

Calon Scrolls

Miscellaneous Arts Issue



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Volume 3, Issue 2

Marking Time: An Overview on the History and Contents of the Book of Hours

By Cadlae Locha Erne

The Book of Hours was a religious book of devotions specifically intended for use by the laity, or non-ordained members of the Medieval Catholic Church, that was extremely popular from its earliest inception through the mid 16th century. “The bestseller for the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance” (Wieck, “Painted Prayers” 9), this prayer book contained the offices and prayers that structured the life of the everyday Christian. A brief review of the evolution and typical contents of these books, as well as the presentation of four exemplary examples, provide some insight into the function of this specific manuscript type.

Illuminated Manuscripts Background

The Book of script”, a term that and modern scholar-book of Western text is completion. In period, the amples that were rarely, silver, giving literally illuminated Decoration within range from simply borders, miniatures, scale and lavishness terminated by the im-major divisions lesser subdivisions tuation.” (Calkins 15) Such decorative elements “organized the texts and aided viewers in the visualization of the stories and abstract ideas” (Stack 11). It is also important to note that the amount of decoration within any given illuminated manuscript was dependent upon the social and financial status of the patron; “many books were of a modest nature containing nothing more than basic text and rubricated initials” (Haynes; see figure 1).

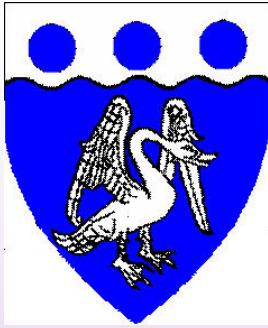


Picture By Rita Thurman permission given to use.

Hours was an “illuminated manuscript” has been taken in common usage ship to refer to any handwritten European tradition in which the mented by the addition of decorative phrase only applied to those embellished with gold or, more the impression that the page was (*Encyclopedia Britannica* 261). illuminated manuscripts could elaborate initials and rubrics, to and full-page portraiture. “The of this decoration is usually de- portance of the text it opens, have elaborate ornament, and having less constructive accen-

Illuminated manuscripts were, for most of the time period (600 AD to 1558 AD), extremely prolific; painting in manuscripts far outnumber many times over other types of paintings done at this time. This was the result of centuries of monastic tradition in which sacred and secular text were copied by hand in order to preserve them for posterity. “Until the

“...this prayer book contained the offices and prayers that structured the life of the everyday Christian.”



Letter from the Calon Scrolls Editor

Mistress Cassandra di Capelletti

Wow. So I'm glad you all have enjoyed the return of the Calon Scrolls. I have enough articles for two Miscellaneous Arts issues and so that is what I am going to do. Both this and the next issue for July will be Miscellaneous Arts and Sciences and then October will return with the themed format. Maybe, unless I like this better...

A few of the articles here are from entrants in our Queen's Prize event in January, my favorite event of the year. Also scattered throughout this issue and the July issue are pictures from this event. A big warm and hearty thank you goes to Argyle of Standing Stones (Michael Hill) for giving me permission to use his wonderful photographs. Those whose entries do not have name cards and are not labeled, I apologize for not knowing your name as an entrant.

So read and enjoy!

The themes for the upcoming issues are as follows:

July 2010: Miscellaneous Arts Deadline for submissions: May 25th

October 2010: Heraldic Arts Deadline for submissions: August 25th

January 2011: Performing Arts Deadline for submissions: November 25th, 2010

If you've got any suggestions for upcoming themes or want to submit articles, paragraphs, observations on the arts and sciences in the SCA/Middle Ages, photos or artwork please email me at this address:

CALONSCROLLS@CALONTIR.INFO

You will find this address throughout the issue.

Good reading!

LETTER FROM HER MAJESTY KAYE, PATRON OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES

Greetings unto the Artisans of Calontir

From Her Royal Majesty Kaye

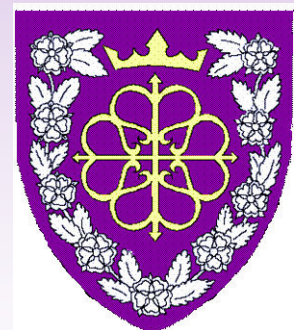
To all those that strive to learn, create and recreate in the area of arts and science, Thank You! You are the ones who make our kingdom beautiful. You are the ones who keep us engrossed in days gone by.

From those of you who are working on your first A&S project to those that are working on a Laurel masterpiece, you each contribute something unique to Calontir that makes us the Kingdom that others envy. We are a distinctive Kingdom in that we not only learn about history, we revel in it. I can think of no area of study that someone in Calontir has not at least touch upon in a research paper or attempted to recreate in an art form.

His Majesty and I are looking forward to Our Kingdom Arts and Science Competition with great anticipation. It is always exciting to see what new projects will amaze Us.

Thank you good artisans!

Kaye, Queen of the Heartlands



Marking Time continued from page 1

twelfth century, most European books were made by ecclesiastics for ecclesiastics.” (Stack 13) The very nature of these documents to give stature and commemoration to the accompanying text may account for the fact that these artifacts are also among the best preserved. The sheer number of illuminated manuscripts that are still extant, coupled with their excellent preservation, make illuminated manuscripts “the most important source for our knowledge of the history and development of European painting” (Backhouse 7).

It is not until the Later Middle Ages that illumination moved partially out of the monastery. Sometime in the early 1100s, “a class of professional book makers developed, and manuscript production was “outsourced” to secular workshops” (Stack 13). At almost the same time, members of the aristocratic and merchant classes began to commission more books, amassing libraries of manuscript texts on a variety of subjects, from the religious (i.e. the lives of the saints) to the secular (law and romance). “By the middle of the twelfth century, manuscripts intended for private use were everywhere becoming more common.” (Backhouse 24) As manuscripts became more and more elaborate, with paintings that illustrated the accompanying text, books “transcended literacy and religious devotion, making their ownership widespread” (Haynes).

Evolution of Books of Hours

The Book of Hours did not spring miraculously into being in the early 13th century; instead it evolved and borrowed from several early liturgical texts that were pervasive throughout the early medieval Catholic Church. These texts from most to least important included the Missal, the Breviary, the Roman Ritual, the Roman Pontifical, the Roman Martyrology, the Antiphonal, the Gradual, the Evangeliary, the Lectionary, and the Psalter (Murray and Murray 278). The Missal contained both the text of Mass, with interchangeable sections depending on the season or special day, and the Ordinary (the unchanging text of the Kyrie, Gloria, Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and other prayers and blessings). The Breviary, used by every priest each day, contained the Divine Office. The Roman Ritual was a manual for the performance of various duties, such as baptisms, burials, and marriages, while the Roman Pontifical contained the ceremonies usually reserved for bishops. The Roman Martyrology consisted of a list of all of the martyrs and saints commemorated on each

day of the year. The Antiphonal contained all of the chants of the Sung High Mass, while the Gradual contained the sung portions of the Mass used throughout the year. The Lectionary contained all of the Scripture texts to be read during services. Rarely were any of these texts illustrated or illuminated, primarily due to their practical use.

The Evangeliary, by contrast, differed from the aforementioned ecclesiastic texts for both its content and decoration. Also known as the Gospels, the Evangeliary contained “either the text from all four Gospels or the extracts which are to be read from the Gospel during Mass on any particular day” (Haynes). Early in the 2nd or 3rd century AD, the Gospels “were frequently written as a separate book to be used in the liturgy because lessons were read from it by the deacon during the celebration of the Mass” (Calkins 18). These books were decorated with, at a minimum, a cover page containing miniatures that depicted the appropriate apostles with their associated symbol (i.e. Saint John and an eagle; St. Matthew with an angel, St. Luke with an ox, and St. Mark with a lion). By the first half of the seventh century, the content of these books “became uniform in arrangement, appearance, and scribal tradition” (Calkins 25). The Gospels contained the story of Jesus of Nazareth’s birth, life, death, and resurrection, knowledge of which was essential to the medieval reader/owner’s salvation.

The final text from which the Book of Hours drew was the Psalter. This book, by custom, contained all of the psalms that were to be read during services over the course of the week, or at least once a month (Haynes). At least two versions of the text are known to exist: the Biblical Psalter, which contained all 150 Psalms in numerical order, and the Liturgical Psalter, which listed the Psalms in the order that they were to be read in the Breviary. Unlike the Gospels with their author portraits, the Psalter was illustrated based upon its contents, and as such, could be highly decorated. “As the order, divisions of the text, and actual contents of the psalter varied considerably, there were variant modes of decorating the book.” (Calkins 209) This, coupled with the intimate nature of the Psalms themselves, resulted in the preference for this manuscript type amongst the laity of the early Middle Ages.

The variability of the text within the Psalter encouraged manuscript patrons to include preferential additions to their personal commissions. “During the

period from the tenth to the thirteenth century a calendar indicating the feast days of the saints, various antiphons, prayers, and finally lessons were added to the Psalms to create offices or services of worship which were read during the canonical hours of the days.” (Calkins 243) One of the principal devotional sequences that would become attached to the Psalter was the veneration of the Virgin Mary, which became known as the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or the ‘Hours of the Virgin’. “During the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Hours of the Virgin became attached to the Psalter, the prayer book commonly used by the laity during those two hundred years, and formed a type of book called a Psalter-Hours.” (Wieck, “Time Sanctified” 28) By the early 13th century, Psalters-Hours were being used by the laity as well as the ordained. This manuscript type would remain popular only through the middle of the thirteenth century, when patrons began to request manuscripts that had much of the lengthy Psalter dropped.

“With the Psalter dropped, the Hours of the Virgin, embellished by a Calendar,

the Penitential Psalms, a Litany, and the Office of the Dead (all liturgical elements extracted from the breviary), became the central and most important feature of the

type of manuscript we call the Book of Hours.” (Wieck, “Time Sanctified” 28)

Over the next three hundred years during which Books of Hours remained popular, two variations of the book emerged. The most numerous were those Books of Hours that were designed solely to be used by the individual for personal use. These were typically pocket-sized (or smaller) versions that were intended for daily use, “designed to be used by the individual and to be carried about” (Donovan 152). Most Books of Hours fall into this category. In sharp contrast to these ‘personal’ volumes were the oversized display editions, which were meant to be displayed as works of art. These Books of Hours have become known as ‘luxury’ or ‘display’ editions.

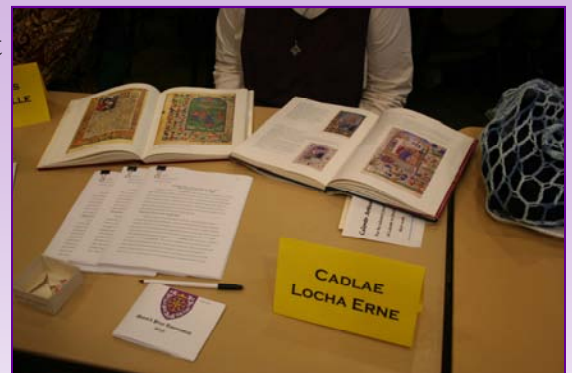
A Note on Marks of Ownership

The sheer number of Books of Hours that are still extant indicates that the manuscript type was popular. Part of this popularity resulted not only from the patron’s ability to personalize the texts within the manuscript, but also from their ability to personalize the illus-

trations. Marks of ownership such as heraldic coats of arms, mottos, and patron portraits are common. Even early examples show at least a minimum of personalization; the *De Brailles Hours* (dated to approximately 1240 AD) contained the patron’s initials in the prayers at the end of the Hours and in the Litany (Donovan 132). Many of the texts found within the Book of Hours lent themselves to the inclusion of the patron within the illustrations (see figure 2). The first person tone of the prayers “Obsecro te” and “O intemerata” made the accompanying illustration a favorite place for patrons to insert themselves literally into the context of the prayer (Wieck, “Painted Prayers” 9). The intimate nature of these books created “an obvious context in which their owners can become visible, and the expectation of the donor-portrait in such books is seen to be justified, even among these very early examples” (Donovan 155).

Other marks of ownership found within Books of Hours also imply that the manuscripts changed hands over time. Often, subsequent owners would either add to or alter existing illustrations to include their own heraldry or portraiture. In those cases where the manuscript had been added to, “...the new owner might be portrayed in the margin of a manuscript received as a wedding gift long after it was first produced, so that the difference in artistic style and fashion of her dress indicate the years gone by since the manuscript was written” (Bell 761). In other instances, the new owner portrait was painted on top of that of the original owner.

