 15thC. west front of Exeter Cathedral.

74 It is reproduced and discussed in Angels ..., 101, cat. no. E104. For the tombstone ordered by Archbishop Schevez from Bruges in the late 1490s, see n.20 above. Wolsey's commission is referred to in Lees-Milne, 44. For the alleged influence of a painting by Metsys on the Transfiguration window at Fairford, see C.III.f. above.

75 Angels ..., 118, cat. no. F28.
The lectern now in St. Peter's Church, St. Albans, is assumed to have been given as a present to Holyrood Abbey, where he had previously been Abbot, by George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld (1524-43), with whose name and office it is inscribed, and may well be one such. Crichton was not the first Abbot of Holyrood to demonstrate a taste for Flemish art with which to adorn his abbey — in 1494 his predecessor is known to have been in Bruges buying vestments and hangings (Thompson & Campbell, op. cit. in n.20 above, 54). For a tabernacle and images imported from the Netherlands in 1510 by another of Crichton's predecessors in the see of Dunkeld, see below and n.134.

Blankston's will of 1540, details from which are published in Auerbach, 15f., is a most interesting document, which sheds light on the close-knit Southwark community of immigrant artists: he left all his painter's tools to his future son-in-law, Garrarde Hone, son of the Hollander Galyon Hone, 'King's glazier' [noticed further below], resident in England since at least 1517. Hone senior was one of the three overseers of Blankston's will; the other two were Harry Harman-son, described as a bookseller (originally from Deventer — see E.G. Duff, A Century of the English Book Trade (London 1905), s.n.), and John Sybriche, whom Auerbach did not recognise, but who surely must be the operator of the first Cambridge press (in 1520-1); his surname proclaims his origins in the German town of Siegburg near Cologne, and thus makes him a close neighbour of Blankston, suggesting the possibility that they may even have been acquainted in their homeland before emigrating to England.

A Fleming named Gerard Harman was another prosperous alien goldsmith living in London at this period — Wyatt, op. cit. 89.
Streitberger, 43.

Stone, 212f.

ibid., 225.


Stone, 212. Thomas is also styled a 'Ducheman smyth'—Colvin, op. cit., III. 218.

Stone, 209.

ibid., 230, and n.81, 270. P.G. Lindley, comes to the same conclusion—'Stylistically ... the statuary of Henry VII's chapel, and the two Eton figures, appear to have the closest links with Netherlandish sculpture'—"Two Late Medieval Statues at Eton College" in Journal of the British Archaeological Association 141 (1988), 169-77, esp. 174, and cf. his n.49: 'It seems very likely indeed that sculptors from the Netherlands were responsible for much of the Henry VII chapel imagery. Thomas the Dutchman's grate statuettes of 1505-12 emanate from the same stylistic background'.

Tracy (1990).

Stone, 269, n.76.

Tracy (1990).

Stone, 225.

Angels ..., 70, cat. no. E14.


M. Jones, "Slawepe fro the myln-whel", paper delivered to the Conference of the Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre hold at Lancaster in July 1989. The latest of these impressive brasses imported from Flanders is dated 1391—see K. Cameron, "The Fourteenth Century Brasses at King's Lynn" in Archaeological Journal 132 (1979)
101 As cat. no. 1 in Moore, 81. The final quotation from Robin Emerson's catalogue entry regarding the link between the brasses and the stained glass is referred to R. Greenwood & M. Norris, The Brasses of Norfolk Churches (Norwich, 1977), 28.

102 What follows derives mainly from Wayment, esp. 9-22 (9-15 are by K. Harrison).

103 Whose career is reconstructed by E. Milner-White, Sixteenth Century Glass in York Minster and in the Church of St. Michael-le-Belfrey (York, 1960).

104 Wayment, 46. n.11.


107 ibid., 95. The 'Thornhill Painted Glass' is discussed but its stylistic affinities not considered beyond the remark that 'by appearance much if not all of it [is] from the York workshops', in Palmer, 293-301.

108 cf. Stone's remarks with which I prefaced the previous chapter.

109 Wayment, 23; the painting in question is the St. Anne altarpiece in Brussels; Metsys's St. John altarpiece of 1511 in Antwerp is also compared to this glazier's painting. The 'Master of the Fairford Transfiguration' is Wayment's 'Glazier H' at King's, and -- it would appear -- his 'Glazier H' at Fairford [?] (Wayment, op. cit. in n. 106 above, 93).

110 ibid., 95.

111 cf. for knowledge of Memlinc's work in England at this time, the Donne triptych discussed above.

112 Wayment, 86.

113 Wayment, op. cit. in n.106 above, 15.

114 Wayment, 18.
115 Wayment in Starkey, op. cit. in n.31 above, 29.

116 H.C. Wayment, "The East Window of St. Margaret's, Westminster" in The Antiquaries Journal 61 (1981), 292-301, esp. 296. Here the glass is dated c.1515-27, in the work cited in the previous note, it is dated 'in the 1520s'.

117 Wayment, 21. G.M. Rushforth believed the three-light window now in the Chapel of the Vyne near Basingstoke (c.1522) was also derived from cartoons by Vellert -- see now H.C. Wayment, "The Stained Glass of the Chapel of the Vyne" in National Trust Studies 1980 (1979), 35-47. The floor of that chapel was also tiled with maiolica portrait tiles which 'undoubtedly came from the workshop set up by the Italian Guido de Savino in Antwerp in 1512' -- Lees-Milne, 65.


119 As the 'Probable source of main design' of the Presentation of the Virgin scene, Wayment identified an engraving by Van Meckenem [B.32], of the Crowning with Thorns, two engravings by Van Leyden [B.62 and B.69], and two images of the Flagellation, Dürer's woodcut [B.8], with his engraving of the same subject from the "Small Passion" series of 1508, as a source for part of the composition. An altar-piece formerly in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral, painted in 1526 by 'T.G.', 'perhaps a German', also draws on Dürer's "Small Passion" series, in both the engraved and woodcut editions, for its Betrayal and Ascension scenes, according to Croft-Murray.

As 'Probable source of part' of a scene in another King's window, Wayment suggests that the frieze with a rabbit in the Golden Table derives from an engraving by the Master bxg [L.41], the Virgin and Aphrodisius in the Idols Falling from an engraving by Van Meckenem [B.48], and two Dürer engravings [B.72 & B.6] provide the partial source of the King's Fall of Rebel Angels and Agony in the Garden scenes respectively.

120 Quoted in E. Croft-Murray, "A Leaf from a Flemish Sketchbook of the Early Sixteenth Century" in British Museum Quarterly 17 (1952), 8-10

121 See further, discussion at C.IV.a. below. The two presently returned stall misericords in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, which Charles Tracy dates c.1512, show a decidedly more accomplished handling of the new Renaissance idiom, however evidently Germanic the figure-style still is; these are the two royal stalls, of course, so that it may simply be that especial care was lavished on them, or that a master-carver was entrusted with these two alone.

122 Tracy (1990), chapter VII, "Royal Choir-stall commissions in England at the end of the Middle Ages".

124 Tracy (1990).

125 *ibid.* For details of the 'un-English design features of these stalls', see *ibid.*

126 *ibid.*

127 See C.II.c. above.

128 Tracy (1990).

129 Colvin, *op. cit.*, III. 218.

130 Wayment, 12.

131 Document published by O. Delepierre in *Archaeologia* 31 (1846), 346-9

132 *Angels ...*, 64, and 111, cat. no. F14, citing W. Kelly, "Carved Oak from St. Nicholas Church Aberdeen" in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 68 (1933-4) 355-66, from where the information regarding King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, is derived.

133 *ibid.*, 108f., cat. no. F10.

134 Woods, 109f.

135 *ibid.*, 92; the record relates to London not King's Lynn as Woods states. For images imported into Hull in 1519, see section C.I.a., above, n.32.

136 *ibid.*, 92f.


138 Woods, 94f.

139 *ibid.*, 92, 100. In the will, both his 'best prease' and 'best Cupbourde' are described as 'caruen of Flaunders worke' -- printed in R.B. Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (Oxford, 1902), I. 57.
140 Thrupp, 265f.

141 Kerling, (1955), 190-99, esp. 192.


144 Designed expressly for export to England as the Sarum Use was not, of course, followed anywhere on the Continent.

145 E. Armstrong, "English purchases of printed books from the Continent 1465-1526" in English Historical Review 94 (1979), 277 and 280.

146 See C.III.c. above, for a reconstruction of his career.

147 Vervliet, 48.

148 The earliest extant Dutch edition was printed by Eckert van Hombrich in Antwerp in 1501, nine years after Leeu's English translation and its title-page cut copies his; this suggests either that he was reprinting another no longer extant Caxton edition, or that -- as is the case with several of Jan van Doesborch's English-language publications which antedate the earliest extant Dutch versions -- an earlier lost Dutch edition may be assumed. In his chapter "The Introduction of Printing into England and the early work of the Press" in the 1908 edition of The Cambridge History of English Literature, E.G. Duff is prepared to accept the former possibility, but also states unequivocally that "The English version is translated from the Dutch" (319), which had not been his opinion in 1892 when he had published a facsimile of Leeu's The dialogue or communing between the wise King Salomon and Marcolphus.

149 Duff, op. cit. in n.81 above, 100.

150 ibid., 60.

151 ibid., 117.

152 One of the valuable items it includes, for instance, is the famous ballad of "The Nut Browne Maid" which, however, is known also to
have been printed as a separate edition, by 1520 at least, from the appearance of the "Notbrone mayde" in John Dorne, the Oxford bookseller's 1520 accounts (line 294) -- see n.160 below.

153 Franssen, 259-80.

154 Duff, op. cit. in n.81 above, 135f.


156 M.E. Kronenberg, "Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries (Early Sixteenth Century)" in The Library 9 (1929), 139-63; the quotation is from p.144.

157 Armstrong, op. cit. in n.145 above, 278, n.2.

158 Details from Plomer (1924), 146-50.

159 As noted in Armstrong, op. cit. in n.145 above, 273f.

160 The accounts, edited by F. Madan, are published in ed. C.R.L. Fletcher, Collectanea. 1st Series (Oxford, 1885). The title quoted is from line 848.

161 The description is Franssen's, 259. The number of Van Doesborch's own Dutch-language publications from which "Of the new landes" is compiled is revised to four in the same author's "Jan van Doesborch's departure from Antwerp and his influence on the Utrecht printer Jan Berntsz" in Quaerendo 18 (1980), 168.

162 See The Library 2nd. S. 8 (1908), 419.

163 K.J. Allison in VCH, 81.

164 Thrupp, 259.

165 Hind (1935), 679.

166 Similarly, in the late 15th century, immigrant Flemish and German tradesmen founded a guild of St. Cornelius at Westminster. Dr. Brian Spencer kindly informs me that in the 1520s a female pilgrim from Hull gave a modest offering to the guild's chapel.

167 Thrupp, 265.
C.IV.a. Early Renaissance Decoration in English Woodwork

In Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, is a misericord carved c.1512 depicting a Wild Family against a background of heavily-laden vines [pl.247], a 'Renaissance Subject' in the words of M.D. Anderson, executed in a manner she described as 'Italianate' (1), and this seat is also singled out by Charles Tracy as one of the 'few of the misericords [on which] distinctly Italianate mannerisms and motifs occur' (2).

Although, indeed, unmistakably 'Renaissance' in feel, to a degree which no other seat, even here at Westminster, quite attains -- it is still only so in what Croft-Murray has termed 'the heavy North European version of the Renaissance' (3), and Tracy has rightly emphasised that the decoration of the Henry VII's Chapel stalls is still essentially 'late Continental Gothic' (4).

I am not aware, however, of the presence of any of the minor components of the Renaissance ornamental vocabulary in the early 16thC. English woodcarving corpus (5), of what Croft-Murray, discussing contemporary painting, terms the

'architectural and ornamental accessories, such as round-topped arches, pilasters of grotesque, foliated baluster motifs, and heads in medallions' (6)

such superficial, applied decoration as may also be seen on the painted architecture of imported Flemish glass, even glass as 'modern' as that now installed at The Vyne of c.1522 (7). There are no pedestal bowls with hanging floral swags, no helmeted heads à l'antique, no hippocamps, no sprays of acanthus terminating in clawed animal feet, etc.; they are not to be found in English woodwork until the later 1520s, and even then only in the local 'heavy' manner, as on the panels from a house at
Waltham Abbey now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (8). The woodwork of this period is only superficially Renaissance in style, as Charles Tracy emphasises:

‘the choir-stalls at Christchurch Priory, of 1525-30 are Gothic in design but decorated with Italianate ornament, of only provincial quality. Only the choir-stalls at King’s College, Cambridge, probably made 1530-35, can claim to be Renaissance through and through’. (9)

James Lees-Milne also summarises this period in contemporary architecture, which includes the early years of Henry VIII’s reign, rather well:

‘The new classicism was short-lived because the enlightened young humanist became in middle age the Protestant tyrant, and either drove out of or allowed the Italian Catholic artists to leave the country, and encouraged the German and Flemish ones to come in. During the short interregnum of grace before the king’s metamorphosis the Italian classicism in architecture got little further than the surface of roundels, tombs and wainscoting, the heads and surrounds of windows and the plaster work of ceilings, both in churches and country houses, to the order of a few rich and travelled clients. It spread no further afield than the southern and eastern counties, for the Italians disembarked at Southampton and London; and proof is still wanting that they even worked beyond the immediate environs of the capital.’ (10)

It is the same story in other artistic media, such as goldsmith’s work (11). Precisely these motifs, however, are found alongside the motifs which we have seen that these misericord-carvers derived from early Parisian printed Horae. Two possible explanations for the English woodcarvers’ reluctance to avail themselves of even this superficially Renaissance decorative vocabulary suggest themselves: either these obviously new ornaments simply did not appeal to their aesthetic, still conservatively wedded to the traditional medieval figural repertoire, or the selections of abstracted images from which these early 16thC. carvers worked -- for which ‘pattern-books’ may be too formal a designation -- did not include the more blatantly Renaissance ornaments.
I am inclined to believe, myself, that in 1520, especially somewhere as 'provincial' as Beverley, the carvers were simply 'not ready' to adopt this new ornamental vocabulary, for I do not think it can any longer be maintained that they did not have access to it. It is striking, for example, as we have seen above, that one of the illustrative miniatures the Fifth Earl of Northumberland added to the manuscript of Lydgate's poems he inherited (f.93r. [pl.248]), is described by Warner & Gilson as

‘Priam and his court mourning over Hector's body: the hall decorated with renaissance ornament.’

