Collections in Context

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This contribution takes the physical book and its material presence as a subject for analysis and asks how a consideration of the visual narrative within the context of the material object that contains it might inflect understanding of the Shrewsbury Book. In order to lay the groundwork for this visual study, I will outline the state of research of art historical analyses of the Shrewsbury anthology within the interrelated contexts of codicology (that is, the physical structure of the book), artistic practice, and iconography in order to identify future avenues of research on the role of the visual in this collection. These contexts are interdependent, and, as the articles in this volume by Andrew Taylor (chapter 7), Craig Taylor (chapter 8), and Karen Fresco (chapter 9) make clear, they are also shaped by textual traditions and by the historical moment in which the particular performance embodied in this manuscript was made and received.

Appendix One at the end of this chapter outlines the relationship between the textual contents, codicological structure, and artistic participation in the Shrewsbury Book. A comparison of the textual content and quire structure that it outlines makes clear that the book’s designer conceptualized each text as a unit—so that, for example, the *Livre de la conqueste du roy Alexandre* (text 3) ends with a quire containing four folios, rather than eight folios as was standard in the manuscript, because that was all that was needed to complete the text. In contrast, the scale of miniatures, indicated in the third column of Appendix One where artistic hands are described and then expanded in Appendix Two, presents a visual hierarchy that structures the manuscript as a complete book.
Full-page miniatures accompany the dedicatory verses and the opening of the first full text, the Alexander Romance, while two-column wide miniatures introduce the different texts. Single column miniatures suggest that *Ogier le Danois* (text 5) was presented here as a continuation of *Fierabras*, the third book of the *Livre de Charlemainne* (text 4), just as the *Heraud of Ardennes* is a sequel or continuation of *Le livre de Guy de Warrewik*. The single-column miniatures given Honorat Bouvet’s *Arbre de batailles* (text 10) and the *Livre de politique* (text 11) are anomalies; might these books have been viewed as distinct, and perhaps lesser, than the others? Perhaps they constitute an abbreviated Mirror of Princes that signals a transition from the section of the manuscript dedicated to romance to the section that contains chronicles and chivalric material.

I. Artistic Style and Codicology

Scholars have securely identified the four artistic styles employed in the Shrewsbury Book, three of which are localized to Rouen. The most dominant style is that of the Talbot Illuminators—a more appropriate epithet than the Talbot Master, the appellation used by François Avril and Catherine Reynolds, who identify works painted in the style and observe that multiple illuminators produced their images. The collaboration of many illuminators working in a

1. For another possible interpretation, see Karen Fresco’s contribution in this volume, chapter 9, p. 159n27 and pp. 160–61.
3. They group the following works around the artists of the Shrewsbury Book. To the Talbot Master, who began his career in Paris before fleeing with the English and settling in Rouen after 1336, are attributed all but one illustration of a *recueil* of texts made for the échevins of Rouen shortly after 1450 (BnF Ms. fr. 126); a Valerius Maximus (BR Ms. 9078); copies of Boccaccio’s *De cleres femmes* (BL Ms. Royal 16 G V) and *Des cas des nobles homes et femmes* (BL Ms. Royal 18 D VII); The Shrewsbury Book (BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vii) ca. 1445 and diverse Books of Hours—one for the use of Rouen (BnF Ms. lat. 13283 and its other half, sold at Sotheby’s 25 June 1985, Lot 97), one for the use of Paris (Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale de Chartres, Ms. 545, destroyed), one for the use of Thérouenn (BAV, Ms. Vat. lat. 14935, painted in collaboration with two other artists, one of whom is close to the Master of Sir John Fastol), one for Sarum usage (Dohent sale, part 2, London, Christie’s, 2 December 1987, Lot. 160), one for Coutances usage (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 61), and finally two for John Talbot and his wife, Margaret Beauchamp (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 40–1950 and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, deposit of the Blairs College Library). The Talbot Master also painted the
single style is not surprising given what is known about fifteenth-century book production in Rouen. Rowan Watson’s research suggests that the structure of the Rouen book trade was similar to that in Paris, except that there was no university in Rouen; artists lived in households in one or two neighborhoods of the city and *libraires* (that is, bookseller/editors) employed scribes and artists as needed to complete projects. Collaboration of all sorts was possible, because of the proximity of artists in neighborhoods.

The Talbot Illuminators were probably one such family or small workshop group in Rouen who contributed to books overseen by *libraires* for Rouen-based patrons. In addition to the Shrewsbury Book, they painted at least two other manuscripts for John Talbot, one of which is an unusually proportioned Book of Hours (figure 1) made around 1444 (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 40–1950). This book is tall and narrow, and significantly smaller than the Shrewsbury Book. The Talbot Illuminators also collaborated on another elaborate literary anthology around 1450 (figure 2) for the library of the *échevinage*, or city council, of Rouen. At 430 × 310 mm, this manuscript is the only other book painted by them to approach the scale of the Shrewsbury Book. Comparison of the prayer book and the *échevinage*’s anthology with the Shrewsbury Book’s opening pages (figure 3) reveals that images painted in the Talbot style have certain hallmarks: they are characterized by sharply drawn figures arrayed in centralized compositions in clearly defined spaces. The artists use bright, saturated colors and like to punctuate their skies with stars. At major textual divisions, they employ borders that are creative variations on a basic formula, in which plaque borders fill the portion of the page near the book’s spine and a dedication miniature in Jean Galopes’s translation of Bonaventure’s *Meditations sur la vie de Christ* (BnF Ms. n. a. fr. 6520), dedicated to Henry V, and collaborated ca. 1430–40 with the Master of the Munich Golden Legend on a Rouen Book of Hours now in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale Ms. I.B.27), and he painted the first half of Nicole Oresme’s translation of Aristotle’s *Ethics, Politics, and Economics* (Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. I,2 (927) whose second half was painted by the Master of Aristotle’s Ethics ca. 1454–55.