Cadlae’s entry in Queen’s Prize Tourney



The Medieval Concept of Time

To understand the sequence and selections of the typical Book of Hours, one must have an understanding of the medieval concept of time. The ‘Hours of the Virgin’ were based on the canonical hours of the day. These canonical hours were those traditional times during the day when, according to the rules or ‘canon’ of the Church, the clergy was expected to pray (Wieck “Time Sanctified” 28). These times were laid out in the

Breviary, as shown in Table 1 below. The Church pointed to Psalm 119:164 as the impetus for this practice: “I will praise you seven times a day because of your wonderful laws.” (*The Book*) The hours were typically regarded as seven services, where the night hours of Matins and Lauds are read together sometime between midnight and dawn. With constant use, the devotional text served two purposes for its owner, since the sequence of the hours had “a role as a time-keeping routine for ordinary people, in addition to its canonical status” (Donovan 140).

	Correlates
Matins	Midnight
Lauds	Dawn
Prime	6 a.m.
Terce	9 a.m.
Sext	Noon
None	3 p.m.
Vespers	Sunset
Compline	9 p.m.

Table 1: Canonical Hours with Modern Correlations

The Typical Book of Hours

While no two books of hours are exactly the same, at the heart of every one was the ‘Hours of the Virgin’. This devotion sequence to the Virgin was one based on empathy. Mary, the Mother of God, had the pivotal role as intercessor between God and Man. “As our spiritual mother, Mary would hear our petitions, take mercy in our plight. She would plead our case to her Son, who surely could not deny his own mother anything for which she asked.” (Wieck, “Painted Prayers” 9) This belief, together with the other contents of the Book of Hours, gave “encouragement to the laity and substance to their hope of salvation” (Donovan 132).

Like the Psalters and Psalter-Hours before them, the contents of the Book of Hours were highly variable. The adaptability of this manuscript type

“was reflected from the very earliest of these manuscripts through the selection of individual texts to be included, such as different Hours services or prayer sequences” (Donovan 134). There were primary components that appeared in almost every Book of Hours, as well as secondary modules that could be included (Harthan 15). “Always the Hours of the Virgin came first, but other hours services were becoming part of the routine too.” (Donovan 139) As the text became somewhat standardized, so too did many of the images that accompanied each text (see individual sections below). The illustrations served both as a bookmark for and the embodiment of the associated text (Wieck, “Painted Prayers” 22). Any number of ancillary texts and/or prayers could also be included within the manuscript, should the patron request it. By the late fourteenth century, the typical Book of Hours contained the following sequence of texts: a Calendar, the Gospel Lessons, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of the Cross, Hours of the Holy Spirit, the prayers “Obsecro te” and “O intemerata”, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the Litany, the Office of the Dead, and lastly, the Suffrages of the Saints (Wieck, “Painted Prayers” 10; Harthan 15).

The Calendar

The Calendar functioned similar to modern calendars as a way to tell the reader the day of the week. It contained a list of 365 feast days of the year, divided into twelve months. In earlier Books of Hours, lesser feasts were written in black/brown ink, while more important ones were written in red. In more ornate editions, the red was replaced with blue, gold, or silver. However, unlike most modern calendars, the calendar in the Book of Hours was perpetual, since it could be used from one year to the next (Wieck, “Painted Prayers” 26). A set of letters, known as the Dominical Letters and annotated ‘a’ through ‘g’, assisted the reader in locating Sundays throughout the year. Each year, the letter designating Sunday would move backwards, thus allowing perpetual use. Also included in the calendar were the Golden Numbers, which indicated the appearances of new moons. Using both the Golden Number and the Dominical Letter, one could determine the date for Easter, the Church’s most important feast. Lastly, many calendars, “especially those from the thirteenth

Ides, and Nones (Wieck, “Painted Prayers” 28).

The Calendar differs from other text within the Books of Hours in that the primary concern is with the visible world rather than the spiritual world, and its associated imagery (when used) reflects this preoccupation. “Calendars in the majority of Books of Hours are not illustrated at all, and those that are usually have only small or half-page miniatures, historiated borders, or vignettes in the margins.” (Wieck, “Time Sanctified” 45) When illustrated, the calendar contained representations of the labors of the months, the signs of the zodiac, or both (see figures 3 and 4). In period, the astrological signs of the zodiac were thought to influence one’s personality, as well as specific areas of the human body (see figure 5). Table 2 lists the signs and their associated month within the medieval calendar.

Month	Zodiac Sign
January	Aquarius, the Water Carrier
February	Pisces, the Fish
March	Aries, the Ram
April	Taurus, the Bull
May	Gemini, the Twins
June	Cancer, the Crab
July	Leo, the Lion
August	Virgo, the Virgin
September	Libra, the Balance
October	Scorpio, the Scorpion
November	Sagittarius, the Archer
December	Capricorn, the Goat

Table 2: Signs of the Zodiac and Associated Months In Period

“The labors of the months typically followed the rural peasant activities dictated by the seasons and the work to be done in each.” (Wieck, “Time Sanctified” 48). Below, Table 3 lists the traditional task for each month, the first activity being the standard one and those in parentheses representing frequently found variations.

	Associated Labor
January	Feasting (Janus Feasting, Keeping Warm)
February March	Keeping Warm (Chopping Wood, Pruning, Pruning (Breaking Ground))
April	Picking Flowers (Hawking)
May	Hawking (Riding, Courting, Making Music)
June	Mowing (Shearing Sheep)
July	Reaping (Mowing)
August	Threshing (Reaping, Winnowing)
September	Treading Grapes (Harvesting Grapes, Sowing, Ploughing)
October	Sowing (Treading Grapes, Harvesting Grapes, Ploughing, Thrashing for Acorns)
November	Thrashing for Acorns (Slaughtering a Pig, Slaughtering an Ox, Baking)
December	Slaughtering a Pig (Baking, Roasting Pigs)

Table 3: Labors of the Months

The Gospel Lessons

Following the calendar was the series of Gospel Lessons by the four evangelists. Unlike its predecessor the Evangeliary, the Lessons in the Book of Hours included only those that were based on the major events in the life of Jesus. They were the actually Gospel lessons that were read on four of the Church’s major feasts: Christmas Day, Feast of the Annunciation (March 25), Epiphany (January 6), and the Feast of the Ascension, a moveable feast that was based upon the date of Easter. Another feature of the Lessons within the Book of Hours that differed from early text was the sequence of the readings had been altered so that their narrative related to events in proper chronological order: God’s Divine Plan (John), the Annunciation and Incarnation (Luke), Christ’s Nativity (Matthew), and Christ’s sending his disciples out into the World and his Ascension (Mark) (Wieck, “Painted Prayers” 40). These readings encapsulated

the Church's liturgical year. Appearing in the front of the Books of Hours as they did, the Gospels formed the book's foundation, "the legitimizing structure upon which the rest of the prayers that follow are built" (Wieck, "Painted Prayers" 40). Their presence within the book also transformed the book from a mere collection of texts into something sacred.

Like the calendar, the illustrations of the Gospels were relatively standardized. Typically, the illustration consisted of a series of four portraits of the evangelists, with the appropriate portrait placed at the beginning of its associated reading. The portraits usually showed the authors in the act of composing their texts either on scrolls or into codices (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 55). In most illustrations for the Gospel Lessons, the evangelists were accompanied by their symbols: the eagle for John, an angel for Matthew, an ox for Luke, and the lion for Mark. In some rare cases, the portraits were completely omitted and their symbols alone identified each text. The four portraits were usually the same in size; however, this was not always the case. In some manuscripts, John is large while the other three apostles are either reduced to historiated initials or left out entirely. Yet another method was to include all four evangelists in one miniature.

Hours of the Virgin

After the Gospel Lessons came the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, more commonly called the 'Hours of the Virgin'. It is this text from which the Books of Hours got its name. There were eight separate Hours, corresponding to the canonical hours. Traced back to at least the ninth century and established as part of the Divine Office by the mid-eleventh century, each hour consisted mostly of Psalms with various combinations of hymns, prayers, and lessons that were ideally prayed throughout the course of the day. The core text remained basically the same day after day; the only variation was the Psalms that constituted the nocturn in the hour of Matins (Wieck, "Painted Prayers" 10). Psalms 8, 18, and 23 were read on Sundays, Mondays, and Thursdays, Psalms 44, 45, and 86 were read on Tuesdays and Fridays, and Psalms 95, 96, and 97 were read on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The Hours of the Virgin applied the themes celebrated in the Psalms to the Mother of God and the joyous events in her life, particularly those occurring around the birth of Christ.

Much like the text of this office, it was early in the development of the Book of Hours that the illustrations for each Hour became standardized with common variations. It became tradition for the Hours "to be accompanied by a series of pictures, either miniatures or historiated initials, devoted to those joyous events in the Virgin's life surrounding the infancy of Christ" (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 60). Matins was always accompanied by the Annunciation; that is, the moment when the angel Gabriel delivers the message to Mary that she has been chosen to be the Mother of God. The Hour of Lauds was typically illustrated with the Visitation, the meeting of the Virgin with her cousin Elizabeth (mother to John the Baptist). The scene for the Hour of Prime was the Nativity, while the Hour of Terce became associated with the Annunciation to the Shepherds. The illustration for the Hour of Sext was the Adoration of the Magi (see figures 6 and 7). The Hour of None was accompanied by the Presentation of Jesus to the Temple. The Hour of Vespers was most frequently illustrated with the Holy Family's Flight to Egypt, although it was sometimes associated with the Massacre of the Innocents. The Hour of Compline was also occasionally accompanied by the Flight to Egypt; however, the most frequent illustration for Compline was the Coronation of the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven. Other common motifs for this Hour were the Massacre of the Innocents, the Assumption of the Virgin in Heaven, or the Death of the Virgin. It should be noted that the traditional Infancy cycle for the Hours of the Virgin were occasionally accompanied or supplanted by the Passion of Christ (see Table 4), especially in Books of Hours produced during the fourteenth century (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 66).

	Illustration
Matins	Agony in the Garden
Lauds	Betrayal
Prime	Christ Before Pilate
Terce	Flagellation
Sext	Christ Carrying the Cross
None	Crucifixion
Vespers	Deposition
Compline	Entombment

Table 4: Passion of Christ Associations with Canonical Hours

Hours of the Cross

Usually found immediately following the Hours of the Virgin were the Hours of the Cross. These hours were much shorter than the Hours of the Virgin; the hour of Lauds was excluded and there were no associated Psalms. Unchanging in text except for the hymns, this office focused on the sequence of Christ's Passion (see figure 8). Matin's hymn referred to the betrayal and arrest of the Savior. The hymn at Prime elaborates on Christ before Pontius Pilate. The hymn at Terce dwells on Christ's crowning of thorns, while Sext denounces the Crucifixion. The hymn at None mourned Christ's death. The hymn of Vespers dwelt on the Deposition, and the hymn at Compline sings of His entombment. The Hours of the Cross conclude with a final stanza, one that requests Christ's comfort at the time of the reader's death.

The Hours of the Cross did not always immediately follow the Hours of the Virgin. In some rare cases, a longer version of the office, known as the Hours of the Passion, was substituted. More likely, however, was the integration of the Hours of the Cross (and occasionally the Hours of the Holy Spirit) within the Hours of the Virgin. Books of Hours where this occurred are usually referred to as 'mixed' hours. In these instances, the Matins of the Cross was found right after Matins and Lauds, Prime of the Cross followed Prime of the Virgin, etc. Abbreviated 'mixed' hours have also been found to exist; instead of the complete Hours of the Cross and/or Holy Spirit following each Hour of the Virgin, "only Matins from the two additional Hours is included, inserted after Matins and Lauds of the Virgin" (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 89).

When not integrated into the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross were typically illustrated with only one image, which was almost always that of the Crucifixion. On the occasion that more than one image was used, the layout consisted of a central miniature (again, usually the Crucifixion) surrounded by vignettes. The cycle of episodes outlined in Table 4 were often used in this layout. When the individual episodes were used to illustrate each specific hour, the typical series was "nearly identical to that accompanying the Hours of the Virgin when the latter receive[d] a Passion cycle" (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 90). Another theme used, albeit rarely, with this office was the Cross on which Christ died.

Hours of the Holy Spirit

Like the Hours of the Cross that it followed, the Hours of the Holy Spirit ran from Matins through Compline, with no Lauds. Each hour addressed a different theme "relating to the attributes of the Holy Spirit or the role he played or would play in the history of mankind's redemption" (Wieck, "Painted Prayers" 80). Matins of the Holy Spirit reflected on the Incarnation, Prime focused on Redemption through Christ's Passion, and Terce (see figure 9) discussed the Pentecost. The hymn at the Hour of Sext focused on the proselytization of the apostles, while None trumpeted the qualities of the Holy Spirit. Vespers venerated the Holy Spirit as one's protector, while the hymn at Compline warned of the Last Judgment. A longer version of this office, known as the Office of the Holy Spirit, was occasionally, though rarely, substituted.

