

Marginalia of the Geese Book:

Inside and Outside the Borders

by

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## ABSTRACT

The early-16th-century manuscript commonly known as the Geese Book (New York, Morgan Library, M. 905) contains the entire Mass liturgy sung by the boys choir of the parish church of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, Germany prior to the Reformation. This thesis addresses the location and function of the sometimes enigmatic marginalia and the decorated or historiated initials in this large two-volume gradual.

The paper begins with an analytical case study of a scene within the margins in which a wild woman, wielding a club, confronts a female dragon who has taken a child. Subsequently the size, subject matter, and physical positioning of the illuminations and decorations within the book and on its pages are examined with respect to the gradual's liturgical contents. It is hoped that through such methods, new conversations may begin as to the roles that marginalia and decoration may play within the multiple organizational schemes within a musical text of this kind.

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family and friends. Thank you for the continuous support and encouragement in all its varied forms.

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## Introduction

For the purpose of this thesis, the functional roles fulfilled by the marginal illuminations of New York, Morgan Library, M. 905 will be explored within the framework of its text. Commonly known as the Geese Book, New York, Morgan Library, M. 905 is a two volume gradual that contains the complete Pre-Reformation Mass liturgy of the parish church of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, Germany.<sup>1</sup> Compiled between 1504 and 1510, the Geese Book was created under the auspices of the Nuremberg City Council and St. Lorenz provosts, Sixtus Tucher and Anton Kress. Throughout the two volumes of 560 vellum folios, one finds page after page of musical notation and accompanying words in Latin. Written in *textualis* and almost entirely in black ink, it is visually mesmerizing in its consistency, but every once and awhile there is a noticeable break in the text.

In these instances, color and image come out to play, breaching the visual monotony of the manuscript's written content in the form of marginal decoration. Ranging in subject matter from plants, animals, humans and hybrids, the depictions inhabit the margins of thirty-seven pages of the Geese Book and are only found in the presence of illuminated initials and at the beginning of feast days. As with most encounters with marginalia, one's first impulse is to inquire if: a) the images have any assigned meanings or b) do they have an added degree of significance to the text that goes beyond their iconographic potential. In an attempt to address such queries as they

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<sup>1</sup> The manuscript folios are approximately 65 by 44 cm in size which equates to the approximate surface area of five standard American, 8 ½ x 11 inch pieces of paper.

pertain to the Geese Book, this thesis will survey the descriptive and organizational levels on which marginalia appear to function within the text.

The first chapter in this thesis will address the question of ascribed connotations by presenting an analysis of a single marginal illumination of a wild woman and the established interpretations which surround her figure. This reading will then be compared to the Geese Book's depiction of the figure, the wild woman's *bas-de-page* scene and the image's corresponding chant. The second chapter will widen the investigative perspective further to address whether or not the manuscript's marginalia fulfill additional roles beyond that of recognized conventions of the margins.<sup>2</sup> This chapter will contemplate the possibility that the contents of the borders assists in reinforcing a visual hierarchy within the gradual. In order to accomplish this, the physical placement of marginalia, the relationships they have to the illuminated initials in the text and the visual balance/imbalance that the images provide in the gradual will be explored.

The Geese Book is an ideal object for this type of case study for two reasons: first, until recently with the development of "Opening the Geese Book" website and its associated collaborative project, of which this author was a participant, only a limited

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<sup>2</sup> See Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992); Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), 80, 118, 126; Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and Their Makers* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 33-47; Timothy Graham and Raymond Clemens, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); Alixe Bovey, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Laura Kendrick, "Making Sense of Marginalized Images in Manuscripts and Religious Architecture," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 274-294.

amount of research had been conducted upon the Geese Book and its illuminations.<sup>3</sup> In 1990, Corine Schleif's, *Donatio et memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg* was printed. In 2001 Volker Schier wrote the article, "Musik im rituellen Kontext: Die Messe zur Nürnberger Heiltumsweisung," and in 2002 Schier and Scheif's joint efforts produced, "Das Gänsebuch: Stimmen vom Rand und aus der Mitte," which has now been expanded and placed online at the Geese Book website.<sup>4</sup> Outside of both Schleif's and Schier's work, prior publications include the catalog entries of two texts: a museum exhibition publication from 1986 by the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in

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<sup>3</sup> "Opening the Geese Book," Volker Schier and Corine Schleif, accessed March 31, 2013, <http://geesebook.asu.edu>. As an intern on the "Opening the Geese Book" project, I was provided with the opportunity to work directly with the manuscript and research not only the relationships established between the gradual's text and illuminated images, but also the decorated capitals, marginal flourishes, rubrics, etc. within the Geese Book.

<sup>4</sup> Corine Schleif, *Donatio et memoria: Stifter, Stiftungen und Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1990); Volker Schier, "Musik im rituellen Kontext: Die Messe zur Nürnberger Heiltumsweisung," in *Cantus Planus, International Musicological Society Study Group, Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom & Visegrád, 1998*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest, 2001), 237-251, Volker Schier and Corine Schleif, "Das Gänsebuch: Stimmen vom Rand und aus der Mitte," *St. Lorenz: Der Hallenchor und das Gänsebuch, Verein zur Erhaltung der St. Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg*, ns 48 (2002): 64-75. An updated and expanded version is available online: Volker Schier and Corine Schleif, "Opening the Geese Book," accessed March 31, 2013, <http://geesebook.asu.edu/docs/GeesbookProbe.pdf>. See also Volker Schier, "Tropi in ecclesia sancti laurentii in nuremberg. Nürnberger Quellen für die Bamberger Tropenpraxis," *Neues Musikwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* 7 (1998): 9-44, and Volker Schier and Corine Schleif, "Seeing and Singing, Touching and Tasting the Holy Lance: The Power and Politics of Embodied Religious Experience in Nuremberg 1424-1524," in *Signs of Change - Christian Traditions in the West: Meaning and Representation in the Arts 1000-2000*, ed. Claus Cluver, Nicolas Bell, and Nils Holger Petersen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 401-426.

New York City entitled, *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg 1300-1550*<sup>5</sup> and a 1999 book by Ulrich Merkl, entitled *Buchmalerei in Bayern in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts: Spätblüte und Endzeit einer Gattung*.<sup>6</sup> Lacking any further extensive publication or scrutiny, the Geese Book's marginalia are essentially free of any established interpretations, making the images that are found within the manuscript's pages especially tempting objects on which to work.

The second reason for choosing the Geese Book is that, as a general rule, the study of medieval marginalia does not find itself rooted in the research of material found within musical texts such as graduals. Instead it is dependent upon the most common type of surviving illuminated material, private devotional objects such as books of hours.<sup>7</sup> Containing everything from the canonical prayers and hymns to psalms and readings, the texts were meant for everyday use by individuals and/or the members of a household or a family. As a result, the visual contents of these devotional objects were modified to suit their patrons' preferences and monetary limitations. Commissioned and presented as gifts, status symbols and devotional tools, the decorations upon their folios ranged from the uncomplicated to the elaborate, humorous to crass, and heavenly to mundane.

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<sup>5</sup> William D. Wixom, "no. 53: Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 905," in *Gothic and Renaissance art in Nuremberg, 1300-1550*, ed. Rainer Kahsnitz (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 186-191.

<sup>6</sup> Ulrich Merkl, *Buchmalerei in Bayern in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts: Spätblüte und Endzeit einer Gattung* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 1999), 385-387.

<sup>7</sup> See Jean Longnon, Raymond Cazelles, and Millard Miess, *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*, trans. Victoria Benedict. (New York: G. Braziller, 1969); Brunetto Latini, *The Book of Treasure*, trans. Paul Barrette and Spurgeon Baldwin (New York: Garland Pub., 1993).

Marginalia was usually chosen and laid down within a text's pages without documented reason or explanation and the exploration into the meanings behind their presence has become the subject matter in fields of study such as, Art History, Anthropology, and Feminist Theory. For example, there are books dedicated to the exploration of individual medieval archetypes and their possible meanings, such as *The Image of the Stag – Iconographic Themes in Western Art* by Michael Bath, which presents a select collection of the most common themes connected to the depiction of a stag in Western European images.<sup>8</sup> Theoretical works such as Madeline Caviness' 2001 electronic book, "Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries," which explores the construction of gender identities and social boundaries from a feminist perspective via the identification of females as the Other in images.<sup>9</sup> And anthropological texts from authors such as Roger Bartra and his *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*, which traces the roots of the fictional Western European character known as the Wild Man.<sup>10</sup>

But consider what would happen to the conclusions drawn in these works if the function of the manuscript were to be changed. Would marginalia fulfill the same roles? What investigative approaches should be used if the format of text were changed in some manner? In the end, this case study will move a viewer from the margin's figure and scene-focused world of iconographic studies to a vantage point which considers the place

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<sup>8</sup> Michael Bath, *The Image of the Stag: Iconographic Themes in Western Art* (Baden-Baden: V. Koerner, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> "Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries," Madeline H. Caviness, accessed February 8, 2013. <http://dca.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness/>.

<sup>10</sup> Roger Bartra, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

of marginalia as organizational tools for the practical use of a medieval gradual. This approach offers readers an opportunity to evaluate varying levels on which marginalia can play in not only starring roles, but supporting ones as well. In return, it is hoped that this new method of pulling back the investigative lens from marginal character, margin to chant to manuscript, will allow new conversations to be started about marginalia and the roles they fulfill within the physical context of manuscripts.