6. All of the figures for Part II are found are the end of Part II, pp. 179–88.

7. Compare the scale of the Book of Hours (275 × 110 mm) with that of the Shrewsbury Book (470 × 340 mm).

mix of colorful floral or acanthus leaves alternating with thinner pen spirals are placed in the corners of the margins and often punctuate the wider side margin. Occasionally the artists incorporate a “wreath” in the lower center margin. This basic formula, employed in the *échevinage*’s anthology, could be elaborated, as it was in both of John Talbot’s commissions, by the inclusion of armorial blazons or devices and by the proliferation of daisies (marguerites) in the margins of both the Shrewsbury Book and the Book of Hours; these were conveniently bivalent allusions to the first name of both Margaret of Anjou and of John Talbot’s wife Margaret Beauchamp (compare figures 1 and 3). This employment of daisies serves as a reminder that model drawings can be used flexibly and be deployed in different contexts and as an encouragement to scholars to take artistic practice into account in iconographic interpretation.

Three other artists worked sporadically in the manuscript. The second painter, the Master of Lord Hoo’s *Book of Hours* (made around 1444 when Lord Hoo was governor of Normandy), contributed a bifolium with twelve miniatures to the last quire of the *Roman d’Alexandre*.9 A third painter working in the style of the Bedford Illuminators painted the frontispiece to the Alexander and possibly a bifolium with six miniatures in its last quire.10 This style was widely popular in France with practitioners in both Paris and Rouen. The painter working in Bedford style seems to have worked on another commission of the Talbots: The Book of Hours of Margaret Beauchamp, the Countess of Shrewsbury. Like John Talbot’s Book of Hours, Margaret’s has an unusual tall and thin format: 220 × 110 mm. The most striking stylistic similarity between the Alexander images painted by this artist and the prayer book occurs in the settings of both miniatures with their green tiled floors and arcaded walls. In addition to contributing to the *Roman d’Alexandre*, this artist also added heralds and coats of arms to the margins of the initial folios in the books of Charlemagne, the *Quatre fils Aimon*, the romance of Pontus and Sidoine, the Book of Guy de Warwick, and the Statutes of the Order of the Garter. In addition, pale marginal sketches suggest that arms were planned, but not executed by him at the beginnings of the *Chanson de geste* of Ogier le Danois, the *Chevalier*


au Cygne, the translation of Gile of Rome’s *De regimine principum* by Henri de Gauchi, and the *Chronique de Normandie*. Finally, the fourth painter, who completed folios 266r and 293r is an unidentified illuminator whose work has not been found elsewhere.

Given the short time between the proxy betrothal in 1444 and the dates when John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp joined the entourage that escorted Margaret of Anjou from Nancy to Rouen and on to London in February–April 1445, it is highly likely that there was a rush to complete the Shrewsbury Book. In such cases, *libraires* would streamline production by partitioning work among scribes and then distributing completed quires to diverse artists located in the town who were informed about what to paint by written directions or by sketches in margins or in the blanks left for the miniatures. The fact that two artists painted the last quire of the Alexander; that one of them also contributed the frontispiece miniature for Alexander and added the heralds bearing Margaret of Anjou’s arms and the banner with the Shrewsbury arms to the margins of folios 25r, 155r, 207r, 227r, and 439r; and that another artist painted miniatures on folios 266v and 293r suggests that local artists were called upon to speed completion of the manuscript. Haste may explain why heralds sketched in the margins of folios 273r and possibly 363r were never completed. On the other hand, it may be that the sketched but uncompleted arms on folio 327r were left unfinished to correct an error, because this image is a single column wide and other single-column miniatures, such as that illustrating the text that begins on folio 293r, do not have marginal heraldry.

Thus a *libraire* coordinated artists who finished up, possibly while the Talbot Illuminators were producing the frontispiece and presentation images for the whole manuscript (figure 3) and a scribe was drafting the table of contents on fol. 1v and, perhaps, writing the rubrics that appear at the end of all but two texts to announce the beginning of the text that follows.

What remains puzzling is the lack of even a sketch for a herald at the beginnings of Alain Chartier’s *Bréviaire des nobles* and Christine de Pizan’s *Livre des fais d’armes*. Why do these particular texts introduced by two-column miniatures not have them? Was the inclusion of Chartier and Christine an afterthought? It seems that the system of signatures (usually something used consistently by a scribe) changes within Christine de Pizan’s text. Could different scribes have written these quires as the book was being rushed to completion? Might the *libraire* have been unable to get the quires to the Master of Lord Hoo’s Book of Hours in time for him to sketch and paint heralds? More careful codicologi-

11. For discussion of these historical circumstances, see Catherine Reynolds, “The Shrewsbury Book,” and Andrew Taylor’s contribution to this volume, chapter 7, pp. 122–23.
12. See Karen Fresco’s contribution in this collection, chapter 9, pp. 158–61.
cal examination of scribal hands in relation to the quire structures might help answer these questions.