This is one of the miniatures that Percy arranged for 'an artist of the Flemish school' to add, at some point 'early in Henry VIII's reign ?', probably, to judge from one of the accompanying datable additional texts, towards 1520 (12).

There is interesting contemporary evidence elsewhere, for example, that by 1520, English royal commissions, might expect to feature at least this applied, superficial Renaissance decoration.

The extravagant display of the Field of Cloth of Gold, on which Henry lavished such expense, is reported in some detail by the chronicler Edward Hall who was himself present at this 'summit meeting' at Guines in 1520 (13). The French banqueting pavilion there was compared by the Seigneur de Florange with that erected in a quadrangle of the Bastille for the entertainments given to the English ambassadors in 1513, which Hall described as having pillars covered with 'antique works' (14).

At Guines itself in 1520, to the left of the entrance to the English 'temporary palace', stood a fountain in the form of a hexagonal column 'of auncient Romayne woorkes', crowned by a statue of Cupid, bow in hand, and on the other side of the entrance an even more splendid
fountain topped by Bacchus and 'ingrayled with anticke woorkes'. We are fortunate that a painting of the scene survives, although no longer felt to be exactly contemporary (15), it does enable us to see exactly what Hall meant by this 'auncient Romayne' or 'anticke' work. The Hampton Court picture, clearly executed by several hands and attributed to the Netherlandish school (16), shows each side of the fountain's hexagonal column decorated with a design of vertically scrolling stylised foliage in the new Renaissance style -- it is precisely this sort of superficially applied 'architectural' detail which is to be seen in the 'Scenes from the Life of St. John the Baptist', described by Croft-Murray as 'the first decorative paintings probably by a native painter to show Renaissance detail' whose style 'shows Netherlandish influence', painted on the walls of the Oxenbridge Chantry in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and dated 1522 [pl.249] (17), or -- in another painted medium -- that applied to the painted architectural background in the glass of the Chapel of the Vyne, c.1522, noted above.

The front and sides of the Guines 'palace' were adorned with large glass windows, above which was a cornice surmounted by a frieze described in the words of a contemporary French printed pamphlet as painte a lantique, with gilt leafwork, to judge from both the Hampton Court painting with its stylised floral motifs and the words of an Italian eyewitness named Soardino (18).

We are further informed that a large hall was to be found within the palace, up to which a broad covered staircase led; this stairway is described as decorated with armed images in silver, and 'anticke images of gold', surrounded with 'verdour of Oliffe cost in compas' (19).

The English palace also contained a series of apartments for Cardinal Wolsey, and one report describes the gilt cornice which ran around the walls with blue, enamel-like ornament, 'antique' knots and cast bosses wrought in gilt (20).
Finally we learn that the horse on which Henry made his triumphant entry onto the Field itself was trapped in fine bullion, 'pounced and sette with antick woorke of Romayne Figures' (21) and so it is depicted in the Hampton Court painting.

'Antique' was clearly a common European term for the new style of ornament: in 1519, for example, the Antwerp Cathedral chapter contracted the wood-carver Gregorius Wellemans, in a most instructive fashion, to carve the wooden model for their new brass choirscreen:

'scvuende ... all dat modern is, mer die te verbeteren ende te vermeerderen van geheelen antique' [eschewing ... everything that is contemporary, in order to make the full-sized [screen] improved and enlarged in the 'antique' style.] (22)

By modern, of course, the style which the Antwerp Cathedral authorities were anxious the carver should eschew, they understood what we should now term 'late Gothic'. The details of this contract are of particular interest when we recall that it was to Antwerp early in the following year that Henry sent Vincent Volpe, a Neapolitan painter in his employ, in connexion with the work at Guines, not to his native Italy -- eloquent testimony of both the instinctive early Tudor looking to the Netherlands for artistic inspiration, and of the 'North European' (23) channels through which, in this period, the Italian Renaissance was commonly mediated before reaching England, even at this privileged level.
Thus while Devotion kneels at her prayers, 
doeth Profanation walk under her nose. 
[Dekker, The Dead Tearme (1608), cit. Wildridge]

There are unfortunately no detailed contracts or specifications 
surviving from the late Middle Ages for English choirstalls; not even in 
accounts relating to the royal commissions at Windsor and Westminster.

Considering the tiny percentage of overtly religious imagery to 
be found in the Beverley misericord carvings, though as we have re- 
marked, quite typical of the English corpus as a whole, we might perhaps 
suspect that the carvers were not closely directed by a clerical super- 
visor as to choice of subject-matter. Continental contracts contemporary 
with the Beverley stalls suggest that this was, indeed, the case.

The misericords of the Amiens Cathedral stalls, for example, were 
to be decorated, according to the early 16thC. order,

'de feuillaige ou mannequins et petits bestiaux et autre chose 
a plaisance'. 
[with foliage or little people and little animals and anything 
else, as it pleases you] (24)

Similarly, the carver Gillis van Dickele was instructed to decor- 
ate the misericords of the new stalls of the abbey of St. Clare in Gent- 
brugge with figures 

'correspondende eenighe bysprake of dies ghelycke.'  
[corresponding to some proverb or the like] (25)

Like the 'anything else, as it pleases you' of the Amiens com- 
mission, this order makes a token display of specificity in mentioning 
proverbs, in particular -- and a most interesting reference it is, the 
implications of which are discussed elsewhere -- but then abandons the
pretence of a detailed instruction with its 'or the like', which plainly leaves the choice of subject-matter, in practice, to the carver.

It has become almost a commonplace to compare the imagery carved on misericords with that painted in the margins of illuminated manuscripts (26), a comparison which is both helpful and unhelpful.

In the excellent and wide-ranging discussion in his book on the development of the image of the peasant in late medieval and early modern art (27), Raupp records how it was Sauerlander who first noted that those subjects which were not overtly religious (however capable of 'moralisation', they might be), such as the Labours of the Months, the Liberal Arts, the Vices and Virtues, either occupied the 'periphery' of the Romanesque cathedral, e.g. the side-doors and archivolts, or the 'lower' registers of the building, e.g. door-jambs and socles.

Similarly, the marginal images in late medieval manuscripts rarely represent overtly religious subjects. The significance of these marginal images and their relationship to the text of the religious book they border or surround is not, however, as simple as has sometimes been assumed.

Fashions of interpretation come and go; the opinions of 19thC. art historians that such 'marginal' imagery which was not overtly religious must, therefore, be symbolic of some theological idea, were contradicted by Mâle's Romantic claim that such imagery was purely decorative, the product of the individual artist's imagination allowed free reign (28). Francis Bond, a contemporary of Mâle's, and one of the earliest English scholars to survey the misericord corpus as a whole, similarly denied any symbolic intent on the part of the misericord carvers:

'Symbolism is conspicuously rare on the misericords; they were carved by simple folk for simple folk.' (29)
A statement equally Romantic in its own way, of course.

More recent commentators such as T.A. Heslop, discussing the 'supposedly decorative' initials of Romanesque Bibles (30), and S.K. Davenport, examining the marginal images in an illustrated secular manuscript of the "Romance of Alexander" (31), have demonstrated that such marginalia were, at least sometimes, prompted by textual reference, sometimes punningly (32), that the medieval artist too was a homo ludens, and it seems we must reconcile the two earlier opposed views in the commonsensical conclusion that such marginal images as a whole are neither merely capricious nor necessarily symbolic, each must be taken on its own merits, and with a more careful consideration of its textual and positional context than has often been the case in past studies.

Davenport has well expressed a useful way of looking at these marginal images:

'It may be that we should look for a connexion less didactic than allegory, a connexion more commensurate with the Gothic sense of play. The secular image in this context might offer an explanatory gloss, an intermediary step between a sacred text and the mortals who would gaze upon it.' (33)

Charles Tracy has recently redated the Exeter misericords, the earliest set known to have figural decoration, to the early 1240s (34). The Rutland Psalter, BL Add. MS 62925, similarly the earliest manuscript to contain a full complement of marginal decorations, has also recently been redated, to c.1260 (35). The Exeter misericords are quite typical of the corpus as a whole, especially in the extremely low percentage -- if not entire absence -- of overtly religious subjects (36), so that we cannot speak, for example, of a falling-off in the amount of religious imagery in later centuries -- it seems that misericord imagery, from its inception, was only rarely ever subject to theological programming.

Both these key English artistic monuments are the earliest of their kind to survive, and this coincidence may perhaps imply that the
mid-13th century, was the era which witnessed the beginning of the long
struggle of 'profane' imagery towards independence, towards a representa-
tion that is not tied to an overtly religious programme, that is not
even intended to be symbolic of the truths of religion; as Raupp also
concludes in his summary of the evolution of the subject-matter carved
on late medieval misericords,

'An den Misericordien konnte sich zwischen dem 13. und dem 16.
Jahrhundert die profane Bildwelt in einer Weise entfalten ...
[To a certain extent the world of profane imagery was able to
expand on the misericords between the 13th and 16th centuries ...
](37)

In this embryonic emancipation, if such it may be deemed to be,
the positional 'marginality' of the manuscript border and the underseat
ledge have an obvious kinship.

But Raupp also usefully reminds us of the 'tectonic' function of
the misericord-ledge, precisely similar to that of the corbel, capital
or pedestal, the earliest sites to receive figural decoration in the
Romanesque church in the form of caryatids, atlantes, etc. (38). Such
'ledge-supporters' are common throughout the English misericord corpus,
and two -- in the form of a pair of upraised hands [36:42] and the more
usual squatting man taking the weight of the ledge across his shoulders
[36:39 (39)] -- are, indeed, to be seen amongst the Exeter series; a
late example, of c.1480, is the boy whose back and feet support the
ledge of a misericord in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, [10:7 bis].

There is, however, another consideration which it does not seem
too fanciful to mention in this connexion, and that is the carvers' con-
sciousness of the function of these ledges below which they made their
decoration -- their close juxtaposition with what Bakhtinians term the
'lower bodily stratum'!

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Raupp further takes issue with the implications of the title of the Krauses’ book, "The Hidden World of Misericords" (40) -- for all its literal truth that the carvings would not normally have been visible,

'dürfen die Misericordien keineswegs als eine verborgene, quasi inoffizielle Zone betrachtet werden, in welcher die Phantasie der Bildschnitzer völlig frei, hemmungslos und subversiv walten dürfte.'

[misericords should on no account be regarded as a hidden quasi-unofficial zone in which the carver's imagination could reign completely free, unrestrained and subversive] (41)

Raupp complains that 20thC. students of misericord iconography, from the time of the pioneering work of the Belgian, Louis Maeterlinck, and his English contemporary, Francis Bond, to the recent studies of the Krauses, have regarded this body of carved imagery as either merely decorative or humorous drôlerie, or as pictorialised folklore; instead, he argues, the misericord corpus should be regarded as the key to the evolution of the depiction of the genre-scene (42).

In my opinion, however, the vast range of misericord imagery, permits, indeed demands, consideration from all these angles, and others -- any doctrinaire approach will inevitably be too limiting, emphasising some features of the corpus at the expense of others. What may be said unequivocally is that this body of iconography, as I hope the present study has confirmed, is of the greatest importance for any adequate understanding of the medieval mentalité, and traditional art history has disdained it to its impoverishment. There is a heartening passage in the Introduction to David Freedberg’s The Power of Images, alluding to

'the neglect of what is too often regarded as low-level imagery by historians of culture in general and by historians of art in particular. To shift such imagery aside to the levels of folklore alone -- especially when that field, in Anglo-Saxon countries at least, has such unjustifiably low standing -- is to court the consequences of a narrow and elitist intellectual parochialism.’ (43)
Misericord imagery is something of a paradox, at least, to our modern perceptions: here, at the heart of the religious edifice is a body of overwhelmingly 'secular' imagery -- to use a convenient label. Even when we take cognizance of R.G. Collingwood's proper insistence that

'the [Gothic] artist never contemplated the existence of the distinction [between religious and secular] which to us is so real. All art was religious art, or, what comes to the same thing, all art was secular art; there was no special kind of art used for religious purposes, because there was no feeling that these purposes stood by themselves.' (44)

Once again it is Raupp who offers a possible resolution of this paradox, albeit in a perhaps too tidily structuralist form, by pointing out that the majority of misericord imagery could be envisaged as 'secular' in the sense that it represents the 'World' in a theological programme which embraces the entire hierarchy of the building, from the lowest registers in which the lowly misericord is sited, to the 'heavenly' registers of the angelic host painted on the vaulted ceiling (45).
1 Anderson, (1954), 30, and caption to pl. 47.

