Dieu et mon droit

The Context of Henry V's Self-Representation

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When looking for an image of Henry V, we often turn to the famed profile portrait hanging in the National Portrait Gallery (fig. 1). Yet this portrait is only a copy (of a copy) from the early years of Henry VIII's reign[2]. There are, in fact, surprisingly few images that have been dated with any certainty to Henry's lifetime: five or six in all, noted with an asterisk in the list at the end of the article. The remainder are images that were most probably instigated during his lifetime, while produced slightly later, or sometimes much later, such as the York screen (fig. 8). Others are dated a little after his death, but may in fact have been completed during his lifetime, such as the Fanhope hours (fig. 4).

Even when compared to his contemporaries, the dukes of Burgundy, for instance, there are few images of Henry V, and they are all placed in a specific context. France, moreover, is noticeably absent from this imagery. Of the four images from French sources, two are the illustrations of

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[2] Tree ring dating suggests that the original painting in the royal collection trust was done in the early years of the sixteenth century: between 1504 and 1520. Henry VIII was born in 1491 and crowned in 1509, which means that the earliest possible dates for the painting would make it a commission under Henry VII.

Jean Créton's Chronicle (fig. 2 and 3) which was written and illustrated for a French in the first decade of the century. The third and fourth are the dedication images to John Galopes' *Meditationes sur la vie de Jesu Christ* (fig. 5 and 6), copies of a French language religious text Henry commissioned.

This discussion presents the images of Henry made in his life time. This raises the question of what to include? Indeed, as Henry's death was abrupt and unexpected, it is not certain that all these works actually date to Henry's lifetime; some (such as the Fanhope Hours, *ca.* 1425, fig. 4) are officially dated shortly after his death. Dating a work can be a delicate business. An example of this problem are the stained glass windows at Saint-Mary's guildhall in Coventry. The north window, which shows a series of historic and legendary kings of England, has been successively dated to Henry V,[3] Henry VII,[4] and Henry VI.[5] In truth, it could date to any time in the fifteenth century. The fact that the window has been seriously rearranged over the centuries does not help the matter. Each reign has pointedly different agendas, and the subsequent imagery would therefore have very different meanings. More recently, Andrew Rudbeck dated the window to the early fifteenth century, in a study that even supplies an artist: John Thorton.[6] While Rudbeck's analysis does not of course put an end to the debate, it does seem the most likely date on iconographic and ideological grounds. Henry VI tends to prefer images of kingship in regalia (ermine, crown, sceptre and orb, such as the window at All Soul's College, Oxford), while Henry VII

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3   Thomas Sharp, *Illustrative Papers on the History and Antiquities of Coventry,* 2nd edn. (London, W. G. Fretton, 1871).

4   Bernard Rackham, "The Glass Painting of Coventry and its Neighbourhood" in *The Walpole Society*, Vol. 19, 1930-31.

5   Richard Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages*, (London, Routledge, 1993).

6   Andrew Rudbeck, "John Thorton and the Stained Glass of Saint-Mary's Guildhall, Coventry" in *The Journal of Stained Glass*, Vol. 33 (2007).

would need to be included in any series of king, if only to bolster his own shaky claims to the throne. Henry V's belligerent policies would best suit him in these secular settings. The complexity of the window is such that Rudbeck has suggested that the image of Henry V isn't the one bearing his name, but rather the central figure (it would be incidentally the only image of Henry V that records his scar). The window, therefore, is not included here.

The Choir screen at York Minster will be discussed here, but comes with a similar set of problems. While various arguments seem to lead to its conception under Henry V, the presence of an adult Henry VI in the final construction lead to its construction dating to the mid-century. The scrolls regarding the screen at York are lacking, so while there could have been a specific payment, there is no surviving evidence.[7] Due to this lack of evidence, the screen's dating can vary widely. John Harvey dates the foundations to approximately 1425 (with the appropriate mid-century extension to accommodate Henry VI's effigies), perhaps even earlier, as the screen was planned either by the cathedral master mason William Colchester, who died in 1420, or his successor John Long.[8] Rosemary Horrox however dates the screen to the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century, or Henry VII's rule.[9]

The images collected here are all the images of Henry that have come down to us as the result of his initiative. They share a characteristic that all show Henry placed within a specific context.

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7   Except a receipt for clearing of scaffolding in 1456. See John H. Harvey, "Architectural History from 1291 to 1558" in *A History of York Minster*, G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 183.
8   Ibid., pp. 181-2.
9   Rosemary Horrox, "Images of Royalty" in *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547*, Richard Marks and Paul Williamson eds., assisted by Eleanor Townsend (London: V&A Publications, 2003) pp.170-1. This is, in its own right, a curious assertion, for in another chapter in the same catalogue (in "Kingship and Queenship", p. 41) Horrox states that "Henry VII's justification [for claiming the throne] was, to put it mildly, a fudge". Indeed, Henry VII would have needed every justification, visual, legal, literary or otherwise, to justify his right to succeed. Just as is the case for the St. Mary's guildhall window at Coventry, it seems at the very least odd that Henry would have passed such a happy opportunity to do so here.

Henry is presented as either part of a group (courtiers around the throne, for example) or is performing an action (being knighted, receiving a book, in prayer…). Like a Russian doll, these images are themselves placed in a larger context. The Statue of Henry V is placed at the end of the row of the kings of England, and that row is placed in the heart of the Cathedral at York. The vast majority of these images being books, these images are placed within the context of that book. The dedication image for Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*, for instance, is famous for being inserted in the middle of the book. These images are recognizable portraits of Henry V, but there is no free standing portrait of the King. Henry never directly used his self-representation as way of establishing his authority (in the way, for instance, Charles VII of France would when he commissioned his portrait by Jean Fouquet). How then does Henry use his image? To what extent does he integrate his self-representation into a more general cultural response to the problems facing the realm?

The Question of Agency

Establishing Henry's initiative however can also be difficult. His death was both abrupt and unexpected. His funeral monument (which is not included) is a good example of this. Henry had planned the monument and even chosen its spot at Westminster, but it would take twenty years for Cardinal Beaufort to get the project started. Thus, Henry's initial idea of a chantry chapel is no longer the coda to Henry's self-representation but rather a tribute to his reign. It becomes, as G. L. Harriss puts it, "a visual affirmation of the Lancastrian double monarchy at the time when it was in acute crisis and was even being disowned".[10] In the generation that separates the initial

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10   G. L. Harriss, *Cardinal Beaufort: A Study of Lancastrian Ascendency and Decline* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

project and its final construction, much had changed. The long war with France was grinding to

a close, and the outcome was far from what England would have desired: the end of English

continental presence. The choir screen became (much like the screen at Canterbury or the chapel

at Westminster) an attempt to bolster the dynasty that squandered the Empire. The chapel

likewise became, as Malcom Vale pointed out, a Memorial to the courageous men who fought in

the French wars (most particularly the heroes at Agincourt).[11]   Henry V becomes the

personification of that brave chivalry: self-representation and personal memorial segue into

commemoration.

Despite its brevity, Henry's reign was highly influential: some later works might have continued

to reflect his policies, but were not his personal undertaking. There is a certain oblique quality in

Henry's dealing with artistic imagery: to what extent did the king directly request a specific work?

Did he "nudge" people to get them to do what he wanted? Did others commission works to

please him? It would be safest to say that all these scenarios are at work, yet there remains a

certain unity of focus than runs through the entire group. Derek Pearsall senses his presence in

works which discuss kingship and policy, such as the anonymous poem *Crowned King*, even when

he does not appear to be directly responsible. "One has to use the term, 'commissioned',

cautiously, since there is no direct evidence and Henry was in any case a subtle enough politician

to recognize the disadvantages of blatant self-advertisement. He knew that spontaneous displays

of loyalty and admiration are always much to be preferred."[12]   That Pearsall uses the same

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1980), pp. 324-325.
[11]   Malcolm Vale, "England and its Continental Neighbours: Connections and Counter-Currents, c. 1450-1520",
Lecture at the Fifteenth Century Conference, September 7th, 2019.
[12]   Derek Pearsall, "Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*: The Poetics of Royal Self-Representation" in *Speculum*, Vol.
69, N°2, p. 393. Derek Pearsall reuses this sentence almost verbatim when discussing another poem in his article
"*Crowned King*: War and Peace in 1415" in *The Lancastrian Court: Proceedings of the 2001 Harlaxton Symposium*,

sentence on two different occasions says how strongly he feels, but cannot necessarily prove, Henry's influence in such works. There is indeed a certain irony in referring to 'spontaneous displays of loyalty'. And while Pearsall discusses poetry, the same sense of oblique influence can be felt in other media as well.

One could say that Henry had a knack for getting what he wanted without appearing to do so. This is a valuable quality at a time when images and imagery in general are heatedly debated. The early fifteenth century both in England and abroad is a time of severe religious and political unrest. When Henry V came to the throne, three men simultaneously claimed to be the head of the Church; at home a serious uprising regarding matters of faith was underway, which led to an open revolt led by Sir John Oldcastle, who, to make matters worse, was an early supporter of Henry V's reign, as well as a personal friend.[13]

Images were a central point of contention in that revolt. This suspicion of images coincides with the rise of vernacular literature (and in particular, the first English translations of the Bible) as well as the spread of vernacular literacy, with the concurrent intimacy of thought this achieves. But it can also be linked to the arrival of realistic physical representation: painted 'portraits,' the recognizable reproduction of a person's features, were at the time a relatively recent invention.[14]

Such imagery could be unsettling. As Margaret Aston pointed out, it is not only *religious* imagery that can be considered idolatry, but all images, and most specifically such portraits.[15]   A reasonably recognizable facsimile of a person can produce an idolatrous effect on the viewer,

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ed. Jenny Stratford (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), p. 163. The reprise of the sentence also points to the recurrent difficulty in pinning down Henry's own commissions.