Unlike the Hours of the Virgin or the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit had no established set of traditional subjects. When a single image was used at the beginning of these Hours, the image of the Pentecost (the Virgin sitting with the surrounding apostles under the rays of the Dove of the Holy Spirit) was typically used. When a cycle of illustrations were utilized with this office, the array of utilized imagery was quite diverse. Among the episodes that appeared in the cycle for the Hours of the Holy Spirit were David receiving the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit hovering over the Earth, the Baptism of Christ, Creation, Apostles Blessing, Christ appearing to the Apostles, and the Pentecost (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 92).

The prayers "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata"

Of all the optional prayers that owners could request for their book, the two found in almost every Book of Hours were those to the Virgin known as "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata". Referred to by their opening words, these prayers were written in the first person singular and addressed the Virgin directly. They contained the essence of late medieval spirituality as it related to the cult of the Virgin and her role in one's own salvation. The "Obsecro te" ("I beseech thee") listed her qualities, reminded her of both the joys and sorrows of her human existence, and petitioned her to act as one's aid, counsel, and defender. The "O intemerata" ("O immaculate Virgin"), while similar in structure and tone, addressed both the Vir-

gin and St. John. To the medieval Christian mind, this prayer addressed the two people that could directly intercede on the reader's behalf during the hour of God's judgment. Unlike other elements whose position were nearly constant (the Calendar, the Gospel Lessons, or the Office of the Dead), the placement of these prayers within the sequence of the Book of Hours was not fixed (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 94). The most frequent location for these prayers was between the Gospel Lessons and the Hours of the Virgin.

When included, the prayer "Obsecro te" was illustrated roughly two-thirds of the time. The subject is almost always the Mother of God, whether alone or as the Madonna (the Virgin with the Christ Child). The Holy Family also makes appearances in these miniatures. The Pieta (or its slightly expanded version, the Lamentation) was the most common illustration for the second prayer "O intemerata". All of the illustrations mentioned for the "Obsecro te" were also used for the "O intemerata", only less frequently so.

The Seven Penitential Psalms

The Penitential Psalms typically followed the Hours, the text of which medieval tradition held was written by King David in atonement for his sins. Consisting of Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142, these writings were thought to be a guaranteed means of obtaining forgiveness. Since the number of penitential psalms were the same number as the seven deadly sins, the two gradually became linked in the medieval mind. Thus, the benefits of reciting these Psalms became two-fold: to ask forgiveness for the dead, who could not pray for themselves, and to provide the living assistance in avoiding the Deadly Sins in the first place.

Traditionally, this section of the Book of Hours was marked by a single illustration at the beginning of the text. However, unlike many other texts typically found in Books of Hours, the subject of this illustration was not standardized. Early examples from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show Christ as the Judge for the Second Coming or Christ Enthroned, although the most popular subject in these early Books of Hours was the Last Judgment. By the fifteenth century, though, it is the life of David that is most often illustrated for the Penitential Psalms (see figure 10). While several episodes of David's life are depicted during this time period (most notably David and Goliath and David and Bathsheba), it is most of-

ten David's penance before God that is depicted (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 99). Other, albeit rare, subject matters for this text include the personification of the Seven Deadly Sins, as well as representations of hell and the afterlife.

The Litany

The Penitential Psalms were almost always immediately followed by the Litany. The Litany consisted of a list of saints that the reader could ask to pray for them. The list began with a shortened version of the "Kyrie" that was recited by the priest at the beginning of every Mass. This was followed by an invocation of Christ, God the Father, and the Holy Spirit, which was followed by the "Ora pro nobis" ("Pray for us"). The Litany continues with a series of petitions known as the "Ab's" ("Froms"), "Per's" ("Throughs"), and "Ut's" ("That's"). Once this was spoken, the reader recited the "Agnus Dei" (Lamb of God) and another repetition of the "Kyrie". The Litany concluded with various prayers for the dead. The Litany itself was hardly ever illustrated. In the few illustrated examples that do exist, the primary subject matter appears to be the saints and martyrs that are directly addressed in the text (see figure 11).

Other Texts and Prayers

In addition to the basically standard texts already mentioned, a great number of ancillary texts and prayers could also be included in the manuscript at the request of the patron. Of the nearly endless number that was available, a group of about fifteen texts and prayers appears to have been especially popular. These included, but were not limited to, the Fifteen (sometimes five, seven, or nine) Joys of the Virgin, the Seven Requests of Our Lord, the biblical account of Christ's Passion, the prayer "Stabat mater", the prayer "Salve sancta facis" (the Holy Face of Christ), the Weekend Hours, the Votive Masses, any number of optional hours (i.e. Hours of the Conception of the Virgin, Hours of the Compassion of the Virgin, and a variety of Hours devoted to specific saints), the Seven Prayers of St. Gregory, prayers to the Eucharist, the Seven Verses of St. Bernard, the Seven Last Words of Our Lord, and numerous prayers to be recited before going to bed and upon waking up. The ancillary texts were typically illustrated about 80% of the time; however, these images were never standardized. Like the prayers "Obsecro te" and "O intemerata", the illustra-

tions for these texts could include anything from the Madonna to God overlooking the Creation.

The Suffrages of the Saints

The typical Book of Hours contained at least ten to twelve suffrages, or petitions/prayers spoken to specific saints, that the patron could utilize at a moment's notice. The saint was who the individual turned to in more mundane or urgent matters. Unlike the Virgin herself, who attained almost god-like status as the Mother of God, "saints retained more of their humanity and thus their approachability" (Wieck, "Painted Prayers" 109). The Suffrages usually appeared near the end of the manuscript, although some Horae placed them after Lauds of the Hours of the Virgin in imitation of monastic practice. Like many other texts within the manuscript type, the number of Suffrages found within any given Book of Hours was highly dependent upon both the piety and the pocket-book of the patron. The order of precedence for the placement of the Suffrages mirrored an unchanging celestial hierarchy that mirrored that of medieval society; God and/or the Trinity always began the suffrages, followed by the Virgin, the archangel Michael and John the Baptist, the apostles, the male martyrs, the confessors (non-martyred males), the virgin female martyrs, and finally the widows. Each Suffrage consisted of four parts: the antiphon, versicle, and response followed by a longer prayer. Suffrages, as a general rule, were not illustrated. In some examples, this text received no images; in still others, a single saint or a few favorite ones might be given an illustration while the ones that the patron felt less devoted to were excluded. When illustrated, the saints were often shown standing with their attributes in hand, or were depicted in one of the more dramatic moments in their life (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 111; see figure 12).

The Office of the Dead

In the back of every Book of Hours was the Office of the Dead, also known as the Vigils of the Dead. While many of the other texts included in this manuscript type could be considered quasi-liturgical in nature, the Office of the Dead in the Book of Hours was exactly the same office found in the manuscripts of the Church (Wieck, "Painted Prayers" 117). To the medieval mind, there was no guarantee that the individual would die under ideal circumstances (at home, in bed, being given Last Rites), thus it could be as-

sumed that almost every person's entry into heaven would be delayed by a stay in purgatory. Praying the office daily could ensure that a loved one's time in purgatory was reduced; this act was also especially important, since only the living could help the dead. The Office of the Dead consisted of three Hours: Vespers, Matins, and Lauds. The Vespers Hour was ideally to be prayed in church over the coffin on the evening before the funeral Mass. The other two Hours were to be prayed on the morning of the funeral itself. Like many of the other Offices that appear in the Book of Hours, the nocturn of the Matins Hour was based mostly of Psalms, offering comfort to the dead. The Lessons of Matins were also particularly unique, and were based on the Old Testament Book of Job. "The trials endured by Job became an allegory for one's time on Earth – or in purgatory." (Wieck, "Painted Prayers" 118)

More than any other standardized text within the Book of Hours, the imagery that marked the beginning of the Office of the Dead was among the most diverse. With but a few exceptions, the Office of the Dead was typically marked by a single miniature; the usual subject was that of the funeral service, where the recitation of the Office of the Dead was taking place (see figure 13). A few Books of Hours illustrated those events preceding the funeral. Others showed the activities that were expected immediately upon a loved one's death: distribution of bread to the poor, the reading of the will, or the preparation of the body for burial. Some detailed the funeral ceremony itself; still others illustrated the Last Judgment or the Torments of the Damned (see figure 14). Since the Matins lessons for the Office were all taken from the Book of Job, "it was inevitable that representations of Job, the biblical model of patience, serve[d] as the visual complement to this text" (Wieck, "Time Sanctified" 132). Other popular themes included the Resurrection of Lazarus, Death personified, the Three Living and Three Dead, and Purgatory (see figure 15).

Examples of the Manuscript Type

One of the earliest extant examples of the free-standing Book of Hours is an English manuscript known as the *De Brailes Hours*. Measuring roughly 6 x 5 inches (15 x 12.3 cm), this small volume dates to approximately 1240 and was produced by William de Brailes, "a commercial illuminator and scribe working in the warren of stationer's shops round the church

of St. Mary the Virgin” (Duffy 8). William de Brailes signed the manuscript in at least two different places. Like many 13th century Books of Hours, the *De Brailes Hours* contains relatively few illustrations, all of which are limited to either historiated initials with associated marginal images or miniatures that contained several different scenes captured in roundels (see figures 1 and 8). The book appears to have been “commissioned by or for a woman whose name many have been Susanna (though the evidence that this was her name is decidedly circumstantial and tenuous), and whose family were possibly parishioners and benefactors of the parish church of St. Laurence, North Hinksey” (Duffy 8). The manuscript is currently housed at the British Library in London, England.

One of the most lavish examples of the personal Books of Hours is the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (see figures 2, 6, 10, 13 and 14). Commissioned for Catherine, Duchess of Guelders and Countess of Zutphen on the occasion of her marriage to Arnold, Duke of Guelders in 1430, the manuscript is believed to have been completed between 1434 and 1440. This ornate manuscript has been described as “the zenith of Northern European illumination” (Harthan 1966: Introduction), containing 157 colorful and gilded illustrations painted by the anonymous Dutch artist, the Master of Catherine of Cleves. The Master of Catherine of Cleves used daring and original imagery to complement the accompanying text, and he is often cited as a clear example of an artist that used marginal genre scenes that related to the main illustration. Study of the manuscript has found it to be a “good example of the diverse material that might be packed into a Book of Hours and of the emphasis it could throw on women’s duties and behavior” (Plummer 1966:6). The manuscript was divided into two parts sometime in the mid 1850s by a Parisian book dealer, resulting in the loss of approximately 9 to 12 leaves. The extant portions of the manuscript have since been reunited and are now housed at the Morgan Library and Museum in New York City.

The Tres Riches Heures de Duc de Berry is an extremely ornate example of the ‘luxury’ or ‘display’ Book of Hours. It is considered by many to be the most important illuminated manuscript of the 15th century. Commissioned around 1410 by Jean, the Duc de Berry, the manuscript was not completed until 1489. Three separate campaigns of illumination were undertaken to finish the book: the Limbourg brothers (1412

to 1416), the Master of the Shadows (1440s), and Jean Colombe (1485 to 1489). The manuscript has 416 pages containing 131 large miniatures and 300 historiated initials, and is most well known for the illustrations accompanying the months of the calendar (see figures 3, 4 and 5). Unlike most other calendars found in Books of Hours, the associated miniatures are exceptional, and include one of the duke’s castles in each background. Other miniatures are illustrated with equally dazzling detail (see figures 9, 12 and 15). The manuscript is currently housed at the Musee Conde, Chantilly, France.

A final example of the Book of Hours is known as the *Farnese Hours*. This manuscript was completed in 1546 for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), one of the most important art collectors and private art patrons of the mid-sixteenth century (Jackson). The manuscript was illuminated by Giulio Clovio (1498-1578), a Croatian-born Italian artist who was prominent during the Italian Renaissance. Similar to the other examples presently here, the manuscript is relatively small, measuring approximately 7 x 4 2/3 inches (17.3 x 11 cm). It has 114 leaves that contain 26 miniatures and 37 decorated text pages. It differs from earlier examples in that “the text and the illustrations are not fully integrated, with the images frequently being treated as separate framed paintings” (Jackson; see figures 7 and 11). The manuscript presently housed at the Morgan Library and Museum in New York City.

These four examples and the thousands of versions that they represent support a conclusion that the Book of Hours was an illustrated manuscript type popular throughout Western Europe from the 13th through the late 16th century. It served their owners as both a tool of spiritual guidance outside the confines of the clergy and an outward expression of personal piety and wealth.

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QUEEN'S PRIZE TOURNEY 2010

Throughout this issue you will see photos from this event.

Queen's Prize is a kingdom-level arts and sciences event where entries are novice level. The entrants must be AoA level or lower in the arts and must have a sponsor that is a GoA of the arts or a Laurel. The Queen chooses her favorite entry and the judges of the day choose their favorite as well. It is a wonderful day with lots of beautiful entries.



This is the entry that won Queen's Choice for the day, an entry on food and the four humors.