2 Tracy (1990), 59 and n.7.

3 Croft-Murray, 21.

4 Tracy (1991), 59. In a letter dated 28/6/91, Dr. Tracy notes that 'the same veneering of the Italianate over a Gothic structure [is found] in France, for instance, at Amboise, c.1495 and, later, at Chambord (1526-36).'

5 One of the earliest instances known to me are the panels of wainscoting now in the Victoria & Albert Museum which bear the date 1520 and come from Merchant Coo's house in Norwich -- at the centre of the linenfold panels are carved interlaced circles and classical devices.

6 Croft-Murray, 21. On p.23 he cites four examples of this sort of 'Renaissance grotesque' decoration painted onto church-screens in the 1520s, one at Bunbury, Cheshire (1527), and three in Devon (all a.1528).

7 H.C. t Jayment, "The Stained Glass of the Chapel of the Vyne", in National Trust Studies 1980 (1979), 35-47. 'The architectural settings in the purest Italianate idiom, were probably designed by the young Pieter Coecke under the supervision of Bernard van Orley' -- ibid., in Starkey, 29. The Vyne window is conveniently reproduced in S. Crewe, Stained Glass in England c.1180-c.1540 (London, 1987), fig.55.

8 Well-illustrated in M. Roulstone, The Royal House of Tudor (St. Ives, 1974), 81.

9 Tracy (1990), 59.

10 Lees-Milne, 19.


'If the progress of the Renaissance style in goldsmith's work ran the same course as in architecture, it probably first influenced decoration rather than design. The Howard 'grace cup' [hall-marked] 1525-6 shows Renaissance motifs intruding into Gothic ornament.'

Exactly the same tentative adoption of such superficial Renaissance motifs may be observed in contemporary luxury silverware: the Barbers' instrument-case (c.1520-5) is engraved on its side-
panels with dolphins and floral scrolls in the new style -- reproduced in P. Glanville, Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England, (London, 1990), fig. 214.

12 GWarner & Gilson, II, 310.

13 The standard account is J.G. Russell, The Field of Cloth of Gold. Men and manners in 1520 (London, 1969), which makes full use of the earliest extant edition of Hall's The triumphant reign of Kynq Henry the VIII of 1548. The chronicle was 'completed in about 1532' according to Gransden, 470, but it seems safe to assume that 'antique' in this stylistic sense was the contemporary term at the time of the Field of Cloth of Gold, only a decade or so earlier. OED, s.v. antic, cites both adjectival and nominal senses from Hall: 'A fountaye of embowed woorke ... ingrayled with anticke woorkes', and, 'Aboue the arches were made many sondri antikes and diuises' (this last from Hall's description of the temporary banqueting house erected at Greenwich in 1527).

14 Russell, op. cit., 29.

15 It is dated 'c.1545' in Starkey, 51, cat. no. IV. 1.

16 See Russell, op. cit., 35f., and 36 n.1.

17 Croft-Murray, 22, and pl.27.

18 The French pamphlet is Lordonnance et Ordre du Tournoy Ioustes et Combat a Pied et a Cheval (Paris, 1520), and the Italian description reads: 'un cornisone molto bello dorato: et fac 'a a fogliami intorno', both are cit. S. Anglo, "The Hampton Court Painting of the Field of Cloth of Gold Considered as an Historical Document" in Antiquaries Journal 46 (1966), 291, n.4.

19 ibid., 41.

20 ibid., 44.

21 'Presumably a reference to classical motifs', as Russell, op. cit., rightly remarks.

22 cit., F.A.L. Van Rappard, "Verzameling van bescheiden betreffende het aken van een koperen hek voor een altaar in den Dom te Utrecht" in Ooreen 4 (1881-2), 246-64, esp. 253.

23 In Croft-Murray's phrase, cit. above.
Similarly, according to the 1519 contract, the stall-elbows for the Abbey of St. Nicholas in Veurne, just over the French border, in Belgium, were to be

'ronde personnaigen van liefden oft van ghediert en oft ronde loovers.'

[round figures of lovers or animals or round foliage]

25 This and the quotation in the previous note are cit. Steppe, 46.

26 e.g. Grössinger, (1975), 101.

27 Raupp, 87a.

28 Raupp refers to Mâle's L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France (Paris, 1922), 340ff., and his L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France (Paris, 1923), 27ff. This Romanticism is far from dead: cf. from F. Lyna's otherwise excellent "De randversieringen in de Vlaamse verluchte handschriften tijdens het Gotisch tijdvak" in De Tijs- spiegel (B.) 14 (1959), 74: 'Het is in de marges der handschriften dat de kunstenaar zijn vrijheid gaat veroveren' [It is the margins of manuscripts that the artist gains his freedom].

29 Bond, 156.

30 Heslop, 2.


32 Here it seems appropriate to cite my own discussion of why the goat-rider clad in a net appears in the bas-de-page of the Ormesby Psalter's opening text of Psalm 52, 'Dixit Insipiens in corde suo ... in Jones (1991a).

33 Davenport, op. cit., 94.

34 Tracy, ...........


36 The only subject which seems to qualify as religious is [36:30], the Locust of the Apocalypse, but far from being overtly religious today,
and one is tempted to wonder how many 13thC. viewers would have been able to identify it as such, including, perhaps the carver himself.

Other subjects, such as the mermaid holding the two fish aloft [36:25], which Remnant confidently glosses as 'the soul in the grip of earthly passion', are possibly allegorical, but not certainly so. As Tracy writes, op. cit., this is almost certainly taken from the illustration of the Siren in a Bestiary related to BL Harley MS 4751, and the Bestiary does, of course, 'moralise' its creatures.

37 Raupp, 88a.

38 ibid., 87a-b.

39 This is presumably the misericord mislabelled 'Wodehouses' in Remnant, but indexed as only depicting a 'Wodehouse: alone,' (p.213).


41 Raupp, 88a-b.

42 ibid., 88a.

43 D. Freedberg, The Power of Images (Chicago/London, 1989), xxv


45 Raupp, 88b.
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Appendix I. The Beverley Keepers c.1520

The following list of Beverley keepers or governors around the time of the carving of the Minster stalls is compiled from the alphabetical list in VCH, 198ff.

<table>
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<th>1518-1519</th>
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<tr>
<td>Richard Booth</td>
<td>John Wilmot</td>
<td>John Walker</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Burton</td>
<td>Richard Pattoner</td>
<td>Edward Settrington</td>
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<td>Henry Sanderson</td>
<td>Peter Crew</td>
<td>Henry Sanderson</td>
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<td>William Estebey</td>
<td>Christopher Hudson</td>
<td>Richard Sanderson</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Brown</td>
<td>Robert Raffles</td>
<td>Robert Spalding</td>
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<td>Brian Falconer</td>
<td>Henry Stephenson</td>
<td>Brian Falconer</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Wensley</td>
<td>Robert Brompton</td>
<td>Robert Well</td>
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<td>John Crossley</td>
<td>John Crossley</td>
<td>William Wharf</td>
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<td>John Wilkinson</td>
<td>John Wilkinson</td>
<td>John Wilkinson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Robert Cawton</td>
<td>Richard Dalby</td>
<td>John Wilkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Peterson</td>
<td>William Lerefax</td>
<td>Henry Scott</td>
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<tr>
<td>John White</td>
<td>Christopher Sanderson</td>
<td>Matthew Sowerby</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Wyatt</td>
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<td>John White</td>
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The emboldened names are suggested as the subjects of possible rebuses among the Minster misericord carvings, those with the termination 'ton' underlined, merely as an example of how commonly this favourite rebus-element occurs in any random sample of surnames, as represented by the image of a TUN on at least two Minster misericords.
Appendix II. The Manchester Fools-Head Elbow-Rest and the Fool's Foxtail

Both sides of the Manchester stall-elbow show the fool's head in traditional close-fitting (ass-)eared hood, but with a different adornment to each side of it; on one side the hood terminates -- as commonly -- in a bell [pl.250], while the other side of the hood has no point as such, but bears an attached bushy tail, clearly intended as that of a fox [pl.251]. This is a most interesting iconographic detail for an English fool representation, and it is worth spending some time to discuss what in England, at any rate, is a rare motif.

We are fortunate to have two recent studies of the fool's foxtail by two European scholars: a section in Paul Vandenbroeck's important Bosch-based cultural history, the short title of which is far from doing justice to the work's wide-ranging encyclopedicity (1), and Werner Mezger's important new book on the fool, which includes a similar section (2). The foxtail is not one of the fool's commonest attributes -- especially in England (3) -- but even so, it is a well-attested optional part of his costume.

Vandenbroeck has pointed out that in the earliest literary reference to this costume-accessory, in the late 14thC. Middle English "Robert of Sicily" (4), there is mention of several such tails, presumably attached to the fool's tunic:

'The fole Roberd ... Clad in a fulle sympulla garment Witho foxe tayles to renne abowte' (5)

A Bruegel painting (dated 1568) of a group of cripples, shows them wearing simple overshirts to which several foxtails are hung, and modern carnival-fools also seem to favour a number of tails (6).
The most interesting exemplum, christened by F. J. Furnivall, "The Sage Fool's Testament" (7), in which a household fool pointedly bequeathes his various attributes to the various members of his Lord's household and then explains the relevance of each in the hope of their reformation, has been shown by Wenzel to derive ultimately from the English Franciscan collection of exempla known as the "Fasciculus Morum" compiled in the opening years of the 14th century. In the 'standard' and earliest version found in all manuscripts of the "Fasciculus", the fool bequeathes his bauble to his master's steward, his bowl to the butler, and his soul to hell -- in order to be with that of his master! In the nature of such 'mock testaments' (a popular European genre, only very sparsely represented in English), the basic Latin story was soon subject to elaboration and variation, so that by the time of the 15thC. English vernacular translations, we hear in addition, for example, of the fool's hood being left to his Lord's steward, and later still (in an instance of this motif unknown to Wenzel) of the bequest of his coxcomb, in a most interesting piece of real-life popular theatre, which took place in Lincolnshire in 1601 as part of the Dymoke case, and which is, indeed, of such great intrinsic interest, but still so surprisingly little known that it deserves to be quoted in full here:

'Roger Baiard in annother part of the plaic Did ... represent ... the parte of the foole, and the part of the vice [see B.III.a. for their earlier connexion] ... and theire actinge the ... parte did declare his last will and testiament and ... did bequeathe his wodden Dagger to ... the Earle of Lincoln, and his Cockescombe and bable unto all those that would not go to Horncastle with ... Sir Edward Dimocke against him.' (8)

The version of the tale which most concerns us here, however, is found in one of the 15thC. Latin manuscripts of the "Fasciculus"; writing in 1477, the scribe, a chaplain named Thomas Olyphant, improved on his original by adding the following two items to the fool's bequest in the margin of his copy:
'I further bequeath my fox-tail [caudam vlpis] to your servants, that is, those who cover their faces with their hair, etc. And I bequeath my bells [nolas] to the keepers of your horses who are so proud, etc.' (9)

Clearly Thomas Olyphant regarded a fox-tail as a characteristic part of the fool's costume by 1477.

There is an almost contemporary vernacular English reference to the fool's single fox-tail -- though no detail as to its precise location -- in the description of Godfrey Gobelyve in Stephen Hawes' *Pastyme of Pleasure* (1508):

'A folyshe dwarf ...
... with a hood, a bell, a foxtayle and a bagge,
in a pyed cote he rode brygge a bragge.'

Presumably he carried the bag, but perhaps the foxtail hung from his belt, as is the case with the astrologising fool in Dürer's woodcut illustration to cap. 65 of Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494)? In a fragmentary Tudor play of mid-16thC. date entitled "Albion Knight", the Vice-figure, Injury, has a foxtail on his coat (as is attested -- admittedly, much later -- for the fool in the morris-dance). Or, as the bell was presumably on the tip of the hood as on the Manchester elbow, was the tail also attached to the hood?

The earliest illustration of a foxtail in connexion with the fool is that found dangling from a stick held by a fool in a mid-15thC. English psalter (10), while in a contemporary French manuscript, an illuminated translation of Boccaccio's "De casibus virorum illustrium", a hairy male figure (? wild man) wears a hood, at the tip of which is a bell, and to the back of which is attached a foxtail, thus demonstrating precisely the same dual hood-decoration as the Manchester elbow (11) [pl.252].
Closely contemporary with the Manchester elbow are two depictions of the tail attached to the fool's hood in the work of Bosch (d.1516) -- in a drawing in Brussels now attributed to him (12) [pl. 253], and in the Albertina version of his "Shaving the Fool" drawing, where the barber wears a foxtail attached to his head (13).