### **The Image within the Margins**

Turning to bottom margin of folio 122r in volume two of the Geese Book, an image of a fur covered woman, a female dragon and a child of unknown gender bookended by multicolored branches of decorative rinceaux can be seen (fig. 1). On the left side of the *bas-de-page* illumination, the woman is painted standing upright. With her body depicted in a twisting position, the front of her torso and proper right leg are directed towards the viewer as her head is shown in three-quarters angle (fig. 2). Caught in a moment of action, the woman's proper right arm is in the process of being drawn back as she wields a wooden club and prepares to strike the dragon whose curling tail she has grasped in her left hand. The woman is shown with long blonde hair waving behind her, unclothed and yet, not completely bare to the proverbial elements. Rather than being concealed by woven cloth, her body is instead covered by a fine coat of golden hair from collar bone to ankle with the exception of her breasts, knees, and hands. A representative of a very specific niche of medieval femininity known as the wild woman, she is the starting point for this tableau and will be the initial focus of this paper.

At the center of the image and to the proper left of the wild woman is her would-be antagonist, the dragon. Shown in profile, the dragon is decidedly female in gender

with clearly defined dugs located on her underbelly and positioned close to her hind legs (fig. 3). Yellow skin covers the majority of the female dragon's body with the exception of her two wings which display red undersides and blue topsides. The overall countenance of this being is not necessarily that of a fearsome dragon such as those found in the stories of *Beowulf* or the *Volsunga Saga*: a male or gender neutral creature with a fierce sharp visage, fire-spitting, violent and larger than life in proportion and behavior.<sup>11</sup> Instead, the Geese Book's dragon is presented with softened features reminiscent of an adolescent animal such as a puppy, complete with flopping ears and smooth rounded flesh. On the left side of the scene is the last figure in the illumination, a nude blonde child who is grasped in the dragon's maw. In this marginal image, the baby has been depicted in a moment of stunned silence by the illuminator, with its mouth agape, arms outstretched and bloody red rivulets running down its back. The child's plea for help is directed implicitly towards the woman with its gaze, while its entire body is placed at a diagonal to that of the dragon's, turned away from the physical boundaries of the gradual's edges (fig. 4).

Returning focus to the wild woman, an individual cannot help but wonder at the reasoning behind her presence in the manuscript. This is especially true when considering that she is the only other female depicted in the Geese Book's margins other than Mary, the mother of Jesus, Mary's mother Anne and Mary's cousin Elizabeth. Who exactly was this wild woman and what place did she hold in the medieval mindset that allowed for her depiction alongside such company? An exploration into her medieval

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<sup>11</sup> *Beowulf*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004); *The Saga of the Volsungs: the Norse Epic of Sigurd the Dragon Slayer*, trans. Jesse L. Byock (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

visual and verbal existence, finds that scattered across western Europe, images and accounts of the wild persona are found in everything from travel tales, ‘encyclopedic’ entries, short stories and epics, illuminated manuscripts, tapestries, sculpture and prints.<sup>12</sup> Although examples may be abundant in number, the sources which contain them provide only brief glimpses into the possible meanings and motivations assigned to their presence. As a result, both wild women and men maintained a consistent, but subsidiary presence in the written and visual vocabulary of the Middle Ages, often acting as descriptive subtitles for an ever-evolving medieval Otherness. Interestingly, during the process of exploring the wild persona, this writer has found that the bulk of modern day research does not stray far from the work of a single author.

#### An Interpretation of the Wild Woman

Since the early 1950’s, the academic touchstone and primary source for research on medieval wild men and women has been Richard Bernheimer’s book, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology*.<sup>13</sup> While focused primarily

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<sup>12</sup> In the city of Nuremberg, actors in the local *Fastnachtspiel* would actually dress up as wild men and women for one specific part of the festival. James R. Erb, “Fictions, Realities and the Fifteenth-Century Nuremberg Fastnachtspiel,” in *Carnival and the Carnavalesque: The Fool, the Reformer, the Wildman, and Others in Early Modern Theatre*, ed. Konrad Eisenbichler and Wim Hüskén (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 89-116. and Samuel Kinser, “Wildmen in Festival, 1300-1550,” in *Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages*, ed. W.F.H. Nicolaisen (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Text & Studies, 1995), 145-160; Nils Holger Petersen, ed., *The Appearances of Medieval Rituals: The Play of Construction and Modification* (Turnhout: Brepols: 2004).

<sup>13</sup> Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952). Authors such as Roger Bartra and his Anthropological ‘ethnography’ of wild people, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*, and Timothy Husband’s writing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s exhibition catalog, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, hold Bernheimer’s work at the heart of their studies while adding supporting



upon the figure of the wild man, the author does assert in his work that both wild men and women were expressions of humanity's unacknowledged psychological impulses and baser instincts. According to Bernheimer, these urges were principally negative in tone and were articulated through the wild people and their "...impulses of reckless physical self-assertion..."<sup>14</sup> Prone to bouts of extreme violence, erotic exploits, and spiritual unawareness, the wild man and woman represented the very ideal of the anti-human in Western medieval society for the vast majority of the Middle Ages. Positioned to be psychologically present and yet at the same time physically distant, wild people were socially constructed personifications of the Other.

According to Bernheimer, such behavioral attributes could be traced to monstrous beings found within classical writings by authors such as the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE Herodotus and his *Histories*,<sup>15</sup> in which he describes giants, headless men, *cynocephali* and any number of additional beings roaming about the distant countryside in various bestial states. Or in Pliny the Elder's 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, *Natural History*, which continued the descriptive trend with tales of a forest-dwelling group of beings named *silvestres*, who were covered in hair, possessed yellowed eyes, long canines and were incapable of

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material to the early developmental period and Renaissance translation of the medieval wild character. Timothy Husband and Gloria Gilmore-House, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980); Edward Dudley and Maximilian Novak, *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972); Gregory Forth, "Images of Wildman Inside and Outside Europe," *Folklore* 118 (2007): 261-281; Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, *Die wilden Leute des Mittelalters: Ausstellung vom 6. September bis zum 30. Oktober 1963* (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg, 1963).

<sup>14</sup> Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, 3.

<sup>15</sup> Herodotus, *Herodotus: In Four Volumes*, trans. A.D. Godley 2 (London: William Heinemann, 1928), 191, 3.

producing recognizable human speech.<sup>16</sup> By the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE, Isidore of Seville had become one of the first major Christian writers to begin compiling the various descriptions of ‘monstrous’ beings from these classical accounts into a single document entitled, *Etymologies*.<sup>17</sup> While moralized and/or elaborated by each successive author and compiler, such encyclopedic entries and their basic behavioral and physical portrayals of othered creatures remained largely unchanged until the 14<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>18</sup> In the case of the medieval wild man, one finds his behavioral traits remained relatively stable while his bodily characteristics had begun to solidify around specific visual features in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries CE.

Unlike its fantastical cousins, the wild man of the High to Late Middle Ages became more human in appearance, bringing him closer to the ordered world of mankind, but with a consistent visual cipher of hairiness that placed him well within the monstrous realm. This modification of his appearance allowed for the adoption of the wild persona by the Christian religion as a representation of all that was outside the prescribed behavior of the faithful. Instead of being included in only a broad-based classification of

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<sup>16</sup> Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, 87. The relation between Pliny’s *silvestres* and what we would more commonly identify today as an ape is a significant one. For later distinctions between the wild man and apes, would press the wild man towards the top of the animal kingdom and thereby lowering the relational and moral status of not only apes, but monkeys as well in the medieval visual hierarchy. For an additional travel tale example, see Ktêsias, *Ancient India as described by Ktêsias the Knidian*, trans. J.W. McCrindle (London: Trübner & Co., 1882).

<sup>17</sup> Isidore of Seville, *Isidore of Seville: The Medical Writings*, ed. William D. Sharpe, et al. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1964), 51-54; Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. Stephen A. Barney, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

<sup>18</sup> See Conrad von Megenberg, *Das Buch der Natur: Die erste Naturgeschichte in deutscher Sprache* (Greifswald: Julius Abel, 1897).

the Other, wild people began to be categorized into a more specified group of beings which included giants, werewolves and witches. Stories and depictions of wild people described them as solitary creatures that chose to live separated from civilized society and in their own social groups. They were believed to inhabit places unfit for humans, living in caves and crevices, inaccessible woods, lakes and bushes. Wild men were depicted physically as creatures prone to fighting and stealing human women from their homes for their own lustful purposes. Covered in unkempt hair, wild people were oftentimes seen crawling on their hands and knees, heads bent to the ground, signifying their inability to look to the heavens and contemplate their existence. On occasion, they could also be found carrying a large club or uprooted tree, existing on vegetation and raw meat, and coexisting peacefully with nature. They purportedly lacked the ability to form recognizable patterns of speech and were often pointed to for causing unexplained events.

In his book, Bernheimer argues that medieval people confronted wild people's existence on social and psychological levels. Instead of being seen as a step between the two worlds of human and animal, their condition was considered a descent into brutish life. The wild man and his female counterpart were products of a debased life that they could not escape unless they were raised in a civilized society, away from nature's savagery. Not only did the wild person straddle the gap between human and animal existence, but they also bridged the gap of mental stability and unpredictability. As a result of this form of social and psychological deterioration, the descent into wildness was often times seen as reversible, an idea that can be seen in various secular and sacred imaginary beings who were described as descending into and ascending from the wild state.

For example, from literary sources dating from the late fifteenth century, one can find versions of a tale about a knight named Valentine and his brother Orson.<sup>19</sup> Twins abandoned in the woods, the two brothers were separated and raised in completely different environments. Valentine was taken to court and trained to be a knight, while Orson was left on his own in the woods to eventually become a wild man. According to Bernheimer, the tale of Valentine and Orson records the journey of a wild man living in nature, free of social constraints, who is found and then dragged unwillingly back into society. Captured and presented to the court, Orson begins to return to his prior human state in the presence of his brother. He learns to socially and politically maneuver within the confines of the court, even before he learns to verbally communicate. He is bathed, shaved and clothed, thus removing all external indications of his previous fall into wildness. And through a process of re-education, Orson adopts proper social manners and gains the ability to speak. In the final step of the character's reorientation, Orson is trained as a knight and joins the Church. His knightly task is one that he willingly performs for a period of time, until one day he decides to return to the woods he was taken from to live as a hermit and devote himself to the worship of God.