QUEEN'S



PRIZE

Youth Entry



TOURNEY



2010

Look it Up! Good Sources



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Top Five Ways You Know You're An Artisan

1. You practice judging in the mirror.
2. When you say, "Just a minute. Let me finish this one thing," you really mean, "It's going to take a couple of hours so you might as well go off and do whatever it is by yourself. Oh, and don't hold dinner."
3. Your houseguests have two choices: bring a cot or sleep in the spare room on top of the fabric piles.
4. Your idea of a good time and a hot date is reading the latest book on quilting in the 16th century. By yourself.
5. Someone says "mud wrestling" and your mind automatically goes to making pottery.



Would You Believe?

Stirrup pants are period.

Most houses had indoor toilets—mostly an ‘outhouse’ indoors—by the 1400s.

Eyeglasses became more popular after the printing press was invented.

Beekeepers placed hay “jackets” over the domed hives during the winter to keep them warmer.

Merchants used wooden counting boards. Medieval calculators maybe?

Flower pots and watering jugs are period.

At first, Benedictine monks could not use candles to read services so they had to memorize everything.

Huge ‘gerbil wheels’, only used and powered by humans, called windlasses, were instrumental in lifting heavy stones for building cathedrals.

Eating nicely with your fingers was considered an important part of good table manners.

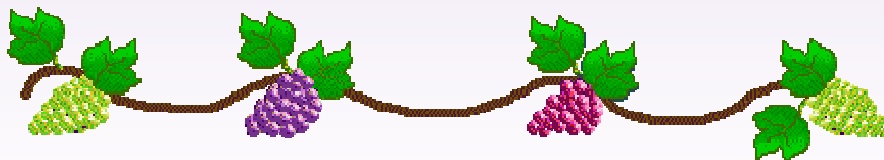
Women were not allowed to form a silk guild in London even though most of the silk weavers were female.

Monks were armed. Well, they at least carried their eating knives on them.

Source: Langley, Andrew, DK Eyewitness Books; Medieval Life. Alfred A. Knopf, New York; 1996.

These are facts I've found while working on this issue of the Calon Scrolls. If you have any neat little facts, please send them to me (along with your source) to

CalonScrolls@calontir.info.



An Example of 13th c. Scarborough Ware from Aberdeen

By Mistress Vasilla Krasnia

The jug that is presented with this documentation is modeled off of shards from a 13th c. Scarborough jug from Aberdeen. The wares from Scarborough were exported widely along the east coast of Great Britain and across the North Sea. This particular set of shards was probably fired in one of the several kilns found in the Castle Road area, just within the gate of the medieval town.

This type of jug from Scarborough was typically made of a soft sandy pinkish-red color of clay. I've used a terra cotta clay instead as this is what I currently have on hand. The amount of grog in the terra cotta seems consistent with the impurities that would be found in the medieval counterpart. I also find that the red clay with the green glazing is attractive to the eye and not unlike its medieval examples.

Jugs from this area and time period were frequently decorated with:

applied strips, scales and pellets, stamped pushed-out bosses, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs such as bearded face-masks, animals modeled in relief and free-standing modeled knights, sometimes mounted, on 'knight jugs'. (McCarthy, pg. 230)

The jug that I have based my project on included an animal-type head with the mouth serving as a spout. It's difficult to tell from the picture what the animal was meant to be (Frog? Bear? Dog?). I have chosen to change that aspect of my jug to personalize it for myself. I've chosen a bull's head to represent my home barony of Mag Mor. The rest of the decoration that I've used (the applied strips and the scoring of the

diapering lines and dots) is conjecture on my part based on the shards that are illustrated in



I've also included the thumbing foot that is commonly found amongst these wares. The current opinion on the purpose of these thumbing feet is that when the wares were stacked in the kiln (foot to mouth to foot...) the crenellations created by the thumbing reduced the amount of area actually touching the next pot to a degree that allowed for stacking even when the wares were glazed so they would not fuse together. Examples of this thumbing of the foot are as follows:

I chose a glaze recipe that would simulate a leaded clear glaze. This recipe uses Gerstley Borate as its main fluxing ingredient. The recipe is as follows:

50 parts Gerstley Borate
25 parts OM4 ball clay
25 parts Albany Slip (synthetic)
10 parts Zircopax

As you can see, the green color is not from a copper additive, but rather because of the lack of oxidation to that portion of the jug during firing. Iron needs oxygen to turn red and terra cotta is rich with iron. Due to city ordinances, a wood firing is not allowed and I have used an electric kiln to fire this piece. This green

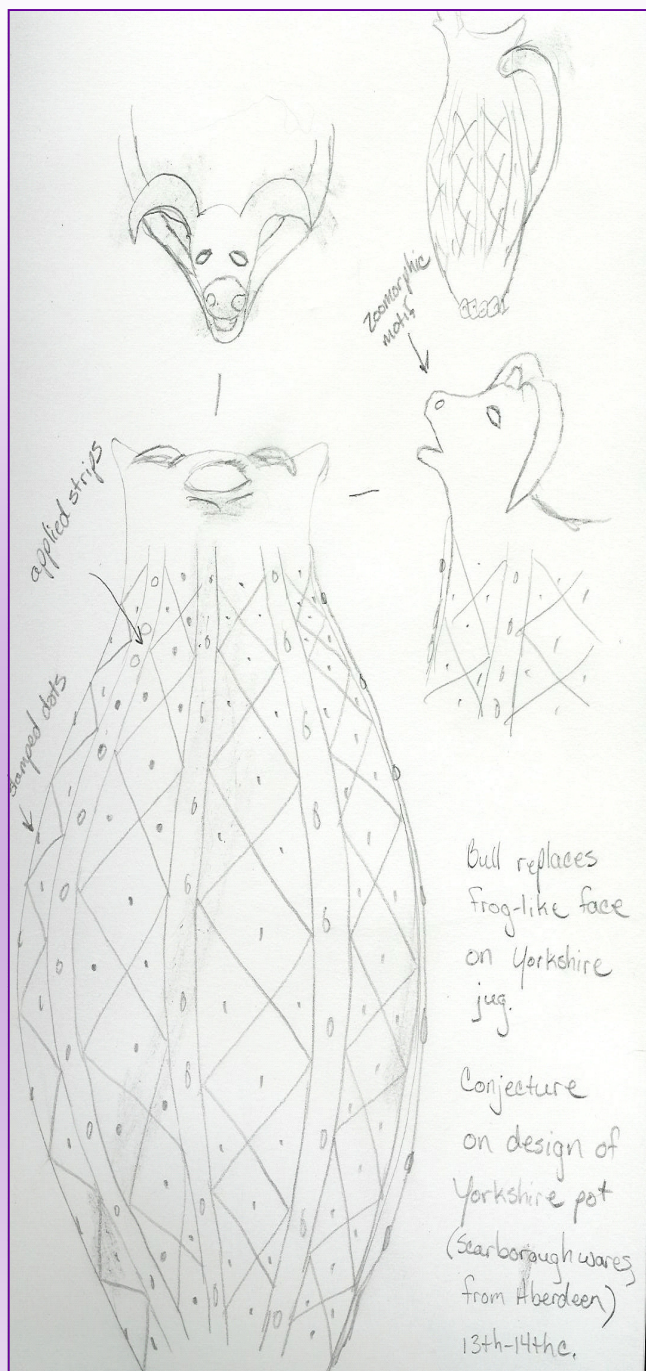
was a fairly common color found in British wares. Pale or golden yellow are also commonly found colors. The typical glazing method of this period is a one-time fire (the pot is glazed in its greenware state and fired once). I personally have chosen a twice-fired method (bisque firing then glazing the bisque ware). I find that one-time firing is a bit tricky and the risk of losing my work to a kiln accident (the piece could blow up) isn't worth it to me. At a future date, when I have a good volume of "junk" pots to fire in a wood fire, I would like to attempt a one-time firing.

While making this jug, I found that working with the heavy grog in a very wet state was much easier than when it was a bit stiffer (such as when working with a stoneware or porcelain). I also found that it was necessary to support the bull's head structure during the drying stages to keep it from sagging. I used crumpled newspaper strategically stuffed under the head to achieve the support structure needing during drying. The bull's head is a bit larger than I had originally envisioned, however, in order to make the spout functional at all, the size of the head had to be increased to maintain the proper proportions. The medieval examples typically have functional problems with dribbling, reduced passages for liquid flow and unbalanced weight in regards to the handle. I've tried to fix some of these problems yet maintain a period look to the piece.

I worked with a wooden knife, dowel and rib to create the entirety of the decoration of the bull, much like the medieval potters would. The jug was wheel-thrown and the head and applied strips were hand built and applied.

Once the piece dried to greenware, I fired it for 8 hours at a slowly increasing temperature to cone 06. The glaze was applied one day later and then it was fired at a slowly increasing temperature up to cone 5. I fired this to mid-range in order to vitrify the clay as this will be a vessel for holding liquids and not one for cooking in. Cooking pots are typically left a little under-fired to make them slightly porous

and more able to handle changes in temperatures during use. I didn't want any porous-ness to this



vessel so it was fired to vitrification.

A piece such as this jug would be used on a dining table and would hold all manner of beverages, although probably not wine. Wine vessels typically have a much narrower neck to keep the bouquet of the wine from escaping prematurely. But it would most certainly be used for meads, beers, and sweet drinks.

If I were to redo this project, I would probably thicken the horns of the bull more at the base to add stoutness and strength to them. Otherwise, I'm quite pleased with the outcome and look forward to adding it to my feast table.

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CLOTHIER'S SEMINAR

STYLE GLORIANA, Queen Elizabeth I.

HL Annika die Rauscharen has made her own garb based off of the Ditchley portrait of Elizabeth.

<http://www.marileecody.com/gloriana/elizabethditchley.jpg>

Pictures are Annika's own, used with permission.



Nikki Bungaku, the Diary Literature of Japan

By Ki no Kotori

It was with great pleasure that I read Dame Merouda Pendray's essay "On Chronicles" in the January 2008 Issue of Calon Scrolls. My own research lately has focused on the Japanese version of diaries, which are referred to a "nikki". However, the approach to diaries in the East was quite different from that in the Western part of the world.

The *nikki bungaku* (diary literature or poetic diary) was a literary form founded during the Heian period of early Japan (794-1186 CE). The earliest extant example of this form is the Tosa Diary (935 CE) by Ki no Tsurayuki, also known for his work in compiling the Kokin Wakashu, which was the first imperial collection of poetry for the Japanese Court. The poetic diary has continued to be a form of literature in Japan until the present.

One of the most interesting things about the poetic diary was that this form of literature was dominated by women. Men could (and did) indulge in the poetic diary, but because they were primarily written in *kana* (Japanese characters) as opposed to *kanji* (Chinese characters), they were not considered as masculine as the diaries written in Chinese characters.

The poetic diary differs from these other period diaries in a number of ways. One, it has a large mixture of prose and poetry, usually *tanka*, which is a Japanese poetry form consisting of 5-7-5-7-7, used extensively during the Middle Ages. Haiku is descended from this form. Two, as stated before, the poetic diary is primarily written in *kana* (Japanese characters) as opposed to *kanji* (Chinese characters). Three, the subject matter has more to do with a person and their feelings and experiences as opposed to merely being a record of daily life. Although men could use this literary form (as in fact Ki no Tsurayuki did), it was dominated by female writers during the Heian and early

Kamakura period (794 until about 1430). And four, they tended to focus on episodes or certain occurrences, rather than an actual daily record of life.

The poetry included within the diaries runs the gamut between exquisite and mediocre. One example is shown here:

"These days Taira no Munemori seems to be called the Lord of Yashima, but while he still went by the title of Counsellor, I once asked him for a comb. Having promised to let me have one, he insisted on giving me a quite magnificent comb decorated with a picture of a small boat thrusting its way through reeds. It had been pushed into a piece of thin scarlet paper, on which he had written:

See how my heart,
Dyed deepest scarlet in its passion
As it draws itself to yours,
Resembles this small boat
Which pushes through obstructing reeds.

I replied to him on thin white paper:

That your heart may be compared
To this tiny boat
Pushing through the reeds
The depth of scarlet in your words
Tells to me full well."

There are some peculiarities to the prose written during this time. One is a disinclination to refer to people by their names. In the above example, the name was added by the translator for clarity and the man in question was only mentioned by his title. Sometimes during the timeline of a text, a person's title may change, leading to giant headaches for any translator! In the

notes of translated works, this problem is often mentioned.

There are sometimes a variety of points of view, even though the diary is supposedly the experience of one person. One finds this, for example in the Ben no Naisshi Nikki, where the author describes events at which she was not present, but her sister was. In the Gossamer Diary, the point of view shifts between the first and third person, while the Diary of Izumi Shikibu is completely written in third person. Within the Tosa Diary, the author assumes a fictional character, and assigns his own poetry to other members within the party with which he was traveling.