13   See Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 294-99.

14   Or should we say more precisely 'reinvention', as such realistic likenesses were being rediscovered with the discovery of the unearthed Roman sculptures.

15   Margaret Aston, "The Use of Images" in *Gothic,* pp. 68-75, particularly p. 72.

causing a confusion between the image and the reality, just as images of God or the saints could

be worshipped as if they were the object of devotion itself and not the reflection of that object.

In such a charged social atmosphere, commissioning a free standing portrait, such as the one of

Richard II painted a few decades earlier at Westminster Abbey, would be treading on dangerous

ground. This is particularly true in the case of Richard's portrait, with its stance emulating an

image of God in Majesty.[16] Henry V's sensitivity to the social and political climate can be seen in

his response: all images of himself would be placed in a specific context: as dedication images in

books, as part of a series of statues or in a specific attitude or situation. Thus there are no free-

standing portraits of Henry that date to his lifetime, such as the famed profile portrait of Duke

John the Fearless of Burgundy.[17] Yet we do have likenesses of Henry V, which tend to follow the

description of the king found in the *Versus Rythmici, de Henrici Quinto*, written by one of the

chaplains in the king's service.[18] Frederick Hepburn refers to it when discussing the portrait of

Henry V, as does Nicholas Rogers.[19] Both refer to the traits represented and the similarities found

in the images they studied, such as the straight nose and dignified, elongated face (*nasus directus,*

facies extense decenter, v. 74), small ears (*parvarum […] auricularum,* v. 79) and cleft chin

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16   Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European portraits of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990). fig. 34.

17   Another famed profile portrait kept at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Burgundy (inv. MI 831). Charles Sterling links the profile of Henry to this series of early fifteenth century profile portraits from the court of the dukes of Burgundy. He dates the original painting on both stylistic and historical grounds to after 1415. Charles Sterling, "La peinture de portrait à la cour de Bourgogne au début du XVᵉᵐᵉ siècle" in *Critica d'Arte*, Vol. 6 (1959), p. 298 and fig. 190.

18   The complete literary 'portrait' along with its translation has been annexed at the end of the article. *Versus Rythmici de Henrici Quinto* in Charles Augustus COLE *Memorials of Henry the Fifth, King of England* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1858), v. 69-88.

19   Frederick Hepburn, *Portraits of the Later Plantagenets*, chap. 5, (Bury-Saint-Edmonds: Boydell Press, 1981), p.39 and Nicholas Rogers, "The Artist in Trinity B.11.7 and his Patrons", *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxian Symposium*, N. Rogers ed. (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1994), pp. 170-186.

(*mentum fissum,* v. 80). These are indeed the features that appear in the various manuscript images, the portrait as well as the statue at York.

What never appears however is the scar that must have resulted from the wound he suffered at the Battle of Shrewsbury. It has been suggested that Henry V chose to be painted in profile in order to hide the scar.[20] He received an arrow wound just below the eye that must have shattered his cheek bone. It is a miracle that he survived. Yet none of the images show that the scar even existed. Like the profile portrait, the Fanhope Hours (fig. 4) is an image that favours his left side, while the Hoccleve image (fig. 7) favours his right side. Painting does not record objective reality, but an ideal representation. An artist can easily ignore a blemish or a scar, a face can be reconstructed for the purposes of the portrait. Representations of Henry, beginning with the written portrait, were to be of an ideal king, free of all visual blemish.

From Henry of Monmouth to the Prince of Wales: The First Images

Most of the images of Henry that have survived are to be found in books, which one would expect to be dedicated to a much more verbal expression of images and ideas.[21] Images, however, have a particular potency in books, as they resonate throughout the volume. The group of images functions as a unit within a cycle. That group, as well as each image within the group, in turn

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20   See, for instance Helen Castor's lecture at Gresham College: *Agincourt or Azincourt? Victory and Defeat in 1415*:
https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/agincourt-or-azincourt-victory-defeat-and-the-war-of-1415,
accessed October 31, 2017.

21   There is nothing exceptional in this, as many historians as well as art historians have noted that, with the exception of sculpture, almost all visual art in England is to be found in books. This is due in large part to the voluntary destruction of images. Indeed, until the eighteenth century, painting in England will be dominated by foreigners. See Charles D. Cuttler, 'Le Rayonnement des primitifs flamands', in *Les Primitifs Flamands et leur temps*, Brigitte de Patoul and Roger Van Schoute eds., (Roubaix : La Renaissance du Livre, 1998), pp. 584-619.

extends and explores the meaning of the surrounding text, while the text itself conjures up another imagery which can extend and explore the meaning of the miniatures: there is a constant back and forth between the two. Indeed, as Kathleen Scott pointed out, "Modern scholars have not adequately emphasized the fact that medieval authors might overtly depend on the illustrations for the understanding of the text.[22]" Images and text become mutually supportive.

More or less: the image cycle can also be somewhat ironic. The very first image we have of Henry V dates to his late teens, and is for Henry a rather fortunate series of images, as he had nothing to do with its making, yet it fits the pattern that he would set for his self-representation.

The miniature is part of the illustrative cycle in a copy of Jean Créton's *Prinse et Mort du Roy Richart* (British Library, Harley Ms. 1319) which was written for the French court as a warning for bad kingship. The image that opens the cycle (after the dedication picture) is a scene in which King Richard II knights young Henry of Monmouth (fig. 2). It would seem that Henry equally appears at the end of the series, in the last image of the book where Henry Bolingbroke seizes the empty throne and becomes Henry IV (fig. 3), the new prince being the young man in yellow, second to the right of the throne. In this cycle, Henry's fortune is sealed, but he not shown as responsible. Henry never presents himself as the instigator of his fate, but as accepting that which God has allotted him.

The text tells of the tragic downfall of King Richard II, and as Anne D. Hedeman notes, "the iconography and visual disposition both reinforce and *restructure* Créton's history."[23] The

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22   Kathleen L. Scott, *Tradition and Innovation in Later English Medieval Manuscripts*, (London: The British Library, 2007), p. 32.

23   Anne D. Hedeman, "Advising France through the Example of England: Visual Narrative in the *Prinse et la Mort du Roy Richart*" (Harl. Ms. 1319). *British Library Electronic Journal*, 2011. My emphasis. http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2011articles/pdf/ebljarticle72011.pdf (accessed October 29, 2017), p. 3.

miniatures seem to tell a slightly different story, one which ironically undercuts the book's intent

with a shift in perspective. The series opens and closes with images that point away from Richard

towards the new dynasty. They tell not of the fall of Richard but of the rise of the Lancastrians.

The cycle of images subtly shifts the emphasis from the cautionary tale of bad governance to the

celebratory tale of renewed kingship.

Portraits and the Books They Illustrate

In *The Fanhope Hours*, (fig. 4) we have another image, probably the last in Henry V's lifetime, that

would obviously have served his turn, and it is most likely that, while not having instigated its

execution, Henry knew about it and understood its worth. According to Michael Orr, the text was

copied in the late fourteenth century, yet the images were added a good twenty years later[24].

Nicholas Rogers links the book to Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope and his wife the Princess

Elizabeth, Henry IV's sister.[25] Who the artist actually was is more complicated. Kathleen Scott

links him to the artist for Oxford Manuscript All Souls' 10.[26] Nicholas Rogers more simply links

him to Sir John himself and calls him the Cornwall Master.[27] He also reports Jonathan's

Alexander's note that this is the same artist who illuminated a book of hours for Catherine of

Valois.[28] Gereth Sprigg notes the influence his object of study, *the Nevill Hours* and Herman

Scheerre, has on this book.[29] The Cornwall Master becomes one of a select number of artists with

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24   Michael T. Orr, "Illustration as Preface and Postscript in the Hours of the Virgin, Trinity College Manuscript B.11.7" in *Gesta*, Vol. XXXIV, 1995, pp. 162-176.
25   Nicholas Rogers, "The Artist in Trinity B.11.7", p. 171.
26   Scott*, Tradition and Innovation*. Chap. 2 discusses this artist in detail.
27   Rogers, op. cit.
28   Ibid., p. 171.
29   Gareth M. Spriggs, "The Nevill Hours and the School of Herman Scheerre" in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 37 (1974), p. 122.

ties to the king and his circle.

The completed cycle dates to the early 1420s, a time when personal psalters and books of hours were most popular: when the miniatures were being painted here, the *Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry* were under way as well in France (the first campaign had ceased with the death of the artists in 1411 as well as the patron in 1416). This closing of the gap of dates suggests that the image of the king kneeling at prayer is a portrait of Henry V.

The Psalter and its image fit well into Henry's religious policy, much of which was to bolster religious unity through a vigorous defence of orthodox religious practices, which include the celebration of mass in church, the cult of saints and the use of images. "Henry", as Christopher Allmand pointed out "had always emphasized the need for prayer, both of intercession and thanksgiving.[30]" He believed in its efficacy, making it a central aspect of community life in time of war[31]. Here, we have a*n image of Henry, in full royal regalia, celebrating mass*: in one stroke, this image of Henry's personal attitudes responds to virtually every aspect of the current debate.