Between the late 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, a new trend began to develop around the profile of wild people due to an ever-increasing disillusionment with existing political and religious powers. In a poem by Nuremberg native, Hans Sachs, entitled "Lament of the Wild Forest Folk over the Perfidious World," society and the 'wild' existence are

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<sup>19</sup> See *Valentine and Orson*, trans. Henry Watson and ed. Arthur Dickson (London: Oxford University Press, 1937).

juxtaposed from the point of view of the wild man.<sup>20</sup> “Alas! Society corrupts, And rampant perfidy erupts, As justice suffers out of sight, Injustice prospers in the light,” the ode begins. After which follows eighty-five verses of prose, where loan sharks, money changers, murderers, and the rich are all placed side by side while the author details the prevalence of vices, bloodshed, backstabbing, gossip and the like as being rampant in society.<sup>21</sup> According to Sachs, things like loyalty, sympathy, humility, propriety and friendliness were in short supply or no longer in existence, thus concluding “...to sum it up in short, We find the things of evil sort, Embraced by all society, While all the best variety, Is driven out or just destroyed.”<sup>22</sup> For those driven into the woods in order to escape the corruption of society, they would find the simplicity of life as lived by the wild people. It was a existence where children were protected, man and animal lived together in harmony, and sunlight, clean water, and edible vegetation were bountiful. The wild people of the poem were united in their simple lives, thankful to the Lord for all the gifts of their existence and were patiently waiting for the redemption of those who choose to live outside of their wooded boundaries. The change in perspective that is seen in Hans Sachs’ writing, transformed the wild people from a group of figures whose actions and lifestyles were to be avoided to individuals, living an ideal life, unencumbered by influences of a corrupt and unjust society.

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<sup>20</sup> See Husband, *The Wild Man*, 202-204, for the complete German text of the poem and its English translation.

<sup>21</sup> Husband, *The Wild Man*, 202.

<sup>22</sup> Husband, *The Wild Man*, 203.

To paraphrase Bernheimer, the wild person had over time become a familiar outlet for Western European society to express itself.<sup>23</sup> As a physical hybrid of man and monster, the wild man's persona was part animal: aggressive, violent, and impulsive, and part custodian of the wilderness: benevolent keeper of the animals and the forest, free from the ills of society. In effect, the wild man was the embodiment of the dividing line between the civilized and uncivilized behaviors that his audience's psychology straddled. The 'wild' being was modified in stages, initially created as an expression of fear of the Other and the distant, it was morphed into a representation of a mental and physical state that could be overcome. Until finally, in a complete switch of roles with humankind, the wild man became an object of admiration, whose lifestyle and natural environment was seen as idealized. Thus amplified, suppressed and otherwise mediated, the wild man and woman became amalgamations of fears of the unknown, and religious and social ideals.<sup>24</sup>

When considering Bernheimer's interpretation of the wild woman specifically, one finds that the main focus of his work is based upon the figure's erotic connotations as seen within medieval literary and oral traditions. In these works there were characters such as Faengge, who was said to have lived in the woods, emitted a foul smell and was ogreish in appearance. With matted hair and breasts so large that they had to be flung over her shoulders when she ran, she was reported to kidnap and eat small children.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages*, 7.

<sup>24</sup> See "Wildemann" in *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. Karl Weigand, et al. 30 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1960), 63-66 and "Wildfrau, Wildefrau," in *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, ed. Karl Weigand, et al. 30 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1960), 80, for examples of the varying guises wild people fulfilled.

<sup>25</sup> "Fängge," in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, eds. Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer and Christoph Daxelmüller 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987), 1184-1189.

Then there were transformative figures such as Raue Else, who initially was said to have crawled on all fours and was covered with wet, slimy and matted hair. In the German epic *Wolfdietrich*, she approaches the tale's namesake and boldly requests his love. When he denies her romantic advances, she casts a spell upon him in revenge, forcing him to wander senseless through the wilderness and live as a wild man. As time passes, Raue Else eventually agrees to free Wolfdietrich from her magic, but it is a release that comes with a set of conditions for both characters; she has to agree to be baptized while he has to agree to love her. The bargain struck, Wolfdietrich is soon returned to his human state and Raue Else is baptized, it is an action which results in her transformation into the beautiful princess known as Sigeminne.<sup>26</sup>

#### Literary versus Visual Examples of the Wild Woman

Stepping away from the literary interpretation of the wild woman and turning to the available visual examples what is discovered is that, unlike her male counterpart who begins to make an appearance as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the medieval wild woman only begins to be visually represented in the late 14<sup>th</sup> to early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Whether this is owing to an infrequency of production or accidents of survival, one can only speculate, but visual representations of the wild woman are much fewer in number than those of her male counterpart. What appears as a result from this split between her visual and literary worlds is a collection of images that present the wild female persona in a manner that is in opposition to the pre-existing oral and written traditions.<sup>27</sup> With few exceptions, the

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<sup>26</sup> J.W. Thomas, *Ornit and Wolfdietrich: Two Medieval Romances* (Columbia: Camden House, 1986).

<sup>27</sup> See Michelle Mosely-Christian, "From Page to Print: the transformation of the 'wild

wild woman was visually depicted as calm, young, attractive, and well groomed versus the varied written descriptions which utilized terms such as slimy, odorous, ogre, and hag. Thus, as a result the characteristics of the wild woman were shifted from the sexually aggressive, violent, and grotesque beings of literature to depictions of relatively passive and benign figures.

Concentrating on those images of wild woman that are from the same time frame of the Geese Book, an individual finds that the figure's visual role was fairly streamlined. In these depictions the wild woman filled the positions of mother, mate of the wild man and symbol of fecundity. Where the 'monstrous' and othered beings of the early medieval period were creatures of the dark woods and distant places, the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>-century wild women were residents of nearby wildernesses, they were involved in agricultural pursuits and living in family units in which they cared for the young and the males protected and provided meals for the group. An example of this cooperative community can be seen in a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century Swiss tapestry located at the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna (fig. 5). In this work, the viewer can find images of wild men and women covered in bright multi-colored fur of reds, blues and greens, plowing a field, sowing seeds and harvesting grain. On panel carvings on a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century, German, boxwood *Minnekästchen* located in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum, there are images of a wild couple embracing, wild men hunting, a wild woman suckling a child and a wild man pursuing a fleeing griffin that has made off with a child in its beak (fig. 6).

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woman' in early modern Northern engravings," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 27 (2011): 429-442, for a discussion on this disconnect between the literary and the visual representation.



Along these same lines, the community conscious and pastoral wild persona had also become a visual model for a single family unit. This familial configuration can be found in an early example, dated to approximately 1475, that was created by the monogrammed artist known as Master bxg from Nuremberg (fig. 7). Housed in the Albertina museum in Vienna, an example of this engraving shows a wild family seated beside a ground spring. To the left of the image, the wild woman is sitting on a low rise and holding a nude infant on her lap, who is reaching out to its father positioned to its proper left. The father, also seated upon the ground, has his body turned so that it is facing the mother and infant, while his head is turned to an older hair-covered child who is leaning into his left shoulder. Another example of this imagery can be seen in Jean Bourdichon's four-piece series entitled, *Four Conditions of Society*, which was produced between 1505 and 1510 (fig. 8). In an image from the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque in Paris, known as the "Wild Condition," a wild man stands with a stripped branch of a tree in his proper right hand. He is positioned between the entrance of a cave to his right and a spring to his left, as a wild woman who is suckling a hairless child is seated in the foreground.

Depicted on her own, the wild woman can be found populating a tapestry fragment from the Historisches Museum in Basel. Dated to approximately 1500, a viewer is shown a scene of a wild woman covered in blue hair, seated in a verdant landscape on a low rise with a unicorn lying at her feet and its head resting across her lap (fig. 9). The wild woman can also be discovered in images such as the one located in the text commonly known as the Nuremberg Chronicle, printed in 1493 by Anton Koberger in Germany. In a copy of the book located at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich,

the wild woman can be seen to the left side of a map which straddles folios 12v and 13r. One of seven depictions of monstrous races listed, she is placed in a reserved box that is positioned second from the top and located between depictions of a being with six arms above and a man with six fingers on either hand below. Seated awkwardly on the ground, she is drawn with her hair floating *en masse* behind her body, her legs crossed at the ankles and her hands with palms raised, directing the viewer's eye to the map beside her.<sup>28</sup> Finally there are also depictions of wild women as bearers of coats of arms, such as the example created by Martin Schongauer in Colmar circa 1485 from the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York (fig. 10). In this engraving the wild woman is shown seated on a rocky outcrop, beside and supporting a shield to her right that is decorated with a lion's head. On the wild woman's left, in her arms and seated on her thigh, is a suckling wild child.

#### The Geese Book's Wild Woman versus Existing Visual Examples

When placing the Geese Book's depiction of the wild woman alongside such examples, one needs to verify if her actions fit within the established scope of her mid to late medieval visual roles. In the specific case of the Geese Book, she is shown as a mother figure defending and attempting to rescue a child from the grasp of a dragon. The idea of a wild woman engaging in a physical confrontation, while perhaps rare, was not unheard of in the medieval world. This can be demonstrated with an illuminated page from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, French manuscript entitled, *Le lièvre et la vraye histoire du bon roy Alixandre*. Located at the British Library in London, the manuscript folio depicts

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<sup>28</sup> See *Liber chronicarum Nürnberg 1493.07.12* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, July 12 1493), accessed February 19, 2013, [http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00034024/image\\_95](http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0003/bsb00034024/image_95).

