The Earliest Illustrated Prose Lancelot Manuscript

CAPTIONS TO THE PLATES

Fig.1 (a)   Rennes 255, Estoire, fol.1. Initial 'C': Christ appears to the hermit with the book containing the story of the Grail. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(b)   Paris, B.N.fr.9081, William of Tyre, Histoire de la guerre sainte, fol.1. Initial 'L': Christ appears to Peter the Hermit at the Holy Sepulchre; Peter the Hermit leads the first Crusade. (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

Fig.2 (a)   Rennes 255, Merlin, fol.101. Initial 'M': Harrowing of Hell. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(b)   Philadelphia, Free Library, Lewis Coll. E.185, Three Maries at the Sepulchre; Harrowing of Hell. (Photo: Alison Stones)

Fig.3 (a)   Rennes 255, Estoire, fol.76v. Initial 'O': Josephes and his companions with the Grail. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(b)   Rennes 255, Lancelot, fol.137. Initial 'E': Aramont Lord of Brittany becomes the vassal of Uterpandragon; both embark with their knights. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(c)   Rennes 255, Lancelot, fol.188v. Initial 'O': standing man with book. (Photo: Alison Stones)

Fig.4 (a)   Manchester, John Rylands University Library, lat.22, Psalter, fol.12, Miracles of Christ. (Photo: Rylands Library)

Fig.5 (a)   Vienna, Ö.N.B.1179, Bible moralisée, fol.42. Initial 'V' and baptism scenes. (Photo: after Laborde)

(b)   Paris, B.N.lat.1073A, Psalter-Hours, fol.7v. Massacre of the Innocents. (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

(c)   Rennes 255, Lancelot, fol.197v. Initial 'Q': Lancelot rides off following his host. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(d)   Rennes 255, Lancelot, fol.197v. Detail. (Photo: Alison Stones)

Fig.6 (a)   Rennes 255, Estoire, fol.72v. Initial 'C': Duke Ganor in bed. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(b)   Rennes 255, Estoire, fol.10v. Initial 'O': King Eualach in bed. (Photo: Alison Stones)

Captions to the Plates (cont'd.)

(c)   Manchester, John Rylands University Library, lat.22, Psalter, fol.130v. Initial 'C'. (Photo: Rylands Library)

(d)   New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, G 31, Bible, fol.106. Initial 'P'. (Photo: Morgan Library)

Fig.7 (a)   Rennes 255, Estoire, fol.96. Initial 'O': Josephe blesses his brother Galaad after crowning him. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(b)   Manchester, John Rylands University Library, lat.22, Psalter, fol.61v. Initial 'Q'. (Photo: Rylands Library)

(c)   Douai, B.Mun.22, Glossed Bible, vol.5, fol.9. (Photo: Alison Stones)

Fig.8 (a)   Rennes 255, Estoire, fol.49. Minor initials. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(b)   Rennes 255, Lancelot, fol.179. Minor initials. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(c)   Rennes 255, Lancelot, fol.220. Initial 'O'. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(d)   Manchester, John Rylands University Library, lat.22, Psalter, fol.88v. Initial 'D'. (Photo: Rylands Library)

(e)   Manchester, John Rylands University Library, lat.22, Psalter, fol.71v. Initial 'I'. (Photo: Rylands Library)

Fig.9 (a)   Modena, E 39, Merlin, fol.13v. Initial 'M': Harrowing of Hell. (Photo: Alison Stones)

(b)   Paris, B.N.fr.339, Queste, fol.257. Initial 'O': Galaad, Boort and Perceval in the rudderless and sailless boat with the bier. (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

(c)   Brussels, Bibl. Roy. Albert I, B.R. g. 627-8, Mort Artu fol. 124. Initial 'O': Arthur and his men sail from London. (Photo and copyright: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I)

Fig. 1 (a)

Fig. 1 (b)

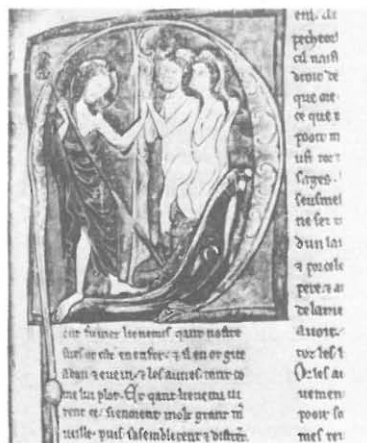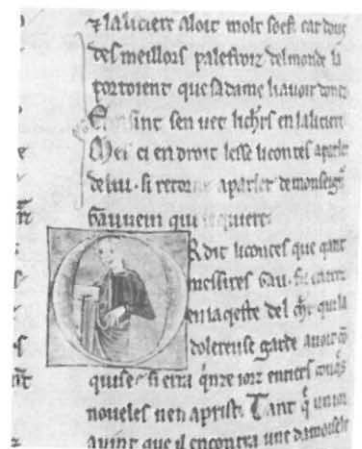Fig. 2 (a)

Fig. 2 (b)

Fig. 3 (a)

Fig. 3 (b)

Fig. 3 (c)

Fig. 4

PLATE III

Fig. 5 (a)

Fig. 5 (b)

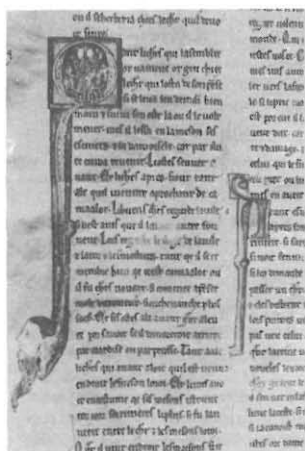

Fig. 5 (c)

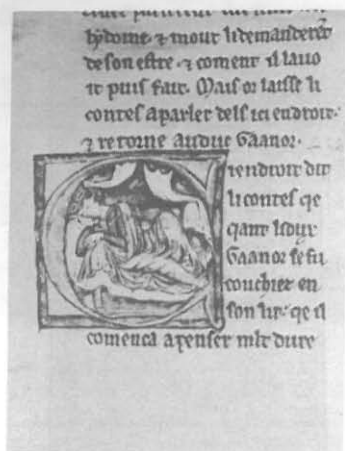Fig. 5 (d)

PLATE IV

Fig. 6 (a)

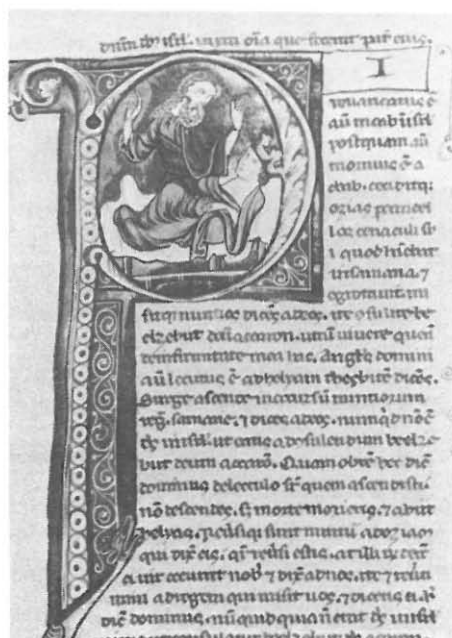Fig. 6 (b)

Fig. 6 (c)

Fig. 6 (d)

PLATE V

Fig. 7 (a)

Fig. 7 (b)

Fig. 7 (c)

Fig. 8 (a)

PLATE VI
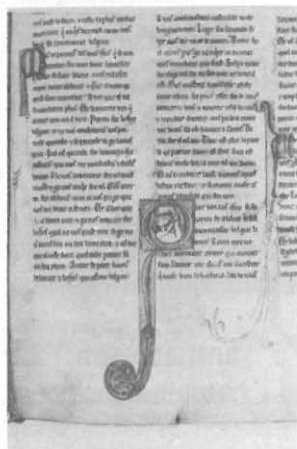

Fig. 8 (b)

Fig. 8 (c)
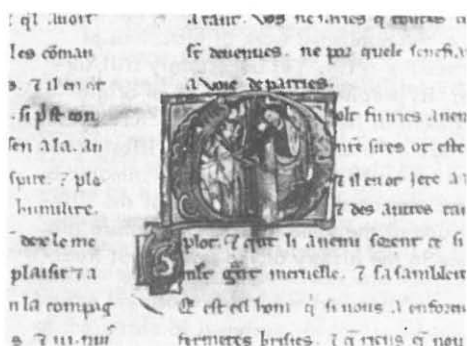

Fig. 8 (d)

Fig. 8 (e)

Fig. 9 (a)

Fig. 9 (b)

Fig. 9 (c)

The Earliest Illustrated Prose Lancelot Manuscript?

Long recognized as the most widely read and most copiously illustrated of all the Arthurian romances, the Vulgate Cycle in Old French prose has held for many decades a high place in the published work of historians of medieval literature and of medieval secular art.   Yet uncertainty still sur-rounds the origins of the prose cycle; its precise date and place of origin remain unclear and the early development of its accompanying picture cycles has never been thoroughly investigated.   An examination of the illustrations in MS. Rennes 255, [1] as yet unknown to Art Historians and underestimated by Old French scholars, may clarify some aspects of the beginnings of the illus-tration of vernacular texts in France and at the same time help to assure this important manuscript its rightful place in the history of the manuscript tradi-tion of Grail romances.