Books of hours bind the need to express personal piety and the need to adhere to shared religious practices. The hours followed standard usages for daily prayer, as fixed by a specific religious order, in this case The Sarum rites. Yet they were designed for the personal use of the owner and therefore existed as a status symbols as much as devotional texts: they were luxurious works of art that were compact and portable. It would stand to reason that they were as much meant to be seen as to be used. It would be an added source of pride and power to be able to display a personal portrait of the king, allowing the owner to bring forth a personal attachment: Lady

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30   Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 181.
31   Christopher T. Allmand, "Henry V the soldier and the War with France" in *Henry V, the Practice of Kingship*, ed. G. L. Harriss, 2nd edn. (Stroud: Allan Sutton Publishing, 1992), pp. 122-3.

Fanhope was none other than Henry V's paternal aunt. Links to the royal family would mean that the commission of such an image would have to be careful in regards to the king.[32] Such an image would have sooner or later needed the subject's approval. Hermann Scheerre might have been hoped for, but no longer available (it would seem that he was in Paris at the time[33]), and so the patrons turned to an artist who was familiar with his visual style, as we have here a similar type of framing and staging (including a patterned background and minimal décor) as can be seen for instance in the *Nevill Hours* or the *Carmelite Missal.*

Devotion and its reflection in visual terms remain a constant throughout Henry V's career. The one book Henry V singled out in his will to transmit to his son was the *Great Bible* (British Library Ms. Royal 1 E ix), a richly illustrated, monumentally scaled copy of the Bible commissioned by Henry IV, to which were added the remainder of the books (histories, romances and sermons) he didn't leave either to institutions (particularly Syon and Sheen, but also the University Library at Oxford and Christ Church at Canterbury), or a few close associates, including Chancellor Thomas Langley, and his uncle Henry Beaufort, which were often also religious in their nature.[34]

John Galopes and seeing with the mind's eye

Henry's own tastes, however, appeared to favour practical, more utilitarian and Spartan volumes, with fewer images over ornate presentational copies. This can be seen by comparing the two of the copies of Galopes' *Méditations sur la Vie de Jesus* which he commissioned. The dedication

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32   One wonders if it could possibly have been intended as a gift to Henry.

33   By 1419, according to Margaret Rickert, Hermann of Cologne (one of the names Scheerre is known by) was working for Isabeau de Bavière in Paris. See "Jan Maelwael und die Brüder Limburg: eine Nimweger Künstlerfamilie um die Wende des 14. Jhs by Friedrich Gorissen" reviewed by Margaret Rickert in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 39, N°1 (1957), p. 76.

34   Jeanne E. Krochalis, "The Books and Reading of Henry V and his Circle" in *The Chaucer Review*, Vol. 23, N°1 (1988), pp. 67-69.

image for the Cambridge Parker Library volume (fig. 5) is considered a recognizable portrait of

Henry V[35] and is a very straight forward image, with the king and his courtiers on one side and the

author holding up his book on the other. The king himself is placed in a 'frame within the frame'

suggested by the canopied throne, but the book itself is the focal point of the image, as it is placed

virtually at the intersection of the image's two diagonals. The presentation image of the British

Library volume on the other hand (fig. 6) places the king at the centre of the image, the apex of a

subtle triangle of courtiers, while the author and the book are placed at the bottom of the

composition.[36] Of the two volumes, it is the Parker Library copy which contains an inscription

stating it as Henry's personal copy. The more ornate royal version, with its more extensive visual

program was it would seem intended as a gift for his French base which, for various reasons was

never given.

While this is the only visual image of Henry we have that can be linked to his ambitions in France,

it shows how Henry sponsored works in the French language in France just as he would have

Hoccleve and Lydgate help promote English in England[37]. Galopes was Henry's almoner in France.

Henry's own pious disposition would lead him to choose a religious text to promote, Nicholas

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35   William Clarke: *Repertorium Bibliographicum, or Some Account of the Most Celebrated British Libraries,* (London: Bond Street, 1819), p. 115. This image was adapted in the eighteenth century as an engraving.

36   There are other manuscripts of Galopes' *Meditationes*. The two at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France have been recently digitized, and one of them, BNF NAF 6529 has a dedication image, which is the work of the Talbot Master. Thus, while the book seems to have been copied out in Henry V's lifetime, the dedication would have been commissioned later, as the Talbot Master was active in the 1430's. Could it be from Henry's brother, the Duke of Bedford? Further research is required for answers to this and other questions.
See the CNRS websites (accessed July 16 2019).
http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/oeuvre/10410
http://jonas.irht.cnrs.fr/manuscrit/76359 .

37   This is how most scholars introduce *The Meditationes*, such as the exhibition catalogue at the British Library, Scott McKendrick, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle, with Joanna Fronska and Dierdre Jackson: *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London: British Library, 2011), catalogue n°29, as well as Maureen Barry MacCann Boulton while introducing the work in her book, *Sacred Fictions of Medieval France: Narrative Theology in the Lives of Christ and the Virgin*, *1150-1500* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2015), pp. 258-9.

Love's English translation was available (with its value as an orthodox text: "about 1410, notes

Felicity Maxwell [Archbishop Thomas] Arundel approved Love's *Mirror* for dissemination as an

antidote to perceived heresy, as a Latin "Memorandum" attached to twenty manuscripts of the

text testifies.".[38]) Maureen Boulton stresses

> The importance [for Galopes] of enhancing the word of Scripture through the
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> imagination, though always in ways that are consonant with it. That at different points
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> of the text, the reader is instructed to 'regarde cy et imagine' (look here and imagine).[39]

The practice of reading becomes a way of seeing through the mind's eye. Galopes' text derives

much of its charm from its homely scenes, as Boulton also points out. The imagery draws its

strength from recognizable daily scenes, such as Mary's working on cloth and the young Jesus

selling her wares.[40]

Does this charm work on initial audiences? The popularity of the original as well as Nicholas Love's

version (which survives in numerous manuscripts) would tend to say so, yet this French version

survives in only six copies: three are at the BNF in Paris, one in Brussels' Royal Library and the

remaining two in England, which might state that it didn't go far beyond his French circle. This

relatively small circulation is most likely due to a certain hostility towards the English occupation.

It took a certain amount of coaxing on Henry's part to resettle Normandy even though the clergy

was not necessarily hostile. There may have also been different attitudes due to rank, for as Niel

Murphy points out, "[i]n spite of the declaration made by Gérard de Montagu, bishop of Paris, to

the population of the capital that the English were 'ennemis de ce royaume' this sentiment was

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38 Felicity Maxwell, *Nicolas Love's* Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: *Continuity and Cultural Change*, (dissertation for the Master of Arts in English at the University of Ottawa, Dr. Andrew Taylor, Dir. 2008), p. 4.
39 MacCann Boulton, *Sacred Fictions*, p. 260.
40 Ibid., p. 261.

not shared by the canons of the cathedral chapter of Notre-Dame of Paris."[41] Galopes remained

loyal to the Lancastrians, with a later translation of Deguiville's *Pelerinage de l'Ame* for the duke

of Bedford, Henry's brother, who spent most of his adult life as regent of France. Such loyalty

would not be well taken after the English departure, and so Galopes' books would not have been

widely circulated thereafter. Yet Henry understood the interests and tastes of his audience, and

the books he would choose to distribute would always reflect both these concerns.

Books as political tools

Henry personally enjoyed books. "In a circle of collectors", Jeanne Krochalis notes, "Henry stands

out as a *reader* of books."[42] She also notes that he commissioned the copy of Chaucer's *Trolius*

and Criseyda (Peirpont Morgan Library MS 817).[43] Chaucer's poem is the highlight of Henry's

taste for chivalry, romance and chronicles. His tent in France was adorned with tapestries "with

subjects that came almost entirely from romance: even Saint George can be viewed as a knightly

romantic hero."[44]

Henry understood the value of such images and of books in general. He also understood books'

potential as political tools. While John Lydgate's *Troy Book* can be viewed as a reflection of

Henry's taste for chivalry and romance, it is more of an exception than the rule concerning the

books he would sponsor. Books developed his policies. The anonymous *Gesta Henrici Quinti* as

well as the *Versus Rythmici* that we have seen are chronicles of his early years as king. They have

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41 Neil Murphy, "War, Government and Commerce: The Towns of Lancastrian France under Henry V's Rule, 1417-
22" in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, Gwilym Dodd ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), p. 263. The entire
chapter recount Henry's efforts in France.
42 Jeanne Krochalis, "Books and Reading", p. 70.
43 Ibid., p.50.
44 Ibid., p. 63.

a certain panegyric quality, depicting his exploits in epic terms. They also have a certain flavour

of 'authorized biography' to them. But his usual practice in developing policy was rather more

oblique. He would encourage the authors to give him 'advice'. The anonymous alliterative poem

Crowned King, written before his first French venture is very much a text in that vein.

It is a recurring format throughout his career. In the mid- 1400s, while Henry was still prince of

Wales, Richard Ullerston, a fellow of Queen's college dedicated to him a short Latin treatise on

knighthood, *De Officio Miltari*.[45] A few years later, Henry would follow a similar path in a more

elaborate setting with Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*. Derek Pearsall notes how with

such a book, without seeming to do so, Henry could "represent himself and have himself

represented as a wise and sober prince who would make a wise and sober king"[46]

The very compactness of books made them practical gifts, an efficient method of securing and

rewarding the loyalty of those around him.   The Exchequer records the payment of the

considerable sum of £12. 8s. to the scrivener John Robard for the delivery of twelve copies of a

book on hunting.[47] None of these volumes have survived, so we can only guess what they were

meant for, but it seems likely that such a princely acquisition made on the official royal budget

was intended for distribution to seal political ties, much as was most likely the case for the

manuscripts for Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*. Such gifts need lavish treatment.