Alexander the Great and his soldiers battling a group of armed wild people and wild boars (fig. 11). On the left side of the image, a viewer is presented with a densely packed group of armored military troops with pikes, swords and battle axes, who are being led into the fight by the crowned and crimson and gold swathed Alexander. To the right, a wild woman precedes her male companions in meeting the oncoming army with a sword that is raised above her head in her left hand. Covered in a thick coat of blond hair, she is contrasted against her male companions who are covered in hair of various shades of grey and brown. The wild men are wielding swords, wooden clubs, and pikes, and they are accompanied by a group of wild, long tusked boars who are the first among the group to be injured in the fight.

In searching for additional examples of wild women defending children on their own, this author's efforts have yielded nothing. Instead what was discovered was that when faced with a moment of familial defense, the available visual record contained examples of wild men engaging in protective actions. The closest approximation of a possible female defender has been located in a work by the 15<sup>th</sup>-century artist known as Master bxg (fig. 12). In this print found in the Biblioteca del Museo Correr in Venice, the scene is composed as if it is almost a prelude to the scene located in the Geese Book. The image does not contain a battle scene at all; instead in the engraving a wild woman is shown seated on the ground with a wild child placed upon her right leg. Directly behind her and the child is a grouping of rocky outcrops from around which a monstrous creature approaches. Located to the right of the image, the animal exhibits some similar physical features as that of the Geese Book's female dragon. It has a stalky and well-muscled body, clawed feet, a curling tail and possible dugs located near its hind legs. However,

there are also two significant differences, the first being an apparent lack of wings and the second, a lack of a docile visage. Instead of softened and adolescent features, Master bxg's creature has fine spikes along its tail, a comb upon its head and jowls, and a sharp, curved beak-like mouth that is opened threateningly towards the child and wild woman.

Even if at this time an additional visual example has not been discovered, during a moment such as this it would be easy to imagine the wild woman stepping into the role of defender and engaging in a struggle for the life of a child. Separated from literary traditions, the Geese Books' wild woman finds her place among the other late medieval representations of wild mothers. She is the defender and rescuer of a helpless child whose fate relies solely on her actions. But one needs to consider what would happen to this interpretation if one were to take into account its possible connection to the chant that it is highlighting: Would the interpretation of the scene and figure remain the same? Would it be additionally modified? Or perhaps, would it be determined that the marginal decoration has no association at all to the text?

### Saints, Dragons and the Text

Extending from folio 122r to folio 124r, the chant chosen to host the wild woman and her companions is dedicated to the feast of All Saints. According to *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, All Saints Day is a holy day of obligation that was created expressly for the purpose of venerating all of the saints, martyrs and blessed figures of the Church.<sup>29</sup> Celebrated on November 1<sup>st</sup> of each calendar year, the feast also offered parishioners the opportunity to atone for any of the individual feast days for the saints and the blessed

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<sup>29</sup> "All Saints, Solemnity of," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Berard L. Marthaler 1 (New York: Gale, 2003), 288-290.

that may have been missed over the course of the year. In the text from the Geese Book, this idea is on full display with the long list of those to whom praise is being given. Among this contingent, one will find saints, seraphim, apostles, monks, martyrs, and virgins, to name but a few. When one considers the roles that the saints and other holy figures fulfill and the text of the All Saints Day chant, two fairly direct connections can be made to the wild woman's depiction.

First, in the hagiographic book called the *Golden Legend*, which was popular from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onward, there are numerous tales of saints having had their own physical clashes with various incarnations of a dragon.<sup>30</sup> Two examples of such encounters can be drawn from episodes in the lives Saint Martha of Tarascon and Saint George of Cappadocia, where in one tale a solicited request for assistance is made while in the other, chance plays a role in a saint's appearance. In the tale of Saint Martha, one finds that her encounter with the creature comes at the behest of a town beset by a dragon from Galatia. Terrorized by the animal, the townspeople of Nerluc prayed for assistance and were answered with the saint's appearance. Encountering the dragon as he was devouring a man, Saint Martha cast holy water on the dragon, made the sign of the cross and then bound him with her girdle. As a result, the dragon was immobilized and made vulnerable to attack by the people of the village, who in turn slayed the animal to protect their home. In the story of Saint George, on the other hand, it was happenstance that brought him to the rescue rather than a direct plea for help. In the account of his life, the saint comes across the daughter of a local king who had been chosen to be sacrificed to a

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<sup>30</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger Ryan 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

marauding dragon for the protection of her village. Subduing the dragon, saving the girl and returning to the village with all in tow, Saint George provides the townspeople the option of having the dragon released or slayed with the condition that they agree to be baptized and believe in God. Choosing baptism over the continued sacrifice of their people, Saint George in turn slays the dragon before continuing on his journey. In this instance, there was not a voluntary spiritual plea from a group of individuals for assistance, but instead actions were taken by the saint which resulted in a group of newly baptized faithful to be included in the Christian fold.

With both examples, the physical presence of the dragon was used as a threat to the wellbeing of a group of individuals, and in both instances the confrontations which ensued ended with the ultimate destruction of the dragon by means of either direct action from the townspeople or a communal decision. The defeat of the dragon also takes on another level of significance when one accounts for the overall negative connotations that were a part of the animal's liturgical reputation.<sup>31</sup> This medieval perception of dragons, was due in part to written sources like the Vulgate Bible which contained such reptilian incarnations as the dragon of the Apocalypse. A being, who was described as the great dragon that "...was cast out [of Heaven], that old serpent, who is called the devil and

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<sup>31</sup> See Joyce Tally Lionarons, *The Medieval Dragon: The Nature of the Beast in Germanic Literature* (Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, 1998); Sydney Higgins, "Playing the Serpent: Devil, Virgin or Mythical Beast?" in *European Medieval Drama 2* (1998): 207-214; Robert Muchembled, *A History of the Devil: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003); *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery*, eds. Leland Ryken, James C. Wilhoit and Tremper Longman III (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1998) and Ernest Ingersoll, *Dragons and Dragon Lore* (Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968).

Satan, who seduceth the whole world.”<sup>32</sup> With such overt associations between the image of a dragon and the devil, the implied danger to the people who were assisted by Saint Martha and baptized by Saint George may not only be seen as physical danger, but a spiritual threat as well.

Turning to the wild woman *bas-de-page* and comparing her actions to those as performed in the tales of Saints Martha and George, we see a visual parallel between her physical confrontation and the struggles of the saints with their own dragons. In the Geese Book, the wild woman’s actions are overtly physical as she attempts to intervene in a situation which, left unchecked, may lead to the death of a defenseless child. This type of end result could also be implied with the story of Saint George and the consequences that would have occurred if his battle had not taken place, but with the victims of his inaction in this tale being the unbaptized king’s daughter and her village.<sup>33</sup> This is also true of the story of Saint Martha, who intervened at the request of the townspeople of Nerluc and allowed the community to destroy the dragon who was consuming members of their town. It is this concept of intervention, be it physical or

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<sup>32</sup> *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*, ed. Swift Edgar (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), Revelation 12:9.

<sup>33</sup> On a side note, when one considers the varied depictions of Saint George and his encounter with the dragon, one finds that among a select group of German prints the dragon that is being defeated has dugs or other female genitalia. An example of such an image can be found in the 1511 print by the German artist, Albrecht Altdorfer entitled, “Saint George Killing the Dragon.” In this image, the viewer looks onto a scene which displays a heavily armored and plumed Saint George and his mount, towering over a female dragon who has fallen onto her side and is in the process of turning on her back, exposing four dugs on her underbelly. Just above the dragon’s head and front shoulder, located in the mid-ground of the picture, the king’s daughter kneels on bended knee with her hands folded in prayer. See Samantha Riches, *St. George: Hero, Martyr and Myth* (Thrupp: Sutton Publishing, 2000), for an interpretation of this particular pictorial trend as it relates specifically to the figure of Saint George and the role of masculine dominance over the feminine.

spiritual, which may be associated with the words of the “Omnes sancti seraphin” sequence of the Feast of All Saints Day (table 1).<sup>34</sup>

A second point of connection between saints and the wild woman comes in the guises of the penitent saints whose stories and depictions tell of their individual dances upon the line between madness and civilized behavior. According to Timothy Husband in *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, medieval Christian interpretations of afflictions of the body and mind stated that “disease served three major functions: it was a test of man’s moral and religious fiber, which would spiritually elevate his early existence; it was a purgation to achieve salvation through the expiation of sin; and it was a punishment for religious disobedience or serious lapses in faith.”<sup>35</sup> Thus, penitent saints whose lives were based upon voluntary social isolation, physical deprivation, and spiritual enlightenment were viewed as being inflicted by a form of illness or insanity. Examples of ascetic saints include Saint Mary of Egypt, Saint Mary Magdalene and Saint Onuphrius. In the wild, the saints sought out shelter in caves and forests; they were sometimes described as foraging for vegetation and other times they would become totally dependent upon the mercy of God to sustain them.

During these times of prolonged solitude, the hagiographic tales of such saints spoke of the rotting away of the ascetic’s clothes and the way their bodies would wrap their figures with a protective hairy coat. It was with these commonly held attributes of antisocial behavior, rustic lifestyles and the physical cipher of hairiness that ascetic saints

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<sup>34</sup> See “Omnes sancti seraphin” in *Early Medieval Chants from Nonantola: Part IV: Sequences*, eds. James Borders and Lance W. Brunner (Madison: A-R Editions, 1999), lxiii, for translation of sequence. All other translations were completed by the author with the assistance of Volker Schier.

<sup>35</sup> Husband, *The Wild Man*, 8.



were connected to the wild persona. As a result, this association was often reflected through the physical depiction of saints as can be seen in the work of Jörg Schweiger's *The Ecstasy of Saint Mary Magdalene* (fig. 13). Located in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett in Basel, Schweiger's drawing depicts Saint Mary Magdalene as she is in the midst of being lifted by heavenly angels during her celestial meal. Supported by four angels, two on either side and positioned at her elbows and feet, she is drawn with her body heavenly swathed by the angels in a cloak that covers her naked body. All that can be seen of her physical form is a portion Mary Magdalene's bared torso and arms which are directly reflective of the Geese Book's wild woman with her hair covered body and hairless breasts and hands.