Also, time is rarely recorded daily. Often, there are large leaps in time, while some incidents are recorded in minute detail, in a way that looks more like fiction than autobiography. In fact, for historical purposes, it is often wise to cross-reference events recorded in a poetic diary, because the line between reality and fiction was often very thin indeed! In many instances, these diaries were written years after the events in question.

Paper, while valuable, was not so rare a commodity as it was in the west. The composition of poetry was such an important part of Court life within the Heian and Kamakura eras that paper was readily available (if expensive). It was often given as a gift, or to show sign of favor. In many cases, a diary was not considered “private”, but was written to be read by others and copied to be passed around.

After the end of the Kamakura era, there is a sharp drop in not only *nikki bungaku*, but all other writing done by women. There is a large gap from the last recorded woman’s diary of the Kamakura era (Account of the Takemuki Palace (@1358 CE) until the Edo period (1600-1867), when a woman named Inoue Tsujo wrote Journey Along the East Coast (@1682). Whether this was due to the drop of status

that women experienced during this time of nearly-constant warfare, or simply because any writings failed to survive is unknown.

Poetic diaries are a wonderful way to catch a glimpse into the lives of the Japanese Court and fortunately, many of these works have been translated into English. A partial bibliography follows—I hope you have a chance to pick up and read one of these works!

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QUEEN'S PRIZE TOURNEY 2010



QUEEN'S

Kathryn Daggett



PRIZE



TOURNEY



Youth entry, pre-print for a Queen's Chalice





PRIZE

This entry took Judge's Choice. Seamus o'Cearbhaill.



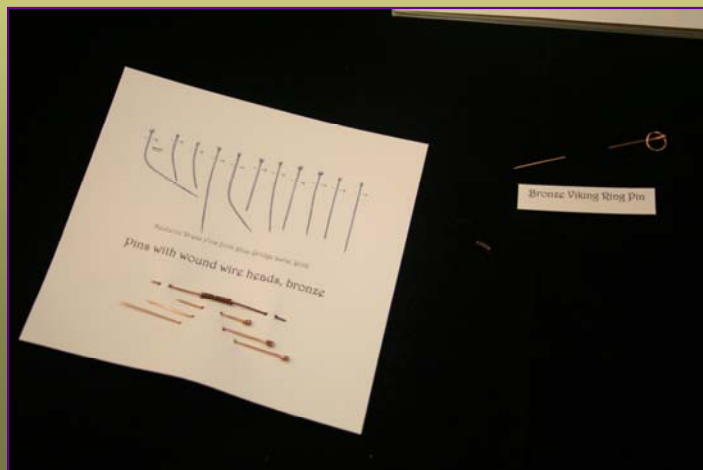
2010

Elizabeth von Rostock, pins

QUEEN'S



TOURNEY





Mirkâs (Merguez Sausage) Lamb Sausage from The Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook

by Lord Dov

Charcuterie, in particular sausage making, is the alchemy of the culinary world. As this recipe attests, it has existed for almost as long. Sausage can use tougher pieces of meat and through tenderizing and adding fat make them tender and succulent. A muscle that is used more will be tougher than a relatively little-used muscle. Fat adds flavor and tenderizing by creating liquid between fibers. A shoulder of lamb can require long hours of braising. By transforming the shoulder meat into sausage, one saves time and makes better use of the meat.¹

“While a sausage is prized for its flavor . . . it requires the least expensive cuts, tough cuts with a lot of connective tissue and plenty of good fat marbled in. Making sausage is a terrifically satisfying way of serving a budget cut of meat.² “For a chef, sausage making is also an effective way to stretch food. . . The sausage allowed him to serve smaller portions . . . without reducing the value of each plate.”³ As anyone can see, I have a deep appreciation for good food. While at Gulf Wars two years ago, I took a sausage making class. I found I enjoyed this process. It was particularly good for making venison more tender and palatable. A few months ago, while I was doing some online research on my persona (a Jew of Spanish extraction), I ran onto this recipe for a Spanish sausage that can be kosher. The recipe is from “The Book of Cooking in Maghreb and Andalus in the era of Almohads, by an unknown author.” It is commonly known in English today as: “The Anonymous Andalusian Cookbook.” The major part of the English translation is by Charles Perry, a scholar, food historian, and writer of a food column for the L.A. Times. The book's original title was: *Kitab al tabij fi-l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus fi `asr al-Muwahhidin, li-u'allif majhul* Or *Kitab al tabikh fi-*

l-Maghrib wa-l-Andalus fi `asr al-Muwahhidin, li-mu'allif majhul. The Andalucía, or Al-Andalus, was the Arabic name given to the parts of the Iberian Peninsula and Septimania governed by Arab and North African Muslims (given the generic name of Moors), at various times in the period between 711 and 1492 Al-Andalus was renowned for its centers of learning, beautiful architecture, and religious tolerance. 4, 5, 6

There are several Jewish recipes in this cookbook because there was a large Jewish population in Al-Andalus. The persecution of this minority group began only under Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic monarchs who fought for the expulsion, or mass-conversions, or murder of those of Muslim and Jewish faiths.

Charles Perry translated the text into English, working from the original Arabic, a printed copy of the Arabic and its translation into Spanish, and assisted by an English translation by various persons translating collaboratively the text from Spanish to English.

Recipe for Mirkâs (Merguez Sausage) by Charles Perry from

<http://www.daviddfriedman.com/Medieval/Cookbooks/Andalusian/andalusian1.htm>.

It is as nutritious as meatballs^[1] (*banâdiq*) and quick to digest, since the pounding ripens it and makes it quick to digest, and it is good nutrition. First get some meat from the leg or shoulder of a lamb and pound it until it becomes like meatballs.

Knead it in a bowl, mixing in some oil and some *murri naqî*, pepper, coriander seed, lavender, and cinnamon. Then add three quarters as much of fat, which should not be pounded, as it would melt while frying, but chopped up with a knife or beaten on a cutting board.

Using the instrument made for stuffing, stuff it in the washed gut, tied with thread to make sausages, small or large. Then fry them with some fresh oil, and when it is done and browned, make a sauce of vinegar and oil and use it while hot.

Some people make the sauce with the juice of cilantro and mint and some pounded onion. Some cook it in a pot with oil and vinegar, some make it *râhibi* with onion and lots of oil until it is fried and browned. It is good whichever of these methods you use.

Another recipe by Candida Martinell's Italophile Site further clarifies some of the English translation and adds some helpful notes.

Recipe for Mirkâs (Merguez Sausage) from http://italophiles.com/andalusian_cookbook.pdf

It is as nutritious as meatballs and since the pounding ripens it, makes it quick to digest, and it is good nutrition. First get some meat from the leg or shoulder of a lamb and pound it until it becomes like meatballs. Knead it in a bowl, mixing in some oil and some *murri naqî'* [use soy sauce], pepper, coriander seed, lavender, and cinnamon. Then add three quarters as much of fat, which should not be pounded, as it would melt while frying, but chopped up with a knife or beaten on a cutting board.

Using the instrument made for stuffing, stuff it in the washed gut, tied with thread to make sausages, small or large. Then fry them with some fresh oil, and when it is done and browned, make a sauce of vinegar and oil and use it while hot. Some people make the sauce with the juice of cilantro and mint and some ground onion. Some cook it in a pot with oil and vinegar, some make it *râhibi* [meatloaf] with onion and lots of oil until it is baked and browned. It is good whichever of these methods you use.

[The Spanish *albondiga*, meaning "meatball," is from the Arabic *al-bunduqa*, meaning "hazelnut," which suggests that the original meatballs were tiny. So you should chop the meat finely.]

The ingredients listed in the recipe are oil, *murri naqî'*, pepper, coriander seed, lavender, cinnamon,

and of course, lamb. I used extra virgin olive oil, since it is an ancient oil that was familiar to the Mediterranean cultures. I substituted soy sauce for *murri* in my recipe because it takes over two months to make and is carcinogenic. *Murri* was popular everywhere in the Near East, and as far west as Spain, in the Middle Ages. It was based on barley dough that had been left to rot in a box for 40 days. The rotten dough was mixed with water, salt and spices and then rotted for another 40 days on rooftops in the height of summer. According to Perry, the taste is very similar to soy sauce. 7

I used plain black pepper (*Piper nigrum*). It is native to India but was available throughout large parts of Europe during the middle ages via the spice trade. 8 Coriander (*Coriandrum sativum*) is an annual herb in the family *Apiaceae*. It is native to southern Europe and North Africa to southwestern Asia. It is a soft, hairless plant growing to 50 cm [20 in.] tall. The word derives from Latin "*coriandrum*". 9 Fifteen desiccated *mericarps* were found in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B level of the Nahal Hemel Cave in Palestine, which may be the oldest archeological find of coriander. (*Mericarps* are fruit bodies that contain seeds, like an orange slice contains seeds but is part of a larger body.) About half a litre of coriander *mericarps* were recovered from the tomb of Tutankhamun, and because this plant does not grow wild in Egypt, it is believed this find is proof that coriander was cultivated by the ancient Egyptians. 10 The Bible mentions coriander in Exodus 16:31: "And the house of Israel began to call its name Manna: and it was round like coriander seed, and its taste was like that of flat cakes made with honey."

When I was grinding the lavender, I noticed the aroma was reminiscent of sage. That made sense when upon further research, I discovered that the lavenders (*Lavandula*) are a genus of 39 species of flowering plants in the mint family, *Lamiaceae*, native to the Mediterranean region south to tropical Africa and to the southeast regions of India. *Salvia officinalis* (Sage, Common sage, Garden sage, Kitchen sage, Culinary sage, Dalmatian sage, Purple sage, Broadleaf sage, Red sage) is a small perennial

evergreen subshrub, with woody stems, grayish leaves, and blue to purplish flowers. It is commonly grown as a kitchen and medicinal herb or as an ornamental garden plant. It has been considered closely related to Verbenaceae but several recent phylogenetic studies [11] have shown that numerous genera classified in Verbenaceae belong instead in Lamiaceae, whereas the core genera of Verbenaceae are not closely related to Lamiaceae and are more closely related to other members of the Lamiales. The enlarged Lamiaceae family contains 233[12] to 263[13] genera and 6900[12] to 7200[14] species.

I used Ceylon cinnamon (*Cinnamomum zeylanicum*) because I had heard it had a more floral note and I thought that would meld well with the lavender flower notes. 15

Making my Mirkâs

To make my rendition of this recipe, I purchased lamb meat and fat at Harter House in Springfield, MO. I refrigerated the meat and froze the fat so it would be easier to dice. I began the process by cutting the meat into cubes.

Then I pounded the meat with a metal tenderizing mallet to break down the muscle tissue and therefore make the meat more tender.



more tender.

Then I ran the meat through the grinder. This further tenderized the meat and saved several hours of pounding to get the meat to the proper texture.



They did not have

this type of utensil in period, but the same outcome was accomplished by many hours of pounding by servants.



After grinding, I tenderized the meat some more to get it to the final proper consistency.

Then I added the ingredients called for in the recipe. Like most period recipes, no real quantities are given, so I just went with what looked right as far as proportions and what I thought would taste best. I added ten ounces of soy sauce (substitute for the murri naqi). Then six ounces of extra virgin olive oil. Then I added the ingredients called for in the



recipe. Two tablespoons of ground pepper One tablespoon of ground lavender. One tablespoon of Coriander One tablespoon of Ceylon Cinnamon. Then I took a small sample, fried it and

took a taste test. This is when I decided it needed more lavender, so I added another tablespoon.

I saved some of the meat to make a meatloaf with onions as mentioned in the recipe. Then I cut up the frozen lamb fat into small pieces and mixed it in with the meat. This was done because the recipe calls for the fat to be in larger chunks.

I soaked the lamb casings in water to prepare them

for stuffing. I used lamb casings because that was used in Andalusia in period, as shown by a servant girl testifying before the Inquisition. She said that the physician Diego and his wife Teresa Conversos of Soria had “chopped the meat . . . with spices and took the intestines of a lamb . . . and filled them with the chopped meat and tied them with string when they were plump and fried in beef fat.” 16 they were plump and fried in beef fat.” 16 Also, it makes sense to use the intestines from the same animal as the meat.



I fed a casing over the extruder horn. Then I put the meat into the grinder and turned the wheel to force

it through into the casings. I used this method because the traditional way of using a funnel and sticks is much more difficult.



My efforts resulted in about a dozen six inch sausage links.

This sausage differs from modern sausages in that it does not have any added salt. However, the murri naqi is very salty. I don't know that it would have the preservative effect that salt would so I would eat this as a fresh sausage if refrigeration was not available or smoke it to cure it.