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45 Ibid., p. 61.
46 Pearsall, "Royal Self-Representation", p. 389.
47 C. Paul Christianson, "Evidence for the Study of London's Later Medieval Book Trade" in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.100. While there are no surviving copies of this series, and obviously no evidence to support such a fanciful assertion, it is possible that these are the first editions of Edward of Norwich's *Master of Game*, which also seems a distinct possibility for Jeanne Krochalis, *Books and Reading*, p. 65). That Henry had something to do with its original publication is probable. One of the later copies, Oxford Bodelian MS Douce 335 shows on fol. 2 a dedication image in a historiated initial which identifies the king as Henry V. When we look at the popularity of the books that he did back, one could say that in other circumstances, Henry would have been a very adept publisher!

Hoccleve and Lydgate: Reading as Seeing.

Books have the added quality of being able to focus on a specific recipient: the intended owner of each volume. And as we have seen, the images of the miniatures can have sophisticated relationships with what can be termed the images of the texts. There are three authors that are closely linked to Henry V's reign and to the articulation of his policies: John Galopes in France; Thomas Hoccleve and John Lydgate in England. All three were clerics, related to Henry's life and endeavours. Hoccleve is famous as a clerk to the Privy Seal, and clerks at the time were often still also clerics, men of the Church (though the secularization of these offices was already under way – Hoccleve himself would eventually marry); John Lydgate, a monk at Bury-Saint-Edmunds has links to Henry V since the latter's early years as Prince of Wales; John Galopes was Henry's chaplain in France during the last years of the king's lifetime. Characteristically, Henry would turn to these writers, people he knew, at key moments of his career.

It is equally characteristic of Henry to turn to both popular and religious men for such works. Interestingly, in the case of the English writers he would support, the question of images would be a central, or at least recurring concern in their work[48]. So while supporting book production and publishing as a general policy of encouraging the use of English (and as in the case of Galopes the use of French), support of their writing implicitly supports their concerns and questions, as a means arbitrating the debate.

Thomas Hoccleve and the ambivalence of images

Thomas Hoccleve remained a popular court poet throughout his career, steadily rising during the

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48 See Shannon Gayk, *Image, Text, and Religious Reform in Fifteenth-Century England* in Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

reign of Henry IV, but still in demand after his high water mark, *The Regiment of Princes*, the work

he offered to Henry as Prince of Wales[49]. If the illustrated initials in *Bedford Psalter-Hours* (British

Library Ms. Additional 42131) can serve as a marker, then Hoccleve was quite popular indeed[50].

Only three authors are visually identified in the book: Chaucer in three inhabited initials, Gower

in six and Hoccleve in another three. So when Henry accepted Hoccleve's dedication, he wasn't

backing an unknown artist.

Hoccleve is an interesting choice of author to write what can be read (and often *is* read, as is the

case with Derek Pearsall) as a political program. Hoccleve is famous for worrying about the effects

of policies on people, namely himself. In a discussion concerned with Henry V's use of images,

Hoccleve is problematic indeed: most of the manuscripts of Hoccleve's works are devoid of

illustration. This is particularly curious in the case of a man who is principally, one can say

obsessively, concerned with *seeing* and *being seen:* self-perception and perception (both visual

and textual) of the self by others. "Hoccleve's constant use of visual metaphors in poems

obsessed with their own textually suggests that the poet is experimenting with the uses and limits

of both forms."[51] As with Galopes, the practice of reading becomes a way of seeing through the

mind's eye.

The text in turn is subjected to the same problematic scrutiny of being able to clarify meaning.

Can a writer by the power of the written word, as Joseph Conrad would later put it, "make you

see"?[52] Or is there a need for images to clarify text? In that question lies the problem of the

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49 See Sheila Lindenbaum, "Thomas Hoccleve" in *A Companion to Fifteenth Century English Poetry*, ed. Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2013), pp. 35-46.
50 See the British Library detailed page: (Accessed October 29, 2017): https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6464&CollID=27&NStart=42131
51 *Gayk, Image, Text...* page 83.
52 Joseph Conrad, preface to the *(N-word) of the Narcissus:* https://www.gutenberg.org/files/17731/17731-

significance of images, and their use within a text, when words do not suffice. In the few cases

where Hoccleve does resort to images, as in the two major copies of the *Regiment* in the British

Library (each with one of the two main images cut out), their significance becomes quite

sophisticated. Each manuscript contains only two intended images: the dedication image (in

which the book is offered to the patron and can be found in the Ms. Arundel 38, fol. 37. (Fig. 7)

and a portrait of Chaucer, holding a rosary (which is found the Ms. Harley 4866, fol. 88). A third

manuscript, a close 'second edition' also at the British Library, Royal 17 D vi, confirms the intent

of both this layout and its content.

The images, as noted with Jean Créton's volume, express ideas that are not necessarily stated in

the text. The dedication image in the Arundel manuscript. is intriguing in this respect, as it does

not stand apart from the text (at the opening of the book, as is most often the case for such

images) but is instead placed at the heart of the poem, marking the book's central pivot, and

essentially placing the Prince of Wales, through a recognizable portrait, at the core of the book,

and the book itself at the centre of the image. The page layout in turn reconverts this image into

a stand-alone picture, with the pertinent stanza becoming its title.

The real question, though, is *what does an image actually show*? The answer to that question in

the case of this dedication image has raised a surprisingly considerable debate. The Arundel

manuscript had been for a long time considered as Henry V's dedication copy, yet Kate Harris'

two pages noting that the copy belonged to John Mowbray complicates the question further.[53]

Is this Hoccleve presenting his work, then? It could be the case, if one compares the kneeling

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h/17731-h.htm. (accessed March 3, 2019).
53 Kate Harris: "The Patron of the British Library Manuscript Arundel 38" in *Notes and Queries* (December 1984), pp. 462-463.

character's features with the portraits of Hoccleve found in the *Bedford Psalter-Hours* (British Library, Additional Ms. 42131, fols. 118, 199 and 206), which, like the Arundel manuscript, was painted by Herman Scheerre's workshop. Kathleen Scott doesn't think so: the kneeling man appears far too elegantly (and, one could add, secularly) dressed.[54] More importantly in Scott's eyes, both characters are holding the book, a rare occurrence in English manuscripts. Hermann Scheerre, however, worked in Burgundy, and may have seen such images in which this double-grasping occurs sufficiently to be considered a type, according to Beatrice Beys.[55]

But if this gesture merits attention, what does it mean? Could the kneeling man be Mowbray, as Scott suggests? If so, what is he doing? The family's support of the new dynasty left much to be desired: the first duke was banished in 1398 and John's elder brother Thomas had been executed for treason in 1405. If, however, the house of Mowbray showed a greater trustworthiness, than it should be rewarded. It would seem that it was the case with the younger brother. The prince would be rewarding his new found follower with the gift of this book, discussing his own political objectives, couched in moral and even at times spiritual terms, that apparently seem to forestall the objections of one such of the duke of Mowbray, for he appears here as the "wise and sober prince who would make a wise and sober king."

Though we don't have all the necessary evidence to arrive at a conclusive statement (and most likely never will), it may very well be the case that many of these ambiguities are intentional. The *Regiment of Princes* is the only case where Hoccleve used images in his books. And as we have already noted, he gave considerable thought to the idea of seeing and perception. Hoccleve

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54 Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts* (London, Harvey Miller, 1996), catalogue n°50.
55 Béatrice Beys, "La Valeur des gestes dans les miniatures de dédicace (fin du XIVᵉ siècle début du XVIᵉ siècle)" in *Le Geste et les gestes au Moyen Age* (Aix en Provence, Presse Universitaire d'Aix en Provence, 1998), p. 90.

argues that when confronted with images, we don't fall into spontaneous idolatry: that would imply that what is shown is immediately understood, which is not the case, as the very ambiguity of the dedication image would attest. On the contrary, images need contextualization. In the same book, the only other image that appears is that of Geoffrey Chaucer, whose finger points to the stanza and verse that states who he is. Images need words for their meaning to be made clear. Even the images of the saints need to be clarified: contemporary spectators, for example, often need verbal explanations to recognize medieval images of saints, as we do not immediately recognize the visual clues that would help us identify them. The same can hold true for a fifteenth-century audience. Shannon Gayk sums up the poet's strategy: "Hoccleve inverts the traditional apologetic that images function as books for the unlearned[56]." Someone along the line has to *tell* the spectators what to look for in order to understand the image. "In a period in which images were increasingly under heterodox scrutiny, Hoccleve uses *reading* to instruct his audience in the art of *seeing*"[57]: as Daniel Arasse puts it, "if one has lost the text reference, the image becomes a puzzle."[58] The dedication image is the perfect example of this practice of binding image to text, with *text* becoming the less ambiguous medium of the two. What is clearly identifiable is the crowned image of Henry of Monmouth, prominently placed at the heart of the text, with the relating stanza indicating with whom we are dealing placed just below. The very uncertainty of who the secondary character is makes the *Prince* the guarantor of the value and meaning of text.

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56 Gayk*, Image, Text*... p. 83.

57 IBID., P. 83.

58 Daniel Arasse, *Histoire de Peintures* (Paris : Editions Denoël, 2004), p. 205 '*si l'on a perdu le texte de référence, l'image est un rébus ;* : without an understanding of the cultural context, a picture becomes meaningless.