Although not given to a fool, the third woodcut illustrating the Letter of Bernard de Clereville published for the English market in Antwerp by the printer Jan van Doesborch c.1518 [STC 5405] depicts a long-haired messenger delivering the letter, a foxtail hanging down his back.

Despite earlier English literary attestations -- none of which, however, specifies exactly where the fool's foxtail is worn -- the Manchester elbow is the only English fool to show the tail attached to the hood, known otherwise only from the Continental instances cited above.

Given the well-attested fool's practice of striking bystanders with his bladder-stick, and the definite foxtail-on-a-stick wielded by the mid-15thC. parti-coloured fool in the English psalter referred to above, we may well suspect some connexion with the expression recorded in English from c.1530, 'give someone a flap with a foxtail'. While there are perhaps some doubts about the native origin of the first recorded instances of this expression, it certainly seems naturalised by the mid-16th century, and a significant allusion to the practice appears in the Tudor play "King Darius" (1565) where the Vice-figure, Iniquity (14), strikes a 'blows with a foxe tayle'. It seems that the 'flap with the foxtail' was considered a peculiarly demeaning assault: from the late 15thC., at least in Germany, in both art and literature, being beaten with a foxtail -- derisory in itself -- seems, from the circumstances which attend the act, to carry with it a special opprobrium.

The virago uses it to beat the bare buttocks of her feeble husband, dissatisfied with his prowess at winding yarn, as seen on a copper dish manufactured in Germany c.1480 (15). Disobedient nuns are similarly
punished by being struck three times with a foxtail in an exemplum in the contemporary German collection known as the "Mensa Philosophica" (16), and shown subjected to this humiliation at the hands of monks in the visual arts of the 16th and 17th centuries (17). Most significantly of all, however, the foxtail is used in the Scourging of Christ as depicted in an early 14thC. North German altarpiece now in Toresund, Sweden (18).

The same sense of something shameful or ridiculous about wearing a foxtail as a part of one's costume is vividly brought out by a passage in chapter 16 of Rabelais's Pantagruel (1532), which gleefully describes the student japes of Panurge at the expense of the M.A.'s and Doctors of the University of Paris:

'Et, au regard des pauvres maistres es ars, il les persecutoit sur tous autrres. Quand il rencontroit qualc' un d'entre eux par la rue, jamais ne failloit de leur faire quelque mal; maintenant leurs mettant un estronc dedans leurs chaperons au bourlet, maintenant leur attachant de petites quehues de regnard ou des auresilles de lievres par derriëre ou quelque autrre mal.'

It is surely significant that the two animal parts Panurge attaches to the backs of their garments in order to make fools of the pedagogues are both traditional attributes of the fool, the fox's tail and the hare's ears (which were sometimes seen as the original of the ears on the fool's hood, rather than the more usual ass's ears).

In contemporary idiom, however, the foxtail on the fool's hood could also allude to the expression mit dem Fuchsschwanz streichen [stroke with the foxtail], which must be the original form of den Fuchsschwanz streichen [stroke the foxtail] (with no human object), also found contemporaneously. A most interesting substitution can be observed in the way in which Peter Flotner adapted the original illustration to chapter 33 of Drant's Narrenschiff (1494), 'Vom Ehebruch' [Of Adultery], for his own single-leaf print of the same title issued c.1532 [G. 827].
Brant’s illustration depicts the complaisant cuckolded husband in fool’s ass-eared hood ‘looking through his fingers’ while his adulterous wife draws a straw through his mouth (19). Floetner replaces the straw through the mouth with the semantically equivalent gesture of the foxtail being stroked across the foolish husband’s coxcomb. s.v. Fuchsschwanz, Röhrich cites a passage from a sermon by Geiler von Kaisersberg which similarly transposes the foxtail into the idiom which properly requires the straw:

‘Christus hat den Juden nit den Fuchsschwanz durch das Maul gezogen ... ’

In an anti-Catholic print known as ‘The Shop of Foxtails’, by an unidentified artist issued in 1546 [G. 1578], a knight in armour is shown pinning a friar to the ground and belabouring him with two foxtails, while the friar protests

‘Ach warumb stoestu mich darnider
Und schlechst mich mit dem Fuchsschwanz wider ... ’

[Ah, why do you knock me down and strike me with the foxtail ... ]

to which the knight replies,

‘Ach du hast uns lang mit betrogen
Den Fuchsschwanz durch das maul gezogen ... ’

[Ah, you have long deceived us drawn the foxtail through our mouths ... ]
1 Vandenbroeck, esp. 339-41, 'Van volksritueel naar nietvolkse symboliek: de vossestaart'.

2 Mezger, esp. 258-68, 'Fuchsschwanz und Hahnenkamm'. It is to be hoped that both this and Dr. Vandenbroeck’s book will soon be published in translation for the English-speaking world -- both seem to me to be genuinely important, scholarly treatments of late medieval secular iconography, of a type one looks in vain for from English art-historians, who thus show themselves sadly to undervalue a vast area of their native medieval culture.

3 Unfortunately, on close examination, one of Vandenbroeck’s instances of the fool’s foxtail-marotte, on an English ‘Dance of Death’ print of c.1569 -- turns out to be a bladder.

4 The English tale is not a translation from the French, though the similarities with the French version ‘point to a strong common tradition’ -- Hornstein in PMLA 79 (1964) 15.

5 Another MS of the work reads: ‘Clothed in a lodly garnement With ff oxes tayles mony aboute’

6 See the author’s photograph of the so-called ‘Fuchsvaadel’ of the Schomberger Fastnacht, in Mezger, Abb. XXXI, p.268. Hansmann & Kriss-Rettenbeck, see them as martens’ tails.

7 ed. F.J. Furnivall, Queene Elizabethes Achademy, ... etc. [= EETS ES 8] (London, 1869), 77f.

8 cit. N. J. O’Conor, Codes Peace and the Queens (London, 1934), 115.


10 Reproduced as Abb. 137 in Mezger. The fool from the contemporary Wingfield Psalter reproduced as the following illustration by Mezger seems to me to be brandishing a bladder on his stick, not a foxtail. The only other certain instance of this foxtail-type marotte is Vandenbroeck, n.952 -- a painting by Vinckboons (d. 1629).

11 Reproduced as Abb. 140 in Mezger.

12 De Pauw de Veen, "Das Brüsseler Blatt mit Bottlorn und Krüppeln: Bosch oder Bruegel?" in ed. O. von Simson & M. Winnor, Pieter Bruegel und seine Welt (Berlin, 1979), 149-58. In addition, this fool in his
eared hood, wears only one shoe [a folly motif I discuss elsewhere] and appears to have an ass's tail pinned at his back, and holds what looks like a pair of scissors (though others have seen them as a rattle or clapper) foolishly by the blades, points towards him.

13 Vandenbroeck, 340 & n. 949.

14 For Iniquity's wooden sword, see B.III.a., above.

15 No. 64. 101. 1499 of the Irwin Untermeyer Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; another (damaged) example was formerly in the Figdor Collection.

16 c. 1470; = Tubach, no. 2183.

17 Warncke, reproduces Matthaus Greuter's 17thC. engraving from the Veste Coburg Collection as Abb. 674; the motif also appears as one of the many such drôleries formerly painted on the ceiling of a house at Äusserer Lauferplatz 5, dating from the second half of the 16th century, and reproduced in ibid., as Abb. 364.

18 Reproduced as Abb. 59 in P. Tangeberg, Mittelalterliche Holzskulpturen und Altarschreine in Schweden (Stockholm, 1986).

19 See LSR, s.v. Halm, Hälmlein -- 'einem das Hälmlein durch den Mund streichen/ziehen' = flatter.
Appendix III. Painted Cloths

It is the 'painted cloths', however, which are perhaps the most interesting items carried by the ships arriving at Hull. Painted cloths, a cheaper substitute for tapestry, very few of which now survive, but which must have been very much more numerous than tapestries at the time (1), seem to have featured a mixture of sacred and secular subjects, even, perhaps, erotica — in an inventory of the effects of a Brussels official, who died in 1505, among the four secular pictures he owned were two paintings on cloth of amoureasheode (2).

Alice Langham of Snailwell near Newmarket, for example, left her son when she died in 1448 a cloth painted with the history of King Robert of Sicily, a pious romance (3), while John Baret of Bury St. Edmunds left his nieces in 1463 the steyned cloth of the Coronacion of Oure Lady and another featuring the Seven Ages of Man (4), the latter no doubt a far humbler version of the 'VII Ages' tapestry-series which Jean Cosset of Arras produced for his lord in 1402 (5). It was perhaps familiarity with such stained cloths that led Sir Thomas More 'in his youth ... in hys fathers house in London' (and thus c.1490 if this can be taken literally, for at that date he entered Cardinal Morton's household, at the age of 13) to devise

'a goodly hangyng of fyne paynted clothe, with nyne pageauntes, and verses over of every of those pageauntes' on the same 'Ages of Man' theme, according to William Rastoll's 1557 printing of his English works (6).

The poet Lydgate (d. c.1450) similarly 'deuyssod' a

'peynted or desteyned clothe for an halle a parlour or a chaumbre ... at the request of a worthy citeseyn of London'

of particular iconographical interest, for it depicted the satirical,
misogynist motif of the mythical beasts, Bycorne and Chichevache (7).

Chivalric themes seem also to have been represented in this relatively inexpensive medium; in the late 15th century, for example, one of the Clare family of Aldwarke in South Yorkshire bequeathed to the Church of All Saints in Rotherham a stained cloth depicting the celebrated historic joust between Anthony Woodville and the Bastard of Burgundy, which took place before Edward IV at Smithfield in 1467 (8).

As we have seen above, in 1483 Richard III issued a statute, at the request of the various guilds (which seems, to judge from existing records, to have been largely ignored), prohibiting any 'merchant stranger' from importing

'any manner of ... painted glass, painted papers, painted images, painted cloths, etc.'

but on 10th July of that very year, the 'Margaret' of Veere, put into Hull with a cargo which included 3 pannis depictis, a modest enough quantity; seven years later, however, the local ship, the 'Trinity', docked on 20th April with almost 50 painted cloths aboard, destined for two local merchants, 1 dozen for Robert Thorn and 3 dozen for John Birkhead. Six weeks later, on June 3rd 1490, another local ship, the 'George' of Scarborough put into Hull with a cargo which included 2 dos' pantyd clothes.

As early as 1421 there is mention in a London customs account of the import of two painted cloths presumably from Flanders, the origin specified for those recorded in the Southampton Port Books for 1469/70, and for the dozen brought in on the 'Publican' [sic, recte 'Pelican'.?] from Dordrecht to King's Lynn (9), and at King's Lynn there is another most interesting record of the arrival on 12th August 1504 of 'The Barbara' from Middelburg, whose cargo included 5 painted cloths, 2 lutes and ii dussenis Sent' Johannis Gospels (10).
These 'poor man's tapestries' were clearly entering the country in such numbers that in 1507 painted cloths were one of the items for which the London Port Rates set a standard tariff. In 1509 the London port accounts record the total import of almost a thousand panni depicti in a period of just 3 months, one ship, in particular, bringing into the country no fewer than 600 in one cargo (11). Both the Hull records of the import of dozens of such painted cloths and additional references noticed by Woods, confirm the ominous complaint of John Lincoln, cited from Hall's Chronicle above, that painted clothes were only one of the commodities that the Dutcheme[n] bryng over, increasingly felt, in London at least, to be depriving native Englishmen of their livelihoods, and contributing to the resentment against the foreigners which was to boil over in the Evil May Day riots in the City of 1517.

As Susan Foister has written in her pioneering study of "Paintings and other works of art in sixteenth-century English inventories",

"it can be hard to decide, from written evidence only, when a painted cloth becomes a picture in the modern sense. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was common for a room to be hung with a variety of painted hangings of different sizes; only towards the end of the century do we encounter the room with pictures neatly defined by being hung in frames, and even then coloured hangings were still used."

(12)

The terminology for these various species of painted cloth is also potentially confusing: when the royal accounts record that Henry VII paid 43s. for x painted clothes on 1st March 1503/4, we are surely entitled to believe they were of a very superior type (13).

Another common type of hanging seems to have been the costryng; in an inventory of his goods drawn up in 1494, for example, Robert Waryn, a shopkeeper, had

"iii costryngs of flaunders work paynted with ppeace and flowres"
as well as 3 less valuable pagents, which Foister believes to have
denoted a smaller type of painted hanging, 'closer to the modern notion
of a painting than costryngs ' (14).