I

Rennes 255 contains the first three branches of the prose Lancelot cycle: Estoire, Merlin (without continuations), and Lancelot (ending incom-plete shortly before the end of le Conte de la charette).   The Rennes manu-script has not been used in any of the editions of these three texts [2] nor, with one exception, does the manuscript figure in the most recent discussions of their composition; [3]   indeed it has been wrongly dated by Micha in his study of the Merlin and Lancelot manuscript traditions: 1302-3 is the date given, no doubt in error for Rennes 593, a compendium that includes the Prophécies de Merlin and was finished (at least in part) in January 1303. [4]   No such date appears in Rennes 255 and I hope to show that the manuscript must in fact date from at least as early as the second quarter of the thirteenth century if not earlier.

The place of the prose Estoire and prose Merlin in the compositional sequence of the Vulgate Cycle remains paradoxical.   While there is general agreement that both depend on the verse Estoire and Merlin of Robert de Boron [5] there has been some difference of opinion as regards their chronology in relation to that of the Lancelot proper-Queste-Mort Artu branches, often referred to as 'the pseudo-Map cycle'.   While Lot [6] considered Estoire earlier than Queste, they have been thought since Frappier [7] and Micha [8] to be later reworkings of the Robert de Boron material composed as a preface to the pseudo-Map cycle, with the continuations of Merlin being the very latest compositions in the Vulgate Cycle.   In fact, there is very little evidence for the date of composition of Estoire and Merlin or indeed for the rest of the Vulgate Cycle. Broadly speaking, the cycle falls between the date of

Robert de Boron's Estoire and mentions of the Vulgate Cycle, or parts of it, in later writings for which a date can be arrived at, although one cannot discount the possibility of lost sources for all.

The significant dating points can be summarized as follows: Robert de Boron's verse Estoire was written 'o mon seigneur Gautier ... qui de Mont Belyal estoit'.[9] According to Villehardouin, Gautier de Montbelial joined the fourth crusade in 1201 and died in the Holy Land in 1212.[10] Thus, to accommodate both the 'o' and the 'estoit' of the citation, the terminus ante for Robert de Boron's Estoire would be 1201 or soon after, and so c.1202 would be the terminus post for the prose Estoire. The Lancelot proper and Queste were used by Manessier, who wrote for 'Jeanne la comtesse qui est de Flandre dame et maistresse'.[11] Lot first interpreted this as meaning that Manessier wrote between 1214 and 1227 during Jeanne's first regency caused by the imprisonment of her husband Ferrand of Portugal following his captivity at the battle of Bouvines,[12] but revised his opinion to include also the second regency of Jeanne, 1233-7, between the death of Ferrand and her remarriage to Thomas of Maurienne.[13] A second mention of the prose Lancelot was noticed by Paul Meyer in an anonymous prologue which prefaces the Philippide of Guillaume le Breton in MS. London, B.M.Add.21212.[14] It refers to 'le livres de Lancelot ou il n'a rime un seul mot'.[15] This prologue was composed for a seigneur de Flagi identified as Giles, châtelain de Sens, documented between 1203 and 1236; a reference to the death of Louis VIII in the same prologue[16] narrows down its date to the period soon after the death of the king in 1226 to 1234 when the regency of Blanche of Castille came to an end. Thus, the range of dates for the Vulgate Cycle would be from c.1202 for Estoire at the earliest to c.1234 for Lancelot and c.1237 for Queste at the latest, and no indications for Merlin or Mort Artu. In so far as recent authors have concerned themselves with dating questions, the opinions are as follows: Frappier suggests a date sequence for the pseudo-Map cycle of c.1215-20 for Lancelot, with the continuations of Lancelot and Agravain c.1220-5, Queste 1225-30, and Mort Artu 1230-35;[17] Hutchings dates Lancelot 1221-25;[18] Pauphilet dates Queste c.1220.[19] Most recently Carman has suggested that the pseudo-Map cycle was conceived before the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1204 and was still being composed up to the death of Isabelle of Angoulême, wife of John Lackland, in 1246. He assigns Estoire and Queste to the main period of 1217 or 1222 to the mid-1230s.[20]

II

Little effort has been made to relate these dates to those of the surviving manuscripts containing Vulgate Cycle texts. Studies on the manuscript tradition have established the existence of two versions, short and long,

for the three texts contained in the Rennes MS; the place assigned to the MS. in the manuscript tradition has been of variable significance. A clear picture of development is difficult to arrive at for the lengthy Lancelot proper and critics disagree as to whether the long or the short version is the earlier: Lot [21] and Kennedy [22] consider the short version (otherwise known as the London version) the earlier, while Micha opts, at least in part, for the Paris or long version as the earlier. [23] For the equivalent of Sommer volume III Micha notes that the Rennes MS. oscillates between groups 'i' and 'e', [24] while it is omitted from his study of Sommer volume IV. [25]

For Merlin Micha considers the short version, 'a', closer to Robert de Boron's poem and the long version, 'B' a later version composed as a preface to the Lancelot/Queste/Mort Artu cycle. He includes Rennes 255, with the siglum 'i', in group 'a', [26] the early group. It is only in Dr. F. Bogdanow's study of the Estoire that the significance of the Rennes text fully emerges. [27] Dr. Bogdanow has shown that only the Rennes MS. and the Portuguese Josep Abarimatia oscillate between the short and long versions; she concluded her 1960 article with two alternatives: both must contain a late version of the text that derives from the long as well as the short version, or both must stand at the beginning of the textual tradition. [28]

An examination of the extant prose Lancelot manuscripts, considering palaeographic and codicological aspects, so far as is possible, in addition to illumination, supports the view that the place of the Rennes MS. is in fact among the earliest rather than the latest manuscripts. Few scholars have risked opinions on the precise dates of the surviving Vulgate Cycle manuscripts. Indeed, the question is fraught with difficulty due to the lack of dated copies, the absence of firm dating criteria for palaeography, codicology, or illumination, and the poor quality and bad condition of so many of the manuscripts. Lot had consulted Prinet and Martin about MS. Paris, B.N.fr. 768, which he considered the earliest Vulgate Cycle MS.; they were unable to be more precise than 'milieu du règne de saint Louis'. [29] 'Fin du treizième siècle' is the date assigned to MS. Paris, B.N.fr.20047, the only surviving manuscript containing Robert de Boron's verse texts. [30]

The earliest dated Vulgate Cycle manuscript is Paris, B.N.fr.342, [31] written in 1274 by a female scribe, [32] and containing Lancelot, Queste and Mort Artu; the earliest dated complete cycle is in MS.Bonn, University Library 526, written by Arnulphus de Kayo at Amiens in 1286. [33] Both are copiously illustrated and provide unshakable termini for the existence of illuminated Vulgate Cycle manuscripts. However, these copies are both late in the textual and in the illustrative development of the Vulgate Cycle, and it is to the pre-1274 period that Rennes 255 and the earliest manuscripts belong. Of the 145 or so prose Lancelot manuscripts listed by Woledge [34] there are some 76 that date from the thirteenth century, of which 32 may be

ascribed to the last quarter of the century by stylistic analogy between their illuminations and those of Paris, B.N.fr.342, Bonn 526 or other later dated manuscripts. [35]   This leaves a group of 44 which may be considered as 'early' examples. [36]   They may be divided into four groups: those with no illustrations (20); those with limited illuminations, usually only a single historiated initial or miniature at the opening of each branch (17); two whose miniatures have been cut out; leaving five that contain a sequence of illuminations. Rennes 255 belongs to the last of these groups.

Possible contenders for the place of 'earliest manuscript' might be sought among any one of the four groups of pre-1274 manuscripts. The primary consideration which governed the quality of manuscript production in this as in any period must have been expense, and it would be misleading to assume a simple developmental progression from unillustrated manuscripts to minimally illustrated copies to fully illustrated versions over the period from the composition of the Vulgate Cycle sometime between c.1202 and 1237 or even 1245 to the existence of a lavish illustrative sequence for at least part of the Cycle in 1274 and certainly all of it by 1286.   In fact, there are indications that sparsely illustrated manuscripts were produced late in the thirteenth century: Paris, B.N.fr.12580, for instance, contains one small miniature at the beginning of each branch (Agravain, Queste, Mort Artu) and is the product of a workshop operating in the last quarter of the century, [37] while Paris, B.N.fr.12581 and Paris, B.Arsenal 2997, also with one illustration for each branch, are both included in compendia written in 1284 and 1301 respectively, [38] and the unillustrated Paris, B.N.fr.24430 includes a text written after the fall of Acre in 1291. [39]

Any remarks about the unillustrated manuscripts which do not contain dating evidence must be tentative since the palaeographical and codicological evidence is, as yet, insufficiently precise for dating on these grounds to be firm.   The one criterion that does appear to be significant is the relation between the top line of script and the top line of ruling.   The change from 'above top line' to 'below top line' has been traced in English manuscripts by N.R. Ker [40] and provides a useful key to the chronology of English productions of the thirteenth century.   No such analysis of French manuscripts has yet been produced and the full impact of this change, in particular the precise dates when the change occurred, remain to be determined for French copying.   The type of book is one factor that must be taken into account: bibles and long prose texts are written 'above top line' while contemporary psalters and verse texts are written 'below top line', even in the first decades of the thirteenth century. Thus, the verse Roman de Troie by Benoit de Saint-More, MS. Paris, B. Arsenal 3340, written in 1237, [41] has script 'below top line' while the prose Lancelots, London, B.M. MS. Landsdowne 757 and Roy.20.B.viii (both unillustrated), Roy.19.C.xiii and Paris, B.N. fr.768A (both minimally illustrated), and Rennes 255 (copiously illustrated), all have script 'above top line'.   The prose texts need not be before 1237

but they are most likely to have been produced before the middle of the thirteenth century, by which time prose texts were normally written with script 'below top line'. [42]

III

While it would be premature to establish a date before 1237, or even before 1250, for Rennes 255 on the basis of the rulings alone, the illumina-tions and the school to which they belong confirm an early date for the manu-script and set this book apart from the other early illustrated prose Lancelot MSS. There are only five Vulgate Cycle MSS. with sequences of illumina-tions that are earlier in date than 1274. They are: Brussels, B.R.9627-8; Modena Bibl.Estense E 39; Paris, B.N.fr.339; Ex-Phillipps Collection 3643; Rennes 255.