Between reclusive ascetics, saintly battles with dragons, and the feast day dedicated to their actions and those of their blessed counterparts, the actions taking place in the margin of 122r can be seen in a different light. The wild woman, whose initial visual identity could be interpreted as a late medieval wild mother defending her young, has morphed into a physical representation of intervention for and in defense of the innocent. But, what comes next after an iconographic analysis such as this? It is a natural stopping point, one at which marginalia studies usually tend to conclude their work. What would happen if another step back was taken and a shift in perspective was made so that the marginal decorations as a whole could be considered within the confines of the gradual? In the context of the Geese Book, the roles marginalia play as visual descriptors of an illuminated text is only one function out of many that the manuscript's images could fulfill.

## Beyond the Margins

As a gradual, New York, Morgan Library, M. 905 supplied the choral parts of the Mass liturgy for the church year and was used in conjunction with other liturgical manuscripts. Comparable to other large format graduals, the Geese Book consists of two volumes that divide the Church calendar into the *temporale* cycle (volume one) and the *sanctorale* cycle (volume two). Beginning with the season of Advent, feasts such as Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost are listed in successive order. In addition they are highlighted with marginalia and painted initials, the results of which create a visual hierarchy between those feast days that were illuminated and those that were not. This form of visual ranking was not unique in liturgical texts of the time, as can be seen in the 1507 *Bamberg Missal*.<sup>36</sup>

Providing the texts and chants for the priest, the missal's organization is also based on the liturgical calendar with its hierarchy being expressed through multiple visual systems of ranking. For example, the missal's calendar is located on the book's first six folios and it lists the months, divided into days along with their assigned feasts. Those days that were of greater significance were printed in red while those of lesser status were in black. In both the *Bamberg Missal* and the Geese Book, the visual systems appear to be straightforward and effective in their methods of representing hierarchy. However, upon closer inspection of the gradual's illuminated pages, a far more complex ranking system is revealed, one that includes the subject matter of the illuminated scenes and the Geese Book's liturgical hierarchy.

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<sup>36</sup> *Liber missalis secundum ordinem ecclesie Babenbergensis* (Bamberg: Georg Pfeyl, 1507), accessed February 22, 2013, [http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00024954/image\\_1](http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00024954/image_1).

## The Marginalia's Forms and Numeric Balance

However, before discussing the interplay between the margins, initials and the liturgy, the first step that needs to be taken is to record the ways in which the painted images are represented within the text. For example, in the margins of the Geese Book there are two distinct forms of marginalia: foliated and inhabited. As the term suggests, a foliated margin is filled with depictions of foliage and plant life. In the Geese Book, the vegetation-filled borders contain images of scrolling tendrils or branches, leaves, flowers and fruit, an example of which can be seen on folio 216r of volume one (fig. 14). The marginal decoration of this page contains multicolored tendrils and leaves of blue, red, green and yellow. Painted with beads of liquid gold interspersed between its branches, plant life fills the top, interior and bottom margins and spills partially into the outer border of the folio. The marginal decoration of the top and interior borders sprouts directly from ends of the illuminated D initial, located in the upper left corner of the writing area. It then spirals into the border space and in one instance, re-enters the initial's framework to wrap itself around the uppermost curve of the letter. The inhabited marginalia of the Geese Book, on the other hand, contain representations of humans, animals, and hybrids, as depicted in the *bas-de-page* image located on folio 186r in volume one.<sup>37</sup> Included in this scene, is an image of a male wolf, in the guise of a choir director, standing on its hind legs to the left of the picture (fig. 15). At center, a gaggle of geese is positioned before a lectern which displays an open musical manuscript. To the right, a fox is seated behind an unsuspecting goose with his forepaw placed upon its back.

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<sup>37</sup> This particular *bas-de-page* scene, is the source of New York, Morgan Library, M. 905's common name of the Geese Book.

To either side of this *bas-de-page* illumination, the familiar representations of vine work bookends the scene.

When comparing the illuminated pages of volumes one and two, they initially appear to be visually and numerically uneven. Volume one has nineteen painted folios compared to the eighteen found in volume two. While it is true that volume one appears to have one additional painted folio, it must be noted that there is a missing page from volume two of the Geese Book that affects this count. In table 2, the first four columns describe volume one and the remaining columns on the right contain information for volume two. In volume one, sixteen out of nineteen folios mark the beginning of a feast day; while only ten out of the eighteen decorated pages in the second volume are dedicated to feasts. The remaining three illuminated pages in the volume one and the eight from volume two designate collections of ordinary chants. In volume one, the sections are as follows: *Kyrie* and *Gloria* melodies, *Patrem* (Credo) melodies and *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* melodies. The last three segments of volume two also contain the same groups, however there is one major difference; the second volume contains the missing folio. Further investigation of the missing page indicates it would be folio 216 and the first folio for the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* section.

In table 2, to the left of the entry for missing folio 216 is the corresponding portion of text that is found within volume one of the Geese Book. Located on folio number 275r, the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* melodies in the first volume are listed as being decorated with a foliated design. The same is true of the of the *Patrem*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* melodies which follow and their counterparts in the second volume. If we assume that there is a visual balance between the illuminations in volumes one and two,

the missing folio in the second volume would also contain similar marginal content. If this hypothesis is correct, it restores the visual and numeric balance of nineteen illuminated folios per volume. To further validate the idea that the missing page contained a foliated border, a comparison of the marginal design was conducted between the two volumes. There are a total of eight foliated and eleven inhabited margins in the first volume, while in volume two there are only seven examples of the foliated form of marginal decoration. Based on the numeric pattern laid out in the first volume of the Geese Book, the missing folio in volume two would be foliated, restoring formal balance between the two volumes.

#### The Initials, Their Classification and Distribution

The next images in the Geese Book that will be discussed are those in the illuminated initials which provided their own visual balance to the manuscript, but with a distinctly different outcome. Like marginalia, the initials in volumes one and two of the Geese Book fall into two categories: foliated and historiated. An example of these forms of initials can be seen in figures 16a and 16b. The foliated D initial on 216r of volume one, shows the letter as being formed out of curling green acanthus leaves, placed upon a gold background, incised with scrolling line work at its center and striations radiating from the D's exterior. Figure 16b, depicts the Ascension within the interior curve of the letter V. Mary and the apostles are shown kneeling at the bottom of a hill with their hands folded in prayer as Jesus ascends into heaven, his feet disappearing into the clouds above with a set of footprints left in his wake.

When comparing initials to marginalia, the foliated versions of both appear to be relatively similar in respect to their depictions of plant life. However, when contrasting

inhabited marginalia to historiated initials, a disparity can be noted in respect to the subject matter. Both depict animals, humans and hybrids, however the historiated images display more concrete subject matter than that found in the inhabited scenes. Instead of the depictions of unspecific men, dogs, cats and birds, most of the gradual's initials contain scenes from the scriptures and the lives of the saints. Turning to the Geese Book's margins, an example of what may be considered a historiated depiction can also be found in the *bas-de-page* scene of the Nativity of Mary that is located on folio 103r of volume two (fig 17).<sup>38</sup> In the illustration of the birth of the Virgin, the image displays Mary's mother Anne lying in bed, having just given birth to her daughter with a woman standing by.<sup>39</sup> Surrounded by bundles of what appears to be wheat, the scene is framed and separated from the representations of plant life that also occupy its margins. Taking into account both the images in the margins and the initials, an analysis of their contents finds a collection of subject matter on display that ranges from a foliated design, to inhabited and historiated.

This variation in content leads to a final observation, the initials used in the folios of the Geese Book were created in two different sizes. As seen in figure 18, the first size is identified as Type A and the second size as Type B. The Type A initial is one musical

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<sup>38</sup> It should be noted at this juncture that the term historiated is not one that is applied to marginalia with any great frequency by academia at large, but it will be utilized later on in this paper for purposes that will be explained.

<sup>39</sup> In volume one and two, an individual finds that historiated marginalia appear only three times. Of those three instances, all exist in the second volume and all contain depictions relating to the life of Mary. First, there is the 'Conception of Mary' in which Joachim confides to his wife Anne that an angel came to him and told him they were with child (folio 31v). The second margin features the 'Visitation' where Mary goes to visit her cousin Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist (folio 49r). While the third and final border displays an image of the 'Nativity of Mary' (folio 103r).

staff high with the addition of the designated writing space below. The Type B initial is approximately double the height and width of Type A. According to Christopher de Hamel, artistically, hierarchy was transmitted through the content of illuminated initials, gradations in their colors, and the relative sizes of initials in texts.<sup>40</sup> Continuing this idea, Andrew Hughes also discusses the use and placement of initials for the promotion of hierarchy.<sup>41</sup> Stating that the decorations found within the initials, “[...] certainly are related to the size and importance of capital letters [...]”<sup>42</sup> Comparing this information to the Geese Book, one immediate correlation can be established: the largest in the Geese Book (Type B) would be considered to be more important than the smaller initial (Type A) and as a result would be placed higher on the hierarchic scale of the gradual. But, how exactly is the content of the Geese Book’s initials related to their size and in the end, the images in the margins?

### The Liturgical Calendar

The first volume of the Geese Book contains the moveable feasts of the Church’s *temporale*, which is composed of commemorations of the life of Christ. Many of the feast days of the *temporale* cycle have variable dates of celebration that rely on the

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<sup>40</sup> Christopher de Hamel, *The British Museum Guide to Manuscript Illumination History and Techniques* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 20; See Rowan Watson, *Illuminated Manuscripts and Their Makers* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 20-29; Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 54.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 103.

Andrews also discuss on page 121 of his book, that the use of visual ranking systems are found most consistently in books such as breviaries, missals, antiphonals and graduals which tend to contain liturgy arranged in order of their yearly cycle.