Fresh sausage is a type you eat immediately. The sausage is juicy, with a light hint of the spices but not enough to overwhelm the flavor of the meat. The predominant flavor is that of the soy sauce with a little bit of a floral/sage taste of the aromatics. I am serving it with olive oil and vinegar because I do not like the taste of cilantro.

I learned from this experience that pounding meat to a paste is an incredible amount of work and that lavender is a relative of sage.

I plan to make this again but instead of putting it in casings, I would leave it loose because I think sausage patties are more versatile. Also, since lamb is so expensive, the next time I make this I will probably use venison. In the future, I also might like to use much more lavender (since I have plenty left over) and make breakfast sausage patties. I truly enjoyed this process and learning more about the culinary alchemy of making sausage.

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*My 13th Century Medieval Academic Garb
As a Juris Magister Civilis (Professor of
Civil Law)*

James of Odo, Scripsit

Introduction: First, (No, no. The *title* was first.) Second, (No, no, no! The *vision* was first and the *title* second!) Third, let me tell you that research is at once fun and often potentially confusing. It is *always* a fine puzzle to be solved each time. I asked myself, “Self: What did the 13th Century Scholar wear?” Thus my journey (Nay! a Trek, an Opus, or a Quest, even!) began. If this Quest be not so Homeric, then I pray you still listen as I tell the tale . . .

Academic or University garb in western Europe originally derived from Church clerical clothing. The reason is simple: the universities were all at first run by the Church. In the 12th century a few universities exercised their biceps and attempted to gain autonomy from Rome. Some succeeded and gradually others followed. At first, they formed themselves much like the guilds of the time. The Church universities claimed privilege from local laws because they belonged under Church Law, not secular. As some gravitated away from the Church they claimed Guild privileges to avoid troubles with the local constabulary. Customs of the times, Sumptuary Laws (infra), fashions, politics, and other events changed, and all the while the universities became more independent. This all became a gradual concatenation of events resulting in independent universities and in our 20th century academic garb and separately, modern clerical vestments.

What to Wear: Scholars wore dresses back then and Scotsmen wore skirts. As this research does not include underclothes, I will not discuss men in tights. I had two general choices: a middle class Scholar as depicted in Norris, p. 170 (infra), or a more affluent University Professor. I chose the later. My thoughts soon

became focused on: I. The Pileus, II. The Tunica, III. The Caul and Hood. IV. one of three choices: A. The Cappa Clausa, B. The Pallium or Cappa Nigra, or C. The Cappa Mantica, and, V. Accoutrements.

I. The Pileus perhaps began as a cap granted to Roman slaves celebrating their manumission and acceptance as free citizens. It is a round cap without a brim and worn covering only the center part of the head. It is a yarmulke, skull cap, or beanie, by any other name. Different colleges of studies wore different colored Pileus and often sewed different colored buttons and “tufts” or tassels at the apex. For example, at Oxford and Cambridge Universities: The colleges of Divinity and Canon Law both chose the black Pileus. The colleges of Civil Law, Music (near the end of the period), and possibly Physic, Medicine, and Arts chose the red Pileus, usually with a blue tuft or tassel (one source calls it a button). The tuft appears to be early period, becoming a tassel later. Other uses of the academic Pileus are assumed later in the period but not sufficiently documented. Over time it evolved and melded into several academic and ecclesiastical hats. The Pileus is still worn by Bishops, Archbishops, Cardinals, and the Pope. It was often attached by a string to the rear neck of the Cappa. For my purposes as a Juris Magister Civilis (Professor of Civil Law) I chose a red Pileus made in satin, with a blue tassel, though not so long as a modern Bachelor’s academic tassel.

II. The Tunica is also of Roman origin and our Dear Ladies will know it best as a floor length chemise or under-dress. The precise style is un-sure but I deduced that the sleeves were close, rather than voluminous, and the yoke or neck-line was not too wide, avoiding the feminine look (during the period I researched there were no Lady Doctors of any college). I also assumed that ruffled neck-lines and cuffs were also not used by Professors. Occasionally, the cuffs were folded back (later called French Cuffs) and may have been rarely colored or embroidered, but period pictures of the Academic Tunica are rare. It is still

worn by modern Churchmen. My choices were easier here: the white Tunica, a modified chemise in a light summer weight fabric, specifically a cotton/linen blend.

III. The Caul and Hood was in popular use by all classes in the period, often adding the use of fur linings, especially in cooler climates. Sumptuary Laws (infra) regulated them for the Church and academia. Certain fabrics, linings, and colors were restricted unless you were of sufficient rank or wealth. The rules even dictated the length of the hood. The longer ones befitted senior scholars, even today. Doctors of Canon Law of the period wore a large hood in black, with either fur or silk lining. Doctors of other colleges also wore hoods with linings but I could not find the colors assigned to each. For my own caul and hood I chose a dark blue color with white fur lining and a medium length hood as befits a Magister rather than a Doctor. Lady Sarah Sofia suggested a Navy medium weight Irish Linen.

IV. What to wear over the Tunica was probably an easy choice for the Church Magisters and Doctors of the times. They followed Rome, or more commonly, the habit of their Order (often Benedictine in England). At civic universities of the period the documentation is not so clear.

A. At Oxford and Cambridge the black Cappa Clausa was worn by Professors of Divinity and Canon Law, the Church colleges. At other places black and other colors (I saw red and white) were worn according to the wearer's religious Order. This was a floor length gown with an opening from about the waist to the neck in front, to allow the wearer to extend the hands (showing only little bit of Tunica, usually the cuffs and some times an inch or so of the bottom hem). The edges of the opening seemed to be trimmed, indicating the possibility of a lining. It later became the Cassock as still worn by some Orders. As I needed the dress of a Professor of Civil studies rather than Church studies, I rejected the Cappa Clausa for my own use.

B. The Pallium or Cappa Nigra was similar to the Cappa Clausa except that the arm holes were vertical slits about half-way between the front center line and the right and left vertical seams of the garment (See the diagram in Fairfax). Like the Cappa Clausa, the edges of the arm holes appear to be trimmed. The Cappa Nigra is simply a black Pallium, and primarily used by clerics of the Church. Both evolved into current Church vestments, although the modern Pallium is a very different garment. The red Pallium with a blue caul lined in white fur was worn by Doctors of Civil Law in England, and occasionally by others. This helped me choose the blue caul and hood (supra). I rejected the Pallium for my uses simply because I don't like red. Historically it is fine.

C. The Cappa Mantica was a shorter version of the Pallium, coming to about mid calf. The arm holes were moved outward to be along the side seams of the garment. While Churchmen of the time were not allowed to wear it, they did so later. It was worn at Oxford and Cambridge by Doctors of Civil Law in either red or blue. Doctors of Medicine wore a red one. I chose this for my outfit, in a lighter blue than the caul, and best done in a wool, wool-blend, or good linen suiting fabric. The final fabric choice was a royal blue medium weight Irish Linen. Mine will be unlined and the arm holes trimmed in white fur, remnants from making the caul and hood.

V. Among the accoutrements I considered included the Armelausa, a cape, like a Byzantine mantel, worn over both shoulders by clerics and many Scholars, and over one shoulder by those who needed an arm free for their sword. Another was the Biretta, which was a cap made of squares of fabric and eventually evolved into the "mortar board" hat of modern academia and the Biretta of the Church. Occasionally a Tabard was worn over the Tunica, but it did not last long. I thought that the use of Tippets, long tubes of material hung from the shoulders, would over-do my plans for a Professor of Civil Law. Perhaps later. However, I did include a walking stick, and gloves and stockings

that match each other in accordance Church dress code.

Sumptuary Laws: The primary purpose of Sumptuary Laws of the period was different than in our Current Middle Ages. Then, they were first meant to curb excesses of dress, especially for those of lower ranks or of lesser wealth. They intended to curb blatant “foppery” and such among their inferiors. A secondary purpose was an attempt to control social status. It was old blood versus the neuveux rich and the incipient merchant classes. In academia, it was senior Professors versus Masters and Bachelors, and often Town versus Gown. It was almost always, *Supra v. Infra*.

Academic Sumptuary Laws governed many choices of dress. The linings of most garments were one common subject for regulation. Fabrics like silk were reserved for seniority, as were the types of furs used. Ermine was of course the most prized, and others were ranked below it. For my own dress I humbly chose white rabbit fur for my caul lining and wool or linen for the basic fabrics. Trimming of edges was another subject of regulation so as not to appear too opulent. Being too showy was frowned on unless you were very senior or very rich. The Laws also governed lengths of many things, from hoods to hose and from gowns to gramalas. Rank (academic and other), religion, wealth, and social status all were factors of consideration before one had a garment made.

Author’s Notes: I owe very special thanks to HL Sarah Sofia von Kolmar, a wonderful Lady and Seamstress from Mag Mor, who advised me on fabric and other choices for the garments, and most importantly, made the outfit so beautifully. Not surprisingly, she is a Companion of the Calon Swan.

Most of the references I used have excellent bibliographies or other resources of their own. I have long been an avid user of The Catholic Encyclopedia and recently of the Wikipedia. The later has dozens of linked references in each article. Follow the threads. If you are not sure where to start I

suggest you begin with Luepke, Fairfax, Norris, and Cox. (*infra*)

In my references to the Church I refer to the only one in town during the period, The Holy Roman Church. I mean no disrespect to any others. In my choice of words of gender, at times I was constrained by historical facts and in other instances I used the male version as the customary generic one. I quote from Henricus Barbatus, “Linguae quae genera distincta non habent inuriam faciunt feminis!” [TR: Languages that don’t have separate genders are sexist!].

I usually enjoy correspondence, and especially in this case. If you have comments, inquiries, suggestions or just want to chat about something, drop me a note. - J o O , pickette@alltel.net

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BIBLIO.COM, (Books Research and Merchandising), 2000 Riverside Dr., Ashville, NC 28804-2062, Tel. 800-813-9432, www.biblio.com

CHIVALRY SPORTS INC., (Medieval and Renaissance Items), 4620 E. Speedway Blvd. Tucson, AZ 85712, Tel. (800)-730-5464, <http://www.renstore.com>

FABRIC.COM, (Fabrics, Sewing Items, etc.), 2151 Northwest Parkway Ste 500, Marietta, GA 30067, Tel. 888-455-2940, www.fabric.com

HANCOCK FABRICS, (Fabrics, Sewing Items, Tassels, etc.), 3501 South 84th St., Omaha, NE 68124, Tel. 402-393-7675, <http://www.hancockfabrics.com/>

LEATHER UNLIMITED, (Furs, Leather, etc.), 7155 Highway B, P.O. Box 342, Belgium, WI 53004-0911, Tel. 920-994-9464, www.leatherunltd.com

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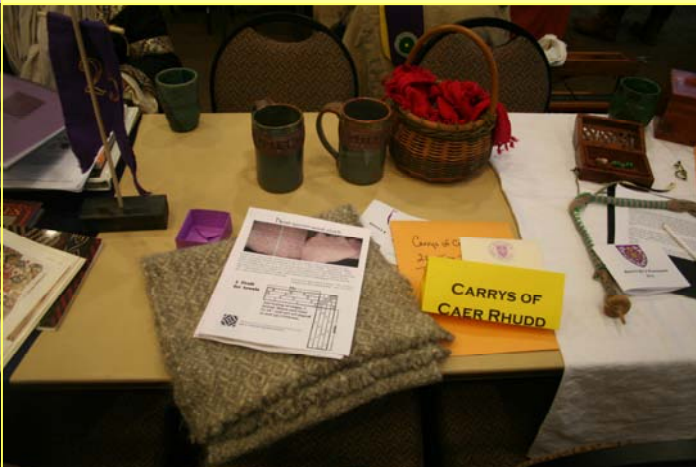


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*Caps, Coats, and Codpieces:**Garments, Gender and Power in the Tudor Court*

By Lord Nicolas L'Anguille

This paper seeks to explore the role of garments in determining or emphasizing wealth, power, and gender during the Tudor Dynasty. The clothes on a man's back could literally be read like a book in determining his social standing, his inherent masculinity, or even (or perhaps especially) his closeness to the king. A series of sumptuary laws were passed between the years of 1510 and 1542. These stringent legal codes limited the garments, fabric choices, and colors available to men of a certain class (women are mentioned only once in the legal codes set down by Henry VIII). These laws of fashion will be explored in an effort to understand the relationship of textiles to power and gender in this period. This work will also explore how garments could define or strengthen the perceptions of gender and masculinity during this period. Likewise, ideas about "Englishness" or what it was to be an Englishman in the sixteenth century, and how dress could represent an evolving national identity will be examined. Foreign clothing was nothing new to the royal courts of England, but during the sixteenth century, a new awareness of an English identity was rising, and the use of non-English clothing and textiles could mark a man or uplift him socially, according to their use.