Lydgate's line in images

There is definitely a sense of insecurity when faced with images even among such orthodox fifteenth-century writers as Hoccleve and Lydgate. While Hoccleve explores the links between sight and understanding, Lydgate draws a firm line between devotional and secular, banishing images from his religious writing while accepting them, one might say conditionally, in secular works. Henry's interest here is more in the matter of the works rather than their treatment.

Shortly after acceding to the throne, Henry V asked for two works from the poet: a history of Troy and a religious piece that draws largely (once again) from Pseudo-Bonaventura's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.[59] One must marvel at Henry's patience in awaiting their execution, or wonder as to the degree of his input. The resulting works – The *Sege of Troy* (or *Troy Book*) and *The Life our Lady*- took nearly a decade to write. Both became very popular as the number of surviving manuscripts for each would attest. Both ran around thirty thousand lines long but each was given diametrically opposite visual treatments.

Several of the early copies of the *Troy Book* have illustrations. They even function along lines that would appear 'standardized', to the extent that such a concept can exist, for manuscripts.[60] We have lost the copy intended for Henry himself, yet we have a few of these deluxe copies that were made near Henry's lifetime. The most curious of these is the Oxford copy, Rawlinson C 446, which belonged to the wine merchant's guild, and in which the king depicted is an old man with a pointed beard. The picture was sufficiently unexpected that the original catalogue compiler at

59 Anthony Bale, "John Lydgate's Religious Poetry" in *A Companion to Fifteenth Century Poetry*, p. 76.
60 See Lesley Lawton, "The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, with Special Reference to Lydgate's *Troy Book*" in *Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth Century England: The Literary implications of Manuscript Study. Essays for the 1981 Conference at the University of York*, ed. Derek Pearsall, (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983), pp. 43-89.

the Bodleian wondered if it wasn't a dedication in reference to the old king, Henry IV[61]. The image

in fact tends to portray not the king as specific person, but the King, as a permanent fixture in the

political landscape is the one source of permanence. Notwithstanding, of course, the concurrent

paradox that the arrival of the Lancastrians represent, the pointed beard is reminiscent of the

figure of the king on the royal seal, which is a portrait of Henry IV, as Alfred Wyon pointed out[62].

It is almost the counter example of the *Fanhope Hours*, for here the figure of the king then

becomes a figure of the office as much as a figure of the person. This was the seal that, with the

appropriate modifications, was used throughout the Lancastrian reign. Those who commissioned

the work apparently chose to keep a safe distance in their depiction of the *king*.

The Life of our Lady is an illustration of Henry's cultural policy at work. It is stated nowhere in the

latter book that Henry V either commissioned or commanded this work, and to some extent it

can be read a one of Lydgate's more personal endeavours, but could Henry's influence have been

far off? Galopes' translation is stated as a direct request from the sovereign in the book's

introduction, and, as we have seen, it also is a work taken from the same source: Pseudo-

Bonaventura's *Meditiationes vitae Christi*.[63] This is a book that Henry knew of and trusted.

Throughout his career, Henry's devotion to the Mother of God is regularly displayed. Lydgate's

work, rather than write a biography of Mary, offers a book intended for meditation – effectively

a book of prayers, which was central to Henry's way of thinking. As Anthony Bale points out, "it

is structured around the key liturgical feasts of the Virgin, from Nativity to Purification.,[64] In many

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61 William D. MacRay, *Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Boldeianae, Partis Quintae* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1878), Catalogue n°446.
62 Alfred B. Wyon, 'On the Great Seals of Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, and More Particularly on the second Seal of Henry IV', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (139), pp. 139-167.
63 Ibid., p. 76.
64 Bale, *Lydgate,* p. 76.

ways, it can be read as a homily on Her purity and maidenhood (words that come as virtual refrains in the text). Few of the copies of the *Life of our Lady* have illuminations other than decorated initials and marginal flourishes (only a later copy, British Library Ms. Harley 629 opens with an image of the Nativity of the Virgin, by the *Master of the English 1 manuscript*). The images in the text are symbolic, even literary. An entire stanza introduces flower imagery which pervades the text:

> *For this is þe flour, that god hym self beheld*
>
> *The white lylye of the chosyn vale*
>
> *The swete Roose, of the fayre felde*
>
> *Which of colour wexyth neuer pale*
>
> *The violet, our langour to a vale*
>
> *Purpyll hewede, thorough mercy and pety*
>
> *To socoure alle, that in myschief be* (*Life of Our Lady*, I -43-49)

The lily, the rose and the violet are all flowers that reflect aspects of the Virgin, and that appear often in Marial iconography. Sections were mined for use as independent prayers, and as a whole the poem "can be seen as leading, rather than reflecting, late medieval Mariology."[65] Much as was the case for Hoccleve's *Regiment*, *The Life of our Lady* becomes an example of how Henry can take what is seen as one of Lydgate's most personal works and turn it into a manifest of his own religious beliefs and practices.

All these books illustrate the core thrusts of Henry's political project. First, the importance of

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65 Ibid., p. 77.

faith, and its orthodox practice as displayed in both Galopes' and Lydgate's translations. The

French translation came at about the same time as the English book was published. An identical

faith professed in both languages, as displayed through texts that stem from the same source,

reinforces Henry's ability to transcend royal boundaries through God. Second, his legitimacy, as

based on the necessary requirement of good governance, is illustrated in both Hoccleve's

Regiment and the anonymous *Crowned King*. All is bound together in a sense of historic

continuity, as displayed in the *Troy Book* which depicts the link between the Trojan past and the

English present. That sense of historic unity is given forceful illustration in stone.

Monuments: The Epitome of Kingship

Despite their usefulness, books where not the only means Henry exploited to bolster his position.

While it may be as much panegyric as anything else, Thomas Walshingham ranked Henry V among

the great builder kings, next to Edward III[66]. To ascertain this, we have unfortunately little to go

on. What remains are additions to already existing structures, most significantly, the choir screen

at York. The only major structures to Henry's credit were built at the beginning of his reign: the

dual monastery of Syon and Sheen; they were torn down less than 150 years after their

foundation.

The Choir Screen at York

It has been objected during the initial presentation of this paper that the choir screen at York

Minster (fig. 8) was an undertaking of the cathedral ministers, rather than built at Henry V's

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66 Chris Goven-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 130.

request. This is perhaps true, in the sense that they were the ones who, being on site, oversaw the work's installation, with the master mason being the cathedral's titular master, but this does not mean that they were solely responsible for its conception or instigation. Henry showed great interest in the cathedral. He incorporates the vicars of Saint Peter's Church into a college in 1421.[67] The very scale of the screen however calls forth the question of financing. At any rate, Derek Pearsall's quip about the preferability of 'spontaneous displays of loyalty and admiration' is as keenly applicable here as it is in the case of poetic creation.

There is of course a lag between conception and execution in sculpture and architecture, and that would easily explain the screen's readjustment to accommodate Henry VI's inclusion, but the initial impulse however seems to coincide with Henry's visit to York in 1421.[68] Henry was at the time young enough to have been expected to live to see the completed screen. John Harvey also argues that the screen is in the style of early fifteenth century sculpture.[69] It certainly influenced the creation of the Canterbury screen which was the project of a wealthy patron close to the Lancastrian régime, Edmond Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and brother to Cardinal Beaufort,[70] it would seem reasonable that such an undertaking at York would have wealthy and powerful, perhaps even royal, patronage as well.

A strong argument in favour of Henry V's role in developing the screen is that it is famously imbalanced: there are more kings to the left (or south) of the choir entrance, due to the addition

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67 Barrie Dobson, "The Later Middle Ages" in *A History of York Minster*, p. 90.

68 See G.L. Harriss, "Introduction – The Exemplar of Kingship" in *The Practice of Kingship*, pp. 29-30, n. 69.

69 Harvey, *Architectural History*, p. 182.

70 It would seem that it was commissioned towards the end of Henry VI's reign, with the specific intent of bolstering support for the dynasty, much in the same way that Cardinal Beaufort had embarked on the construction of Henry's chantry chapel at Westminster (see Harriss note 4 above). Francis Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Routledge & Keagan Paul, 1981), p. 192.

of Henry VI's effigy. Yet balance is important to gothic structural imagery. On either side of the

Virgin at the centre of the façade at Notre-Dame in Paris, there are Adam and Eve. Balance for

rood screens and other such barriers are often emphasised by depictions of the Annunciation on

either side of the centre (which is also often given a marker). Imbalance is often due to shifts in

the project during construction. This would be the case for York. This imbalance becomes even

more striking when we see a re-centred altar placed before it. Balance with an odd number of

kings would have required a different architectural project than the one used for the York screen.