Codicological analysis of secondary decoration in the margins, which appears only on pages with miniatures and which alters with changes in artistic hands may also aid in clarifying artistic practice. Because this secondary decoration is restricted to folios with images, it most likely was the responsibility of the painters of the miniatures. For instance, within the Roman d’Alexandre, facing folios painted by the Master of Lord Hoo’s Book of Hours and by an artist working in the style of the Bedford Master (folios 21v–22r or 23v–24r) reveal contrasting styles of pen flourishes. Miniatures by the Master of Lord Hoo’s Book of Hours are decorated by marginalia made up of a delicate pen sprig with gold leaves that appear almost exclusively on the exterior of the vine; he uses colored buds sparingly as accents. By contrast, the Bedford-style artist decorates miniatures with a thicker block of decoration, in which gold leaves and occasional flowers embellished with blue or rose and gold spring from both sides of the pen-drawn tendrils. Marginal decoration differs even within the section of the Roman d’Alexandre painted by Talbot Illuminators. Quire 2 and the outer bifolium of quire 3 (folios 5r–13v and folio 20r) were decorated by a different artist from the one who painted the margins of images on the inner three bifolios of quire 3 (folios 14r–19v). Such studies of secondary decoration provide insight into the practices of individual artists, and might help clarify the orchestration of this complex book, thereby offering insight into the intertwined roles of those who shaped the book.

II. Artistic Style and Iconography

Consideration of the relationship between artistic style and iconography suggests possible lines of research to frame future visual analysis of the manuscript and to begin to understand the production of the book and creation of its imagery. A first line of research would consider the distinct visual traditions for the diverse texts assembled in the Shrewsbury Book in order to understand how typical or how different their cycles are from visual cycles of the same texts in contemporary manuscripts. The ideal comparative examples would come from manuscripts associated with artists, libraires, or patrons from Rouen, because their analysis could isolate deliberate choices on the part of those involved in the production of the manuscript. These cycles would enable us to explore the kind of reciprocal reading that Nancy Freeman Regalado discusses in her contribution to this volume (chapter 2, pp. 42ff. and note 35), in this case among

13. See, for instance, Karen Fresco’s discussion of the manuscript tradition of Pontus et Sidoine in this collection, chapter 9, pp. 157–58.
the makers (the artists, scribes and libraries) the patron (John Talbot) and the audiences (Margaret of Anjou and, I would argue, Henry VI).  

For example, manuscripts of the textual family of the Roman d'Alexandre (Prose B) that appears in the Shrewsbury Book typically have extensive visual cycles, so it is not surprising that the Roman d'Alexandre is the most densely illustrated text in the Shrewsbury Book. However neither it nor other Alexander manuscripts seem to copy a standard Alexander cycle, which suggests that visual cycles for this romance were carefully tailored. How precisely this happened remains to be determined, but isolated studies of Alexander cycles offer successful models to extend the analysis of the Roman d'Alexandre in the Shrewsbury manuscript. For instance, Yorio Otaka,Hideka Fukui, and Christine Ferlampin-Acher considered illustrations of the Shrewsbury Book's Roman d'Alexandre within the physical context of the manuscript page. They analyzed relationships between rubrics and images, the conceptualization of facing pages—openings—as units, and between sequences or subsets of images within the manuscript, and, in doing so, effectively described the Roman d'Alexandre's visual syntax. It would be useful to explore whether other densely illuminated texts within the Shrewsbury Book, such as the Livre du roy Pontus, are syntactically similar.

Maud Pérez-Simon took a different approach in her dissertation on illuminations of the prose Alexander and a publication of a fifteenth-century Roman d'Alexandre (Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 651) from the same textual family as the Shrewsbury Book's. By comparing the Chantilly cycle to several other Alexander cycles, she isolated six miniatures that were unique to the Chantilly Roman d'Alexandre. Arguing that their uniqueness suggested they had been deliberately chosen, she interpreted the miniatures in relation to their text and patronage to offer a political interpretation of portions of the cycle. Her dissertation's preliminary analysis of the Roman d'Alexandre within the dual contexts of other illuminated versions of the Roman d'Alexandre and of the echos between the Roman d'Alexandre's images and those illustrating other texts in the Shrewsbury Book, suggests that a comparative approach will be useful in

14. For discussion of audiences, see Andrew Taylor's contribution, chapter 7.
Both the syntactical approach and the analysis of individual cycles offer possible models for analyzing the densely illuminated texts in the Shrewsbury Book: the *Roman d'Alexandre*, the *Roman de Pontus et Sidoine*, and the *Livre de Regnault de Montaubain*. But even after completing this analysis of the interaction between artists and the individual visual traditions for texts available in Rouen, we need to consider an often-neglected aspect of visual syntax by analyzing how images of the individual texts—like the texts themselves—establish extra-textual relationships. How might artists or even the *libraire* consciously manipulate visual traditions to create linkages across openings or among texts within the anthology or among manuscripts that might, in exceptional cases, act independently of their texts?

III. Setting the Stage: The Presentation-Genealogy Opening

A final example from the Shrewsbury Book will emphasize the importance of contextually grounded visual analyses as a research tool by reading the visual aspects of the manuscript’s justly famous opening on folios 2v–3r, discussed in this volume by Andrew Taylor (chapter 7, pp. 121–22), in which the presentation miniature and dedicatory poem to Margaret of Anjou face the genealogical tree (figure 3). Scholars analyzing text and image of the left half of this opening usually interpret the image as an illustration of the poem, which conditioned them to identify the miniature’s subject as Margaret of Anjou’s reception of John Talbot’s gift of the manuscript, an unproblematic illustration of gift giving. Analysis of the genealogical table on the right half of the opening usually concentrates on its spectacular core image of the fleur-de-lis, which shows the descent of Henry VI from Saint Louis. Scholars compare it to its possible source, the image accompanied by a poem by Jacques Calot posted in Notre Dame and other locations at the order of the Duke of Bedford in 1423, and note that John Talbot’s father-in-law had the poem translated into English by John Lydgate in 1426.18 Such considerations of individual elements contribute significantly to an understanding of the opening, but they have also obscured the ways in which the two facing pages function as a visual unit. Perhaps as a counterpoint to the poem’s emphasis on Margaret of Anjou and as a comple-

17. Pérez-Simon, “Mise en roman,” pp. 446–56. In this discussion, she has already noted visual thematic echoes between illustrations of marriage within several texts in the Shrewsbury Book.