As one might imagine, proximity to the king was proximity to power. This closeness to the epicenter of the English state was often symbolized by garments or textiles from Henry VIII himself, in the form of livery for his yeomen or members of his household, or articles of his own clothing for those nobles who greatly pleased him. These gifts or payments (in the case of Henry's household servants) were detailed in the Great Wardrobe, a massive document which recorded the belongings of the King. The Great Wardrobe detailed expenditures and collections of cloth, clothing, hounds, jewelry, spurs, saddles; basically all of the "stuff" which Henry VIII owned. An exploration of a portion of the King's Great Wardrobe will help to define these gifts of textiles, who wore them, and what they would mean to one who viewed them on the body.

Henrician Textiles and the Modern Historian

In order to make this topic fully accessible to the modern reader, it is necessary to lay some groundwork. It is difficult for a person of the twenty-first century to understand the importance of clothing in this period without some background in sixteenth century material culture. Our custom of owning a large variety of garments, in a wide range of styles and uses is a great departure from that of the sixteenth century. For the average person "workout clothes", "play clothes", and the like would not have existed. In fact, the idea of owning outfits for specific purposes (like riding garments for equestrians) is only just beginning in the sixteenth century, and arguably would not trickle down to the middling sort until the Victorian era. A series of labourer's inventories from Oxfordshire between 1550 and 1596 indicate that the average man would have owned only a few articles of clothing, which would have a total worth of only a few shillings to a pound. The typical wardrobe "comprised a pair of leather breeches, a coat, a waistcoat, a couple of shirts, stockings, shoes, and a hat". By contrast, in 1511-12, Henry VIII spent £8,335 9s 4 1/2d from the accounts of the Great Wardrobe to clothe himself and his yeomen. To compare Henry VIII's clothing in a year to the average man of Oxfordshire, we can explore the inventory of the Great Wardrobe from 1510-11. Henry owned a total of thirty-one coats of various kinds, twenty-eight doublets (a kind of close fitting jacket), twenty-five pairs of hose (closely tailored trousers), and twenty-one different kinds of hats. These numbers typically grow larger over the years, as Henry VIII's expenditures increase, with a final collection of 53 doublets, more than 400 pairs of hose of various kinds, and fluctuating numbers of other items found in the Wardrobe of 1543-5.

The kind of garments a person would wear, and the fabrics from which they were made were also of paramount importance. Linen was the basis for all undergarments from the meanest peasant right up to the king, himself. "Nearly everyone began and ended their life wrapped in linen of some kind". Because it could be easily laundered, linen comprised the layer of clothing worn closest to the body. Most people owned at least a couple of shirts, so they could be changed and laundered, preventing outer garments from being dirtied by oils from the skin. Linen could be spun and woven into fabrics which were quite fine and sheer, for use things like veils, smocks, and shirts. Sebastian Guistinian, the Venetian Ambassador from 1516 to 1519 described the King playing tennis as the prettiest

thing in the world, “his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture”. Outer garments were typically fashioned of wool, particularly for the lower and middle classes, although the poorest might only be able to afford outerwear of linen. Woolen garments could not be laundered, and were typically cleaned with stiff brushes, and stored carefully in chests when not being used. A number of the sumptuary laws passed during Henry VIII’s reign confined the middle and lower classes to wearing wool produced in England, and forbade them to purchase or wear wool imported from the continent. While this legislation was produced largely to preserve the local economy of sheep farmers, spinners and weavers it also contributed to the growing identity of “Englishness” and nationalism among the middle and lower classes.

Sumptuary laws were not the only thing which prevented the average person from owning garments from textiles other than linen or wool. The cost of silks, brocades, furs, and other luxury textiles was exorbitant, thus relegating their use to the very wealthy. The most expensive fabrics were woven of metal threads, typically gold or silver and warped with silk. During the period these textiles were most frequently referred to as “cloth of gold”, encompassing a wide variety of fabrics utilizing metal and silken threads. These textiles were limited by both cost and legislation to the king and royal family. The most valued of these metallic fabrics was tissue, incorporating “raised loops of metal thread as well as metal-wrapped threads and metal wire forming part of the ground weave and this extravagant use of the thread was reflected in its high price”. Silk velvet was another of the more luxurious textiles available during the Henrician era. Patterned velvets with either woven ornamentation or “voided velvets” with the decoration cut into the pile had grown popular during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and this is reflected by Henry VIII’s Great Wardrobe. Silk satin was also highly prized, and the Great Wardrobe exhibits the King’s fondness for plain single color satin doublets, often lined with taffeta or sarsenet (light weight silk fabrics imported from Italy or the Near East) further emphasizing Henry’s wealth. The majority of Englishmen would have lined their garments with undyed linen. Fabrics called “union cloths” were created to obtain the look of a more costly material by weaving it with a warp of linen or wool. Fustian was a sort of cloth combining wool warped with linen, and was commonly used as both an outer fabric for gar-

ments and for a lining. Satins could be produced with a linen weft thread to lower the cost, and were commonly referred to as “Satin de

Bruges” or the anglicized “bridges satin”. These inferior textiles allowed the middling sort to afford nicer fabrics and the nobility made use of them as well. Frequently the portions of a garment which would be covered by another layer could be constructed of these lower quality fabrics in order to save money.

Color would also have been of paramount importance in the cost and quality of textile items. Linen was notoriously difficult to dye, and was most commonly used in either a natural or bleached form. Bleaching was often performed at home as a part of the laundering process “using sour milk, cow dung and lye, then laid out in the sun” to produce a white fabric. Dyestuffs could add an immense price to a given textile. Blues were typically produced using woad (*isatis tinctoria*), a plant typically imported from France for the textile trade in England. When politics interfered with the importation of woad in the 1540’s it began to be cultivated in England. Red was likewise a very important color in the Tudor Court. Red would have been produced from madder (*rubia tinctorum*), a low growing plant native to Europe, or kermes (*kermes vermilio*), which was produced from the bodies of insects. Scarlet was a ubiquitous color at the Tudor court, just as it had been in earlier English dynasties. It was the color of choice for Royal Coronations, and at Henry’s accession to the throne in 1509 the Great Wardrobe issued 1,641 yards of crimson fabric for livery. This is 1,172.5 more yards than were used by Henry VII in 1485. The ceremony cost £4,750 and £1307 of this was spent on livery. Even among servants, however there was a social distinction based on color; all men of the rank of yeoman or above received scarlet cloth while all others received red cloth. Scarlet would have been produced with kermes (typically referred to as “grain” in contemporary sources) while simple red would have been dyed with madder, a much less costly dyestuff. Purple was produced using mollusks (Tyrian purple) or orchil (*roccella tinctoria*), which was a form of lichen. The color black was the most difficult to produce, requiring a complex series of over-dyeing, which still would not guarantee a good final product. “Poor Black” referred to inferior textiles often more brown than black, but available at a lower price. “The preference for black has been associated with the arrival of Catherine

of Aragon and her entourage in 1501 and the influence of Spanish fashion at court". The Tudor sumptuary laws restricted the use of these colors, particularly purple, blue, and red. These strictures generally referred to colored silk and not wool, however. For example only Knights of the Garter were allowed to wear blue velvet and blue silks and velvets would have been worn by the king during periods of morning. "These rare uses of blue by the elite would have struck a chord with observers at court" as blue was typically reserved for servants and livery in England.

To the modern reader it may be difficult to imagine the meaning of these various cloths to the average Tudor citizen. The quality of materials and colors used in textiles would have been quite noticeable, with the man on the street reading the status of the wearer based largely on the fabrics alone. In an era when a person could spend most of a year's wages on a single suit of clothes or could be fined or imprisoned for wearing cloth above his station it paid to be aware of the persona he created with the clothes on his back. It could mark him as a loyal subject or perhaps a foreign sympathizer.

Englishness and Fashion

The emerging identity of Englishness during the sixteenth century was both influenced and reflected by garments, and what those garments were made of. It is clear that there was by this time an "English" mode of dress in part due to the language used to refer to garments outside that milieu. In both the Great Wardrobe of Henry VIII, and in wills, inventories, letters, and books there are references to "almain" or German-style hose, "Milan bonnets", "Spanish" cloaks, or "Turkey" (Turkish) gowns. Spanish contributions like the "Spanish Cloak" usually referred to a cloak with a hood, and would be easily distinguished from a more English cut. The early sixteenth century was bringing a new cosmopolitan air to cities like London, in which the English frequently rubbed shoulders with Frenchmen, Italians, and other nationalities from the continent. Many were surprised by what they found there:

In short, the wealth and civilization of the world are here; and those who call the English barbarians appear to me to render themselves such. I here perceive very elegant manners, extreme decorum, and very great politeness; and

amongst other things there is this most invincible King, whose acquirements and qualities are so many and excellent that I consider him to excel all who ever wore a crown.

This was written by Francesco Chierigato to Isabella d'Este, following a joust hosted by Henry VIII in 1515. Another Italian, who visited England in 1500, the secretary of Francesco Capello, described the English as "great lovers of themselves". A part of this developing national identity was expressed through clothing. The very cut of one's garments could determine where they were from, as much as the cloth from which they were made. In 1517 Monsieur de Boughieville, a French spy, was reported to be heading to England via Calais. He had purchased English wool and had it fashioned into clothing prior to leaving France, to use as a disguise. A description of the individual and his manservant was hastily dispatched to England, and he was captured. The fabric his clothing was made of may have been English, but the distinctively French cut of the garments and use of ornamentation immediately marked him as a foreigner.

While the members of the Tudor Court were accustomed to wearing garments made in the continental fashion, the vast majority of Englishmen were not. "There was a certain cachet associated with wearing imported materials because they were foreign, silk fabrics had the appeal of the exotic as they were imported from Europe and beyond". The nobility made up a very small minority of the population. By some estimates, the king, nobility, and knights made up only one percent of the total population of England and Wales combined during the early years of Henry VIII's reign. Esquires and gentlemen accounted for only two percent, and burgesses and citizens another seven percent. Sixty-eight percent of the population consisted of base laborers, and another twenty-three percent were yeomen and artificers, and less than one percent would have been considered paupers. This would mean that less than ten percent of the population would have been likely to have access to high cost materials or foreign garments.

English textile producers and merchants had been in competition with those of the continent since the 1300's when the first high quality linen fabrics would have been imported from the Netherlands, and

silks from Italy. The Great Wardrobe makes note of the use of cloth of tissue and cloth of gold or silver in the making of garments for both Henry VII and Henry VIII, however documents recording taxes and impositions on cloth do not record the import of these cloths until 1582. It seems likely that these were imported by Italian merchants who “held licenses exempting them from import duty provided that the king had first sight of the shipment”. It was good to be the king; Henry VIII had access to the best of everything in England. Those who were able to maintain a close relationship with him and avoid the snares of power also had access to greater wealth and power.

Proximity to the King

King Henry VIII was the epicenter of English power, and the court revolved around him. This proximity was often represented by gifts of clothing to those nearest the king, whether royal favorites, or loyal servants. Each year of Henry VIII’s reign he provided clothing for his household. This included the royal family, his wife, and children, and early on his sisters. Henry VIII provided an appropriate marriage trousseau for both of his sisters. Beyond the royal family, Henry also was responsible for clothing his yeomen and servants, as well as a small portion of the poorest in the country. The yeomen and servants of the king were provided different articles of clothing, and different qualities of cloth based on their duties for the King. Those who were highly visible, or who performed duties in the name of the King would be supplied with garments made of higher quality of cloth than those of simple servants.

The Boys of the Leash, who were responsible for the health and keeping of the King’s hounds, are but one example of what a typical servant might receive in a year’s time from the Great Wardrobe. Each of the four were supplied for the winter season of 1509 with a gown made of tawny cloth (a heavy woolen cloth), lined with black lambskin, a doublet of camlet wool, two shirts each of linen, two pairs of hose, a hat, and a bonnet. In addition, they were supplied with two pairs of double soled shoes (used for outdoor wear, and hunting), two brace of collars, two chains and a leash for the hounds. The following summer (July of 1510), the same four men were given a light weight coat of motley (mingled-color) wool, lined with cotton (a soft, loosely woven woolen cloth),

a camlet doublet, one pair of hose, a hat, a bonnet, two more linen shirts, two new pair of double soled shoes, and collars for the greyhounds.

The King also provided clothing for the poor on Maundy Thursday, as a part of the Easter celebration. As a part of an elaborate ceremony each year, the king would give out a gown and hood of russet cloth (a low quality woolen cloth) and a pair of single soled shoes to a number of paupers equal to the King’s age. No information is given as to how these “paupers” were chosen, or who they were, but each year of his reign, Henry VIII gave out successively more garments as dictated by tradition.