One way or another, the originally intended structure would have maintained a balanced image

of a row of kings. Under Henry V, that meant an equal number of kings on either side of the

screen door (and therefore an even number of kings). Moreover, that initial visual balance would

have reflected an historical and political balance. G. L Harriss notes how the screen

> may have been designed to celebrate and symbolize the recovery of Normandy, the
>
> ancient heritage of the English Crown, which was held by all kings north of the archway,
>
> until lost by John, the last represented, and was only repossessed by the last king on the
>
> south side, Henry V.[71]

The serendipitous fact that Henry was the twelfth king since the conquest as well as the sixth king

since the loss of Normandy would point to almost divine guidance in both the loss and the

restoration. Thus, the line of crowned kings bearing sword and globe in each hand would have

closed with Henry V, whose head is turned away from the line looking beyond and upward,

towards the stained glass (while the other kings face the congregation before them). On the other

hand, had the initial plan included Henry VI, it would be reasonable to expect that the master

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[71] Harriss, *The Exemplar of Kingship*, p. 29.

mason (as well as those commissioning the work) would have sought a more harmonious composition.[72]

The meaning of the image is clear: the kings of England stand armed and ready to defend the faith. But what are they defending the faith from? The problem with rood screens is that they are just that: screens. They block the view and, more importantly, access to the altar. Christopher Wilson in discussing the Canterbury screen noted that "the exquisite refinement of its micro-architecture cannot conceal the fact that Canterbury's choir-screen is a massive optical and physical barrier between the spaces allocated to the laity and to the clergy."[73] The objection is equally valid for York. These imposing doors block the view of the choir within: they forbid the view of the sacrament. They also create a separation between the church for the priests and the church for the laity, a system in which only the initiate have access to God. Christianity was predicated on the idea that all the faithful had equal access to God, which is why the early churches were patterned after the public halls, or basilicas. The introduction of the choir screen *may* have made sense when most of the large scale churches were built for monasteries, and the monks or nuns were given a special place of worship, but the extension of the choir screen to all churches created a terrible temptation: essentially that of a pagan temple within a Christian church. So, in a sense, despite G. L. Harriss' enthusiastic description of Henry V in the choir screen ("every inch a king" as he puts it[74]), the screen itself tends to backfire. It is specifically for this reason that in Catholic Churches, choir screens would be removed, as part of the decisions taken

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72   The link to the stained glass could also have been reinforced through the painting of the statues. Today, we see the effigies as white statues standing in red alcoves, but it also seems plausible that these statues were originally painted, giving the screen a sense of stone being transformed into glass, as if the statues were transformed into three dimensional stained glass windows.

73   Christopher Wilson, "The Arts of the Great Church", in *Gothic*, p. 351.

74   Harriss, *The Exemplar of Kingship*, p. 29.

during the council of Trente; few (Such as Saint-Etienne-du-Mont in Paris or the Saint-Cécile Cathedral at Albi) have survived.

Even here, books are not that far off as the screen functions in a way that is not unlike the images found in a certain type of book: Chronicles, which often are broken down along the lines of each king's reign, with each section introduced with an image of the king. While the specific image shows the king in an absolute state, sitting on a throne and bearing the instruments of office (crown, cloak of ermine, rood of justice), the king is placed in the context of the succession of kings. This is how Henry appears in the *Brut Chronicle* in a private collection at Chapel Hill, N.C, with that latest entries dated to 1419 (fig. 9). Although the image is rather generic in its representation, the owner of the manuscript confirmed that it is the largest of the royal images, suggesting that this was because the manuscript does indeed dates to Henry V's reign, or shortly thereafter. For an image to be included, a space must be reserved. To choose that the space set aside to represent Henry V would be greater than that set aside for the previous kings would point at the very least to the original commission being one that favoured Henry V. Thus, despite the repetition of a basic pose, size matters, as the current king is given greater prominence. The Chronicle image is the only representation of Henry that is not immediately contextualized; it may even have been included after Henry's death, but it points to the foreseeable future of the king's imagery: that of one in a long line of kings.

The Escorial

As a penance for the murder of Archbishop Scrope, Henry IV was required to build three monasteries. His reign was in such chaos that he never got around to doing so. It would be Henry V who would undertake the endeavour, and build it upon the manor grounds where

Richard II's queen Anne had died.[75] Henry built the first two, the monasteries of Sheen and Syon,

at the outset of his reign and planned the third.[76] Their grandeur and purpose justify

Walshingham's suggestion that Henry V was one of the great builder kings. Jeremy Catto thus

sums up this intended purpose:

> There was nothing random about these foundations; they were planned as group and
>
> were to be palace monasteries, almost an Escorial, encapsuling the restored palace at
>
> Sheen. […] In conception [...] it was by far the most ambitious monastic foundation
>
> attempted by an English king, and one designed to place the monarchy at the spiritual
>
> centre of English life.[77]

The choice of monastic orders as well as the tasks these monasteries undertook are equally

representative of Henry V's religious and cultural bent. Sheen housed Carthusian monks with a

stern outlook and an emphasis on prayer, while Syon housed nuns and monks of the newer

Bridgettine order, and were tasked with predication. In the early years, the two houses worked

closely together, with Syon eventually becoming a centre for the production and dissemination

of religious books and writing. The monasteries reflect not only a political project, but Henry's

personal attitudes towards faith as a well as his taste for reading.

Henry planned to place at the heart of this dual monastery a royal palace, creating a sense of

divine right, a vision of the monarchy anchored in the Church yet maintaining its links to Rome,

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75   Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 273. The penance is a 'reasonable tradition' as Allmand puts it. It is equally interesting to note how here, as with the translation of Richard's remains to Westminster, Henry creates a link with the previous dynasty.

76   See *Gesta Henrici Quinti,* chap 2, which opens by announcing the project of three monasteries, *tria fundare cepit monasteria*, of which Sheen is directly named. Frank Taylor and John S Roskell, ed. and trans. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

77   Jeremy Catto, "Religious Change under Henry V" in *Practice of Kingship*, p. 110.

while also clearly placing Church activity within the realm under the authority of the king. Such a

conception reflects a revolutionary policy, one that foresees not only Henry VIII's policy in

England, defining the king as the spiritual head of the nation, but more closely the general

religious policy throughout Europe two centuries later – one that would place the king at the

centre of religious life.   The comparison to Philip of Spain's Escorial underlines Henry V's

revolutionary view of the relationship needed between the Church and the Crown, one that

would later be adopted by Louis XIV in France and Philip II in Spain: maintaining at the same time

the bond with Rome and a firm hand on the organisation of Church matters at home[78]. Henry VIII

policy was essentially the same but he chose to break with Rome, and thus complete his position

as head of the Church. The palatial aspect of the structure was abandoned upon Henry V's death

but the ties the two abbeys had with the crown were not broken.

There is therefore some irony in the destruction of these specific monuments, especially as

conceived by Henry V. Syon and Sheen would fall along with most of all the monasteries in

England as a result of Henry VIII's order to destroy them all. The king's order was as much a

matter of plunder as of faith, and so it can be said that for a fistful of cash, Henry's greatest

architectural achievements are lost. Susan Harrison describes it more euphemistically as "a

salvage operation, to extract maximum value for the king and subsequent owners."[79] What

remains are essentially memories and markers. The most remarkable of these is Syon house's

original seal, according to George Aungier, (fig. 10), which is almond shaped and has two images,

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78   This project represents a concurrent irony regarding the Lollards, who wanted a greater presence of the
king in religious matters; they got it, but not the policy they had hoped for. One could say they expected Henry VIII
and got Louis XIV! See Allmand, *Henry V, pp. 304-5.*
79   Susan Harrison, "Dissolution: The Dissolution of the Monasteries" in *Art Under Attack: Histories of British
Iconoclasm*, Tabitha Barber and Stacey Boldrick eds. (London: Tate Publishing, 2013), p.32.

one above the other, much like a stained glass window.[80] In the upper half is an enthroned

Mother and Child, in the lower is an image of Saint Bridget presenting a kneeling Henry V, his

arms outstretched, to the scene above – another image of Marial devotion. It is the logical

composition of a devotional diptych compressed into a wax seal.

The Problematic Portrait

This image brings us back to the mystery of the profile portrait (fig. 1). It is regularly accepted as

a copy of an original now lost. But what was the original like? More to the point, what was the

original portrait intended for? It is often conjectured that the original dates to Henry V's lifetime.

Charles Sterling links it stylistically to the court portraits of the Dukes of Burgundy,[81] though Lorne

Campbell finds little evidence of this.[82] Frederick Hepburn's analysis lead him to advance the

hypothesis that the original was a votive portrait.[83] Catherine Daunt notes the *pentimenti* around

the hand that would bring credence to such a hypothesis.[84] Free standing portraits (i.e. painting

where the subject is a physical likeness) are rare, but not unheard of in England. We have, of

course the portrait of Richard II at Westminster Abbey. Other influences could be at work as well.

There is the famed portrait of John the Good in France, as well as portraits (also known through

copies) of the Dukes of Burgundy, Phillip the bold and John the Fearless. Flemish portraiture takes

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[80] George Aungier, *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery, the Parish of Isleworth, and the Chapelry of Hounslow; compiled from public records, ancient manuscripts, ecclesiastical and other authentic documents.* (London, J.B Nichols and Son, 1840), p. 106 and figure 6.

[81]   Charles Sterling , "La Peinture de portrait à la cour de Bourgogne au début du XVème siècle" in *Critica d'Arte*, Vol. 6, 35 (1959), p. 298.

[82]   Lorne Campbell, *The Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen: The Early Flemish Pictures* (Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, The Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. XIV.

[83]   Frederick Hepburn, *Portraits of the Later Plantagenets*, (Bury-Saint-Edmunds, The Boydell Press, 1984). Chapter 5 offers a detailed analysis of this portrait.

[84]   Catherine Daunt, *Portrait Sets in Tudor and Jacobean England*, (PhD. Thesis for the University of Sussex, May 2015), p. 14.

a great leap forward in the second quarter of the century, with the likes of Jan Van Eyck (born in the 1390's and Rogier van der Weiden (born 1399). Would that, as Sterling suggested, have influenced the English court, considering its ties to the court in Burgundy? Henry, as we have seen, never commissioned an image of himself without placing it in a context. Studying the work alone yields as many extra mysteries as clarifications. The most comprehensive analysis of the painting was made by Frederick Hepburn and he balked at the sight of the hands.[85] They don't make sense. The outer hand is held erect as for prayer, while the other is curled below.