ment to the visual genealogy on the facing page, visual evidence in the mini-
ture on folio 2v emphasizes Henry VI as co-recipient of the book and places
more stress on his relationship as husband to Margaret than previously noted.
The heraldic embellishments in particular associate King Henry VI of England
and Margaret of Anjou with John Talbot and, possibly, even with John’s wife,
Margaret Beauchamp, in ways that sometimes resonate with the dedicatory
poem addressed to Margaret of Anjou and sometimes function independently
of it. The visual reading established through composition and heraldry in these
facing pages was as transparent among fifteenth-century Rouennais book circles
as were the words of the dedicatory poem. Because artists, patron, and audience
for this book read heraldry as easily as words, the visual frames for the dedica-
tion scene and genealogical tree that modern scholars work to decipher were
evident. It framed and unified the initial opening, while providing a transition
to the illuminated pages that followed.

Distinctive aspects of the presentation scene emerge through comparison
with other works painted by the artists of the Shrewsbury Book; these reveal
elements of the dedicatory miniature that draw on visual traditions known to
John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp, to the Talbot Illuminators, and possibly,
to libraires who worked for John and Margaret. For instance, the architectural
frame for John Talbot’s presentation to Margaret of Anjou derives from a shop
model also employed by the Talbot illuminators in the échevinage’s anthology
(compare figures 4 and 5). This model featured a cut-away building with three
oriel windows on its exterior, of which the two at the left flank a two-storied,
gabled, half-timbered section of the building. Flags or pennons fly from the
roof. The model offered artists the opportunity to manipulate the architectural
frame to divide space into two parts with flexible scale responsive to the needs
of the composition—as its deployment in the échevinage’s anthology and the
Shrewsbury Book illustrates. The scene of Cicero teaching and the presentation
of Laurent de Premierfait’s translation of Cicero to Duke Louis of Bourbon are
placed in permeable spaces in the échevins’s anthology, because the teachings
are as much the subject of the image as the duke’s reception of them—an idea
reinforced by the duke’s extended right hand. By contrast, the main subject of
the dedication image in the Shrewsbury Book is the presentation of the book,
and the men and women to left and right watch from adjacent spaces, emphati-
cally excluded from the royal space by the edges of the bench on which the king
and queen sit.

Several gestures within the scene of Talbot’s presentation to Margaret of
Anjou are unusual. The male spectator at the left closest to the king raises his

left hand and points toward the royal couple with his right, indicating the gestures of the enthroned king and queen as much as Talbot’s presentation of a book to the royal pair. Henry VI holds his scepter in his right hand and places his left hand within the queen’s; this pose adapts a model that the Talbot Illuminators used later in the manuscript in the scene in which Henry invests John Talbot as constable of France (figure 6). In contrast, the queen cradles her husband’s left hand in her right, while simultaneously holding her scepter in her left hand and touching the top of the book with her extended fingers in an awkward, if not impossible, gesture. The illuminator could have shown her in the moment before accepting the gift, as a Talbot Illuminator would do with Duke Louis of Bourbon in the *échevins*’s book (see figure 5). But apparently it was essential in this dedication miniature that Margaret of Anjou have the attributes of queenship—her scepter and crown—and that she both touch the book in recognition of Talbot’s gift and clasp Henry VI’s hand as an expression of their union.

The gesture that marks the queen’s acceptance of the gift was probably necessary to clarify visually what the dedication verses below make explicit: that the book was presented to the queen. The meaning of the gesture between Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, however, is less clear. At first glance, it does not seem to be a gesture of marriage, because it is customary to represent spouses joining right hands almost as though they were shaking them, usually in the presence of a third party who joins their hands. However, in a few rare cases when it was important to show one spouse doing two things at once, one member of the couple does lay a hand within the other member’s as happens in the presentation scene of the Shrewsbury Book.²⁰ Thus this gesture deriving from a marriage context envisions Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou at an undetermined future date, married and crowned as king and queen of England, thereby offering a

²⁰. There are many scenes of marriage in painting. A search for “marriage” on the website of digitalized manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (available at http://mandragore.bnf.fr/html/accueil.html) yielded seventy images from western European manuscripts, the vast majority of which represented marriage by having a third party joining the right hands of the man and woman. In most cases where the hands were already joined, the man’s hand was on top of the female’s, as for instance in the marriages of Eneas and Lavinia (BnF Ms. fr. 60 fol. 162r), Alexander and Roxanne (BnF Ms. fr. 257, fol. 154r), Artus and Florence (BnF Ms. fr. 761, fol. 141v), and Arthur and Guinevere (BnF Ms. fr. 9123, fol. 239r).

Only one scene of marriage among the seventy evoked the gesture of left and right hands found in the scene of presentation, and that was the illustration of the marriage of Syphax and Sophonisba in *Tite-Live*, the French vernacular rendering of Livy (BnF Ms. fr. 274, fol. 262r). In this miniature, King Syphax lays his right hand in his queen’s left as he turns from the ceremony to hand a letter to a kneeling messenger as demanded by the miniature’s rubric: “Comment le roy siphace espousa la fille hasdrubal et comment il envoya les legaz a scipion.” It seems that the left hand–right hand joining in marriage scenes results in images in which figures are engaged in multiple activities, which seems to be the case as well in the famous Arnolfini Portrait in the National Gallery in London, which shows a couple standing in a domestic interior clasping hands as the husband raises his hand in greeting.
counterpoint to the presentation verses below the miniature, which describe Henry VI as the fiancé of Margaret of Anjou. As both Brigitte Buettner and Eric Inglis have noted, such a projection into the future is a common feature of presentation scenes, which obviously have to be painted before the actual presentation that the scene represents takes place.