In the case of Modena E 39 it is hard to assign a more specific date than the middle of the thirteenth century since its historiated initials are small, rubbed, and poor in quality (fig. 9a) so that little can be said about their style. [43] The format of the historiated initials resembles the type that is current generally throughout the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century in French manuscripts, with initials enclosing a gold ground and bars decorated with acanthus, circles, wavy line or greek key motifs, the whole set on a blue or pink field with white wavy line, circle, or three dot motifs and sometimes bounded with an outer band of gold. This is also the format of the historiated initials in the other four early Lancelot MSS. Ex-Phillipps MS.3643 [44] presents the same problem as the Modena MS.: historiated initials of poor condition and quality and one can only postulate the same mid-thirteenth-century date for it as well. In both cases a large margin of error either side of 1250 should be allowed for.

With Brussels, B.R.9627-8 [45] (fig. 9c) and Paris, B.N.fr.339 [46] (fig. 9b) one is on firmer ground. Their illuminations are not the work of the same hand but both are related to one of the main styles current in the mid-thirteenth century in Paris and its immediate vicinity and whose characteris-tics are best exemplified in the Vie de Saint Denis of 1250, MS. Paris, B.N.n.a. fr.1098, [47] made at Saint-Denis. The stylistic features of this and the works associated with it do not reveal the mid-thirteenth century as a high-point in the development of thirteenth-century French painting. The colours are monotonous: maroon, pink, deep blue and grey for the most part; the figure drawing makes use of square-shaped repetitious faces with blank expressions, multiple parallel lines for wig-like hair with a straight line at the brow; sim-plified drapery with pointed edges and broad straight-line folds with little modelling. In the Vie de Saint Denis itself there is an extensive cycle of full-page miniatures unparalleled in the secular books of this period with the

sole exception of the Roman de Troie MS. Paris, B.N.fr.1610, written in 1264. [48] Other secular works illustrated in the style of the Vie de Saint Denis include several manuscripts of William of Tyre's Histoire de la guerre sainte: Bern 112 and 163; Paris, B.Ars.5220; Paris, B.N.fr.779, fr.2630, fr.2827, fr.24208. [49] In these and the Lancelots associated with this style, additional characteristics are the treatment of armour, in particular helms and mail. Helms are often pointed on top and the sight is a single slit serving both eyes; mail is usually shown painted blue with white parallel lines alternating with rows of white dots (figs. 9b and 9c).

The dating limits of this group will no doubt be clarified in R. Branner's forthcoming book on Parisian illumination in the time of Saint Louis. [50] By 1250, the date of the Vie de Saint Denis, the style had reached a developed form, and a related version of it is found as late as 1264 in the Roman de Troie. Another version of the Vie de Saint Denis style also appears, to-gether with the Muldenfaltenstil of earlier in the century in the Oxford/ Paris/London copy of the moralised bible which has most recently dated c.1240. [51] Thus, an approximate date of c.1240-1265 would seem appro-priate for Brussels, B.R.9627-8 and Paris, B.N.fr.339.

The illustrations of Rennes 255 belong to an earlier stylistic phase. Its 57 historiated initials are by an artist from a well-known and fairly clearly defined workshop operating in Paris in the second and third decades of the thirteenth century and whose major products include on the one hand a group of psalters with martyrological calendars and on the other hand the earliest of the four early thirteenth-century moralized bibles. What characterizes the best products of this workshop is above all the quantity and the quality of their illumination: the lengthy moralized bibles with their six historiated roundels per page have received only recently the detailed investigation they deserve, [52] while the psalters, with their full cycles of prefatory minia-tures and historiated initials exhibit a profusion and variety that clearly rank them as luxury products.

The nucleus of the psalter group is formed by three psalters which have been the object of detailed study by R. Haussherr. [53] They are MSS. Manchester, John Rylands University Library lat.22,[54] Leningrad, Saltykov-Schtschedrin State Public Library Lat.Q.v.I,67, [55] and Paris, B.N.lat. 1392. [56] Within the illuminations of these three books there are slight stylistic variations which justify the notion that they were all products of a large workshop employing several illuminators. Haussherr includes the one-volume moralized bible Vienna Ö.N.B. cod.1179 and the three-volume Toledo version as products of the same shop, [57] together with the Kristina Psalter, Kopenhagen Kgl.Bibl.Gl.Kgl.Saml.1606 4°, [58] the Philadelphia Psalter, Philadelphia Free Library, Lewis Coll. E 185, [59] the psalter-hours

Paris, B.N.lat.1073A, [60] and (less closely related), the hours New York, Morgan Library M 92 [61] and the Psalter of Jacob Suneson, London B.M. Egerton 2652. [62] A number of bibles have been attributed by G. Schmidt to the same workshop: Göttweig 55, Vienna Ö.N.B. 1144 and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS. W 56. [63] To these may be added New York, Morgan Library, MS. G 31 [64] and Douai Bibl.Mun.22. [65]

The illuminations in Rennes 255 and the bibles of the group consist of historiated initials which are more modest in format than that of the psalters and moralized bibles. The basic layout, border motifs and colour scheme of the former group is similar to that of the mid-thirteenth-century Lancelots and their contemporaries, and indeed this repertoire in the latter books is based on models established in the second and third decades of the century. However, the opening initials for each of the three branches of the text in the Rennes MS. are similar in scale to the large historiated initials and roundels in the psalters and moralized bibles and allow a monumentality of design and execution not displayed in the mid-thirteenth-century Lancelots.

What is decisive in establishing the connection between the Rennes MS. and the psalter workshop is, first, the figure style and, secondly, some aspects of the minor decoration. The term Muldenfalten is generally used to describe the style current between c.1200 and 1240 which is dominated by a drapery convention displaying a high degree of modelling and numerous parallel, hairpin-like, folds. A late phase of this style is found alongside the Vie de Saint Denis style in the Oxford/Paris/London moralized bible of c.1240. [66] It is to the early phase of this style that the Rennes Master's figure style belongs, together with that of the psalters and early moralized and other bibles. The figures are elegantly proportioned and adopt graceful poses: the drapery folds are loose and lack the mannered rigidity of the later phases of Muldenfaltenstil, which begins even among the psalter group (cf. figs. 2a and 2b); the faces are oval rather than square, with large eyes and loosely flowing hair with curls or waves at the brow.

The best parallels for the faces and draperies of the Rennes Master seem to lie in the work of the main hand of the Manchester Psalter, Ryl.lat. 22, and there are some close affinities also with the psalter-hours, Paris, B.N.lat.1073A, as well as with the bibles Douai 22 and New York, Morgan Library G 31. Compare the format and motifs of the initial, and especially the treatment of pose, drapery, and faces, of the king in bed (figs. 6a, b, c, d) and the large profile head in the border of Rennes 255 (figs. 5c, d) and the heads in the Massacre of the Innocents in Paris, B.N.lat.1073A (fig. 5b). The motif of the border head is hard to parallel exactly but its closest relation is with the initial on f.42 of Vienna, Ö.N.B.1179 (fig. 5a), the earliest of the moralized bibles and the one that has most stylistic affinities with the

Rylands psalter.   Another connection with the early moralized bibles is the
'sepulchre' motif in the opening initial of Estoire in Rennes 255 (fig. 1a)
which is commonly used in Vienna 1179 for the Temple of Jerusalem or for
the Sepulchre of Christ. [67] The allusion here is that of the sepulchre since
the scene shows Christ appearing to the author (a hermit) and handing him
the book containing the story of the Grail.   In the background is an altar
with a chalice on it, which may allude to the Grail itself, although else-
where in the illustrations, as in the text, the Grail is a dish (escuele) rather
than a chalice (cf. fig. 3a).   Indeed, the use of a chalice here may be an
indication that the Rennes Master was simply adapting a stock scene for this
context. [68]

The minor decoration of Rennes 255 consists of small painted initials,
of which the most distinctive are the 'heraldic' initials [69] and the initials
containing animals (figs. 6a, b, c).   The 'heraldic' initials are outlined in
gold on a ground of blue or pink and contain a coloured field of pink or blue
against which is set a lion rampant or an eagle in white.   These motifs are
similar to the bird and animal motifs that occur occasionally in the back-
grounds of Vienna 1179 (fig 5a) and are common in the backgrounds between
the historiated roundels in the full-page miniatures of the psalters (figs. 2b,
4). [70] The animal initials are painted in full colour with modelling on the
animals in white; the animals are set against gold grounds, enclosed within
the coloured bar of the initial which, in turn, is on a coloured ground out-
lined in gold – the same format as the historiated initials.   As with the
historiated initials, these animal initials find their closest parallel in the
minor initials of the Rylands Psalter (cf. figs. 8d, e).   The animal initials
in Rennes 255 would appear to be the work of a different hand than the artist
of the historiated initials; two of them contain human figures which are some-
what different in style from the figures in the historiated initials (fig. 3c).
This artist may be the painter of the miniature of the prince in Gilles de
Paris' Miroir des Princes, Paris, B.N.lat.6191, fol.1v, [71] although it would
be rash to base a comparison on only three examples of the style.