In 1468, Thomas Salle, a London draper, had in his hall

'a little steyned cloth with owre lady and iii kyngs of
coleyne'

(presumably, on account of the subject, of North German origin?), and in
1487, John Holgrave, Baron of the Exchequer, had 'a pageaunt steynyd
with seynt margarete'. It seems likely that the painted cloth 'de vita
Job' mentioned in the will of Katherine Chereborough of Hull in 1477 was
one of those very painted cloths brought into the port from Flanders.
The Hull widow-vowess Dame Joan Thurcrosse was sufficiently well off,
according to her will of 1523, to be able to bequeath a

'covering of Arras having the picture of Our Lady riding
into Egypt wrought on it'. (15)

Another fascinating local document is the inventory of the properties
used by the Percys' Boy Bishop [See B.III.a.] which appropriately in-
cluded

'j. steyned cloth of the ymage of St. Nicholas' (16).

In 1490 Richard Bromer, a London joiner, died possessed of 3
costrengs stained with the story of danyell, and 5 tapestry cushion-
covers depicting lions. John Gardener, described as a 'Gentylman', had
in his London house in 1500 iii olde costrynges steyned, and in his
house at Putney an hangynn steynyd ... a counterpoynt of Aaras and
another of corse tapestry with Seynt George. In 1501 John Nyleo had a
large painted cloth of St. John the Baptist, and in 1500 a Salisbury
weaver named William Cuff had in his hall a hangynng paynted with the
kalenders. Of particular iconographical interest (but presumably native
manufacture ? (17) ) is the payntyd cloth of Robyn had which is recorded
as hanging in the parlour of Robert Richards of Dursley, Gloucestershire when an inventory of his goods was made in 1492.

Two inventories taken in 1533 show the range of hangings to be found in the London homes of the more substantial citizens; the wealthy goldsmith Robert Amadas in his Southwark house had in the ‘Parlor’, iii olde costrynge of canvas stayned, in the ‘North Parlour’, a counter-poynt of Tappistry ymagey with the ymage of Saynt George, and in the ‘chamber over the parlor’, a very valuable saynt Johns cloth of ffyne Ryche Arrvase, while the chapel had to make do with iii olde payntid Pagel[n]tts of ymagey, and the ‘maydens chamber’ with ii olde flemyshe clothes payntid. In ‘the chamber under Mr. Stapleton’s chamber’, were iii costrynge of payntid canvas verdurwise [i.e. ‘verdure-style’ -- ? imitating millefleurs-style tapestry] with a border of Antyke werke [which latter feature, when first purchased, must have been very modern for England -- see further C.IV.a., above], and in the ‘counting hous’, ii costrynge of Red and grene Bukkeram painid [sic], … with iii clothes of the kynges armes’. In the hall of his Essex house at Barking there were ii Costrynge of stayned canvas and iii smalle clothes of dyvers storyes payntid upon thym sore wornen and olde, and lastly, in the chapel of his ‘hous at Jenkyns’, were ii large pagents. And ii small pagents of canvas fyne stayned old.

Alexander Plymley, mercer and citizen, though his effects wore valued at almost twice those of the goldsmith at his death, had only pagents in the ‘chapell chambers’ of his two houses: ii large pagents and 4 small pagentes of canvas stayned, two of which are described as ‘fyne’ but ‘old’ (18). John Nutton, a Merchant Adventurer who had also acted as an ambassador in the Netherlands, had in his hall in 1530, two cloths of the tryumph, one of Absolon and one of Judith, in the ‘blue chamber’, a paynted cloth of the woman of canany [= Canaan], and in the garret, a painted cloth sett in woode of the Samaryton.
Foister notes that the letters of the Johnson family, London merchants trading with the Low Countries in the 1540s, show that some of these hangings seem to have been imported from there, and our Hull customs accounts confirm that this was indeed a long-established trade. In the late 15th century the Bruges Painters' Guild contrived to limit the sphere of competence of another recognised group, the eleder-scrivers, potentially in competition with them -- that there should be a technical term for the painters on cloth and that they should, by implication, have organised themselves sufficiently to become a commercial threat to the powerful painters, attests to their importance at this time (19).

In 1554, one John Haynes died possessed of a little paynted cloth with a woman spynnynge, while earlier, in 1536 Robert Stodley, a London mercer, had an image of a gentylwoman spynnyng, both of which Foister considers as possibly of Netherlandish origin,

'...the first examples of an attraction to genre subjects in the inventories.'
The paper by F.E. Hatley Moore entitled "Painted Cloths" in Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society 3rdS. 8 (1982), 73-9 is disappointing -- the subject deserves a proper, full-length treatment. The Museum in Reims possesses 25 such painted cloths dating from c.1450-c.1520 of various religious subjects -- these are well described, but without any discussion of the painted cloth as a genre, in F. Pomarede, "Les 'Toiles peintes' de Reims" in Mémoires de la société d'agriculture, commerces, sciences et arts du département de la Marne 91 (1976), 229-42. Pamela Tudor-Craig is currently cataloguing those in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and we look forward to the appearance of her work.


3 Evans, 138.

4 ibid.


7 I hope to explore representations of this theme fully elsewhere; the verse inscriptions are edited by H.N. McCracken, The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Part II Secular Poems [ = EETS OS 192 ] (London, 1934) 433-8.

8 J. Guest, Historic Notices of Rotherham ... (Worksop, 1879), 169.

9 Gras, 665.

10 ibid., 675.

11 Not King's Lynn, as stated in Woods 92, nor is the quantity as inconceivable as her 'dozens' implies; see Gras, 562, 563, 569, 570, 575 -- a total of 942 painted cloths.

12 Foister, op. cit., 274.

13 See Streitberger, 45.

14 Foister, op. cit., 274.

16 Printed as an appendix in Percy, 439.

17 Yet note how the ever-resourceful Antwerp-based printer Van Doesborch thought it a commercial proposition in 1510X1515 to reprint Pynson's Gest of Robyn Hode [STC 13688] of 1500 for the English market, i.e. [STC 13689.5].

18 It would be very interesting to know exactly what the 'paper of the covetous man' left by the draper Laurence Castell in 1559 was; Foister thinks it 'must have been a parable', but whatever the subject the description, 'paper', surely implies an engraving or woodcut.

19 The incident is alluded to in Campbell, op. cit. in n.2 above, 191.
Description of Plates

1. Woodcut depicting the capture of St. John of Beverley as ‘hairy anchorite’ from Die historie ende leuen vanden heiligen hemijt sint Jan van Beverley printed by Thomas Vander Noot (Brussels, c. 1512) [NK 103ß]

2. Bearward muzzling bear -- lefthand supporter to [173:10]

3. Bearward dancing/wrestling with bear -- righthand supporter to [173:10]

4. Bear dancing to bagpipes played by ape -- righthand supporter to [174:15]

5. Fox steals goose -- Ripon misericord [183:10], c.1488-94

6. Fox steals goose -- Manchester misericord [82:7], c.1506

7. Fox steals goose -- misericord [174:20]

8. Misericord [174:20] and supporters

9. Fox steals goose -- carving in stall-elbow spandrel, Beverley

10. Gastrocephalic devil with spiked mace pursues naked woman (Deadly Sin of Lechery) -- misericord [174:1]

11. The Deadly Sin of Avarice -- lefthand supporter to [174:1]

12. The Deadly Sin of Gluttony -- righthand supporter to [174:1]

12a Drunkenness -- lefthand supporter to Windsor [10:7]

13. Crible border woodcuts depicting the Deadly Sins of Avarice and Lechery from a Horae printed by Gillet Hardouyn (Paris, c.1510)


17. Return of the Spies -- Ripon misericord [183:17], c.1488-94

18. Angel Bearing Heart -- misericord [173:3]

19. Angel Bearing Crowned Heart -- lead badge, 1450X1500, found on Thames foreshore at Southwark Bridge, private coll.

20. Pelican in her Piety -- lefthand supporter to [173:12]

21. Doe-on-tun rebus [Donington] -- righthand supporter to [173:12]
22. Canting arms of William Wight, etc. -- misericord [173:4]
23. Dog gnawing bone -- lefthand supporter to [175:5]
24. ?Chough -- lefthand supporter to [173:1]
25. Pike triad [?Lucy badge] -- righthand supporter to [175:9]
26. Pike triad as Lucy badge -- detail of stone tomb of Fourth Earl of Northumberland, Percy Chapel, Beverley Minster, c. 1490
27. Bird plus inscription 'Chot' -- lefthand supporter to [176:16]
28. Cocks on tun rebus [?Caxton] -- right supporter to [176:16]
29. Rose-tree -- misericord [176:4]
30. Rabbit 'trinity' -- righthand supporter to [174:6]
31. Triadic groups from a 13thC. manuscript of Peter Riga's "Aurora", Auxerre, bib. mun. MS 7, f.1v.
32. Fish triad, stone roof-boss, North transept, Bristol Cathedral, 14thC.
33. Misericord [177:8]
34. Gesturing fool's head -- misericord [177:8]
35. Goose -- righthand supporter to [177:8]
36. Coots peck fool's head -- misericord [177:7]
37. Goose -- righthand supporter to [177:7]
38. Grinning fool's head -- misericord [177:11]
39. Whistling/hooting man's head -- righthand supporter to [177:11]
40. Gähnmaul -- misericord [176:15]
41. Gähnmaul -- Louvain misericord, 1438-41
42. Gähnmaul -- righthand supporter to Westminster Abbey misericord [98:7], c. 1512
43. Gähnmaul, fool's head -- Ulm misericord, 1469-74
44. Gähnmaul, fool's head -- Ulm misericord, 1469-74
45. Lion-mask with tongue out -- righthand supporter to [176:15]
46. Three fools dancing -- misericord [176:21]
47. Morris dance -- engraving by Israel Van Meckenem, Lower Rhine, late 15thC.
48. Cavorting fool with pointing finger -- lefthand supporter to [176:21]

49. Fool with pointing finger -- detail of wooden panel in church at Hemingborough, Yorkshire, early 16thC.

50. Fool with pointing finger and tall marotte -- wooden panel now in church at Kirkby Wharfe, Yorkshire, ex North Milford Hall, Yorkshire, late 15thC.

50a Grinning fool's head -- corbel on stall-back

51. Grimacing fool's head in stall-elbow spandrel

52. Grinning fool's head with one ear of hood belled in stall-elbow spandrel

53. Fool with pointing finger in stall-elbow spandrel

54. Carvers gesturing -- misericord [174:8]

55. Carver gesturing -- righthand supporter to [174:8]

56. Rabbits' Revenge -- Manchester misericord [82:15], c.1506

57. Rabbits' Revenge -- engraving by Israhel Van Meckenem, Lower Rhine, late 15thC.

58. Fox rides Hound -- Manchester misericord [81:9], c.1506

59. Hare rides Dragon -- misericord [174:6]

60. Putting the Cart Before the Horse, etc. -- misericord [176:11]

61. Putting the cart Before the Horse -- misericord [176:11]

62. Milking the Bull -- righthand supporter to [176:11]

63. Milking the Bull -- 8-of-Bells playing-card design by Hans Schäuffelein, German, c.1535

64. Shoeing the Goose -- supporter to [175:4]

65. Shoeing the Goose -- late 14thC. capital in North nave-aisle York Minster, engraving from J. Browne, The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York (London, 1847), pl. CXLVIII

66. Saddled Sow -- lefthand supporter to [174:18]

67. Sedled Sow -- righthand supporter to Manchester [03:13], c.1506

68. Cat fiddles to Mice -- lefthand supporter to [174:5]

69. Cat fiddles to Bird -- fragment of wall-painting in house at Fenny Stratford, Buckinghamshire, 7mid-16thC.

70. Sow bagpipes to Piglets -- misericord [174:10]
71. Sow bagpipes to Piglets -- Manchester misericord [83:13],
c. 1506

72. Sow bagpipes to Piglets -- Ripon misericord [183:7],
c. 1488-94

73. Sow bagpipes to Piglets -- Durham Castle misericord [41:2],
c. 1490

74. Pig plays bagpipes -- roof-boss, St. Mary's Church, Beverley,
early 16thC.

75. Sow plays Harp -- righthand supporter to [174:10]

76. Sow plays harp -- lefthand supporter to Manchester [83:13],
c. 1506

77. Sow plays harp -- stall-elbow at Stowlangtoft, Suffolk,
? late 14thC.

78. Sow harps to Piglets -- righthand supporter to Windsor [7:9],
1470-83

79. Man flails slug laden with pack -- Bristol misericord [47:5],
c. 1520

80. Ape 'plays' dog as bagpipe -- righthand supporter to [174:16]

81. Man 'plays' pig as bagpipe -- misericord at Lavenham, Suffolk
[146:South side], late 15thC.

82. Man plays bagpipe made from animal-body -- stone corbel,
North nave-aisle, Beverley Minster, mid-14thC.

83. Ape Urinanalyst -- righthand supporter to [173:5]

84. Ape Urinanalyst -- lefthand supporter to Manchester [82:8],
c. 1506

85. Preaching Fox -- misericord [175:4]

86. Geese hang Fox -- misericord [175:7]

87. Preaching Fox -- bench-end at Brent Knoll, Somerset, late
14thC.

88. Ape nurses Fox -- righthand supporter to [174:19]

89. Fox as ?Pilgrim -- label-stop, North nave-aisle, Beverley
Minster, 14thC.

90. Snail Combat -- lefthand supporter to [174:17]

91. Snail Combat -- woodcut (illuminated) in the Merchant-Vérard
edition of the Kalendrier des Berniers (Paris, 1493) [GN
5908]

92. Snail Combat -- woodcut in the Merchant-Petit edition of the
Kalendrier des Berniers (Paris, 1500) [GN 5914]
93. Snail Combat -- woodcut in Notary's edition of the Kalender of Shepardes [STC 22410] (London, ?1510) [Hodnett 2270]

94. Man diving into sack -- righthand supporter to [174:17]

95. Man diving into sack -- Kleve misericord, 1474

96. Woman (broken) supervises men at household tasks -- misericord [173:9]

97. Woman beats man, dog in pot -- misericord [176:18]

98. Man (broken) in apron pursues dog, crone sits by fire -- misericord [175:10bis]

99. Man washes up -- lefthand supporter to [175:10bis]; also showing position of fool's head in stall-elbow spandrel opposite

100 Kneeling man removes woman's boot, she strikes him -- misericord at Great Malvern, Worcestershire [167:5], c.1480

101 Man puts hand beneath woman's shoe, she is about to strike him -- misericord at Fairford, Gloucestershire [48:6], late 15thC.