Henry VI’s presence and action in the miniature recasts its subject to include an important representation of the royal couple, and heraldry establishes that Henry is the most important of the royal pair. Heraldic display demarcates the bigger section of the building at left as the king’s; three flags displaying the arms of France, Saint George and England fly from the oriel and gable above the half-timbered portion of the building at the left, and the English arms appear in the gable and scattered on the cloth behind the bench in the space shared by the monarchs. In contrast, Anjou arms fly from a single flag in Margaret of Anjou’s half of the building on the less important heraldic left, and Margaret’s arms as queen of England (the Angevin arms impaled with England’s) appears in the lower margin within a wreath sprouting canting daisies, or marguerites.

Below this, at the very bottom of the page on the blank white of the parchment, are visual and textual references to another couple: John Talbot and his wife, Margaret Beauchamp (see figure 7). The arrangement in the lower margin within the garter of the Order of Saint George of a particular version of Talbot’s arms, in which his wife’s are displayed in pretence, brings her family and their marriage into the picture. Further, the poem beginning “Mon seul desir” and the clump of blooming daisies (marguerites), which could refer to Talbot’s wife Margaret as easily as to Margaret of Anjou, recalls the arms and emblems in the prayer book painted by the Talbot illuminators for John and Margaret (compare figure 1), in which daisies, the motto mon seul desir, the arms of John Talbot and Margaret Beauchamp, and the garter appear juxtaposed with other personal emblems in reference to John and Margaret. Even if Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou were unaware of the use of the motto and daisies by the Talbots, the artist, the libraire, John Talbot, and Margaret Beauchamp were quite capable of understanding the lower margin as referring to John and Margaret as a second couple associated in marriage.

The marginalia also serves as an embellishment of the figure of Talbot presenting the book in the miniature above it. Talbot’s robe scattered with garters acts almost as a sigillum to infuse the message of the lower margin into the space

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21. Reynolds, “The Shrewsbury Book,” p. 110, suggests that the presentation poem refers to Henry as “le vostre affye,” even though Margaret of Anjou was treated by the French as though she were queen from the moment she was betrothed in Tours.

of presentation, which Talbot alone shares with the royal couple. It is as though Talbot speaks the poem that appears between the garter and the daisies in the margin as he presents the Shrewsbury Book:

Mon seul désir
Au Roy et vous
Et bien servir
Jusqu’au mourir
Ce sachent tous
Mon seul désir
Au Roy et vous

[My sole desire for the king and you is to serve you well until death. Let everyone know: my sole desire for the king and you].

Talbot dedicates seventeen of sixty-eight lines of his dedicatory poem below this miniature to genealogical concerns, which are the focus of the large image that fills the right page of the dedicatory opening. Within the poem, Talbot refers to the chart as demonstrating incontrovertibly that Henry VI descends from the direct line of Saint Louis.

Ou livre a une figure
Genealogie nommee
Par la quelle est tres bien prouvee
Verite demonstrant a plain
Que le roy nostre souverain,
Le vostre affye que dieux gart,
Est venu de si noble part
Comme du bon Roy saint louys.
Si estes vous certain en suys.
Par celle hystoire veoir pourrez
De quel et quantiesme degrez
Le roy nostre dit souverain
Est descendu il est certain
Cest en luitiesme degre.

[In the book is a figure called a genealogy which proves plainly showing the truth that the king our sovereign, your fiancé whom God should protect, is come from such a noble place as good King Saint Louis, as you can know with certainty. By looking at this miniature (hystoire) you will be able to see of which and to what degree the king our sovereign is descended (from Saint Louis). It is certain that it is in the eighth degree.]
One of his closing wishes for Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI, expressed after his prayer to the Virgin Mary that she petition Christ for a long and peaceful reign, for victory over enemies and protection of friends, is that their marriage will generate progeny to extend the line:

Et vous veuille lignie donner  
Qui après vous puisse régner  
En paix et en tranquillité

[and may (he) give you descendants who can reign after you in peace and tranquility].

These two aspects, the past and future of the line, are the subject of the visualization of the family tree and its marginalia on the facing page.

Others have noted that the genealogical tree (figure 8) represents descent from Saint Louis, a claim that had fueled English and French polemic throughout the Hundred Years’ War.23 The central petal lays out the direct line of France from Saint Louis to the four children of Philip IV on a field of fleurs-de-lis; the collateral line of France descended from Charles of Valois [Ligne colater-alle de france] appears on the left petal against a field of fleurs-de-lis, and the English line [Ligne d’angleterre] beginning with Edward I fills the right petal. Within the right petal Edward I and his son Edward II, who married Isabelle, the French King Philip IV’s daughter, appear on a field covered with gold rampant lions on red; subsequent English kings appear against the arms of France impaled with England, which Edward III assumed in 1340 to assert his claim to France through Isabelle.

Bands that pass behind the central petal of the fleur-de-lis connect the kings in the two side petals. They establish that John II the Good and Edward III are “cousins au second degré”; Charles V, Edward the Black Prince, and John of Gaunt are “cousins au tiers degré”; Charles VI, Richard II, and Henry IV are “cousins au quart degré.” Charles VII, who was disowned by the Treaty of Troyes, is not in the chart. His sister, Catherine, whose band connects her to Henry V as “cousins au Ve degré,” takes his place.