The lavish pen decoration of the psalters is only occasionally found
in Rennes 255, where it embellishes painted initials (fig. 3c, 5c).   Coloured
ink is also used on a modest scale for paragraph marks in the margins of text
columns and as infilling to enliven capitals in the body of the text, an unusual
practice in secular books and one which, along with the size, clarity, and
relative lack of abbreviations in the writing, serve to set this volume apart
from the unillustrated Lancelots and those produced in the middle of the
century (figs. 3b, c, 5d, 8a, b, c).

IV

The date of the Rennes Lancelot can be established only approximately since the volume itself contains no evidence, but it cannot be too different in date than the products of the Parisian workshop with which its closest comparisons lie, in particular Ryl.lat.22, Douai 22, Morgan G 31, Vienna 1179, B.N.lat.1073A, and possibly also B.N.lat.6191. The earliest is B.N.lat.6191 which was written for Louis VIII while dauphin and presented to him on 3 September 1200. One page, showing the Virtues, was added to the book between 1216 and 1223; it is just possible that the initial showing the prince dates from the same period, [72] although it is more likely, if this manuscript is indeed the presentation copy, that the initial would have been completed by 1200. Of the other books close in style to Rennes 255, only Ryl.lat.22 and Vienna 1179 contain evidence for dating. Ryl.lat.22 must be after 1220 since its calendar contains the Translation of Saint Thomas of Canterbury which took place in that year; [73] among the psalter group, however, its close relative B.N.lat.1392 was made before 1220, since the Translation of Saint Thomas is lacking, [74] and the Suneson Psalter, B.M.Egerton 2652 was produced before 1224 since it contains a calendar of Roskilde that lacks Abbot William, canonized in 1224. [75] Thus, it is likely that Ryl.lat. 22 belongs to the early 1220s. Vienna 1179 contains on fol.246 a portrait of its royal patron with either a scribe or an illuminator, and an accompanying poem that would no doubt reveal the identity of the king represented in the miniature were it still readable. [76] Whether the king is Philippe Auguste (d.1223), Louis VIII (d.1226) or Louis IX (d.1270) is unclear from the miniature alone. One may however compare this portrait with the one in the other early moralized bible, the three-volume Toledo version, which, in its New York section contains on fol.8 a portrait of a young king and a queen, who are generally interpreted as representing Saint Louis and his mother, Blanche of Castille, and this version is normally dated to the regency of Blanche, between 1226 and 1234. [77] An additional reason for dating the Toledo version before 1234 is that it contains in volume 2 (fol.78) the shields of Navarre and Champagne which are shown separately but were united in 1234. [78] On stylistic grounds Haussherr dates the Toledo bible c.1230 and considers it slightly later than Vienna 1179. [79] Since the king in Vienna 1179 appears alone it should represent Louis VIII, or, possibly, Philippe Auguste, and should have been at least planned, if not completed, by 1226. [80] Such a date accords well with the other activities of the workshop on the psalters during the early 1220s. That Paris was the location of the workshop is indicated not only by the royal portraits in these two moralized bibles but also by the exclusively Parisian feasts in Rylands lat.22. [81]

On the basis of the evidence of illumination, then, the production of Rennes 255 most probably took place in Paris in the early 1220s in the work-

shop that made the luxury psalters and the early moralized bibles. There is
no surviving parallel in French secular illumination for a book of this date; [82]
there are no illustrated epics before the middle of the thirteenth century, [83]
the earliest Troie manuscript dates from 1237, [84] while the earliest illustrated
Chrétien manuscript probably dates also from the middle of the century [85] and
the earliest copy of William of Tyre's Histoire de la guerre sainte is currently
dated c.1235-45 [86] or 1244-48. [87]   Thus, the Rennes MS. occupies a place
at the forefront not only of prose Lancelot illustration but of French secular
illustration in general.

The early 1220s bring one very close to the likely date of the compo-
sition of the first parts of the Vulgate Cycle itself and again the Rennes MS.
stands at the beginning of the manuscript tradition.   There is, unfortunately,
no evidence to connect the book with a specific patron and one can do no
more than speculate as to any possible relationship between its original owner
and the author of the prose text.   Could this important manuscript, written
and illustrated in a Parisian workshop that executed royal commissions, be
the presentation copy of a prose version of the Lancelot cycle specially com-
posed by royal command ?

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NOTES

1. Catalogue générale des bibliothèques publiques de France, Départements, XXIV, 1894, pp.119-20, MS.255 (148). See Appendix A for a description of the manuscript and Appendix B for a list of the illustrations.

2. The editions so far available for the Vulgate Cycle and its major prose variants are:

    Complete Vulgate Cycle
    Sommer, H.O., The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances, 6 vols., Washington, 1906-13, based on London, B.M.MS.Add. 10292-4.

    Estoire
    Hucher, E., Le Saint Graal, 3 vols., Le Mans, 1875-8, vols. 2 and 3 Le Saint Graal ou Josèphe d'Arimathie, transcribes the text of Le Mans MS.354 (vol.2 and vol.3, pp.1-308) followed by the Histoire de Grimaud (vol.3, pp.311-744) which is found only in Paris MSS. B.N.fr.98 and 2455.

    Furnivall, F.J., Seynt Graal or the Sank Ryal, 2 vols., Roxburghe Club, London, 1861-3, based on London, B.M.MS.Roy.14.E.iii.

    Josèphe
    Hucher, E., Le Saint Graal, vol.1, Le petit saint Graal en prose ou le roman de Josèphe d'Arimathie, pp.209-276, transcribes the text of the Cangé MS., Paris, B.N.fr.748; pp.277-283 transcribed the text of the Didot MS, written in 1301, Paris, B.N. n.a.fr.4166. (For the latter, see also Roach, W., The Didot-Perceval, Philadelphia, 1941, based on the Didot MS., and Modena, Bibl.Estense, MS.E.39 ('E')). The latter also contains prose Josèphe, prose Merlin, and Mort Artu, none of which are transcribed by Roach.

    Weidner, G., Der Prosaroman von Joseph von Arimathia, Oppeln, 1881, a reconstructed text using Le Mans 354 (M); Paris, B.N. fr.770 (B); Leningrad, Fr.F.v.XV, 5 (P); Paris, B.N.fr.748 (C);

Paris, B.Ars.2996 (A); Rome, Vat.Reg.1687 (V); Paris, B.N.
n.a.fr.4166 (D); Paris, B.N.fr.1469 (F); and the Huth MS.,
now B.M.MS.Add.38117 (H).

Merlin

Sommer, H.O., Le Roman de Merlin or The Early History of King
Arthur, Faithfully Edited from the French MS. Add.10292 in the
British Museum, London, 1894.

Paris, G. and Ulrich J., Merlin, roman en prose du 13e siècle,
publié avec la mise en prose du poème de Robert de Boron d'après
le MS appartenant à M. Alfred Huth, 2 vols., Paris, SATF, 1886,
based on the Huth Merlin, London, B.M.MS.Add.38117. The
prose Josèphe, which the Huth MS. also contains, is not tran-
scribed in this edition. Paris and Ulrich give a transcript of the
Huth prose Merlin with variants from Paris, B.N.fr.747, followed
by the Huth continuations.

Lancelot proper

first part:

Brduner, G., 'Der altfranzôsische Prosaroman von Lancelot del Lac,
Branche I, La Reine as granz dolors,' in Marburger Beitrdge zur
romanischen Philologie, Heft 2, 1911.

Becker, H., id. 'Branche II, Les Enfances Lancelot,' ibid. Heft 6,
1912.

Bubinger, H., id. (2e partie), 'Branche III, La douloureuse garde,
(1e partie),' ibid. Heft 8, 1912.

Zimmermann, A., id. 'Branche IV, Galehaut,' Heft 19, 1917.
all are based on 'e', Paris, B.N.fr.768.
second part (corresponding to Chrétien's Conte de la Charette):

Hutchings, G., Le Roman en prose de Lancelot du Lac, le Conte de
la Charette, Paris, 1938, based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi
College, MS.45.

Queste

Furnivall, F.J., La Queste del Saint Graal, Roxburghe Club,
London, 1864, based on London, B.M. MS.Roy.14.E.iii.

Pauphilet, A., La Queste del Saint Graal, CFMA, Paris, 1965,
based on 'K', Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, fonds du Palais
des Arts, MS.77.

Mort Artu

Frappier, J., La Mort le Roi Artu, Paris, 1936; Paris/Geneva,
1964, based on 'A', Paris, B.Ars.3347.

3. The most significant studies that discuss the date and composition of the Vulgate Cycle are:

Lot, F., Etude sur le Lancelot en prose, Paris, 1918; 2nd ed. augmenté d'un septième appendice dû à M. Lot-Borodine, Paris, 1954.

Pauphilet, A., Etudes sur la Queste del Saint Graal, Paris, 1921, reprinted 1968.

Frappier, J., Etude sur la Mort le Roi Artu, Paris, 1936, 2nd ed. 1961.

Loomis, R.S., ed. Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, Oxford, 1959.

Frappier, J., 'The Vulgate Cycle,' in Loomis, op.cit., 1959, pp. 295-318.

Micha, A., 'The Vulgate Merlin,' in Loomis, op.cit., 1959, pp. 319-324.

Bogdanow, F., 'The Relationship of the Portuguese Josep Abarimatia to the extant French MSS. of the Estoire del Saint Graal,' Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 76, 1960, pp.343-75.