<sup>42</sup> Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 103.

placement of Easter. With its date of celebration dependent on the lunar calendar, Easter could in turn be celebrated on a given Sunday between the dates of March 23<sup>rd</sup> to April 26<sup>th</sup> over a period of thirty-five years. The major exception to the moveable dates of the *temporale*, however, is the Christmas cycle which has fixed days of celebration. The second volume, on the other hand, contains the fixed feast day calendar of the *sanctorale* which records the feasts of the saints. Working alongside each other, the two calendars are subject to varying degrees of modification depending upon the year, season, week and day on which feast days fall.<sup>43</sup>

In order to understand the shifting relationship of these two cycles, it may be beneficial to visualize the *temporale* and the *sanctorale* as two gears whose cogs are meshed with one another. With the *temporale* gear one finds that while the individual cogs or feasts of the calendar shift position around the circumference of the wheel, the teeth of the *sanctorale* are fixed in place on the edge of their respective gear. In applying the gear analogy to the Geese Book, when a feast of the *temporale* comes into alignment with a *sanctorale* day it can lead to conflict. This is especially important when recognizing that the feasts illuminated in the Geese Book, are not the only ones taking place within the greater scheme of the manuscript. An example of how these two calendars and their images combine can be found in table 3, in which the painted folios from the beginning of Advent to Epiphany are displayed. Here, the meshing of the two cycles results in movement back and forth between the two volumes of the Geese Book,

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<sup>43</sup> See Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, 3-20, for a demonstration of the many varied calculations and complications encountered with the combined use of the *temporale* and *sanctorale* during the liturgical year.



although the starting point of the liturgical season may begin with either volume one or two depending upon the date of celebration for Advent.<sup>44</sup>

### A Hierarchy of Images

The grouping of the feasts listed in table 3 by initial size, results in the first day of Advent, the feast of Saint Andrew, Christmas, Epiphany and the Purification of Mary being recorded as all having the same level of importance, a Type B initial. Separated from this group by their Type A initials are the feast of the Conception of Mary and the two folios dedicated to the eve of Christmas. The combined feasts of table 3, their subsequent hierarchical positions provided by their initials and their order of appearance in the liturgical calendar are seen in the following chart:

	Feast	Initial Size	Form of Initial	Form of Marginal Decoration
1	First Day in Advent	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
2	Saint Andrew, apostle and martyr	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
3	Christmas Day	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
4	Epiphany	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
5	Purification of Mary	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
6	Christmas Eve	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
7	Conception of Mary	Type A	Foliated	Historiated

Those days that occupy the highest rank in the scheme of table 3, all have a combination of a Type B historiated initial and an inhabited margin. However, the same consistency cannot be found in the feast days with Type A initials. For these feasts, their initials both contain foliated subject matter, but they differ in their marginal decoration.

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<sup>44</sup> This potential opening conflict appears to be the only found within the time period represented in the chart, however one needs to consider that there are an additional, twenty-one *sanctorale* feasts and eight *temporale* celebrations that also take place within this two-month span. With the incorporation of the rubricated feasts to the illuminated days, the probability of additional moments of overlap between these two cycles increases considerably.

Similar forms of deviation can also be seen when evaluating the rest of the Geese Book. Tallied, the variants can be found in six different combinations between the two volumes (table 4 and table 5):<sup>45</sup>

	Initial Size	Form of Initial	Form of Marginal Decoration
1	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
2	Type B	Historiated	Foliated
3	Type B	Foliated	Inhabited
4	Type B	Foliated	Foliated
5	Type A	Foliated	Historiated
6	Type A	Foliated	Foliated

Of the six combinations, volume one contains all of the permutations except number five, a Type A foliated initial with a historiated margin. Volume two also has five of the six combinations, but is missing the Type B foliated initial with a foliated margin. In order to understand the relative status attached to these six variations, an image-based hierarchy needs to be created, one that operates under the idea that the subject matter found in the initials and the margins functions under the same general content-oriented rules within their individual domains.

Referring to table 6, two facts can be noted about the illuminated initials of the feast days: First, the historiated images are only found in the Type B form and second, foliated decoration is found in both sizes, but more prominently in the Type A format. Only three of the ten foliated initials deviate from this Type A norm. Based on these observations, it becomes evident that by size association, historiated images are at the top of the hierarchic visual pyramid, while the foliated decoration would be positioned on a

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<sup>45</sup> The ranking list of the size and content of the initials and marginalia displays only those categories found within the *Geese Book* itself. The combinations that have been removed because of their lack of representation are as follows: Type B/Historiated Initial/Historiated Margin, Type B/Foliated Initial/Historiated Margin, and Type A/Foliated Initial/Inhabited Margin.

lower ranked tier. If the form of images in both the initials and margins operate under the same hierarchical rules, then historiated format of the margins would hold more significance than the foliated version. The question then becomes, where do the inhabited forms of marginal decoration fit within the hierarchical scale of the images? Due to a lack of representation in the initials, the inhabited form of marginalia would not have an assigned rank, if it were not for the fact that they are exclusively associated with the type B initial:

	Initial Size	Form of Initial	Form of Marginal Decoration
1	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
2	Type B	Historiated	Foliated
3	Type B	Foliated	Inhabited
4	Type B	Foliated	Foliated
5	Type A	Foliated	Historiated
6	Type A	Foliated	Foliated

With this connection to the largest initial size, the position of inhabited marginalia would be above the lowest ranked foliated marginalia which shares its pages. However, this status comes with a caveat which states that the presence of inhabited marginalia is not exclusive to the either historiated or foliated form of initial. Inhabited marginalia is found alongside both types, but does appear with the historiated form more frequently than the foliated version. Combined together, the varying ranked images would result in the following hierarchy: 1) historiated, 2) inhabited, and 3) foliated.

Applying this hierarchy to the volumes individually, the first volume is found to contain eleven of the thirteen individual feast days that are marked with Type B, historiated initials and inhabited margins (table 4). The remaining three feast days have Type A initials and contain foliated images in the initials and marginalia. Between these two points there are exactly three outliers: a Type B foliated initial with an inhabited

margin, a Type B foliated initial with a foliated margin, and a Type B historiated initial with a foliated margin. All of the major feasts of volume one (e.g. Easter) have inhabited margins, while those of the lowest initial rank are shown with foliated margins. By assigning a hierarchal value to the inhabited margins, the subsequent outlier feasts in volume one could then be positioned after the major feasts of the *temporale*.

The first feast to come after the Type B historiated and inhabited marginalia combination is the Requiem (Type B historiated initial and foliated margin), followed by the feast of the Holy Lance and Nails (Type B foliated initial and inhabited margin) and finally the First Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost (Type B foliated initial and margin). This hierarchic ranking can be continued with the feasts in volume two, table 5, where there are six major feast days that hold the highest initial and margin combination: the feast of Saint Andrew, the Purification of Mary, the Annunciation of Mary, the feast of Saint Lawrence, and the Assumption of Mary. Directly following these days is the feast of All Saints (Type B foliated initial and inhabited margin); followed by the Conception of Mary, her Visitation and Nativity, all of which possess a Type A foliated initial with a historiated margin. The lowest ranked feast day in the *sanctorale* is the feast for Saint Ambrose, which has a Type A foliated initial and foliated margin.

The final groups of text that need to be evaluated hierarchically within the framework of the Geese Book are the ordinary chants found at the end of each volume. At the bottom of table 4 are the three sections of ordinary chants from volume one which have foliated initials and margins, but are visually differentiated from each other by the size of their initials. The first section dedicated to the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* melodies is provided with a Type B foliated initial and margin, while the two melody sections that

follow are given the Type A size with foliated decoration. Moving to table 5, the first grouping of chants encountered is the Communion melodies, which have been given a Type B historiated initial and inhabited margin with its following two sections provided Type A foliated initials and margins. The next group in line is the single entry for the Alleluia melodies, which has a Type B historiated initial and inhabited margin. The final group of ordinary chants in volume two has a numeric potential for possessing a Type B historiated initial and foliated margin, however this is speculation due to the fact a folio is missing from the volume.<sup>46</sup>

Evaluated together, the ordinary chants of volume one and two appear to follow a pattern based on initial sizes. The first section in a collection of chants consistently has a Type B initial and any subsequent sections that may follow in the group have a Type A initial. As a result, the Type B initial would technically rank the first section higher than any other part of the collection of chants. Assessed separately, the groups of feasts diverge in their use of initial and marginalia forms. The group of ordinary chants from volume one utilizes foliated content in both the initials and margins, while volume two contains Type B historiated initials and varying combinations of marginalia. The inconsistency in the marginalia however, does not affect the hierarchy with each

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<sup>46</sup> A count similarly conducted on the forms of marginalia at the beginning of this chapter, finds that the 8:11 ratio maintained in both of the volumes of the Geese Book, can also be seen with the contents of the initials. However, unlike their neighbors in the margins, the contents of the initials are not presented in equal measure in both texts. In volume one, there are eleven historiated initials to a total of eight foliated, while in volume two, the ratio stays the same but the contents flip, there are eleven extant foliated initials to seven inhabited/historiated. Thus, if the numeric pattern were to be continued, the missing folio in volume two would need to contain a Type B historiated initial.

individual group. The first section is ranked higher than any proceeding collection of melodies, and the lower ranked melodies are of equal position to one another.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this thesis addresses two regularly occurring questions about marginalia in the hope of opening new dialogues about the possible functionality of marginal decoration within manuscripts. The first query into the gradual's decorated borders asked whether or not the Geese Book's marginalia had any assigned meanings and was approached through the use of an iconographic study that focused on the figure of a wild woman. An investigation into the interpretation of the medieval figure as she is seen from outside the physical context of the gradual, found that the wild woman was composed of opposing behaviors and descriptive appearances. She was initially portrayed in literary accounts as a dangerous, sexually charged and ugly figure whose actions brought about the down fall of men and children. Conversely, in her late medieval visual guise, the wild woman was presented as one half of a mated pair with a pleasant visage, a caretaker of offspring and a symbol of fecundity.