102 Man puts hand beneath woman's shoe, ?she hurls dish at him -- misericord in Hereford Cathedral [62:8], c.1340X55

103 Woodcut from title-page of Vanden X Esels, Van Doesboreh, (2nd ed., Antwerp, 1558)

104 Grinning fool's head in stall-elbow spandrel opposite man washing up on [175:10bis]

105 Man putting on/taking off shoes? -- righthand supporter to [175:10bis]

106 Emblem "Dessoubz Beaulite gist Deception" from G. Corrozot, Hecatomographie (Paris, 1543), Sig. E b

107 Man trying fit of shoe -- drawing in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS of "Proverbes en Rimes", French, c.1500

108 Woman pounds pestle in mortar -- lefthand supporter: [176:18)

109 Man cuts sausage with axe -- righthand supporter to [176:18]

110 Elephant and Castle -- Manchester misericord [02:5], c.1506

111 Elephant and Castle -- stall-end finial, Doverley Minster

112 Unicorn tramples Serpent -- Durham Castle misericord [41:5], c.1490

113 Lion and ?Antelope, etc. -- misericord [174:7]
114 Unicorn -- misericord [175:3], showing lion-mask with tongue out in stall-elbow spandrel opposite

115 Big fish eats little fish -- lefthand supporter to [175:9]

116 Cockatrice -- stall-end finial, Beverley Minster

117 Man between two dragons -- misericord [174:17]

118 Pygmy emerging from hole, hydra and other Monstrous Races from Hrabanus Maurus, "De rerum naturis", Bibl. Vat. Pal. Lat. 291, f.75v., South Germany (Amberg?), 1425

119 Man emerges from whelk-shell, rabbit emerges from burrow -- stall-end finial, St. Margaret's Church, King's Lynn, Norfolk late 14thC.

120 Man emerging from shell attacks dragon -- Manchester misericord [81:7], c.1506

121 Man emerging from shell attacks dragon -- Durham Castle misericord [41:7], c.1490

122 Wild Man attacks Dragon with club -- misericord [176:14]

123 Wild Man attacks Dragon with club -- Manchester misericord [83:12], c.1506

124 Wild man (broken off) attacks Dragon with club -- Durham Castle misericord [41:6], c.1490

125 ?Cranes feed from sack -- misericord [174:4]

126 Crane feeds from sack -- lefthand supporter to Lincoln misericord [88:20], c.1370

127 Two cranes 'drinking from a fountain' [Remnant] -- lefthand supporter to Lincoln misericord [90:15], c.1370

128 Addorsed storks -- Southern Flemish misericord now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (W 35) [95:1], 1435X1450

129 5-of-Birds -- engraving by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450

130 Lion-Dragon Combat -- misericord [173:5]

131 Lion-Dragon Combat -- Manchester misericord [03:11]

132 Lion-Dragon Combat -- stone corbel, Percy Tomb, Beverley Minster, c.1340

133 Ape with swaddled baby -- lefthand supporter to misericord [173:5]

134 Ape with swaddled baby -- righthand supporter to Manchester [02:0], c.1506

135 Apes rob Pedlar -- misericord [173:6]
136 Apes rob Pedlar -- Manchester misericord [82:8], c.1506
137 Apes rob Pedlar -- Bristol misericord [46:4], c.1520
138 Cat catches Mice -- misericord [174:5]
139 Cat plays with Mouse -- righthand supporter to [174:5]
140 Hen and chicks, etc. -- misericord [177:13]
141 Owl mobbed by small birds -- misericord [177:9]
142 Man pushes woman in barrow -- engraving by the Master bxg, [L 106] c.1475X80
143 Man pushes woman in barrow -- Ripon misericord [183:9], c.1488-94
144 Man pushes woman in barrow -- Beverley misericord [176:17]
145 Man pushes woman in barrow -- Durham Castle misericord [41:1], c.1490
146 Man pushes woman in barrow -- bas-de-page illumination from the 'Hours of Charles d'Angoulême', Paris, bib. nat. ms. lat. 1173, French, c.1480X85
147 Crone fleas dog -- righthand supporter to [176:17]
148 Man fleas dog -- Hoogstraeten misericord, 1532X46
149 Woman fleas dog -- engraving by Lucas Van Leyden, 1510
150 Woman fleas dog -- detail from 'Peasant Village with Proverbs on Sloth', engraving by Frans Huys after Cornelis Mesys, Flemish, c.1550
151 Man attempts to lift beam (?) -- lofthand supporter to [176:17]
152 Man dragging block ['bloksleeper'], engraving by Israhel Van Meckenem, Lower Rhine, late 15thC.
153 Man dragging block ['bloksleeper'], Cappenberg misericord, 1509X20
154 Design 1 -- Dragon with second head in belly pursues three naked boys, border woodcut from Horan printed by Pignouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.
155 Detail of stone carving in the De La Warr chantry chapel, Boxgrove Priory, Sussex, c.1532
156 Bristol misericord [47:7], c.1520
157 Title-page woodcut to Der ziolen troost printed by Adraen van Berghen, (Antwerp, 1509) [NK 2004]
158 Dragon with second head in its belly -- misericord [176:19]
159 Dragon with second head in its belly attacked by two naked men with spears -- bench-end at Crowcombe, Somerset, 1534

160 Design 2 -- Wild Man pursues ape on 'equine', border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

161 misericord [173:2]

162 Bristol misericord [46:8], c.1520

163 Bas-de-page scene from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1504 f.23v., Germany/Netherlands, 1520s

164 Assemblage of motifs from early 16thC. Parisian printed Horae to show possible sources of the Ashmole bas-de-page design

165 detail of border woodcuts in a prayer for the dying Edward VI [STC 7508] printed by William Copland, London, 1553

166 Designs 1 and 2 on adjacent folios of a Horae printed by Kerver (Paris, 1507)

167 Design 3 -- Mermaid between bat-winged devil and leonine monster -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

168 Bristol misericord [46:11], c.1520

169 Design 4 -- Two wild men armed with clubs and shields (one wears helmet) confront each other -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

170 Westminster Abbey misericord [97:7], c.1512

171 Detail of stone carving in the De La Warr chantry chapel, Boxgrove Priory, Sussex, c.1532

172 Bas-de-page scene from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1504 f.24v., Germany/Netherlands, 1520s

173 Armed 'mermen' emerge from ears of 'Green Man' and confront each other with clubs and shields -- bench-end at Crowcombe, Somerset, 1534

174 Title-page woodcuts of A. C. Mary Tals printed by Rastell (London, c.1526)

175 'Humane rider' carries sack on head -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

176 Bristol misericord [46:1], c.1520

177 'Snail' holds reins of Dragon it rides -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

178 Rabbit holds reins of Dragon it rides -- misericord [174:6]
179 Grotesque -- Detail of lower register of bench-end illustrated in pl.159, Crowcombe, Somerset, 1534

180 Grotesque -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

181 Boys 'cock-fighting', boy riding hobbyhorse (righthand supporter) and boy with 'whirligig' -- Westminster misericord [98:3], c.1512

182 Various border woodcuts featuring putti from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

183 One of the above putti motifs, imitated from Pigouchet, as found in a Horae printed by Vérard (Paris, 1510)

184 Tree of Jesse -- one of the 'Beaton' panels, believed to have come from Arbroath Abbey, Scotland, private collection, ?late 1520s

185 Tree of Jesse -- woodcut from Horae printed by Kerver (Paris, 1507)

186 Samson rends the jaws of the lion and the Philistine woman from Timnath -- engraving by the Master E.S. [L 3], active in Southern Germany and Switzerland, c.1450-67

187 Samson rends the jaws of the lion and the Philistine woman from Timnath -- Windsor misericord [8:5bis], 1470-83

188 Man and Woman seated either side of stone basin behind which fool bagpipes -- 'Small Love Garden' (detail), engraving by Master E.S. [L 207], active in Southern Germany and Switzerland, c.1450-67

189 Man and woman seated either side of basin behind which fool bagpipes, bird on woman's wrist, dog at her feet, dog approaches man -- Windsor misericord [5:4], 1470-83

190 Detail (upper right) of 'Fountain of Youth' showing man and woman seated either side of stone basin, bagpiping fool behind, dogs in front -- engraving by Master of the Banderoles [L 92], active in Eastern Netherlands, c.1450-1500

191 Man leans on crutch, squirrel eats nut -- righthand supporter to Windsor [5:4], 1470-83

192 Naked woman helps fool to disrobe -- Windsor misericord [6:14], 1470-83

193 Naked woman helps fool to disrobe -- anonymous engraving, German, late 15thC.

194 Naked woman helps hooded man (?fool) to disrobe -- Windsor misericord [8:3], 1470-83

195 Stork with snake in beak and ostrich with horseshoe in beak lefthand supporter to Windsor [10:Chis], 1470-83
196 Swan, Stork and Ostrich -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 91], active in the East Middle Netherlands c.1460

197 Owl mobbed by small birds -- righthand supporter to Windsor [10:8bis], 1478-83

198 Three Chimerical Birds -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 98], active in the East Middle Netherlands c.1460

199 Three Chimerical Birds -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 97], active in the East Middle Netherlands c.1460

200 Three 'chimerical' birds -- righthand supporter to Windsor [8:5bis], 1478-83

201 Man loading crossbow, bolt lodged under chin -- lefthand supporter to Windsor [5:2], 1478-83

202 Man loading crossbow, bolt held between teeth -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 103], active in the East Middle Netherlands, c.1460

203 Small men work on giant covered cup -- lefthand supporter to Windsor [6:9], 1478-83

204 Small men work on giant covered cup -- righthand supporter to Windsor [6:9], 1478-83

205 4-of-Cups playing-card design -- engraving by the Master of the Banderoles [L 101], active in the East Netherlands, c.1450-1500

206 2-of-Cups playing-card design -- engraving by the Master of the Banderoles [L 101], active in the East Netherlands, c.1450-1500

207 Two men crawling -- Windsor misericord [7:2], 1478-83

208 Two fools crawling -- bas-de-page woodcut in Sebastian Brant, Das Narrenschiff (Basel, 1498 ed.)

209 Queen-of-Animals -- engraved playing-card design by Master E.S. from the 'Small Pack of Cards' [L 229], active in Southern Germany and Switzerland, c.1450-67

210 Wild Woman and Unicorn -- stall-end at Konstanz, S. Germany 1465-70

211 Jack-of-Birds -- engraved playing-card design by Master E.S. from the 'Large Pack of Cards' [L 269], South Germany, c.1463

212 Wild Man (head broken off) rides Unicorn (horn broken off) -- righthand supporter to Westminster [96:2bis], c.1512
213 King rides backward-looking unicorn -- desk-front spandrel at Windsor, 1478-83

214 King-of-Birds -- engraved playing-card design by Master E.S. from the 'Large Pack of Cards' [L 272], South Germany, p.1463

215 Two Wild Men joust -- Manchester misericord [82:6], c.1506

216 Wild Man and Wild Woman joust -- engraving by the Master E.S. [L 307], active in Southern Germany and Switzerland, c.1450-1467

217 Wild Man and Wild Woman joust -- Windsor misericord [6:16], 1478-83

218 Armed merman [zeeridder] -- Windsor misericord [9:22], 1478-83

219 Armed merman device of the Antwerp printer Thomas Vander Noot, c.1510

220 Ape emerging from fleshy-leaved flower plays lute with trotter-plectrum -- righthand supporter to Bristol [47:7] c.1520

221 Concert-Party in a Mussel-Shell -- engraving after Bosch, Flemish, c.1550

222 Couple playing Chess (detail) -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 115], active in the East Middle Netherlands, c.1460

223 Grotesque musicians, one of whom plays bellows with tongs -- Lavenham misericord [146:3], late 15thC.

224 Ape family feeding -- Westminster Abbey misericord [98:libis] c.1512

225 Ape family feeding -- engraving by Israhel Van Meckenem, Lower Rhine, late 15thC.

226 Old man paying for young woman's favours -- engraving by Dürer [Bartch 93], ?late 1490s

227 Old man paying for young woman's favours -- Westminster Abbey misericord [96:1tor]

228 Bird with long crest scratching head -- righthand supporter to [176:5]

229 8-of-Birds -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450

230 Stylised columbine flower -- supporter to Manchester [81:5], c.1506

231 Jonah thrown overboard and stylised columbine supporters -- Ripon misericord [183:8], c.1488-94
232 2-of-Flowers -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450

233 Rose seen from behind -- righthand supporter to Manchester [82:14], c.1506

234 Saw bagpipes to piglets: righthand supporter, a rose seen from behind -- Ripon misericord [183:7], c.1400-94

235 7-of-Flowers -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450

236 7-of-Roses -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450

237 Foliate motif -- fragment of wall-painting recorded in 1892 from a house attached to Beverley Friary, ?c.1500

238 Foliate motif -- misericord [177:12]

239 Foliate motif -- woodcut wall-paper design printed by Hugo Goes (and including his rebus), c.1511, reconstructed from fragments found papering the ceiling of the Master’s Lodge, Christ’s College, Cambridge, in 1911

240 Title-page woodcut to *Fulgens and Lucrece* (London, c.1515)

241 Funeral pall -- early 16thC. English memento mori designs added to late 15thC. Italian velvet, Vintners’ Company, London

242 Herod’s Feast -- painting on the wall of the Oxenbridge chantry, St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, English, 1522

243 Detail of King Priam’s throne from a manuscript of Lydgate’s poems owned by the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, illuminated by a Flemish artist c.1520, BL Royal MS 18 D II, f.93r.