Kennedy, E., 'The Scribe as Editor,' in Mélanges Frappier, Geneva, 1970, pp.523-31.

Micha, A., 'Sur la composition du Lancelot en prose,' in Mélanges Lecoy, Paris, 1973, pp.417-25.

Carman, J.N., A Study of the Pseudo-Map Cycle of Arthurian Romance, Kansas, 1973.

For additional bibliography see Woledge, B. Bibliographie des romans et contes en prose française, Paris/Geneva, 1954, and Supplément, 1954-73, Geneva, 1975, under the entry Lancelot, Cycle de, 1954, pp.71-9, 1975, pp.51-9.

4. Micha A., 'Les Manuscrits du Merlin en prose de Robert de Boron, I. Liste et description des manuscrits, II. Le Classement des manuscrits,' Romania, 79, 1958, pp.78-94 and 145-174; Rennes 255 is described on p.85. See also Micha, A., 'Les Manuscrits du Lancelot en prose,' Romania, 81, 1960, pp.45-87 and Romania, 84, 1963, pp.28-60 and 478-99, and its sequel, 'La Tradition manuscrits du Lancelot en prose,' Romania, 85, 1964, pp.293-318 and 478-517, Romania, 86, 1965, pp.330-359, Romania, 87, 1966, pp.194-233. Rennes 255 is described in Romania, 84, 1963, pp.30-32.

For Rennes 593(147) see Catalogue, op.cit., p.238 ff. This MS. was the 'MS de base' used by L. Paton in Les Prophécies de Merlin, 2 vols., London/New York, 1926-7.

5. Ed. Nitze, W.A., Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal, CFMA, Paris, 1927, based on the only MS., Paris, B.N.fr.20047: the Estoire text is preceded by Image du Monde and followed by verse Merlin (ff. 55v-62v) which ends incomplete and is transcribed by Nitze at the end of his edition of Estoire (pp.126-30).

    An earlier edition, based on the same MS., is Michel, F., Roman du Saint-Graal, Bordeaux, 1841. Michel's text was reprinted by Furnival as an appendix to op.cit., 1861.

6. Lot, op.cit., 1918, stresses the unity of the Lancelot cycle as a whole and considers it all the work of one author.

7. Frappier, op.cit., 1936, pp.27-146; op.cit., 1959; op.cit., 1961, appendix.

8. Micha, op.cit., 1959.

9. Nitze, op.cit., lines 3490-1.

10. Conqueste de Constantinople, ed. de Wailly, Paris, 1872, paragraph 533. Lot, op.cit., p.132, n.6, gives 1202 for Gautier's departure and 1212 or 1214 for his death, following Mas-Latrie, L.de, L'Histoire de Chypre sous la maison de Lusignan, 3 vols., 1852-62, I, pp.167, 171, 178-81; II, 12, 13, 14 and note. Gautier married Bourgogne, eldest daughter of Amaury de Lusignan, King of Jerusalem.

11. Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal, ed. Potvin, C., Société des bibliophiles belges séant à Mons, no.21, 6 vols., Mons, 1866-71, vol.VI, p.155, 157 note. There is no reference either to Manessier or to Jeanne in the Mons MS.; they occur in an epilogue in MSS. Paris, B.N.fr.12576, B.N.fr.12577, and Montpellier, Fac.Méd.H 249.

12. Lot, op.cit., 1918, p.135.

13. id., review of Pauphilet, op.cit., 1921, Romania, 49, 1923, p.436 and n.2.

14. id., op.cit., 1918, p.135, n.2; Meyer, P., 'Prologue en vers français d'une histoire perdue de Philippe Auguste,' Romania, 6, 1877, pp.494-8. This text occupies fol.4 of the MS. and is followed on fol.5 by the Philippide in Latin. There is no reference to Lancelot in the Philippide itself.

15. ibid. lines 101-2.

16. ibid. lines 115-8: '... Loois/ le roi qui tant fu posteïs/ Dom nos sommes tuit irascu/ De ce que si poi a vescu.'

17. Frappier, op.cit., 1961, p.138.

18. Hutchings, op.cit., p.LI.

19. Pauphilet, op.cit., 1923, p.iii.

20. Carman, op.cit., pp.128-31.

21. Lot, op.cit., 1918, pp.359-77.

22. Kennedy, E., 'The two versions of the false Guinevere episode in the Old French prose Lancelot', Romania, 77, 1956, pp.94-104, and op.cit., 1970.

23. Micha, A., 'Etudes sur le Lancelot en prose,' Romania, 76, 1955, pp.334-41; id., op.cit., 1966, p.214; id., op.cit., 1973, p.423, n.9.

24. Micha, op.cit., 1964, p.317.

25. ibid., pp.478-517.

26. id., op.cit., 1958, p.174.

27. Bogdanow, op.cit., 1960.

28. ibid., p.375 'The fact that PR alternate between the long and short versions can only mean one of two things: either they are the result of contamination or they represent the archetype from which the other two redactions derive. Any attempt to decide between these two alternatives calls for an examination of all the variant readings, and I propose to deal with the problem and its implications in a separate study.' Dr. Bogdanow was kind enough to inform me in a letter of October, 1975, that she favours the first of

these two alternatives and considers that the Rennes MS. contains an earlier version of Estoire than the other French manuscripts.

29.   Lot, op.cit., 1918, p.135 and n.3.

30.   Nitze, op.cit., p.v.

31.   This MS. is Pauphilet's and Frappier's 'D'. For its illuminations, see Vitzthum, Graf G. von, Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei, Leipzig, 1907, p.123; Loomis, R.S. and L.H., Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, New York, 1938, p.93, pl.213-6; Catalogue, Les Manuscrits à Peintures, Paris, B.N. 1955, no.60; Stones, M.A. 'The Illustrations of the French prose Lancelot in Flanders, Belgium, and Paris, 1250-1340,' Ph.D., London University, 1970, ch.3, pp.148ff., 410.

32.   The colophon on fol.234v reads 'cis romans fu par escris en lan/del incarnation nostre segnor mil/deus cens & sixante et quatorse/le semedi apries les octaves de le trinite/pries pour ce li ki lescrist'. 'ce li' is a feminine pronoun, cf. M.K. Pope, From Latin to Modern French, Manchester, 1934, reprinted, 1961, p.325.

33.   The texts in Bonn are Hutchings' 'Z' and Frappier's 'B'. Pauphilet gives no siglum. For its illuminations, see Olschki, L. Die romanische Literatur des Mittelalters, Potsdam, 1928, frontispiece; Loomis, op.cit., 1938, p.94, 96, pl.217-23; Stones, op.cit., ch.5, p.208ff., 451-2. Walterus de Kayo was the scribe of MS. Le Mans 354 which contains Estoire and Merlin and was edited by Hucher, op.cit. The writing of the two scribes is quite distinct and so are the illuminations; Le Mans 354 is closer as far as its illustrations are concerned, to Paris, B.N.fr.342 and the group of books associated with it, than to Bonn 526. It is closest to Paris, B.N.fr.770, with which its text is also closely related, see Stones, ch.3 and Hucher, op.cit. Hucher thought 'Kayo' referred to Caix (Somme) but Cayeux-sur-Mer (Somme) is an alternative worth considering. In either case the use of the place-name as a sur-name should mean that the individual concerned resided elsewhere and the 'Ambianis' in the Bonn colophon may equally indicate that Arnulphus did not normally work there.

34.   Woledge, op.cit., 1954 and 1975. The figure of 145 excludes frag-ments and takes no account of manuscripts that are now separate but might originally have been different volumes in a complete cycle.

35. For the detailed justification of these stylistic attributions see Stones, op.cit., chs.3-9.

36. See Appendix C for a list.

37. J. Folda, in Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291, Princeton, 1976, p.120, n.20 relates this MS. and Rome, Vat.Reg.lat.1490 to the work of the 'Hospitaller Master' which also includes a Rent Book of Saint-Germain des Prés dated 1276 and continues in Acre with Chantilly 590 in 1282.

38. For B.N.fr.12581 see Omont, H., Catalogue générale des manuscrits français, Ancien supplément français, II, Paris, 1896, pp.566-7; for Ars.2997 see Martin, H., Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, III, Paris, 1887, p.187.

39. Omont, ibid., Anciens petits fonds français, II, Paris, 1902, pp. 357-8.

40. Ker, N.R., 'From "above top line" to "below top line", a change in scribal practice,' Celtica, v, 1960, p.13.

41. Martin, op.cit., III, p.337-8.

    The text was edited from the available MSS. by L. Constans, 6 vols., Paris, SATF, 1906-12. MS.Paris, B.Ars.3340 is Constans' 'A'. It contains 26 foliate initials and two historiated initials: fol.1, initial 'S', King Peleus with Jason and Hercules (?) (Constans, line 1); fol.5, initial 'P'. Jason and Hercules set sail; Jason fights the serpent (Constans, line 715). These illustrations are earlier than the earliest illustrated MS. in Buchthal, H., Historia Troiana, London/Leiden, 1971, which is Paris, B.N.fr. 1610, written in 1264 and containing an extensive sequence of full-page miniatures, see below, n.48.

42. This is the case in the mid-thirteenth-century Lancelots discussed below, section III: Brussels, B.R.9627-8, Paris, B.N.fr.339, and Ex-Phillipps Coll.3643; and also in the William of Tyre MSS. produced in the same period, see below.