It should be noted that some later copies of the portrait join the hands in prayer: later artists were equally puzzled by the hands, or knew of the original. For to join them in prayer is of course a good way to remind viewers of Henry V's piety, but this can also remind us of that original source painting. It would be tempting to suggest that since the original was intended as a devotional painting (as most art historians accept this without question), that it was to be placed at Syon, reminding future generations of the original founder, as well as of the major theme in his religious belief: the importance of prayer. Both Lydgate and Galopes wrote texts for Henry centred on the Virgin Mary, and the seal itself shows just such a devotional composition. The painting makes sense as a secularisation of an original donor portrait, one like the seal to Syon Abbey. Could the painting be the inspiration of the seal itself? Could the image of devotion in that painting, therefore, be one of the Mother and Child? For now, we can never really know, as external information is lacking. We don't even know who the artist was. And so, the best assessments of the painting come not from our understanding of the work but from our knowledge of the sitter.

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85   Hepburn, *Later Plantagenets*, chap. 5.

The Problems of Propaganda

The portrait is also curious in its iconic nature. It is the only independent portrait we have of Henry, and as it is a later reinvention, it cannot reflect Henry's practices, which have always tended to place his image in context. Indeed, in discussing these practices, the expression *propaganda* is often used by social, literary and even art historians to characterise Henry V's self-representation.

Can, for instance, the choir screens at York and Canterbury be categorized as propaganda, since they present the Lancastrians as the natural succession of the royal line since the Conquest in the case of York and since before the Conquest in the case of Canterbury? The addition of Henry VI at the end of the line at York would be intended therefore to reinforce his position as king. Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerset (and Cardinal Beaufort's brother), was the man whom Francis Woodman notes as having 'the perfect motive for such a gift: he was exceedingly rich: both necessary qualifications for a donor of such a blatant piece of propaganda."[86] He was also a staunch Lancastrian and had the means to proudly broadcast that loyalty. And he was hated by the Yorkists who had him killed in 1455, at a time when his patronage at Canterbury was at its height. Yet such a conception would require that these works be unequivocally understood, and the information clearly broadcast. When faced with these choir screens, both fail to comply with the definition: the screen would of course be seen by a general audience, but would they understand its meaning? If the initial intent of building the screen at York was to celebrate the reconquest of Normandy, then that message was obviously lost along the way, as the final

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[86]   Woodman, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 192.

construct demanded the presence of Henry IV. And even if, as in the case of Canterbury, the meaning remained clear, who would broadcast it? And how?

The same question arises when discuss his public appearances. The most detailed description of his royal entries was that of his entry into London upon his return from Agincourt is to be found in the *Gesta Henrici Quinti,* which devotes all of chapter 15 to its description.[87] The Chronicles of London by comparison are surprisingly laconic about the event: after several entries detailing the king's success throughout France, up to and including the spectacular victory, there is no reference to the pageant or triumphant entry other than "And on the xxiiij day of nouember, oure kyng kome to London, hoole and sounde with his prisonners".[88] This would lead us to think that the entry was very much staged under Henry's (rather than the city's) supervision, with scenes along the streets of London that were of angels singing the praise of God and Henry for his glorious victory.[89]. That staging sets out not so much to suppress devotional images as to stress their spiritual (as well as political) value. If the London pageant is an example to go by in ascertaining the chosen context of Henry's self-representation, then that context often, though not exclusively, has a religious as well as political resonance. Thus holds equally true in France. In Paris, Bedford had organized the dual entry of Henry V and Charles VI with the recommendation that the Church join in procession outside the walls.[90]

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[87]   The author of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* was a chaplain in Henry's retinue who followed the Agincourt campaign, and could therefore be seen as a close witness to his early royal career. Alison K. McHardy suggests the possibility of Stephen Patrington. He was also a major participant in the founding of Henry's monasteries of Syon and Sheen. See "Religion, Court Culture and Propaganda: The Chapel Royal in the Reign of Henry V" in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, Gwilym ed. Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2013, pp. 131-156; in particular pp. 147-153.

[88]   *Chronicles of London*, Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), p. 71.

[89]   Henry's hand in developing this project can also be inferred from a later request to renew the head of the giant queen in the London pageant for his new bride. See Allmand, *Henry V*, p. 156.

[90]   Lawrence M. Bryant, "La Cérémonie de l'entrée à Paris au Moyen-Age" in *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 41e année N°3 1986, p. 528.

James Doig explores Henry's 1421 progress throughout England under the title "Propaganda and Truth"[91]. The progress is studded with legal interventions and pious observances, and at times it brings to mind the whistle-stop campaign of a modern day politician, but the distance between the king and the people was not the same as it would be a century later: pageants such as the entry into London or Paris or the Royal Progress of 1421 played out themes that were "cosmological and communal, signifying the links between the kings and Heaven on the one hand, and the king and people on the other."[92] It is most likely that Henry took advantage of his stop at York to strengthen his bond with the cathedral at York. *Propaganda,* however, implies a certain deceptive, self-serving attitude. It is Henry's duty to perform legal adjudication and it is in his character to observe pious practices. While it stands to reason that Henry would be careful of his outward appearance, this does not preclude a certain self-conscious guard. What Doig defines as propaganda, Derek Pearsall considers "persuasive self-representation".[93]

One of the central problems in studying Henry's self-representation is in assessing just how much Henry's *self* was involved. To rephrase Pearsall, there is never, or at least very rarely, evidence that Henry commissioned any of the works that concern him. Even more paradoxically, the works we do know he commissioned, such as the books on hunting, have since been lost.

We can guess at some of Henry's practices of self-representation, however. In his short reign, he developed a team of family and household servants who not only knew him but new each other

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91   James Doig, "Propaganda and Truth in Henry V's Royal Progress of 1421" in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 40 (1996), pp. 167-79.
92   James Watts, "Was there a Lancastrian Court?" in *The Lancastrian Court*, ed. Jenny Stratford (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), p. 269.
93   Pearsall, *Crowned King*, p. 166.

and therefore functioned well in a coordinated effort.[94] Could such an atmosphere not be

conducive of a general desire to follow Henry's lead in representing the king? The vast majority

of the images of Henry that have come down to us from his lifetime are found in books. There is

always a certain intimacy in books. Even such grandiose acts of conspicuous consumption that

are Books of Hours maintain that intimacy. The book itself may be impressive, but the individual

images as well as the text within are the owner's personal privilege. It would also appear that

this group turned to the same circle of authors, scriveners and illuminators. Thomas Hoccleve,

John Lydgate, Hermann Scheerre as well as John Galopes in France regularly reappear in these

commissions. One could legitimately ask if here as well as in administrative circles the rule of

people who knew both the king and each other applies. Hoccleve knew of the Ellesmere portrait

(Lawrence Warner wonders if he didn't supervise its production[95]) which he would have in turn

introduced to Scheerre's team to serve as the template for the Harley portrait, as it is also

attributed to Scheerre's atelier.[96] And while Derek Pearsall does not think that the anonymous

author of the poem *Crowned King* was Hoccleve, he suspects that it was one of his colleagues at

the privy seal.[97] In effect, even if these works were not made at Henry's direct request, they

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94   See Allmand, *Henry V*, Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen. While there is certainly more friction within the family circle than amongst the circle of loyalists, Henry still seemed to manage this circle well, bringing out the best in these people. Nowhere is this most evident than in the case of his brother John, duke of Bedford on Henry could always count on in handling complex political and administrative situations, first in Wales and then, most impressively France. Indeed, were it not for John, it would be hard to imagine English administration lasting in France as long as it did. Interestingly, John also has an important track record in artistic patronage as well... In a more general sense, this might go a long way in explaining why Henry's policies continued so long after his death.

95   Laurence Warner, *Chaucer's Scribes: London Textual Production 1384-1432* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne Singapore, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 132.

96   See D. R. Carlson, "Thomas Hoccleve and the Chaucer Portrait" in *The Huntington Library Quarterly,* Vol. 45, N°4 (Autumn 1991), p. 287.

97   Pearsall, *Crowned King*, p. 68.

followed a common vision of how Henry should have been represented. It might be safe to surmise that this common vision extended to other media as well.

Words, Words, Words... and the Policy of Images

This paper was written in response to Margaret Aston's passing. Her writings stirred interesting insights into what was going on in Henry V's mind when it comes to imagery, as it has often been said how careful Henry was in crafting policy - any policy. Henry's use of images and, by extension texts can be described as a controlled cultural policy. The few images that have come down to us present king Henry V in a context, and Henry chose to show himself so for conscious political reasons: linking his image to a religious context not only reinforces his views of proper religious practice, it helps justify his right to be on the throne at all. Thus we regularly see his desire to defend the faith (York Minster) as well as his devotion to the Virgin Mary (the Syon Abbey Seal). Henry's visual policy was therefore also one that was, partially at least, in response to the charges of idolatry that images, any images, could convey.

Henry V understood that he stood at a crossroad that was, to an extent, of his own making. "From the Leicester parliament of 1414 until the triumph of toleration in the eighteenth century, religion was established and enforced by public authority," notes Jeremy Catto[98]. Religious practice and ultimately religious representation would increasingly become a matter of public law. As king standing at the centre of that law, in order to achieve both political and religious continuity, Henry would have to strike a balance: through his own self-image, he tried to prove that images could show things that words could not describe – foremost among these that images could defend the

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98   Catto, *Religious Change*, p. 97.

faith. Henry's visual policy could be seen as a desire to position himself as an arbiter of the debate, much as he piloted England's role in the council of Constance.