When evaluated within the context of the Geese Book, the figure of the wild woman found itself aligned specifically with her position as a mother and protectress of children. In the *bas-de-page* scene, the wild woman is depicted struggling to save the life of a child who was in the process of being kidnapped by a female dragon. Her actions and her portrayal in this scene separate her from the medieval literary traditions. When referenced in conjunction with the liturgy that her representation highlights, the wild woman's figure is modified from a protective motherly figure to a possible depiction of saintly intervention. It is a transformation that is aided in part by the inclusion of her

other marginal companions and their possible subsequent identification with malevolent forces and members of the Church. Ultimately, for this particular *bas-de-page* illumination it is not a question of whether or not the figure/scene was assigned a meaning, but rather which particular version of its connotation was more likely to be utilized in the context of a gradual.

In the next phase of the paper, attention was drawn to the relationships between the margins, initials and liturgy in order to explore the possibility that marginalia may hold additional functional roles beyond that of the traditional. As one visual system among many at play within the gradual's bindings, the subject matter of the margins and initials, the size of the initials, their presence and numeric stability were found to be offset by their varied combinations within the liturgical hierarchy of the gradual. On one level, just the existence of the marginal decoration and painted initials promote the highlighted feast days and sections over their undecorated neighbors. They are visually important and noticeable, just as the red-inked feast days stand out from their black-print neighbors in the 1507 *Bamberg Missal*.

Yet upon closer review, throughout the two volumes of the Geese Book there appears to be an even more complex hierarchical system within the images of the initials and margins. Neither decorated initial nor margin appears on its own within the manuscript. Initials come in two sizes, but the historiated form is only found in the largest of the letters. Margins and initials come in two different types, and marginalia is present in equal measure in both volumes, however the forms of initials are not. Important feasts on the liturgical calendar are decorated by two stave, historiated initials and inhabited margins. Celebrations of lesser importance are shown with foliated

margins and a one stave, foliated initial. Between these two points several additional combinations of the inhabited, foliated, and historiated forms are found, each of which can be placed on a scale to connote hierarchy. In the end, due to the Geese Book's format and liturgical content, the functional qualities of images are utilized for purposes beyond established decorative and interpretative roles.

In addition to the inherent visual hierarchy that is produced with the physical presence of the illuminated initials and marginalia in the Geese Book, the images themselves also provide a sense of numeric and visual balance to the text. Beyond these capacities, the marginal decoration provides a proverbial end cap to the pillar of hierarchic structure inherent to the chants of the Geese Book. Acting as a bridge between the manuscript's image and text based worlds, the illuminated initials depict biblical scenes to highlight feast days. In turn, the chants highlighted through illumination are part of the larger collection of music in the manuscript and it is this plainchant that is the source for the hierarchic structure that weaves its way through the Geese Book's pages. Whether the Geese Book's margins are the source of material for a study of medieval decorated margins or a starting point for an investigation into the hierarchic functionality of image, the visual material provided in the manuscript requires continued scrutiny.



FIGURES AND TABLES



Figure 1. New York, Morgan Library, M. 905, Vol. II, folio 122r, 1510, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 43.8 cm.



Figure 2. New York, Morgan Library, M. 905, Vol. II, folio 122r, 1510, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 43.8 cm. Detail of *bas-de-page* Wild Woman.



Figure 3. New York, Morgan Library, M. 905, Vol. II, folio 122r, 1510, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 43.8 cm. Detail of *bas-de-page* dragoness.



Figure 4. New York, Morgan Library, M. 905, Vol. II, folio 122r, 1510, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 43.8 cm. Detail of *bas-de-page* child.



Figure 5. *Wild Folk Working the Land*, ca. 1480. Wool on linen warp, 1.05 x 6.05 m. Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst. Detail of tapestry.



Figure 6. *Minnekästchen*, 1460-70. Boxwood with jasper feet, 12 x 31 x 16 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.



Figure 7. Master bxg, *Wildfolk Family*, 1470-90. Engraving. Vienna, Albertina.



Figure 8. Jean Bourdichon, *The Wild Condition*, ca. 1500. Tempera on vellum, 17 x 13.5 cm. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Bibliothèque.



Figure 9. *Wild Woman and Unicorn*, ca. 1500. Wool on linen warp with silk and gold thread, 76 x 61 cm. Basel, Historisches Museum.



Figure 10. Martin Schongauer, *Wild Woman Holding a Coat of Arms*, 1480-90. Engraving on paper, Diameter 7.7 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Arts, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund.



Figure 11. London, The British Library, Royal MS. 20 Bxx, fol. 51r, *Alexander in Combat with Wild People and Boars*. Tempera and ink on vellum, 28.2 x 20 cm. Detail of illumination.



Figure 12. Master bxg, *Wild Woman and Dragon*, 1470-1490. Engraving. Venice, Biblioteca del Museo Correr.



All Saints Day - Vol. II			
Folio	Rubric	Geese Book	Translation
122	Introit	Gaudeamus omnes in domino diem festum celebrantes in honore sanctorum omnium de quorum solemnitate gaudent angeli et collaudant filium dei	Let us all rejoice in the Lord celebrating a feast day in honor of all the saints of whose solemnity the angels rejoice and give praise to the Son of God.
		<b>Ps.</b> Exultate iusti in domino rectos decet collaudacio. Alle.	Rejoice in the Lord you righteous praising befits those who are upright. Alleluia.
	Gradual	<b>Timete Dominum 160r</b> Timete dominum omnes sancti eius quoniam nichil de est timentibus eum	Fear the Lord, all you saints of his; for there is no want among those who fear him.
122v-123r	Verse	<b>Alle.</b> Vox exultacionis et salutis in taernacu llis iustorum	Alleluia. The voice of exultation and salvation is in the tabernacles of the just
123r-124r	Sequence	Omnes sancti saraphin cherubin quoque troni dominacionesque	All you holy seraphim, cherubim, thrones, dominations too
		Principatus potestates virtutes	As well as principalities, powers, virtues
		Archangeli angeli vos decet laus et honores	Archangels, angels! Praise and honor befit you.
		Ordines noveni spirituum beatorum	You nine-fold order of blessed spirits.
		Quos in dei laudibus firmavit caritas	You whom charity has made strong in the praise of God.
		Nos fragiles homines firmate precibus	Strengthen us frail humans through your prayers,
		Ut spiritales pravitates   vestro iuvamine vincentes fortiter	So that valiantly conquering our spiritual depravities,
		Nunc et in evum vestris simus digni solevniis interesse sacris	Now and forever, we may be worthy to partake in your sacred rites of worship.
		Vos quos dei gracia vincere terrea	You whom God's grace made able to conquer worldly things
		Et angelis socios fecit esse polo	And to become companions to the angels in Heaven,
		Vos patriarche prophete apostoli confessores martires monachi virgines	You patriarchs, prophets, apostles, confessors, martyrs, monks, virgins,
		Et viduarum sanctarum omniumque placemcium populus supremo domino	and the company of holy widows, and of all those pleasing to God on high:
Nos ad iutorium	May your assistance		
Nunc et perhenniter	Now and always		
Foveat protegat ut vestrum in die poscumus gaudiorum vestrorum	Sustain and protect us as your own this we pray in this day of your joyful celebration		
124r	Offertory	<b>Letami in dno 163r</b> Letaminini in domino et exultate iusti et qloriamini omnes recti corde	Rejoice in the Lord and rejoice you just and glory all the upright in heart
	Communion	<b>Gaudete iusti 164v</b> Gaudete iusti in domino alleluia rectos decet collaudacio alleluia	Just rejoice in the Lord, Alleluia, praise befits those who are upright alleluia

Table 1. Text for the Feast of All Saints, vol. II, folios 122r-124r. The translation of the sequence listed in Table 1 is drawn from James Borders and Lance W. Brunner, eds., *Early Medieval Chants from Nonantola*, lxii-lxiii. All other translations were completed by the author with the assistance of Volker Schier.



Figure 13. Jörg Schweiger, *The Ecstasy of Saint Mary Magdalene*, 1510-20. Ink with wash on paper, 31 x 21.7 cm. Basel, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett.



Figure 14. New York, Morgan Library, MS M.905, Vol. I, folio 216r, 1507, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 44.5 cm. Example of a decorated margin.



Figure 15. New York, Morgan Library, MS M.905, Vol. I, folio 186r, 1507, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 44.5 cm. Example of an inhabited margin.

Volume I	Illuminated Folio Number	Feast Day or Section	Inhabited or Foliated Margin	Volume II	Illuminated Folio Number	Feast Day or Section	Inhabited or Foliated Margin
	1r	First Day in Advent	Inhabited		1r	Saint Andrew, apostle and martyr	Inhabited
	15v	Christmas Eve	Foliated		8r	Conception of Mary	Inhabited
	17v	Christmas Eve	Foliated		21v	Purification of Mary	Inhabited
	22r	Christmas Day	Inhabited		31v	Annunciation of Mary	Inhabited
	38v	Epiphany	Inhabited		34r	Ambrose, bishop	Foliated
	47r	<i>Circumdederunt</i>	Foliated		49r	Visitation of Mary	Inhabited
	121r	Palm Sunday	Inhabited		88r	Saint Lawrence, martyr	Inhabited
	156r	Easter	Inhabited		91r	Assumption of Mary	Inhabited
	176r	Holy Lance and Nails	Inhabited		103r	Nativity of Mary	Inhabited
	186r	Ascension	Inhabited		122r	All Saints	Inhabited
	194r	Pentacost	Inhabited		145r	Communion Forms, vigil of apostles	Inhabited
	205r	Trinity Sunday	Inhabited		146v	Communion Forms, apostles and evangelists	Foliated
	209r	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	Inhabited		166v	Communion Forms, one martyr	Foliated
	216r	First Sunday after the Octave of Pentacost	Foliated		177r	Communion Forms, confessors	Foliated
	243v	Church Dedication	Inhabited		187r	Communion Forms, virgins	Foliated
	249v	Mass for the Dead	Foliated		205r	Alleluia Melodies for Marian Masses	Inhabited
	257r	<i>Kyrie and Gloria</i> Melodies	Foliated		(216)	<i>Kyrie and Gloria</i> Melodies	?
	275r	<i>Patrem</i> (Credo) Melodies	Foliated		230v	<i>Patrem</i> (Credo) Melodies	Foliated
	287r	<i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Agnus Dei</i> Melodies	Foliated		244r	<i>Sanctus</i> and <i>Agnus Dei</i> Melodies	Foliated

Table 2. The illuminated folios of volume one and two, their marginalia types and corresponding feast days or sections.