43. See Camus, G., I Codici francese della Regia Biblioteca Estense, Modena, 1889, no.39, MS.XI,B.9 (E 39/∝ L 930), where it is wrongly assigned to the 14th century. Textual contents: fol.1 Josèphe, fol.13v Merlin, fol.44v Perceval, fol.75 Lapidaire, see above, n.2. The MS. contains 15 historiated initials. See also

Woledge, op.cit., 1954, p.75; Micha, op.cit., 1958, p.91
(MS. 'T'); Stones, op.cit., ch.2, p.128 ff., 396-7.

44. Sotheby Catalogue, 28.11.67, lot 92, pl.10.   Present whereabouts
unknown.   Textual contents: fol.1 Vie des pères, fol.92v
Gautier de Coincy, Vie de Théophile, fol.101 Jehan de Blois,
Le Conte dou Baril, fol.105 Les neuf Joies de Notre-Dame, fol.
105v La Passion de Jesus-Christ, fol.111 Vie de sainte Catherine,
fol.117 L'Estoire del saint Graal vol.II fol.1 Merlin.   There are
20 historiated initials in Estoire.   See also Woledge, op.cit.,
1954, p.72; Micha, op.cit., 1958, p.89 (MS. 'm'); Stones,
op.cit., ch.2, p.128ff., 299.

45. Gaspar, C. and Lyna, F., Les principaux MSS. à peintures de la
Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Paris, 1933-4, 2 vols., vol.I
p.163, no.69, pl.xxxiv.   Textual contents: fol.1 Queste, fol.
69 Mort Artu.   This is Frappier's MS. 'E'; Pauphilet gives no
siglum.   There are 37 historiated initials and two small miniatures.
See also Woledge, op.cit., 1954, p.72; Stones, op.cit., ch.2,
p.128 ff., 398-9.

46. Textual contents: fol.1 Lancelot, fol.231 Queste, fol.264 Mort
Artu.   There are 120 historiated initials.   This is Hutchings' MS.
'O', Pauphilet's 'A', Frappier's 'I'.   See also Woledge, op.cit.,
1954, p.74; Stones, op.cit., ch.2, p.128 ff., 399.

47. Facsimile, ed. Omont, 1905; Vitzthum, op.cit., pp.2, 7; Catalogue,
1955, no.5.

48. See above, note 41.   See Vitzthum, op.cit., p.12; Catalogue, 1955
no.9; Saxl, F. 'The Troy Romance in French and Italian Art,'
Lectures, London, 1957, pp.125-38, pl.74, 75, 78; Buchthal,
op.cit., p.9 ff., pl.1-3.   This manuscript contains 4 full-page
miniatures with scenes in three registers, fols. 17v-18, 154v-5.
Four further miniatures from the manuscript are in the collection
of Mr. J.H. van Heek at 's-Heerenberg, Holland, cf. Saxl,
op.cit., p.129, n.5 and Buchthal, op.cit., p.9, n.2 and pl.4-5.
Vitzthum thought the manuscript was produced in the region of
Cambrai and Buchthal follows Saxl in opting for an eastern French
provenance, while Porcher (Catalogue) ascribed it to Paris on the
grounds of stylistic similarity with the Oxford/Paris/London moral-
ized bible.   I subscribe to the latter view.   Other secular manu-
scripts with full-page miniatures of similar date are Paris, B.N.fr.
12558 and 12559, Chevalier au cygne, and probably c.1270 is

Paris, B.N.fr.2186, Roman de la Poire. In general, the full-page format is most frequent in French secular illuminations. See Stones, M.A. 'Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book-Illumination in the Thirteenth Century' in The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Value Systems, ed. H. Scholler, Tübingen, 1975, p.6, n.17.

49.   See Folda, J., 'The Illustrations of William of Tyre's History of Outremer,' Ph.D. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1968. The four manuscripts listed here all include continuations up to 1231.

50.   See, in the meantime, 'The "Soissons Bible" Paintshop in Thirteenth Century Paris,' Speculum, 44, 1969, pp.13-34, for a workshop that may be seen as marking the transition between the style of the Vie de Saint Denis and the Muldenfaltenstil of the earlier part of the century.

51.   Haussherr, R., 'Eine Warnung vor dem Studium von zivilem und kanonischem Recht in der Bible moralisée,' Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 9, 1975, p.390; id., 'Petrus Cantor, Stephen Langton und Hugo von St.Cher,' Verbum et Signum, 2, 1975, p.348. This copy comprises MSS. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 270b, Paris, B.N.lat.11560, and London B.M.Harley 1526-7, and is reproduced in its entirety in Comte A. de Laborde, La Bible moralisée, 5 vols., Paris, 1911-27. The other early thirteenth-century moralized bibles are the one-volume MSS. Vienna, Ö.N.B. 1179 and 2554 and the three-volume MS. in Toledo Cathedral Library, of which the last gathering is in New York, Morgan Library, M 240.

52.   See above, note 51 and in addition Haussherr, R. 'Christus-Johannes-Gruppen in der Bible moralisée,' Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 27, 1964, pp.133-52; id. 'Beobachtungen an den Illustrationen zum Buche Genesis in der Bible moralisée (Vortragsbesricht),' Kunstchronik, 19, 1966, pp.313-4; id., 'Templum Salomonis und Ecclesia Christi - Zu einem Bildvergleich der Bible moralisée,' Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 31, 1968, pp.101-21; id., 'Bible moralisée,' in Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, Bd.1, 1968, Sp.289-93; id., 'Sensus litteralis und sensus spiritualis in der Bible moralisée,' Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 6, 1972, pp. 356-80; id., Commentary to facsimile of Vienna, Ö.N.B.cod. 1554, Graz, 1973.

53.   id., 'Ein Pariser martyrologischer Kalender aus der ersten Hälfte des
       13. Jahrhunderts,' in Festschrift Matthias Zender, Studien zur
       Volkskultur, Sprache und Landesgeschichte, Bonn, 1972, pp.1076-
       1103.

54.   ibid., and James, M.R., A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin
       Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, Manchester,
       1921, vol.I, pp.64-71; Laborde, op.cit., vol.5, pp.16-17;
       Haseloff, G., Die Psalter-illustration, Kiel, n.d. (1938), p.34
       ff.; Nordenfalk, C., 'Insulare und kontinentale Psalterillustratio-
       nen aus dem 13. Jahrhundert,' Acta Archaeologica, 10, 1939,
       p.119.

55.   Haussherr, op.cit., Festschrift Zender, 1972, and Laborde, op.cit.,
       vol.5, p.72; id., Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservé
       dans l'ancienne bibliothèque impériale publique de St. Petersbourg, I,
       Paris, 1936, pp.3-4; Nordenfalk, op.cit., p.118.

56.   Haussherr, op.cit., Festschrift Zender, 1972, and Leroquais, V.,
       Les Psautiers manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France,
       Paris, 1940-1, vol.II, pp.137-9; Catalogue, op.cit., 1955,
       no.3; Haseloff, op.cit., pp.21 ff., 78 ff., 82.

57.   Haussherr, op.cit., Festschrift Zender, 1972, pp.1100-3.

58.   Haussherr, op.cit., Festschrift Zender, 1972 and Haseloff, op.cit.,
       pp.78, 36; Nordenfalk, op.cit., p.118.

59.   ibid. and Wolf, E., A Descriptive Catalogue of the John Frederick
       Lewis Collection of European Manuscripts in the Free Library,
       Philadelphia, Philadelphia, 1937, pp.200-4; Catalogue, Illu-
       minated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Baltimore,
       1949, no.52; Nordenfalk, op.cit., p.119.

60.   Haussherr, op.cit., Festschrift Zender, 1972 and Leroquais, V.,
       Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale,
       Paris, 1927, vol.I, pp.52-5; Haseloff, op.cit., pp.78, 86.

61.   Haussherr, op.cit., Festschrift Zender, 1972, and Catalogue,
       Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, Burlington Fine Arts Club,
       London, 1918, no.124; James, M.R., Catalogue of MSS. and
       Early Books ... now forming a portion of the Library of J. Pier-
       pont Morgan, Manuscripts, London, 1906, no.74.

62. Haussherr, ibid., and Gad, T. under 'Psalter' in Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for nordisk meddelalter, 13, Kopenhagen, 1968, col. 588-9.

63. Schmidt, G., 'Die Buchmalerei,' in Die Gotik in Niederösterreich, Vienna, 1963, p.112.

64. Plummer, J., The Glazier Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1968, no.29, pl.29.

65. Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements, VI, Douai, Paris, 1878. MS.22 is a glossed bible in 11 volumes from the Abbey of Anchin.

66. See Laborde, op.cit., La Bible moralisée, 1911-27.

67. See Haussherr, R., 'Templum Salominis und Ecclesia Christi,' Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 31, 1968, pp.101-21.

68. Another scene which is comparable in many ways with this opening miniature is the first initial in the William of Tyre MS. Paris, B.N.fr.9081, fol.1 which shows Christ appearing to Peter the Hermit at the Holy Sepulchre; Peter is shown in a lying pose beneath a domed, round-arched structure (fig.1 b). See Folda, op.cit., 1968. Folda considers this the earliest MS. of the History of Outremer and dates it between 1244 and 1248. See also id., op.cit., 1976, p.31 and n.27. Apart from this instance, I do not consider the study of the iconography of Rennes 255 pertinent to the present examination and I reserve it for a future occasion. See, however, Appendix B.

69. These initials cannot be considered truly heraldic. No serious attempt at heraldry in Lancelot manuscripts is met with before c.1300 although the shields of owners appear in psalters and books of hours from the third quarter of the thirteenth century. An early appearance of heraldry in a secular manuscript (apart from Matthew Paris and the early rolls of arms) is in le Roman de la Poire, Paris, B.N.fr.2186; the arms have not yet been identified. See also below, n.78, for the Navarre and Champagne shields in the Toledo moralized bible. For Arthurian heraldry see Stones, op.cit., ch.10, pp.359-84.