But it would not hold. By Henry's time, images had already become a problem. This was an extremely tense period regarding their use and understanding. In fifteenth-century England, the fear of images and the rise of literacy as well as vernacular texts are intertwined: society was in awe of the power of the written word, which appeared more compact and discrete than an image. This of course was definitely the case with scripture: an image from scripture would always be an interpretation of scripture - *something else*. As such, it becomes a deviation of that original text. It is the admiration of that deviation which is considered idolatry. Henry's cultural policy, his choice of texts as well as his practice of self-representation, resonates with fifteenth century vernacular literature which as notes Shannon Gayk, "is marked by a concern for the *regulation* and *reformation* of affective visual experience".[99]

That concern would lead to the iconoclasm of the sixteenth century.

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99   Gayk, *Image, Text*… page 4. Author's emphasis. The problems inherent in *textual deviation*, and more importantly translations, would be at this time swept aside, but would soon also become a problem. In his course given at the Sorbonne in 1987, "From Renaissance to Classicism", Marc Fumaroli noted how in France, a mere fifty years later, studying Greek would be considered an attack on the Church's religious authority, as it questioned official translation, i.e. official interpretations.

Descriptio Formae corporis Domini Regis Henrici Quinti

Formae regalis descriptio fit manifesta

Quae sequitur talis. Capitis sibi sphaerica testa

Magni consilii signum, qaue viri sapientis.

Haec est principi bona res, laus prima regentis,

Signat frons plana regis quod mens bene sana

Plani sunt illi, bruni, densique capilli,

Nasus directus, facies extensa decenter

Floridus aspectus et amabilis est reverenter.

Clari lucentes oculi, subrufe patentes,

Pace columbini, sed in ira sunt leonini.

Sunt nivei dentes aequaliter et residentes,

Formula parvarum que decens est auricularum;

Et mentum fissum, collum satis unidque spissum,

Concurrente nota, cutis ejus candida tota.

Non sunt inflatae fauces, albedine gratae,

Quarum pars rosea, sed labia coccinea.

Sunt bene formata sua membra que consolidata

ossibus et nervis, sine signis ipsa protervis,

Vivat rex talis cui gratia spiritualis

Jam Pacis dona det que futura bona.

AMEN

The Description of the Bodily Features of our Lord King Henry V

Let the description of the king's features be known. They are thus. The spherical surface of his head is the sign of great resolution, that of a wise man. A good thing for a prince, the first praise for a monarch, the king's flat forehead denotes that his mind is sound. His hair is straight, brown and thick, his nose straight, his face decently long, of a bright respectfully amiable shape. His bright clear eyes turn to red, as peaceful as a dove yet leonine in anger. His teeth are white straight and well mounted. The form of his small ears is also regular. And his chin is cleft, his neck is everywhere properly compact. Noted as well, his skin is all white, his cheeks are not filled and of a pleasant pallor some parts are blushed and his lips red. His limbs are well formed in bone and sinews, with no unseemly blemishes.

Long live such a king to whom is owed such a spiritual peace and happy future.

AMEN

Versus Rythmici de Henrici Quinto v. 69-89

in *Memorials of Henry V, King of England* edited by Augustus COLE, London, Longman, Brown, Chapman, Green Longmans and Roberts, 1858.

Illustrations

Figure 1 - Portrait of Henry V

Anonymous – Oil on Panel   late sixteenth – early seventeenth century
Dim/: 724mm x 410mm
National Portrait Gallery NPG 545, Transferred from the British Museum, 1879

This is the second copy of an original that is now lost. The first is kept at Windsor Castle, Royal Collection RCIN 403 443, but the National Portrait Gallery version is the most commonly presented version.

http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw03074/King-Henry-V#publicationsImage
© National Portrait Gallery

*Figure 2 - Richard II knighting Henry of Monmouth

*Figure 3 - Henry Bolingbroke Seizes the Throne

Virgil Master Parchment c.1401 – c.1405
Dimensions: 280mm x 105mm

In *La prince et mort du Roy Richart* by Jean Créton

British Library Manuscript Harley 1319, fols. 5r. and 57r. (detail)
https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8530&CollID=8&NStart=1319

Image courtesy of the British Library

Figure 4 - Henry V Kneeling at Mass

The Cornwall Master (?) Parchment c. 1420
Dimensions: 280mm x 190mm
in *Book of Hours*   c.1420
Cambridge Trinity College Manuscript B.11.7, James n°246 fol. 31V (detail)
http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=109
                              Image © The Masters and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

*Figure 5 - Jean Galopes presenting his book to Henry V

Anonymous – Vellum - c.1420

Dimensions: 263mm x 197mm.

In *Le Livre dor de la vie de notre seigneur Jesu Crist*

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library Manuscripts 213, fol. 1r.

The James Catalogue notes the partial inscription on the fly leaf that suggests this volume as the dedication copy. Note the prominently featured arms at the bottom of the page.

JAMES, Montague Rhodes: *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library at the Corpus Christi College at Cambridge*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1912, p. 510.

Image © Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library

*Figure 6 - Jean Galopes presenting his book to Henry V

Anonymous – Parchment Codex - c.1420
Dimensions: 258mm x 185mm.
In *Le Livre dor de la vie de notre seigneur Jesu Crist*
British Library Royal Manuscript 20 B IV, fol. 1
https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8406&CollID=16&NStart=200204

Image courtesy of the British Library

*Figure 7 - Prince Henry receiving (or giving) the book

Workshop of Herman Scheerre – Parchment Codex   Between 1411 and 1432
Dimensions: 290mm x 185mm
in *The Regiment of Princes* by Thomas Hoccleve
British Library Manuscript Arundel 38, fol. 37r. (detail)
https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8782&CollID=20&NStart=38

Image courtesy of the British Library

Figure 8 - The Choir Screen at York Minster: Portrait of Henry V

William Colchester, John Long – Stone Carving -Second quarter of the fifteenth century
Image © Chapter of York: Reproduced by kind permission.

Figure 9 - Henry V Enthroned

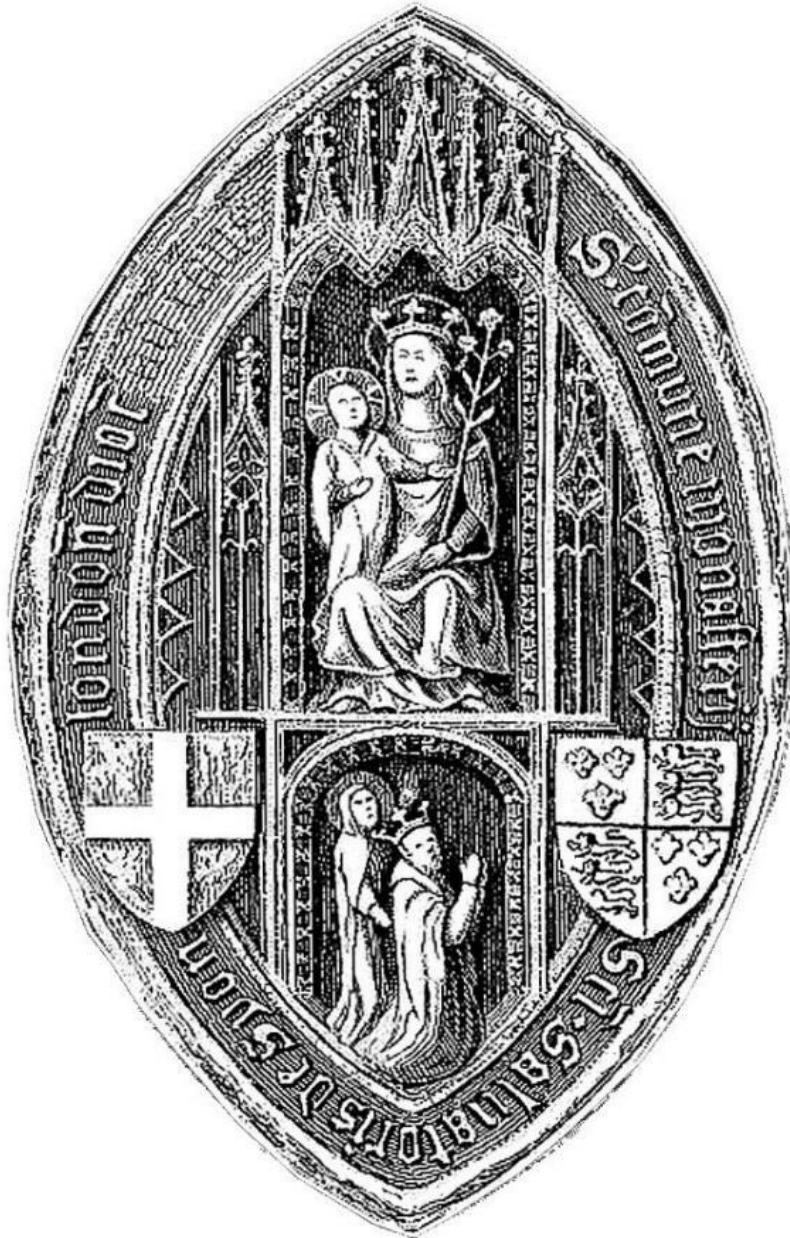Anonymous – Parchment Codex   after 1419, ca. 1430-40?   Dim: 297 x 204 mm
Brut Chronicle to 1419
Private Collection
Image supplied by the owner of the manuscript and acquired with the assistance of the Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

*Figure 10   Engraving of Syon Abbey Seal

Anonymous   Dimensions unspecified   1840 engraving of the 1415
seal.

Image Courtesy of Syon Abbey
See AUNGIER, George: *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery, The Parish of Isleworth and the Chapelry of Houndslow*, London, J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1840.

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