Figure 16a. New York, Morgan Library, MS M.905, Vol. I, 216r, 1507, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 44.5 cm. Foliated D initial located on 216r.



Figure 16b. New York, Morgan Library, MS M.905, Vol. I, 186r, 1507, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 44.5 cm. Inhabited initial V on 186r.



Figure 17. New York, Morgan Library, MS M.905, Vol. II, folio 103r, 1510, Nuremberg, 65.4 x 43.8 cm. Example of historiated/inhabited *bas-de-page*.

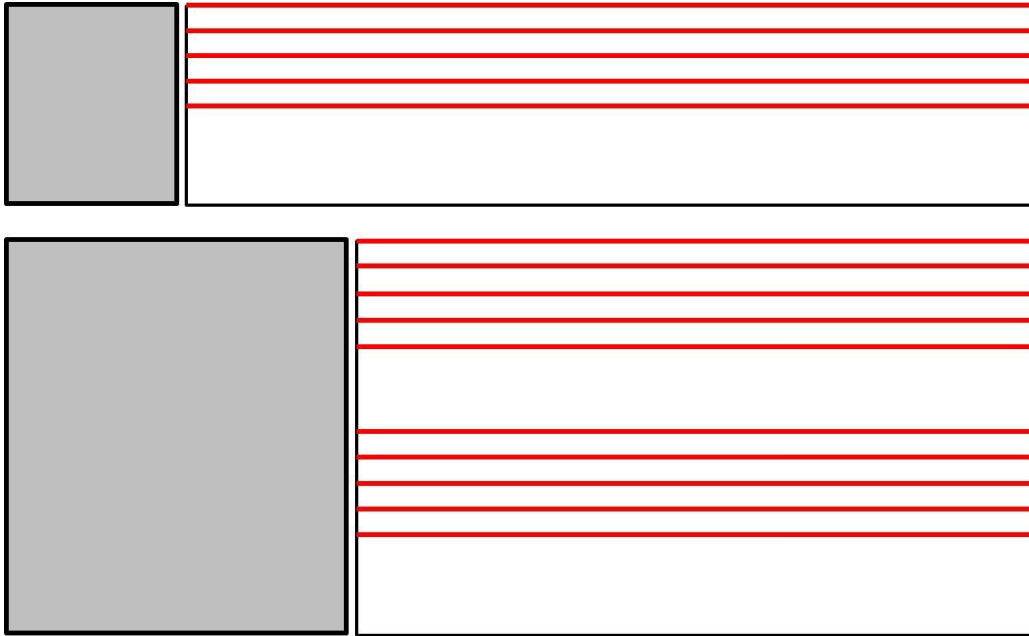


Figure 18. The sizes of initials found in the Geese Book. At top is the Type A initial which is one musical staff high (plus writing space), located at the bottom of the figure is Type B which is two musical staves high.

Volume I	Folio Number	Feast Day	Type A or B initial	Historiated or Foliated Initial	Historiated, Inhabited or Foliated Margin	Date of Celebration	Volume II	Folio Number	Feast Day	Type A or B initial	Historiated or Foliated Initial	Historiated, Inhabited or Foliated Margin	Date of Celebration
	1r	First Day in Advent	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited	Nov 27th- Dec 3rd		1r	Saint Andrew, apostle and martyr	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited	Nov 29th (vigil of), 30th (feast of)
	15v	Christmas Eve	Type A	Foliated	Foliated	Dec 24th		8r	Conception of Mary	Type A	Foliated	Historiated	Dec 8th
	17v	Christmas Eve	Type A	Foliated	Foliated	Dec 24th							
	22r	Christmas Day	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited	Dec 25th							
	38v	Epiphany	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited	Jan 6th							
								21v	Purification of Mary	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited	Feb 2nd

Table 3. A comparison of feast days in volume one and two based upon dates and illumination content.

Volume I	Illuminated Folio Number	Feast Day or Section	Type A or B initial	Historiated or Foliated Initial	Historiated, Inhabited or Foliated Margin
	1r	First Day in Advent	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	15v	Christmas Eve	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	17v	Christmas Eve	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	22r	Christmas Day	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	38v	Epiphany	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	47r	<i>Circumdederunt</i>	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	121r	Palm Sunday	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	156r	Easter	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	176r	Holy Lance and Nails	Type B	Foliated	Inhabited
	186r	Ascension	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	194r	Pentacost	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	205r	Trinity Sunday	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	209r	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	216r	First Sunday after the Octave of Pentacost	Type B	Foliated	Foliated
	243v	Church Dedication	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	249v	Mass for the Dead	Type B	Historiated	Foliated
	257r	<i>Kyrie and Gloria Melodies</i>	Type B	Foliated	Foliated
	275r	<i>Patrem (Credo) Melodies</i>	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	287r	<i>Sanctus and Agnus Dei Melodies</i>	Type A	Foliated	Foliated

Table 4. This table displays the size of the initials, the subject matter of the initials, the type of marginalia on each folio and their respective chants or sections that are being highlighted in volume one of the Geese Book.

Volume II	Illuminated Folio Number	Feast Day or Section	Type A or B initial	Historiated or Foliated Initial	Historiated, Inhabited or Foliated Margin
	1r	Saint Andrew, apostle and martyr	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	8r	Conception of Mary	Type A	Foliated	Historiated
	21v	Purification of Mary	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	31v	Annunciation of Mary	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	34r	Ambrose, bishop	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	49r	Visitation of Mary	Type A	Foliated	Historiated
	88r	Saint Lawrence, martyr	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	91r	Assumption of Mary	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	103r	Nativity of Mary	Type A	Foliated	Historiated
	122r	All Saints	Type B	Foliated	Inhabited
	145r	Communion Forms, vigil of apostles	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	146v	Communion Forms, apostles and evangelists	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	166v	Communion Forms, one martyr	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	177r	Communion Forms, confessors	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	187r	Communion Forms, virgins	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	205r	Alleluia Melodies for Marian Masses	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	(216)	<i>Kyrie and Gloria Melodies</i>	(Type B)	(Historiated)	(Foliated)
	230v	<i>Patrem</i> (Credo) Melodies	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	244r	<i>Sanctus and Agnus Dei</i> Melodies	Type A	Foliated	Foliated

Table 5. This table displays the size of the initials, the subject matter of the initials, the type of marginalia on each folio and their respective chants or sections that are being highlighted in volume two of the Geese Book.



Volume I	Illuminated Folio Number	Feast Day or Section	Type A or B initial	Historiated or Foliated Initial	Historiated, Inhabited or Foliated Margin	Volume II	Illuminated Folio Number	Feast Day or Section	Type A or B initial	Historiated or Foliated Initial	Historiated, Inhabited or Foliated Margin
	1r	First Day in Advent	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		1r	Saint Andrew, apostle and martyr	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	15v	Christmas Eve	Type A	Foliated	Foliated		8r	Conception of Mary	Type A	Foliated	Historiated
	17v	Christmas Eve	Type A	Foliated	Foliated		21v	Purification of Mary	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	22r	Christmas Day	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		31v	Annunciation of Mary	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	38v	Epiphany	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		34r	Ambrose, bishop	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	47r	<i>Circumdederunt</i>	Type A	Foliated	Foliated		49r	Visitation of Mary	Type A	Foliated	Historiated
	121r	Palm Sunday	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		88r	Saint Lawrence, martyr	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	156r	Easter	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		91r	Assumption of Mary	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	176r	Holy Lance and Nails	Type B	Foliated	Inhabited		103r	Nativity of Mary	Type A	Foliated	Historiated
	186r	Ascension	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		122r	All Saints	Type B	Foliated	Inhabited
	194r	Pentecost	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		145r	Communion Forms, vigil of apostles	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	205r	Trinity Sunday	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		146v	Communion Forms, apostles and evangelists	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	209r	<i>Corpus Christi</i>	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		166v	Communion Forms, one martyr	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	216r	First Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost	Type B	Foliated	Foliated		177r	Communion Forms, confessors	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	243v	Church Dedication	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited		187r	Communion Forms, virgins	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	249v	Mass for the Dead	Type B	Historiated	Foliated		205r	Alleluia Melodies for Marian Masses	Type B	Historiated	Inhabited
	257r	<i>Kyrie and Gloria</i> Melodies	Type B	Foliated	Foliated		(216)	<i>Kyrie and Gloria</i> Melodies	(Type B)	(Historiated)	(Foliated)
	275r	<i>Pater</i> (Credo) Melodies	Type A	Foliated	Foliated		230v	<i>Pater</i> (Credo) Melodies	Type A	Foliated	Foliated
	287r	<i>Sorcus</i> and <i>Agnus Dei</i> Melodies	Type A	Foliated	Foliated		244r	<i>Sorcus</i> and <i>Agnus Dei</i> Melodies	Type A	Foliated	Foliated

Table 6. This table displays the relative hierarchies of feast days in both volume one and two of the Geese Book.

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