The genealogical tree emphasizes the symmetry and continuity of the English line, using degrees of relationship to Saint Louis and the visual continuity provided by the background of impaled French and English arms to blur breaks in English succession, while emphasizing breaks in succession in the French

Thus, the line of Saint Louis represented in the middle petal of the fleur-de-lis ends with the last direct Capetians—Philip IV's children, Louis X, Philip V, Charles IV, and Isabelle—only to shift to a collateral line in the left petal with Philip III's brother, Charles, count of Valois, who is connected to yet distanced from the central French petal by labels that identify him as son of Philip III and brother of Philip IV. By contrast, the English line on the right petal masks a comparable situation. The labels that connect the central French petal to the English petal concentrate on the association of French and English lines by marriage; playing up traditional queenly roles, they label Isabelle as wife of Edward II [Fame edouart] and mother of Edward III [Mere edouart]. Edward III's immediate descendants present the shift from Plantagenet to Lancastrian lines. First Edward III's sons, Edward the Black Prince and John of Gaunt, appear within a single roundel, wearing coronets and holding banderoles that identify them, respectively, as the father of Richard II and of Henry IV and as descended from Saint Louis in the fifth degree. They are followed by a roundel that contains Edward's and John's sons, King Richard II and King Henry IV, each identified in the banderole they hold as king and descended from Saint Louis in the sixth degree. Henry V follows smoothly, even though his succession, like that of the Capetians to Valois, involved a collateral line.

In keeping with the dictates of the Treaty of Troyes, the French line ends by merging with the English. In the left petal, Count Charles of Valois is succeeded by King Philip VI, John II, Charles V, and Charles VI, each identified with a banderole that also provides their degree of succession from Saint Louis. The last of the French line in this English version of events is Charles VI's daughter, Catherine of Valois, whose banderole describes her as daughter of France, queen of England, and descendent of Saint Louis to the seventh degree. Like Isabelle, the only other woman depicted within the genealogy, she is categorized in a band that connects her to her husband as wife [Fame du Roy henri]. Their offspring, appearing at the juncture of all three petals, is Henry VI, whom angels crown with two crowns and who bears the longest banderole, inscribed “Henri par la grace de dieu Roy de france et dangleterre” and identifying him as descended from Saint Louis in the eighth degree. With its emphasis on descent from Saint Louis, this image may be an English reworking of the French Reditus regni ad stirpem Karoli magni, the prophecy that seven generations after the usurpation of the French throne by Hugh Capet, France would be returned to a ruler of Carolingian descent.\footnote{On the reditus see Gabrielle Spiegel, “The Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni: A New Look,” French Historical Studies 7 (1971–72), pp. 145–74; and Andrew Lewis, Royal Succession in Capetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 114–22.} Just as King Philip Augustus's marriage to Isabelle of Hainaut and the birth of their son (Louis VIII) accomplished the
editus, so Henry V’s marriage to Catherine of Valois and the birth of Henry VI is presented as returning the French throne to a ruler directly descended from Saint Louis. Henry VI is as many generations removed from Saint Louis as Louis VIII was from Hugh Capet.

Marginalia surrounding the dynastic chart extends its message in order to emphasize the future strength of Henry VI’s union with Margaret of Anjou. The arms of France and the cross of Saint George within a garter flank the central petal of the fleur-de-lis adjacent to Saint Louis, the saintly ancestor claimed by both France and England. The Anjou arms and a crowned “M” for Margaret of Anjou, both enclosed by the garter, flank the tip of the fleur-de-lis with its culminating figure of Henry VI. These allusions to Henry and Margaret of Anjou’s union and, in the context of the family tree, to the progeny that will issue from them, are bracketed by figures representing Richard, Duke of York and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the English princes of the blood who were next in line for the throne. They stand on hillocks in the lower margin dressed in rich robes and wearing coronets as they support the weight of the dynastic fleur-de-lis. Identified by adjacent coats of arms, Richard and Humphrey enclose the space within which the new king (figured in the fleur-de-lis) and queen (alluded to both heraldically and symbolically) are joined, as they had been in person in the presentation scene of the opposite page. Indeed, the portrayal of these dukes suggests that Richard and Humphrey probably are the two men with coronets closest to the king in the presentation painting on the facing page (see figure 4). Finally, the motif located in the outer margin of the genealogical tree emphasizes the union once again by showing Margaret of Anjou’s arms as queen of England supported by the Lancastrian emblem of an antelope.

As the pages of the manuscript are turned, the painted expression of John Talbot’s support for the royal couple continues. In the opening beginning the Roman d’Alexandre (figure 9), two of Talbot’s heralds wear his arms; one holds the king’s arms in the outer right margin and the other supports the queen’s in the outer left margin. Talbot’s own arms appear on a flag planted in the ground at the lower center of each page of this opening. On subsequent pages, the heraldic display in the margins at the openings of new texts becomes simpler. On these folios the marginal display of heraldry includes Margaret of Anjou, whose arms appear on a standard held by one of John Talbot’s heralds, and John Talbot whose arms decorate a standard planted firmly in the lower margin. A lesson about the marriage has been learned in the first folios and the rest, following the conceit of the dedication poem, seem directed primarily at Margaret of Anjou, although John Talbot is enshrined throughout the manuscript as a supporter of the royal house—not through blood like the physical supporters of the fleur-de-lis, but through his dedication to the queen.
The visual layering of the opening pages of the Shrewsbury Book offers the royal couple a dynastic frame designed both to guide their experience of the texts that follow and to promote John Talbot’s and Margaret Beauchamp’s relationship with the young king and queen. It also offers an introduction to the value of looking that may also be exploited in the illustrations of the texts gathered within the manuscript anthology. The exact nature of the contribution of visual imagery both to the texts they illustrate and to cross-textual or extra-textual dialogue will emerge only after the images and their texts are thoroughly analyzed within the book-producing, literary, and cultural contexts of mid-fifteenth century Rouen. Once this is done, the cycle of illustrations in the Shrewsbury Book will offer yet another insight into the time of the anthology, to borrow Andrew Taylor’s formulation.
## APPENDIX 1