Aside from his obligations, Henry VIII also gave away numerous gifts of textiles or garments to his favorites, ambassadors, and other members of the royal court. The largest group of those who received gifts of clothing from Henry VIII were neither family nor servant, but the King’s jousting companions. These favorites, who included the likes of Nicolas Carew, received items like coats, bases (a sort of pleated skirt, often attached to a jerkin or coat, or worn with armor) and boots from the King regularly. Between the years of 1516-21 alone, Henry VIII gave away ninety-one garments or sets of garments to members of the court, eighty-six items were given to men, and five to women. It is important to note that while the King was giving away garments, whose cloth value would have been staggering in some cases, all embroidery, particularly gold or silver work, fur linings, velvet guards (bands of fabric to protect the hems of a garment), jewels, buttons, or goldsmith work would have been removed. These items were frequently moved from garment to garment, allowing a wide range of outfits to be remade to suit an occasion or season. If he chose, Henry VIII could wear the same gown in both summer and winter, with it being lined with silk satin in summer and a rich fur in the winter. This removal of fur, gold and ornamentation allowed a lower ranking member of the court to use the garment without breaking sumptuary laws, or in some cases with special dispensation from the King to wear a particular garment.

These gifts of clothing were also fairly practical; even a king only had so much closet space. At one point Henry VIII ordered ninety doublets in the space of only two months. “A Parisian jeweller, Jean Langues sold Henry two garments even though ‘the king says he is too old to wear them but he offers 4,000 crowns for them both’”. It is unknown if Henry

bought these garments to wear or to give away. The king likely soon tired of garments; gifting them to another allowed him to pass them along, while remaining a fashion forerunner.

The “Field of Cloth of Gold” is perhaps one of the best examples of the sumptuous spending and passing of gifts from Henry VIII, both to his subjects and as an act of diplomacy. From June 7 through the 24 of 1520 the Tudor king met with Francois I of France. Both monarchs strove to outdo the other with gifts, pageantry, and feats of physical prowess. Henry’s royal guard was quite famous for their height and good looks, dressed in the king’s livery of green and white. 1520 marks one of the largest expenditures on cloth during Henry VIII’s early reign; a total of £13,474 7s 8d was paid out for textiles and ceremonies, £10,480 8s 8d of which were for cloth. In a single year more money was lavished on clothing, revels, and ceremonies than was spent 1516-1519 combined. It makes sense financially, if for no other reason that many of these garments were given away as gifts. Henry also gifted Francois I with four doublets, one of which was “of cloth of gold baudkyn, the placards and sleeves wrought with flat gold and eight pairs of aglettes”. Endowments of clothing were not only worth monetary value, these garments were often emblematic. A connection between the king and the recipient was symbolized by the acceptance of such a gift.

Garments and Gender

Gender history is a complicated subject in any era, and that of the sixteenth century is no exception. For many years the term “gender” in a historiographic context meant “women”. Since the mid-1990’s, however, the focus of the genre has evolved to include genders beyond the feminine, and the study of masculinities has grown into a sub-field of gender history. The life of a courtier in the Tudor era was lived within a largely homosocial environment, with men and women typically living very separate lives. This paper will, in part, examine the Tudor Court in light of garments and their use as objects which could define one’s masculinity. It is important to understand however, that the masculinity of the Tudor era is not the monolithic structure often presented by early feminist historians. A focus on the concept of patriarchy as a means of repression of women and minorities without consideration for its hierarchical roles

forced on men has given way for new insights in masculinity and gender:

“In understanding gender scholars have been too ready to assume that a system of hierarchy between men and women is simply constitutive of subordinating women . . . [Brod] notes: “Patriarchy institutionalizes not just hierarchy *between* genders, but hierarchy *within* each gender as well”.

This gendered hierarchy will be examined primarily in light of sumptuary legislation, as all of the Henrician sumptuary laws except that of 1539 exempt women entirely from their statutes.

Gendered garments first appear at around the age of six for most young men of the sixteenth century. Prior to that, boys and girls would wear the same clothes, modeled after those of their mother or older sisters. While wearing skirts, boys were still encouraged to play with masculine toys, such as swords and to wear hats and doublets over their skirts in a more masculine style. At around age six, however, boys would be “breeched”, or allowed to wear hose for the first time. This indicates that the primary care and raising of the boy would transfer from the care of women of the household, to that of men. “Prince Edward was breeched at six years, two months” and from that age would have worn the same garments as an adult male.

Gender could also be indicated by the textile from which a garment was constructed. “Leather is the most frequently specified material for doublets in the Essex wills (40 percent of 284 items)... Apart from a ‘payre of bodies’ of sweet leather, made for Queen Elizabeth in 1579, there appear to be no other examples of women’s clothing made of leather”. Color could also be a major indicator of gender during this period. Gender rules regarding color were not hard and fast, like those regarding the cut or fabric of a garment, but the color blue was found predominantly in the wills of men, while the color red was typically found in those of women.

Much of the formation of gender during this period can be read by studying the sumptuary laws of the day. Sumptuary legislation dates back to the Roman era, re-appearing in the medieval period in Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Sumptuary legislation first appears in England in 1336, popping up periodically until they were repealed by James I in 1604. Most all of the sumptuary legislation passed in England refers to the garments of men, with rare exceptions, creating an environment of homosocial elite, which control the state and one another in a sort of hierarchy of fashion. “Patriarchy institutionalizes not just hierarchy *between* genders, but hierarchy *within* genders as well”. The gendered nature of sumptuary legislation of this period reveals this institutionalized hierarchy of these laws. The House of Commons, by passing legislation that controls their own disposable income, created for themselves a two-fold fail safe. Not only did they make it illegal for them to squander money on garments beyond their social standing, but they recognized their own place within a society. They stood above the masses, but below the Lords. “Western social structures are organized homosocially and use of this term helps us to see the gendered nature of hierarchies. Perhaps there is no such thing as class, only struggles, alliances and compromises between men”.

A sort of complicit masculinity is created in this way. The House of Commons recognizes and upholds the hegemony held by the noble elite of the House of Lords, while taking advantage of their own liminal status between the nobility and laborers. This creates a sort of continuum of masculinity, very unlike modern ideas of manliness, where men constantly have to prove themselves as “man enough”. Early modern masculinity was more concerned with placing one’s self within this continuum and maintaining or raising that status. By giving up the right to the most luxurious of goods, these men “became models of limited eminence” allowing themselves a certain level of luxury; remaining visually apart from the gentry, but at the same time maintaining an almost bourgeois sense of respectability through limitation of luxury. Traditionally only members of the nobility would have had access to the sort of funds necessary to purchase luxurious textiles, but as the merchant class grew wealthy more members of the lower gentry and the middling sort had access to disposable income it created problems of social identity. By limiting themselves, the men of the House of Commons not only protected their social identity midway along the con-

tinuum of masculinity; they also protected their hard earned wealth.

This continuum of masculinity revealed by the study of sumptuary laws reveals much of the mindset of the English during this period. Women are not even mentioned in the majority of the sumptuary legislation, in glaring contrast to contemporary legislation passed on the continent. The Italian sumptuary laws frequently sought to control what women wore, but the English did not. The sole exception of Henrician law seeks to limit the clothing allowed to the women of Ireland. Regarded largely as savages by the English, Henry VIII’s edict of 1539 forbade the wearing of traditional Irish hair styles, as well as to:

weare any shirt, smock, kerchor, bendel [ribbon], neckerchour mocket [bib], or linen cappe coloured, or dyed with Saffron, ne yet to use, or weare in any their shirts or smockes above seven yards of cloth to be measured according to the Kinges Standard, and that also no woman use or weare any kyrtell, or cote tucked up, or imbroydered or garnished with silke, or couched ne layed with usker [jewels] after the Irish fashion, and that no person... shall use, or weare any mantles, cote or hood, made after the Irish fashion.

This legislation made illegal all manner of traditional dress in Ireland, effectively attempting to destroy the rebellious indigenous culture in favor of Anglicization. The long hair of the Irish Kerns (war chiefs), along with their saffron yellow *leinte* (long shirts), shaggy mantles, and such were now the mark of an outlaw. While this legislation clearly includes Irish women, no other sumptuary legislation passed during Henry VIII’s reign was used to regulate the garments of women in the realm. This is telling; not only does this legislation seek to destroy the Irish cultural identity; it also emasculates the Irishman, and turns the Irish woman into something formidable, going so far as to blame them for the fact that Ireland was so difficult to control and conquer. Irish rebels, it seems, were believed to have been provoked to insurgency by their unquiet wives (Palmer, 699).

Conclusion

Clothing in the Tudor era meant many things to many people. For some it was a road to power; by presenting themselves as a person of means, the perception could become reality in this age of upward mobility. For others, it was the key to maintaining their own status quo, through the use of sumptuary legislation which limited access to luxury goods and imports to a select group of upper nobility. Newly formed ideas of nationality, gender, and social mobility could all be stressed through the use of garments and textiles. Even the hat on a man's head could symbolize his wealth or status in society.

By developing an understanding of the subtle gradations of textiles and their uses, an understanding of the subtleties of power also comes into view. In a world where a particular shade of red could bring a change of fortune or a fine if improperly applied, these subtleties were ingrained. For the modern historian, it becomes a sort of unraveling. By pushing backward through documents, portraits, and archaeological records, a new understanding of cultural history arises. Things once taken for granted become symbols of immense power. Sumptuary legislation had broader reaching consequences than simply limiting a class of people from wearing or owning a particular garment or kind of fabric. The creation or destruction of a cultural identity was at stake. The annihilation of the Irish cultural identity through these laws becomes all the more sinister when viewed through a gendered lens. This legislation served not only to limit clothing and identity, but to emasculate a people, creating racial and gender stereotypes which have lasted for generations. Garments which once defined a man as a *kern* (warrior) would come to mark him as a gender outlaw bullied by a harping wife. On the other hand, the same sort of legislation and traditions uplifted others within the masculine hierarchy. The Boys of the Leash were a prime example. They are among the few servants in the Tudor court whose names are known to us. The care which they lavished on the King's hounds was repaid with sturdy, well made garments and shoes much nicer than they could have bought on their own. Their position and proximity to the king would have been immediately recognizable by their garments, defining and strengthening the perception of masculinity and potential for power during the Tudor era.



QUEEN'S PRIZE TOURNEY 2010





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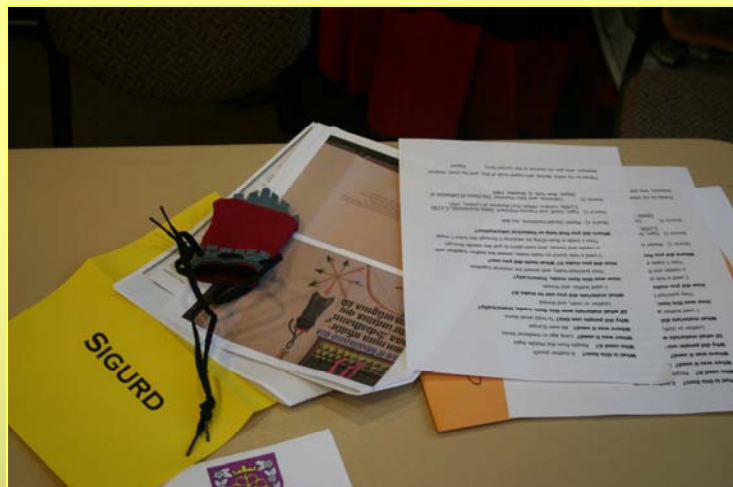
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Greetings from the Pottery guild! The Calontir Potters Guild was formed to maintain a level of expertise in the area of pottery for the Kingdom of Calontir. The main focus for our guild is currently the renowned Pottery Tent that resides at Lilies. War each year. It is our mission to teach others how to create vessels from clay as well as to advance the Kingdom's knowledge about medieval ceramic wares. All interested parties are welcome to join the guild and we have an internet based listserve through Yahoo Groups which is a forum used to hold discussions about pottery year round.

Scribes Guild: CalontirScribes@yahoogroups.com

to the mid-fifteenth century, include[d] the ancient Roman calendrical system” of Kalends,

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Format: Your articles should be in either a Word doc format or an rtf. Artwork can be a jpg, tif, or gif.

Length: I don't have a limit per se on the length of articles since the Scrolls is an electronic format and I can use my handy dandy red e-pen to edit down the more lengthy ones. The best length for articles are within 3 to 5 pages of a Word document. And I don't know how many words that is; don't ask me to do math. You'll regret it.

Deadlines: The deadline for submissions is two months before publishing date, on the 25th of that month (like the Mews).

April Miscellaneous 2010: Deadline is 2/25/10

July 2010 Heraldic Arts Issue: Deadline is 5/25/10

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January 2011 Issue: Deadline is 11/25/10

If you have any more questions, please email Mistress Cassandra di Capelletti at

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July '10 Miscellaneous Arts II October '10 Heraldic Arts January 2011 Performing Arts

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