70. This 'heraldic' motif continues to be used for painted initials until c.1300 and is not in itself a significant factor in establishing stylistic groups.

71. Reproduced in Branner, R., 'Manuscript Painting in Paris around 1200,' in The Year 1200, vol.III, A Symposium, Dublin, 1975, pl.13.

72. Branner, ibid., p.176 and p.179 considered the initial and the Virtues page the work of the same hand, a view which I do not share. For the adding of the Virtues page, see ibid., p.179, referring to Delaborde, H.F., 'Note sur le Carolinus de Gilles de Paris' in Mélanges E. Châtelain, Paris, 1910, pp.185-203.

73. Haussherr, op.cit., Festschrift Zender, 1972, especially pp.1095-6.

74. id. and p.1100.

75. id., and Gad, op.cit.

76. Haussherr, op.cit., 'Sensus litteralis,' 1972, p.365.

77. Laborde, op.cit., La Bible moralisée, V, pp.41-73; Haussherr, R. review of W. Sauerländer, Von Sens bis StraBburg, Berlin, 1966, in Kunstchronik, 10, 1968, p.318. For the portraits compared, see id., op.cit., 'Sensus litteralis,' 1972, pl.67-8.

78. Branner, op.cit., 1969, p.23, n.34.

79. Haussherr, op.cit., 'Sensus litteralis,' 1972, p.357; id., op.cit., 'Warnung,' 1975, p.390 and n.2; id., op.cit., 'Petrus Cantor,' 1975, p.348.

80. Haussherr, op.cit., 'Sensus litteralis,' 1972, p.365 asks 'Sollte es sich um Ludwig VIII. (1223-1226) handeln?' and dates Vienna 1179 between 1220 and 1230, see id., op.cit., 'Templum Salomonis,' 1968, p.106; id., op.cit., 'Petrus Cantor,' 1975, p. 347; id., op.cit., 'Warnung,' 1975, p.391.

81. id., op.cit., Festschrift Zender, 1972, p.1100.

82. There is, however, an important illustrated MS. containing classical texts in Latin by Virgil, Statius, Lucan and Claudian, Paris, B.N.lat.7936. See Avril, F., 'Un Manuscrit d'auteurs classiques et ses illustrations,' in The Year 1200, vol.III, A Symposium, 1975, pp.261-282.

83. Notable exceptions are the Roland window at Chartres, see Lejeune, R. and Stiennon, J., La légende de Roland dans l'art du Moyen

Age, Brussels, 1966, 2 vols., pt.II, ch.3, pls.VII–XVIII; the Codex Callixtinus of the mid–twelfth century (in Latin), ibid., pt.I, ch.5, pl.I, II.   See also the review by D.J.A. Ross in Medium Aevum, xxxvii, 1968, pp.46–65.

84.   See above, notes 41 and 48.

85.   Paris, B.N.fr.12576. I am preparing a study of Chrétien illustration.

86.   Folda, op.cit., 1976, p.31, n.27 refers to R. Branner's forthcoming book where this date is assigned.

87.   Folda, ibid.   See also note 68 above.

APPENDIX A

Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS.255 (148)

276 ff., 440 x 310 mm. Text in three columns, 45 lines.
Each branch begins on a new folio   Ruling: double verticals
at the beginning and end of the written space, three horizontals
at the top, middle, and bottom of the written space. The top
line of script is above the top line of ruling. Script in a neat,
'media', Gothic hand with tall ascenders. Few abbreviations.
No rubrics or notes.   Red or blue pen-work in the capitals
within the body of the text and as paragraph marks. Minor
initials of two types:

a) gold on coloured pink or blue grounds with white scroll
decoration, many enclosing within the initial a 'heraldic'
animal or bird in white;

b) painted on gold grounds, within foliage motifs or, more
frequently, animals, birds, or bybrids.

57 historiated initials on gold grounds, generally set against
maroon or blue square frames with white scroll, circle, or dot
motifs and enclosed with an outer border of gold. The three
initials that open the three branches of the text are larger than
the rest.

Textual contents:

fol.1	Estoire.
fol.101	Merlin (without continuations, ending incomplete).
fol.137	Lancelot (ending incomplete).

One folio from Lancelot (Conte de la Charette), is at Rennes,
Archives départementales d'Ille et Vilaine, see Woledge, op.cit.,
1975, p.52.

See Appendix B for a list and description of the illustrations.

APPENDIX B

List of historiated initials in MS. Rennes 255

The episode represented in each historiated initial is described and its place in Sommer's edition is given, together with a reference to Gaston Paris and Jacob Ulrich's edition of the Huth Merlin for the Merlin section of the text [S = Sommer; H = Huth Merlin]. The symbol * is used to indicate that the textual differences between the Rennes MS. and Additional 10292-4 are such that the position of the miniature in relation to the text edition is approximate.

Estoire

f.1   initial C: Christ (centre) hands a book to the author, who, wearing a hooded robe, lies on a couch (foreground) within a dome-vaulted room containing an altar with a chalice on it (right). S I, 1/1 (fig.1a)

f.7v   initial O: Vespasian, crowned, and his men (right) bid farewell to Joseph, who stands beneath an arch (left). S I, 20/11*

f.9   initial A: Annunciation to the Virgin. S I, 22/34

f.10v   initial O: King Eualach in bed reflects on Joseph's words. S I, 27/23 (fig.6b)

f.11   initial O: Joseph stands by his bed, praying for King Eualach. S I, 29/19

f.18v   initial O: King Eualach (right), standing at the entrance to his castle, sends out his seneschal (left) to ascertain the whereabouts of Tholomer. S I, 51/6*

f.23v   initial O: King Eualach's wife Sarracinte, sitting (right) on a throne beneath an arch, enquires of Josephe and another Christian about the fate of her husband. S I, 66/18

f.25v   initial O: King Eualach, sitting (right) on a throne beneath an arch, enquires of a man (standing [1] left) about the white knight. S I, 73/10

f.29   initial C: King Mordrain (Eualach's baptismal name) and Queen Sarracinte in bed; he dreams (foreground), she lies awake (background). S I, 84/4

f.30   initial O: Queen Sarracinte returns from church (building right containing an altar with a chalice on it) to find her people (left, within her castle) in a state of terror. S I, 86/30

f.30v initial O: King Mordrain find himself transported in his bed [2] to a rock in the ocean; pirates patrol in a boat (foreground). S I, 88/28

f.32 initial O: King Mordrain (right) speaks with a man in a boat (left) who holds a book. [3] S I, 93/8

f.36v initial O: Nascien and his son Celidoine held in prison by Calafer. S I, 107/24

f.38 initial O: Nascien's wife Flegentine and his son (left) leave their castle (right). S I, 111/19

f.39 initial O: God (top, in a cloud) gestures towards Nascien (left) who arrives on horseback [4] at the turning island (right). S I, 116/32

f.46 initial O: Nascien with his companions looks at the bed with the red, green, and white spindles on the boat. [5] S I, 136/35

f.54v initial O: Nascien's wife (left) sends out messengers on horseback to find her husband. [6] S I, 164/4

f.57 initial V: the emperor, Augustus Caesar, crowned (right) and his companions (left) watch Hippocrates (centre) cure his supposedly dead nephew who lies on a bed (foreground) (miniature badly rubbed). S I, 171/1

f.60v initial C: two messengers and a maiden find the grave of Hippocrates. S I, 182/34

f.68 initial O: Nascien's wife (right) sitting outside her castle (left) laments her department husband. S I, 197/1*

f.68v initial O: Joseph and his companions (right) leave the city of Sarras (left). S I, 208/21

f.70 initial O: Nascien (right) talks with the old man in the boat (left) who holds a letter in his hands. S I, 212/31

f.72v initial C: Duke Ganor in bed reflects on what Celidoine had told him. S I, 219/11 (fig. 6a)

f.76v initial O: Joseph, Josephe and their companions leave for Norgales, bearing the holy vessel (represented as a dish). S I, 231/4 (fig. 3a)

f.89 initial O: Symeu is carried off by two 'fiery men' (miniature badly rubbed). S I, 266/3

f.90v initial O: Perron, standing in a boat (left) bids farewell to Pharain and his companion. S I, 270/1

f.94v initial O: Josephe (right) rides away from Perron and Pharain. [7] S I, 281/9

f.96   initial O: Josephe (left) blesses his brother Galaad (seated, right), after crowning him.   S I, 284/21 (fig. 7a)

f.96v   initial O: Alain (standing, background) weeps as he watches Josephe (in bed, foreground) die.   S I, 286/1

f.98v   initial O: Nascien and King Mordrain at Josephe's tomb. S I, 291/7
       initial O: Celidoine and his son (right) leave Nascien (seated, left). S I, 291/21