### Codicological Structure of the Shrewsbury Book

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT AND FOLIO</th>
<th>QUIRES (each of 8 folios and with a catchword unless otherwise noted)*</th>
<th>NUMBER AND FORMAT OF MINIATURES</th>
<th>ARTISTS</th>
<th>CODICOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS/QUESTIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. fol. 2v Dedicatory verses, thirty-four couplets.</td>
<td>Quire 1?</td>
<td>2-column presentation miniature with full border</td>
<td>Talbot Illuminators</td>
<td>Book too tightly bound to see structure of first quire containing 6 folios.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fol. 3r Genealogical table of descendants of St. Louis, in the form of a fleur-de-lis.</td>
<td>Quire 1?</td>
<td>Full-page miniature</td>
<td>Talbot Illuminators</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fol. 4v Le livre de la conquête du roy Alexandre in prose.</td>
<td>Quire 1? (fol. 4v); quires 2–4</td>
<td>Full-page miniature (Alexander Frontispiece) on fol. 4v; 2-column miniature with full border on folio 5r; 80 1-column miniatures on folios 5v–24v; Eighty-two miniatures in total</td>
<td>1. Talbot Illuminators: miniature and border on fol. 5r which contains a herald bearing the English arms; 68 single-col. miniatures. 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master: painted miniature and borders (including in the lateral margin a banner of Margaret's arms supported by a herald in a tabard of Shrewsbury arms and at the foot of the page the arms of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury) on folio 4v; also painted bifolium (fols. 22r–23v) containing 6 miniatures. 3. Master of Lord Hoo's Book of Hours: bifolium (fols. 21r and v and 24r and v) containing 12 miniatures.</td>
<td>Quire 4 has 4 folios (fols. 21r–24v), all decorated by different artists from those who did the rest of the miniatures in the Alexander. Might quire 4 be written by a different scribe? No catchword at the end of quires 1 or 4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*continued*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT AND FOLIO</th>
<th>QUIRES (each of 8 folios and with a catchword unless otherwise noted)</th>
<th>NUMBER AND FORMAT OF MINIATURES</th>
<th>ARTISTS</th>
<th>CODICOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS/ QUESTIONS</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. fol. 25r Le livre du roy Charlemaine: three chansons de geste called here the first, second, and fourth books of Charlemagne, viz.: (a) fol. 25r Simon de Pouillé, a poem in about 5,300 Alexandrines (b) fol. 43r Aspremont, a poem in about 7,350 ten-syllable lines (c) fol. 70r Fierabras, a poem in about 8,800 Alexandrines.</td>
<td>(a) quires 5–7 (b) quires 8–11 (c) quires 12–13</td>
<td>2-col. miniatures with full borders on folios 25r, 43r, and 70r. Three miniatures total</td>
<td>1. Talbot Illuminators miniatures and borders 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master (added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury as on fol. 4v in borders of folios 25r, 43r, and 70r).</td>
<td>Quire 7 has 2 folios (fols. 41r–42v) and no catchword at the end. Quire 11 has 3 folios (fols. 67r–69v) and no catchword at the end. Quire 13 has no catchword at the end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. fol. 86r Le livre de Oger de Dannemarie: the chanson de geste of Ogier le Danois, in about 20,500 lines.</td>
<td>Quires 14–23</td>
<td>1-col. miniature on fol. 86r</td>
<td>Talbot Illuminators</td>
<td>Heralds were planned for the margin of fol. 86r, but not executed. Quire 15 has 6 folios (fols. 94r–99v). Quire 18 has 4 folios (fols. 116r–119v). Quires 19–23 have no catchwords (Might a different scribe have written them?) Quire 23 has 3 folios (fols. 152r–154v), and the 2nd is inserted and written by a different scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. fol. 155r Le livre de Regn(ault) de Montaubain: the prose romance Quatre fils Aimon.</td>
<td>Quires 24–30</td>
<td>2-col. miniature with full border on folio 155r and eight 1-col. miniatures. Nine miniatures total</td>
<td>1. Talbot Illuminators miniatures and border on folio 155r; 8 single-col. miniatures 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury as on fol. 4v in borders of folio 155r.</td>
<td>Quire 24 has 6 folios (fols. 155r–160v). Quire 29 has 12 folios (fols. 193r–204v) with 2 nested bifolios by a different scribe after fol. 199. Quire 30 has 2 folios (fols. 205r–206v). No catchwords at end of quires 29 and 30. The folio (203v) ending the nested bifolios in quire 29 has a catchword that does not match what follows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folio</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Quire(s)</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Illuminator(s)</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. 207r</td>
<td><em>Ung noble liure du roy Pontus fitz du roy Thibor</em>: the prose romance Pontus et Sibaine.</td>
<td>31–33</td>
<td>2-col. miniature with full border on fol. 207r and 35 1-col. miniatures. Thirty-six miniatures total</td>
<td>1. Talbot Illuminators miniature and border on folio 207r; 35 single-col. miniatures. 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master (?) added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury as on fol. 4v in borders of folio 207r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. 227r</td>
<td><em>Le liure de Guy de Warrewik</em>: two prose romances viz.: (a) fol. 227r <em>Guy de Warwick</em> and its sequel (b) fol. 266v <em>Heraud d’Ardennes</em>.</td>
<td>34–39</td>
<td>2-col. miniature with full border on folios 227r. 1-col. miniature with partial border on folio 266v. Two miniatures total</td>
<td>1. Talbot Illuminators fol. 227r 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury as on fol. 4v in borders of folio 227r. 3. Unidentified Master fol. 266v (also painted fol. 293r).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. 273r</td>
<td>“Cy commence lystoire du cheualier au Signe” [sic Cygne]: a chanson in about 5,600 Alexandrines, containing in an abridged form three branches of this long romance, viz. those which Paulin Paris, in <em>Hist. Litt. de la France</em>, xxii, pp. 350–402, entitles Hélias, Les Enfances de Godefroi de Bouillon, and Jérusalem.</td>
<td>40–42</td>
<td>2-col. miniature with full border</td>
<td>Talbot Illuminators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. 293r</td>
<td><em>Le liure de l’arbre de batailes</em>: the treatise on warfare by ‘Honnore Lone’ [sic, for Honorat Bouvet], Prior of Salon in Provence.</td>
<td>43–47</td>
<td>1-col. miniature</td>
<td>Unidentified Master fol. 293r (also painted fol. 266v).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEXT AND FOLIO</td>
<td>QUIRES (each of 8 folios and with a catchword unless otherwise noted)*</td>
<td>NUMBER AND FORMAT OF MINIATURES</td>
<td>ARTISTS</td>
<td>CODICOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS/ QUESTIONS</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. fol. 327r Le livre de politique: the three books of Aegidius Romanus, De regimine principum, translated by Henri de Gauchi.</td>
<td>Quires 48–52</td>
<td>1-col. miniature</td>
<td>Talbot Illuminators</td>
<td>Heralds planned for the borders of fol. 327r, but not executed. Quire 49 and 50 have no catchwords. Quire 52 has 4 folios (359r–362v); the text ends on fol. 361; fols. 361v–362v are blank and ruled; there is no catchword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. fol. 363r Le cronicles de Normandie: a prose chronicle from the mythical Aubert to 1217.</td>
<td>Quires 53–57</td>
<td>2-col. miniature with full border</td>
<td>Talbot Illuminators</td>
<td>It is less clear, but possible, that Heralds planned for the border of fol. 363r but it was not executed. Quire 54 and 57 have no catchwords. The text ends in quire 57 on fol. 401r; fols. 401v–402v are blank and ruled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. fol. 403r Le breviaire des nobles by Alain Chartier.</td>
<td>Quire 58</td>
<td>2-col. miniature with full border</td>
<td>Talbot Illuminators</td>
<td>Quire 58 has 2 folios no catchword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. fol. 405r Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie by Christine de Pizan.</td>
<td>Quires 59–64</td>
<td>2-col. miniature with full border</td>
<td>Talbot Illuminators</td>
<td>Quire 61 has 2 folios (fols. 421r–22v) with a catchword; quire 62 has 1 folio (?), no catchword; quire 63 has signatures b–b, on fols. 424r–427r; quire 64 has signatures c–c, on folios 432r–434r; quire 65 has 7 folios and no catchword, and fol. 438v is blank and ruled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. fol. 439r Le ordre de la jarretier: Statutes of the Order of the Garter, in French.</td>
<td>Quire 65</td>
<td>2-col. miniature with full border</td>
<td>1. Talbot Illuminators 2. Painter working in style derived from the Bedford Master added heralds with arms of Margaret of Anjou and Shrewsbury in borders of folio 439r.</td>
<td>Quire 65 has 2 folios and no catchword.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This collation corrects that given by Catherine Reynolds in “The Shrewsbury Book.” Reynolds omits a quire of 2 folios before her quire 30, a quire of 8 folios before her quire 45 and a single folio before her quire 60. For another codicological description of the manuscript, see Gilette Labory, “Les manuscripts de la Grande chronique de Normandie du XIVe et du XVe siècle,” Revue d’histoire des textes 29 (1999), pp. 264–72.
## APPENDIX 2

### Hierarchy of Decoration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT AND FOLIO</th>
<th>FULL-PAGE MINIATURES</th>
<th>TWO-COLUMN MINIATURES</th>
<th>SINGLE-COLUMN MINIATURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. fol. 2v Dedicatory verses, thirty-four couplets.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 2v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. fol. 3r Genealogical table of descendants of St. Louis, in the form of a fleur-de-lis.</td>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 3r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. fol. 4v <em>Le livre de la conquête du roy Alexandre</em> in prose.</td>
<td>fol. 4v</td>
<td>fol. 5r</td>
<td>80 on fols. 5v–24v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. fol. 25r. Le livre du roy Charlemagne: three chansons de geste called here the first, second, and fourth books of Charlemagne, viz.: (a) fol. 25 <em>Simon de Pueille</em>, a poem in about 5,300 Alexandrines (b) fol. 43 <em>Aspremont</em>, a Poem in about 7,350 ten-syllable lines (c) fol. 70 <em>Fierabras</em>, a poem in about 4,800 Alexandrines.</td>
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<td>5. fol. 86r <em>Le livre de Oger de Dannemarche: the chanson de geste of Ogier le Danois</em>, in about 20,500 lines.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 86r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. fol. 155r <em>Le livre de Regn</em>(anit) de Montaubain: the prose romance <em>Quatre fils Aimon</em>.</td>
<td>fol. 155r</td>
<td>8 on fols. 158v–187r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. fol. 207r <em>Ung noble livre du roy Pontus, filz du roy Thibor</em>: the prose romance <em>Pontus et Sidoine</em>.</td>
<td>fol. 207r</td>
<td>35 on fols. 207v–225v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. fol. 227r <em>Le livre de Gay de Warrewik</em>: two prose romances viz.: (a) fol. 227 <em>Guy de Warwick</em> and its sequel (b) fol. 266v <em>Heraud d’Ardennes</em>.</td>
<td>fol. 227r</td>
<td>fol. 266v</td>
<td></td>
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<td>10. fol. 293r <em>Le livre de larbre de batailes</em>: the treatise on warfare by “Hornore Lone” [sic, for Honorat Bouvet], Prior of Salon in Provence.</td>
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<td>14. fol. 405r “Le liure des fæs darmes et de chevalerie” by Christine de Pizan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. fol. 439r “Le ordre du jaretier:” Statutes of the Order of the Garter, in French.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>