244 Two Wild Men in armed combat -- misericord [176:2]

245 6-of-Wild Men -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450

246 Armed (Wild) Man -- Olbrachto Gradual, border, 1499X1506

247 Wild Man family -- Westminster misericord [98:returned stall], c.1512

248 King Priam and the body of Hector -- from a manuscript of Lydgate’s poems owned by the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, illuminated by a Flemish artist c.1520, BL Royal MS 18 D II, f.93r.

249 Herod’s feast -- painting on the wall of the Oxenbridge chantry, St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, English, 1522
250 Double-sided fool's head, showing side with hood peak terminating in a bell -- Manchester stall-elbow, c.1506

251 Double-sided fool's head, showing side with foxtail attached to hood -- Manchester stall-elbow, c.1506

252 Detail of miniature by Jean Fouquet from a French translation of Boccaccio's "De casibus virorum illustrium" dated 1450, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gallicus VI, f.310v.

253 Detail of drawing of cripples and beggars attributed to Bosch (d.1516) showing fool with foxtail attached to hood, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels
1. Woodcut depicting the capture of St. John of Beverley as 'hairy anchorite' from *Die historie ende leuen vanden heilyghen hremijt sint Jan van Beverley* printed by Thomas Vander Noot (Brussels, c.1512) [NK 1080]
2. Bearward muzzling bear -- lefthand supporter to [173:10]

3. Bearward dancing/wrestling with bear -- righthand supporter to [173:10]

4. Bear dancing to bagpipes played by ape -- righthand supporter to [174:15]
5. Fox steals goose -- Ripon misericord [183:10], c.1488-94
6. Fox steals goose -- Manchester misericord [82:7], c.1506
7. Fox steals goose -- misericord [174:20]
8. Misericord [174:20] and supporters

9. Fox steals goose -- carving in stall-elbow spandrel, Beverley
10. Gastrocephalic devil with spiked mace pursues naked woman
(Deadly Sin of Lechery) -- misericord [174:1]

11. The Deadly Sin of Avarice -- lefthand supporter to [174:1]

12. The Deadly Sin of Gluttony -- righthand supporter to [174:1]
12a Drunkenness -- lefthand supporter to Windsor [10:7]

13. Criblé border woodcuts depicting the Deadly Sins of Avarice and Lechery from a Horae printed by Gillet Hardouyn (Paris, c.1510)

14. Criblé border woodcut depicting the Deadly Sin of Gluttony from a Horae printed by Gillet Hardouyn (Paris, 1503)


17. Return of the Spies -- Ripon misericord [183:17], c.1488-94
18. Angel Bearing Heart -- misericord [173:3]

19. Angel Bearing Crowned Heart -- lead badge, 1450X1500, found on Thames foreshore at Southwark Bridge, private coll.
20. Pelican in her Piety -- lefthand supporter to \[173:12\]

21. Doe-on-tun rebus [Donington] -- righthand supporter to \[173:12\]
22. Canting arms of William Wight, etc. -- misericord [173:4]

23. Dog gnawing bone -- lefthand supporter to [175:5]

24. ?Chough -- lefthand supporter to [173:1]
25. Pike triad [?Lucy badge] -- righthand supporter to [175:9]

26. Pike triad as Lucy badge -- detail of stone tomb of Fourth Earl of Northumberland, Percy Chapel, Beverley Minster, c.1490
27. Bird plus inscription 'Chot' -- lefthand supporter to [176:16]

28. Cocks on tun rebus [?Coxton] -- right supporter to [176:16]
29. Rose-tree -- misericord [176:4]
30. Rabbit 'trinity' -- righthand supporter to [174:6]

31. Triadic groups from a 13thC. manuscript of Peter Riga’s "Aurora", Auxerre, bib. mun. MS 7, f.1v.

32. Fish triad, stone roof-boss, North transept, Bristol Cathedral, 14thC.
33. Misericord [177:8]

34. Gesturing fool’s head -- misericord [177:8]

35. Goose -- righthand supporter to [177:8]
36. Coots peck fool's head -- misericord [177:7]

37. Goose -- righthand supporter to [177:7]
39. Whistling/hooting man's head -- no doubt supporter to
[177:11]
40. Göhmaul -- misericord [176:15]

41. Göhmaul -- Louvain misericord, 1438-41

42. Göhmaul -- righthand supporter to Westminster Abbey misericord [98:7], c.1512
43. Gähnmaul, fool's head -- Ulm misericord, 1469-74

44. Gähnmaul, fool's head -- Ulm misericord, 1469-74

45. Lion-mask with tongue out -- righthand supporter to [176:15]
46. Three fools dancing -- misericord [176:21]

47. Morris dance -- engraving by Israehel Van Meckenem, Lower Rhine, late 15thC.

48. Cavorting fool with pointing finger -- lefthand supporter to [176:21]
49. Fool with pointing finger — detail of wooden panel in church at Hemingborough, Yorkshire, early 16thC.

50. Fool with pointing finger and tall marotte — wooden panel now in church at Kirkby Wharfe, Yorkshire, ex North Milford Hall, Yorkshire, late 15thC.

50a Grinning fool's head — corbel on stall-back
51. Grimacing fool’s head in stall-elbow spandrel

52. Grinning fool’s head with one ear of hood belled in stall-elbow spandrel

53. Fool with pointing finger in stall-elbow spandrel
54. Carvers gesturing -- misericord [174:8]

55. Carver gesturing -- righthand supporter to [174:8]
56. Rabbits' Revenge -- Manchester misericord [82:15], c.1506

57. Rabbits' Revenge -- engraving by Israhel Van Meckenem, Lower Rhine, late 15thC.
58. Fox rides Hound -- Manchester misericord [81:9], c.1506

59. Hare rides Dragon -- misericord [174:6]
60. Putting the Cart Before the Horse, etc. -- misericord [176:11]

61. Putting the cart Before the Horse -- misericord [176:11]
62. Milking the Bull -- righthand supporter to [176:11]

63. Milking the Bull -- 8-of-Bells playing-card design by Hans Schäuffelein, German, c.1535
64. Shoeing the Goose -- supporter to [175:4]

65. Shoeing the Goose -- late 14thC. capital in North nave-aisle
York Minster, engraving from J. Browne, The History of the
Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York (London, 1847), pl.
CXLVII
66. Saddled Sow -- lefthand supporter to [174:18]

67. Saddled Sow -- righthand supporter to Manchester [83:13], c.1506
68. Cat fiddles to Mice -- lefthand supporter to [174:5]

69. Cat fiddles to Bird -- fragment of wall-painting in house at Fenny Stratford, Buckinghamshire, ?mid-16thC.
70. Sow bagpipes to Piglets -- misericord [174:18]

71. Sow bagpipes to Piglets -- Manchester misericord [83:13], c.1506
72. Sow bagpipes to Piglets -- Ripon misericord [103:7], c.1488-94

73. Sow bagpipes to Piglets -- Durham Castle misericord [41:2], c.1490

74. Pig plays bagpipes -- roof-boss, St. Mary's Church, Beverley, early 16thC.
75. Sow plays Harp -- righthand supporter to [174:18]

76. Sow plays harp -- lefthand supporter to Manchester [83:13], c.1506
77. Sow plays harp -- stall-elbow at Stowlangtoft, Suffolk, ? late 14thC.

78. Sow harps to Piglets -- righthand supporter to Windsor [7:9], 1478-83

79. Man flails slug laden with pack -- Bristol misericord [47:5], c.1520
80. Ape 'plays' dog as bagpipe -- righthand supporter to [174:16]

81. Man 'plays' pig as bagpipe -- misericord at Lavenham, Suffolk [146:South side], late 15thC.

82. Man plays bagpipe made from animal-body -- stone corbel, North naíve-aisle, Beverley Minster, mid-14thC.
83. Ape Urinanalyst -- righthand supporter to [173:5]

84. Ape Urinanalyst -- lefthand supporter to Manchester [82:8], c.1506
85. Preaching Fox -- misericord [175:4]

86. Geese hang Fox -- misericord [175:7]
87. Preaching Fox -- bench-end at Brent Knoll, Somerset, late 14thC.

88. Ape nurses Fox -- righthand supporter to [174:19]

89. Fox as Pilgrim -- label-stop, North nave-aisle, Beverley Minster, 14thC.
90. Snail Combat -- lefthand supporter to [174:17]

91. Snail Combat -- woodcut (illuminated) in the Marchant-Vérard edition of the Kale[n]drier des Bergiers (Paris, 1493) [GW 5908]
92. Snail Combat -- woodcut in the Marchant-Petit edition of the Kalendrier des Bergiers (Paris, 1500) [GW 5914]

93. Snail Combat -- woodcut in Notary’s edition of the Kalender of Shepardes [STC 22410] (London, ?1518) [Hodnett 2270]
94. Man diving into sack -- righthand supporter to [174:17]

95. Man diving into sack -- Kleve misericord, 1474
96. Woman (broken) supervises men at household tasks -- misericord [173:9]

97. Woman beats man, dog in pot -- misericord [176:18]

98. Man (broken) in apron pursues dog, crone sits by fire -- misericord [175:10bis]
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99. Man washes up -- lefthand supporter to [175:10bis]; also showing position of fool’s head in stall-elbow spandrel opposite

103 Woodcut from title-page of Vanden X Esels, Van Doesborch, (2nd ed., Antwerp, 1558)

104 Grinning fool’s head in stall-elbow spandrel opposite man washing up on [175:10bis]
100 Kneeling man removes woman's boot, she strikes him -- misericord at Great Malvern, Worcestershire [167:5], c. 1480

101 Man puts hand beneath woman's shoe, she is about to strike him -- misericord at Fairford, Gloucestershire [48:6], late 15thC.