Merlin

f.101   initial M: Harrowing of Hell (Christ on the left).   S II, 3/1, H 1 (fig. 2a)

f.108   initial O: Vertiger elected king.[8]   S II, 22/6, H 36

Lancelot

f.137   initial E: top - Aramont, Lord of Brittany (left), becomes the vassal of Uterpandragon (enthroned, right), King of Britain.
       bottom - both embark (right) to fight King Claudas and the King of Gaul. [9]   S III, 3/1 (fig. 3b)

f.188v   initial O: standing youth holding a book in a veiled hand. [10] S III, 175/18 (fig. 3c)

f.189v   initial Q: standing youth throwing a stone ? (miniature partly rubbed). [11]   S III, 177/30

f.193   initial O: Lancelot in bed tended by a hermit.   S III, 189/18

f.194   initial C: Gauvain rides off together with the knight who guarded the ferry and the damsel whose lover had been killed. S III, 192/30

f.195v   initial O: Gauvain, on horseback (left) defeats King Doutre les Marches, knocking him off his horse.   S III, 196/30
       initial L: Lancelot, the damsel, and Lancelot's squire ride off. S III, 197/10

f.196v   initial C: King Arthur (enthroned, left) addresses his knights. S III, 199/21

f.197   initial Q: Lancelot, damsel, and squire (left) ride along and meet a man who tells them that the Queen is at Camelot. S III, 201/1

f.197v   initial Q: Lancelot (left) rides off, following his host. S III, 202/ 32 (fig. 5c, d)

f.199   initial O: Lancelot (left) meets a vavasour; both on horseback.
S III, 208/7

f.199v   initial L: King Arthur (enthroned, left) receives a messenger from
the damsel of the Marches.   S III, 210/15

f.212   initial M: Galehot (right) bids farewell to two companions. [12]
S III, 249/35

f.227   initial O: Gauvain's squire (left) helps his master to disarm.
S III, 298/4

f.227v   initial O: the Lady of Roestoc and her companions (left) received
by King Arthur and Queen Guinevere. [13]   S III, 300/12

f.230   initial O: Queen Guinevere (standing, left) orders a wounded
knight (right) to be disarmed by a squire (centre).   S III, 308/13

f.230v   initial O: Gauvain (left) meets a damsel who holds a sword.
S III, 309/38

f.234   initial L: Hestor (left, on horseback) meets a damsel who holds
in her arms a knight who has been wounded by a sword in the groin.
S III, 321/32

f.245v   initial O: Lancelot in bed (foreground) talks with Galehot of his
lovesickness.   S III, 357/10
           initial O: Gauvain on horseback (left) rides up to a priest dressed
in white.   S III, 358/7

f.250   initial O: Lyonel on horseback (left) approaches a vavasour and
his swooning niece.   S III, 372/11

f.255   initial O: the daughter of the Lord of Lestroite Marche (left) asks
her father (centre) to help release Hestor from prison (right).   S III,
388/4

f.257   initial O: Lyonel (left) kneels before the King and Queen (right).
S III, 394/23

f.257v   initial O: Gauvain and his squire ride in search of adventure.
S III, 395/15

f.258   initial C: Hestor (left, on horseback) meets a squire riding
Gauvain's horse.   S III, 397/27

f.258v   initial O: Gauvain and Hestor (left) arrive at the 'ile perdue'
where Lancelot is imprisoned in a tower.   The drawbridge (centre)
between island and shore is raised.   S III, 400/16

f.262v   initial O: Camille (left) orders the jailer (centre) to release
Lancelot from prison (right).   S III, 414/19

f.267   initial O̅:   Calehot and his companion leave Arthur's court on horseba̅ck.   S IV, 3/1*

f.275   initial O̅:   Lancelot (seated, left) the prisoner of the seneschal de Gorre (seated, right, holding a long stick). S IV, 218/40. [14]

Notes to Appendix B

1.   No reference is made in the text to a specific person.

2.   The text does not specify that he was transported in his bed.

3.   No mention is made in the text of this book.

4.   According to the text, he should be carried there in a cloud.

5.   Nascien should be alone at this point in the text; the spindles are described as being placed across the bed, but they are here shown as forming the corner supports of the bed.

6.   Five messengers are specified in the text, but seven heads are shown here.

7.   In other initials the rounded hat here worn by Perron or Pharain is worn by Josephe (cf. fols.23v, 76v) or Joseph (cf. fol.7v) and is perhaps intended to resemble the (more usually pointed) Jew's hat common in medieval representation of Jews. However, in this MS. a similar hat is also worn by Nascien (fol.70), Aramont (fol.137), the Lord of Lestroite Marche (fol.255), and the seneschal de Gorre (fol.275); so any connection with the Jew's hat may be coincidental.

8.   The initial shows a seated king between a standing man and a standing woman, all with hands raised. Another interpretation might be that the couple are the murderers of King Moine who demand their reward from Vertiger.

9.   It is perhaps questionable whether the Lord of Brittany would be entitled to a crown, such as the one this figure holds in his hand and offers to the seated king. The scene could also represent King Claudas becoming the vassal of the king of Gaul, in which case the crown would be justified; on the other hand the two crowned figures in the lower part of the initial are unlikely to be King Claudas and the King of Gaul since there would be no need for them to embark in ships, the battle with Uterpandragon and the Lord of Brittany being fought in France not England. Cf. Duke Ganor's crown on fol.72v (fig. 6a).

10.   This figure is irrelevant to the text.

11. This figure is even less relevant than the one on fol.188v; both are probably to be considered as copy-book motifs as are the minor initials containing animals.

12. The text refers to a single companion rather than two.

13. The figures of the king and queen are misrepresented in this illumination; there are two heads, both crowned, three arms, but the lower part of the queen's body is missing. It would seem that the artist has misinterpreted his model. This is the only example of such an ambiguity in the illustration of the MS.

14. The text on fol.274v ends '... Ge sai devoir fet li mestres que ensinte/' which Micha has identified with S IV, 27*. Fol.275 starts 'atot Et missire Kex lait lui toz estordiz de la ou il avoit geu' which is, as Micha has shown, S IV, 217/12; ends '... ele pense que ele decevra mon seig/': S IV, 220/33.

APPENDIX C

Thirteenth Century Prose Lancelot Manuscripts

This list is drawn from Woledge, op.cit., and Micha, op.cit.   I
note my disagreements on dates.   [E = Estoire, M = Merlin, L = Lancelot,
Q = Queste, MA = Mort Artu, W = Woledge, Mi = Micha.]

a)   MSS. later than 1274 (including those made outside France) (32)

Bonn, Univ.Lib.526 (written 1286)   E M L Q MA

Chantilly, Musée Condé 649 (1111) MA

Geneva, Bodmer Coll.147 (ex-Phillipps 1046) E M Q MA

London, B.M.Add.32125 (W gives 14c, Mi 13c)   E M
    Add.38117 (Mi gives late 13/early 14c, W rightly
        gives 14c) Josèphe, M, Suite de Merlin

Le Mans 354   E, Josèphe fragments

New York, Morgan Lib. M 805-6 (Cortland Bishop 20-1) (Mi wrongly
        gives 1472; W gives 13/14c. The MS. is 14c). L

Oxford, Bodleian Lib. Douce 303   E
    Ash.828 (W and Mi give 13/14c).   L

Paris, B.N.fr. 95   E M
        110   E M L Q MA
        123   (Mi gives 14c, W rightly gives 13/14c) L Q MA
        342   (written 1274) L Q MA
        344   (Mi gives mid.13c - it is late 13c) E M L Q MA
        748   Josèphe, M
        749   E
        754   L
        758   Tristan, Q MA
        770   E M Josèphe fragments
        773   (Mi and W give 13/14c)   L
        1422   (W gives 13/14c, Mi 13c - it is 14c) L Q MA
        9123   (Mi gives late 13c, W rightly 14c)   E M
        12573 L Q MA
        12582 E
        19162 E M
        24394 E M

Ex-Phillipps 1047   E M

Rome, Vat.Reg.lat.1489 (W and Mi give 13/14c - it is late 13c) L

Rouen 1054 (O^5) (W and Mi rightly give 13/14c) L

Tours 951   E Josèphe M

Venice, Marciana XII   L

Yale Univ.Lib.220 (ex-Phillipps 130) L Q MA

b) 13th c MSS. without illustrations   (20)

Cambridge, CCC 45   L

Chantilly, Mus.Condé 476(644)   E Q MA

Florence Laur.89.inf.61   L

Fribourg L 310 (W and Mi give 13/14c)   L

Grenoble 865   L

London, B.M.Lands.757   L
                 Roy.19.B.vii (W and M give 14c – it is late 13c)   L
                 Roy.20.B.viii   L

Nottingham Univ.Lib.   E

Paris, B.Ars.2996   Josèphe, M
      B.N.fr.337   M
          423   Josèphe, M
          752   L
        1430   L
        1466   L
        2455   E M Josèphe frags.
      24367   MA
      24430   (written 1291 ?) E special version
      25520   Q
    B.N.n.a.fr.4380   MA

c) 13th c MSS. with miniatures removed   (2)

Bourg 55   E

Lyon 77   L Q MA

d) 13th c MSS. with limited illustrations (normally one miniature per text
                                     branch) (17)

Aberystwyth NLW 5018 (W gives 14c. Mi 13c)   L

Berkeley Univ.Lib. (ex-Phillipps 1279)   L

Chicago, Newberry Lib. (ex-Quaritch)   L

London, B.M.Roy.19.C.xiii L Q MA
        Add.17443 Q MA

Paris, B.Ars.2997 (1301 ?) E M
        3347   L Q MA
    B.N.fr.747 E M
        751   L Q MA
        768A L
        771   L Q
        1466   M
        12580 L Q MA
        12581   Q (written 1284 ?)
    B.N.n.a.fr.1119 L Q MA
    Ex-Phillipps 4377 (Sotheby 30.11.65, lot.12) Q MA
        8230 (unsold)   L

e) early 13th c MSS. with extensive illuminations   (5)

    Brussels, B.R.9627-8   Q MA

    Modena E 39   Josèphe, M, Perceval, MA

    Paris, B.N.fr.339   L Q MA

    Phillipps 3643 (Sotheby 28.11.67, lot.92) E M

    Rennes 255   E M L