102 Man puts hand beneath woman's shoe, ?she hurls dish at him -- misericord in Hereford Cathedral [62:8], c. 1340X55
105 Man putting on/taking off shoes? -- righthand supporter to [175:10bis]

106 Emblem "Dessoubz Beaute gist Deception" from G. Corrozet, Hecatomgraphie (Paris, 1543), Sig. E b

107 Man trying fit of shoe -- drawing in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS of "Proverbes en Rimes", French, c.1500
108 Woman pounds pestle in mortar -- lefthand supporter to [176:18]

109 Man cuts sausage with axe -- righthand supporter to [176:18]
110 Elephant and Castle -- Manchester misericord [82:5], c. 1506

111 Elephant and Castle -- stall-end finial, Beverley Minster
112 Unicorn tramples Serpent -- Durham Castle misericord [41:5], c. 1490

113 Lion and ?Antelope, etc. -- misericord [174:7]

114 Unicorn -- misericord [175:3], showing lion-mask with tongue out in stall-elbow spandrel opposite
115 Big fish eats little fish -- lefthand supporter to [175:9]

116 Cockatrice -- stall-end finial, Beverley Minster
117 Man between two dragons -- misericord [174:17]

118 Pygmy emerging from hole, hydra and other Monstrous Races from Hrabanus Maurus, "De rerum naturis", Bibl. Vat. Pal. Lat. 291, f.75v., South Germany (Amberg?), 1425

119 Man emerges from whelk-shell, rabbit emerges from burrow -- stall-end finial, St. Margaret's Church, King's Lynn, Norfolk late 14thC.
120 Man emerging from shell attacks dragon -- Manchester misericord [81:7], c.1506

121 Man emerging from shell attacks dragon -- Durham Castle misericord [41:7], c.1490
122 Wild Man attacks Dragon with club -- misericord [176:14]

123 Wild Man attacks Dragon with club -- Manchester misericord [83:12], c. 1506

124 Wild man (broken off) attacks Dragon with club -- Durham Castle misericord [41:6], c. 1490
125 ?Crane feed from sack — misericord [174:4]

126 Crane feeds from sack — lefthand supporter to Lincoln misericord [88:20], c. 1370

127 Two cranes ‘drinking from a fountain’ [Remnant] — lefthand supporter to Lincoln misericord [90:15], c. 1370
128 Addorsed storks -- Southern Flemish misericord now in the Victoria & Albert Museum (W 35) [95:1], 1435x1450

129 5-of-Birds -- engraving by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450
130 Lion-Dragon Combat -- misericord [173:5]

131 Lion-Dragon Combat -- Manchester misericord [83:11]

132 Lion-Dragon Combat -- stone corbel, Percy Tomb, Beverley Minster, c.1340
133 Ape with swaddled baby -- lefthand supporter to misericord [173:5]

134 Ape with swaddled baby -- righthand supporter to Manchester [82:8], c.1506
135 Apes rob Pedlar -- misericord [173:6]

136 Apes rob Pedlar -- Manchester misericord [82:8], c.1506

137 Apes rob Pedlar -- Bristol misericord [46:4], c.1520
138 Cat catches Mice -- misericord [174:5]

139 Cat plays with Mouse -- righthand supporter to [174:5]

140 Hen and chicks, etc. -- misericord [177:13]

141 Owl mobbed by small birds -- misericord [177:9]
142 Man pushes woman in barrow -- engraving by the Master bxg, [L 106] c.1475X80

143 Man pushes woman in barrow -- Ripon misericord [183:9], c.1488-94

144 Man pushes woman in barrow -- Beverley misericord [176:17]
145 Man pushes woman in barrow -- Durham Castle misericord [41:1], c.1490

146 Man pushes woman in barrow -- bas-de-page illumination from the 'Hours of Charles d'Angoulême', Paris, bib. nat. ms. lat. 1173, French, c.1480x85
147 Crone fleas dog -- righthand supporter to [176:17]

148 Man fleas dog -- Hoogstraeten misericord, 1532x46
149 Woman fleas dog -- engraving by Lucas Van Leyden, 1510

150 Woman fleas dog -- detail from 'Peasant Village with Proverbs on Sloth', engraving by Frans Huys after Cornelis Mesys, Flemish, c.1550
151 Man attempts to lift beam (?) -- lefthand supporter to
[176:17]

152 Man dragging block ['bloksleeper'], engraving by Israhel Van
Meckenem, Lower Rhine, late 15thC.

153 Man dragging block ['bloksleeper'], Cappenberg misericord,
1349X20
154 Design 1 -- Dragon with second head in belly pursues three naked boys, border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

155 Detail of stone carving in the De La Warr chantry chapel, Boxgrove Priory, Sussex, c.1532

156 Bristol misericord [47:7], c.1520
157 Title-page woodcut to Der zielen troost printed by Adriaen van Berghen, (Antwerp, 1509) [NK 2084]

158 Dragon with second head in its belly -- misericord [176:19]

159 Dragon with second head in its belly attacked by two naked men with spears -- bench-end at Crowcombe, Somerset, 1534
160 Design 2 -- Wild Man pursues ape on 'equine', border woodcut from *Horae* printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

161 misericord [173:2]

162 Bristol misericord [46:8], c.1520
163 Bas-de-page scene from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1504 f.23v., Germany/Netherlands, 1520s

164 Assemblage of motifs from early 16thC. Parisian printed Horae to show possible sources of the Ashmole bas-de-page design

165 detail of border woodcuts in a prayer for the dying Edward VI [STC 7508] printed by William Copland, London, 1553

166 Designs 1 and 2 on adjacent folios of a Horae printed by Kerver (Paris, 1507)
Design 3 -- Mermaid between bat-winged devil and leonine monster -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

Bristol misericord [46:11], c.1520
169 Design 4 -- Two wild men armed with clubs and shields (one wears helmet) confront each other -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

170 Westminster Abbey misericord [97:7], c. 1512
171 Detail of stone carving in the De La Warr chantry chapel, Boxgrove Priory, Sussex, c.1532

172 Bas-de-page scene from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1504, f.24v., Germany/Netherlands, 1520s
173 Armed 'mermen' emerge from ears of 'Green Man' and confront each other with clubs and shields -- bench-end at Crowcombe, Somerset, 1534

174 Title-page woodcuts of A. C. Mery Talys. printed by John Rastell (London, c.1526)
175 'Humane rider' carries sack on head -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16th C.

176 Bristol misericord [46:1], c.1520

177 'Snail' holds reins of Dragon it rides -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16th C.

178 Rabbit holds reins of Dragon it rides -- misericord [174:6]

179 Grotesque -- Detail of lower register of bench-end illustrated in pl.159, Crowcombe, Somerset, 1534

180 Grotesque -- border woodcut from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16th C.
181 Boys 'cock-fighting', boy riding hobbyhorse (righthand supporter) and boy with 'whirligig' -- Westminster misericord [98:3], c. 1512

182 Various border woodcuts featuring putti from Horae printed by Pigouchet for Vostre, Paris, first decade of 16thC.

183 One of the above putti motifs, imitated from Pigouchet, as found in a Horae printed by Vérard (Paris, 1510)
184 Tree of Jesse -- one of the 'Beaton' panels, believed to have come from Arbroath Abbey, Scotland, private collection, ?late 1520s

185 Tree of Jesse -- woodcut from Horae printed by Kerver (Paris, 1507)
186 Samson rends the jaws of the lion and the Philistine woman from Timnath -- engraving by the Master E.S. [L 3], active in Southern Germany and Switzerland, c. 1450-67

187 Samson rends the jaws of the lion and the Philistine woman from Timnath -- Windsor misericord [8:5bis], 1478-83
188 Man and Woman seated either side of stone basin behind which fool bagpipes -- 'Small Love Garden' (detail), engraving by Master E.S. [L 207], active in Southern Germany and S Switzerland, c.1450-67

189 Man and woman seated either side of basin behind which fool bagpipes, bird on woman's wrist, dog at her feet, dog approaches man -- Windsor misericord [5:4], 1478-83
190 Detail (upper right) of 'Fountain of Youth' showing man and woman seated either side of stone basin, bagpiping fool behind, dogs in front -- engraving by Master of the Banderoles [L 92], active in Eastern Netherlands, c.1450-1500

191 Man leans on crutch, squirrel eats nut -- righthand supporter to Windsor [5:4], 1478-83
192 Naked woman helps fool to disrobe -- Windsor misericord [6:14], 1478-83

193 Naked woman helps fool to disrobe -- anonymous engraving, German, late 15thC.

194 Naked woman helps hooded man (?fool) to disrobe -- Windsor misericord [8:3], 1478-83
195 Stork with snake in beak and ostrich with horseshoe in beak lefthand supporter to Windsor [10:8bis], 1478-83

196 Swan, Stork and Ostrich -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 91], active in the East Middle Netherlands c.1460

197 Owl mobbed by small birds -- righthand supporter to Windsor [10:8bis], 1478-83

198 Three Chimerical Birds -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 98], active in the East Middle Netherlands c.1460
199 Three Chimerical Birds -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 97], active in the East Middle Netherlands c. 1460

200 Three 'chimerical' birds -- righthand supporter to Windsor [B: 5bis], 1478-83

201 Man loading crossbow, bolt lodged under chin -- lefthand supporter to Windsor [5:2], 1478-83

202 Man loading crossbow, bolt held between teeth -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 103], active in the East Middle Netherlands, c. 1460
203 Small men work on giant covered cup -- lefthand supporter to Windsor [6:9], 1478-83

204 Small men work on giant covered cup -- righthand supporter to Windsor [6:9], 1478-83

205 4-of-Cups playing-card design -- engraving by the Master of the Banderoles [L 101], active in the East Netherlands, c.1450-1500

206 2-of-Cups playing-card design -- engraving by the Master of the Banderoles [L 101], active in the East Netherlands, c.1450-1500
207 Two men crawling -- Windsor misericord [7:2], 1478-83

208 Two fools crawling -- bas-de-page woodcut in Sebastian Brant, Das Narrenschiff (Basel, 1493 ed.)
209 Queen-of-Animals -- engraved playing-card design by Master E.S. from the 'Small Pack of Cards' [L 229], active in Southern Germany and Switzerland, c. 1450-67

210 Wild Woman and Unicorn -- stall-end at Konstanz, S. Germany 1465-70
211 Jack-of-Birds -- engraved playing-card design by Master E.S.
from the 'Large Pack of Cards' [L 269], South Germany, p.1463

212 Wild Man (head broken off) rides Unicorn (horn broken off)
-- righthand supporter to Westminster [96:2bis], c.1512
213 King rides backward-looking unicorn -- desk-front spandrel
at Windsor, 1478-83

214 King-of-Birds -- engraved playing-card design by Master E.S.
from the 'Large Pack of Cards' [L 272], South Germany, p.1463
215 Two Wild Men joust -- Manchester misericord [82:6], c. 1506

216 Wild Man and Wild Woman joust -- engraving by the Master E.S. [L 307], active in Southern Germany and Switzerland, c. 1450-1467

217 Wild Man and Wild Woman joust -- Windsor misericord [6:16], 1478-83
218 Armed merman [zeeridder] -- Windsor misericord [9:22], 1478-83

219 Armed merman device of the Antwerp printer Thomas Vander Noot, c.1510
220 Ape emerging from fleshy-leaved flower plays lute with trotter-plectrum -- righthand supporter to Bristol [47:7] c.1520

221 Concert-Party in a Mussel-Shell -- engraving after Bosch, Flemish, c.1550

222 Couple playing Chess (detail) -- engraving by the Master of the Berlin Passion [L 115], active in the East Middle Netherlands, c.1460
223 Grotesque musicians, one of whom plays bellows with tongs -- Lavenham missicord [146:3], late 15thC.

224 Ape family feeding -- Westminster Abbey misericord [98:1bis] c.1512

225 Ape family feeding -- engraving by Israhel Van Meckenem, Lower Rhine, late 15thC.
226 Old man paying for young woman's favours -- engraving by Dürer [Bartsch 93], ?late 1490s

227 Old man paying for young woman's favours -- Westminster Abbey misericord [96:1ter]
228 Bird with long crest scratching head -- righthand supporter to [176:5]

229 8-of-Birds -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450
230 Stylised columbine flower -- supporter to Manchester [81:5], c.1506

231 Jonah thrown overboard and stylised columbine supporters -- Ripon misericord [183:8], c.1480-94

232 2-of-Flowers -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450
233 Rose seen from behind -- righthand supporter to Manchester [82:14], c.1506

234 Saw bagpipes to piglets: righthand supporter, a rose seen from behind -- Ripon misericord [183:7], c.1488-94

235 7-of-Flowers -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450

236 7-of-Roses -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450
237 Foliate motif -- fragment of wall-painting recorded in 1892 from a house attached to Beverley Friary, ?c.1500

238 Foliate motif -- misericord [177:12]

239 Foliate motif -- woodcut wall-paper design printed by Hugo Goes (and including his rebus), c.1511, reconstructed from fragments found papering the ceiling of the Master's Lodge, Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1911
There is esteemed a godly interlude of Fulgens Cenatoure of Rome, Lucrece his daughter, Sapylus flaminius, a Publius Comely of the disputacion of noblenes. It is devided in two parts to be played at ti tymes. Loppled by mapler brenny mid wall, late chaplainne to ryght reuerent fader in god Johan Hoxton cardynall a Archebyshop of Caunterbury.

240 Title-page woodcut to Fulgens and Lucrece (London, c.1515)

241 Funeral pall -- early 16thC. English memento mori designs added to late 15thC. Italian velvet, Vintners' Company, London
242 Herod’s Feast -- painting on the wall of the Oxenbridge chantry, St. George’s Chapel, Windsor, English, 1522

243 Detail of King Priam’s throne from a manuscript of Lydgate’s poems owned by the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, illuminated by a Flemish artist c.1520, BL Royal MS 18 D II, f.93r.
244 Two Wild Men in armed combat -- misericord [176:2]

245 6-of-Wild Men -- engraved playing-card design by the Master of the Playing Cards, active in the Upper Rhine region, c.1450

246 Armed (Wild) Man -- Olbracht Gradual, border, 1499X1506
247 Wild Man family -- Westminster misericord [98: returned stall], c.1512

248 King Priam and the body of Hector -- from a manuscript of Lydgate's poems owned by the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, illuminated by a Flemish artist c.1520, BL Royal MS 18 D II, f.93r.

249 Herod's feast -- painting on the wall of the Oxenbridge chantry, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, English, 1522
250 Double-sided fool's head, showing side with hood peak terminating in a bell -- Manchester stall-elbow, c.1506

251 Double-sided fool's head, showing side with foxtail attached to hood -- Manchester stall-elbow, c.1506
252 Detail of miniature by Jean Fouquet from a French translation of Boccaccio's "De casibus virorum illustrium" dated 1458, München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Gallicus VI, f.310v.

253 Detail of drawing of cripples and beggars attributed to Bosch (d.1516) showing fool with foxtail attached to hood, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels