

The iconographic evidence for maritime activities in the Middle Ages

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The analysis of maritime scenes in medieval illuminated manuscripts has a long established history dating back to the 19th century. Manuscript illuminations have been used in particular to analyse specific details such as shipping and sea life. But what of the broader picture of the maritime world? Depictions of the maritime environment survive in great number in illuminated manuscripts, and offer an insight into the contemporary perception of this distinctive locale. This broader perspective will be explored in this paper, highlighting common themes and notable absences of maritime imagery, exploring the origins of artists and their inspiration and clarifying the types of volume maritime imagery appears in, and changes over time. In particular, the paper will explore the vexed question of iconographic accuracy, particularly the accuracy of distances and perspective – the geographical sense of the world as depicted in illuminations and how these reflect on medieval cognition, the ‘mental maps’ of sea, land and sky used to guide a mariner to safe landfall.

THE value of analysing different sources for medieval watercraft has long been demonstrated: examples include Burwash¹ and Rose² for documentary data, Steffy³ and McGrail⁴ for archaeological and ethnographic data, and Moll⁵, Ewe⁶ and Villain-Gandossi^{7,8} for iconographic data. These analyses have their root in research begun during the late 19th and early 20th centuries⁹, work which was to initiate the whole study of medieval vessels – indeed the whole of what eventually became known as ‘maritime archaeology’¹⁰. The basic approaches developed in this early period of research continued in use for a long time^{11,12}, until developed in a strictly theoretical sense by the archaeological pioneers of the 1960s onwards. Thereafter, an increasing number of vessel remains were found in archaeological contexts, revealing a range of data on shipbuilding that could be correlated with this accumulated iconographic and documentary record^{13,14}.

Manuscript illuminations have been used in particular to analyse specific details of the maritime past, in particular shipping, in the narrow sense of the different types/traditions of shipbuilding⁹. However, focused as these have been on trying to explicate the complex processes of

technological change in medieval shipbuilding, such studies have tended to downplay the fact that iconographic sources also contain a wealth of wider ‘maritime’ imagery of use to archaeologists and historians far beyond simply technological data on vessel technology. Drawing on the author’s ongoing research into illuminated manuscripts from major British and French library collections, and focused around the particular genre of medieval (c. 1200–1550 AD) illuminated manuscripts from NW Europe, this paper demonstrates that beyond vessel-specific data, manuscript illuminations include evidence for related tools, equipment, activities and processes. Despite the problems and risks inherent to using such forms of iconography as a direct source of information^{15–20}, manuscript illuminations remain too large a resource to be sidelined:

... these artists obviously satisfied their audience. The ships they drew must have been recognized as representing ... ships of the time. As with caricatures, many relative dimensions will be accurately represented even though the overall form is distorted²¹.

Manuscript illuminations provide detailed and often relatively accurate depictions of crafts like shipbuilding, structures like wharves and revetments, and activities like rowing, sailing and steering. These aid an interrogative analysis of the maritime cultural landscapes within which vessels were created and used and their builders and crews lived and died. This is true not only for the medieval European focus of this paper, but also for other forms of iconography from other periods and geographical regions.

Maritime activities in illuminated manuscripts – Shore-side

Shipbuilding

Unger²² has made an exhaustive survey of depictions of medieval shipbuilding, particularly in relation to Noah’s construction of the ark, responsible for virtually all illuminations of shipbuilding. Unger’s conclusions need not be repeated here, and his most significant conclusions do not directly concern this paper. More directly relevant are the range of shipbuilding tools and techniques identified, examples such as St John’s College, Oxford MS

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231, f. 9, British Library MSS Additional 18850, ff. 15–15v, Royal 15 D3, f. 12 and Royal 15 E4, f. 57v depicting shipwrights' tools that can be directly linked to archaeological finds from sites such as London, Hedeby, Alt-Schleswig, Amsterdam and Stockholm^{23,24}. Remains from such sites are complementary to illuminations such as the blacksmith working at his anvil in Trinity College, Cambridge MS O.9.34, f. 24, for iron-working tools have been found on archaeological sites across Europe which could have been used in shipbuilding²⁵, together with woodworking tools like those in British Library MS Additional 18193, f. 48v.

It is notable that most examples of shipbuilding depicted in illuminated manuscripts are of Nordic and *cog* vessels (e.g. Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Junius 11, f. 66, British Library MSS Royal 2 B7, ff. 5v, 6 for the Nordic and Egerton 1894, f. 2v for *cogs*). Vessels like *hulcs* or *carracks* are never depicted under construction in these collections. While this may be the result of chance, it is feasible that it is a consequence of the Nordic and *cog* traditions being directly observed under construction (or repair ?) on beach- and riverfronts (e.g. St Johns' College, Cambridge MS 231, f. 9), and because the building processes of such traditions are essentially the same whatever the size of vessel. This is not true of *hulcs* and *carracks*, which require relatively more complex shipbuilding facilities and which do not have direct analogies in small craft that local craftsmen could have been observed building. The primary skills of shipwright-carpenters and blacksmiths were also known in mainstream medieval society, unlike specialized shipwright skills such as lutting, caulking, masting and rigging: the former are depicted rarely, as in British Library MS Royal 15 E4, f. 57v, and the latter never. Stylised through depictions such as British Library MSS Additional 18850, ff. 15, 15v and Royal 15 D3, f. 12 are in their depiction of house-like arks, they are a reminder that many of the essential skills of Nordic and *cog* shipbuilding were shared with skilled craftsmen of the age involved in the construction of houses, bridges and other complex structures. This may also have had further cause-and-effect in illuminations. There are numerous illuminations depicting the full depth of the hull of Nordic and *cog* tradition vessels, but rarely if ever of *hulcs* and *carracks*, even when at anchor or alongside a quay: this may be because Nordic and *cog* tradition vessels were observed under construction and also when moored pulled up on beaches and hard at low tide, their full profile observed, not necessarily true of later vessels.

Sadly there are no illuminations of launching, an activity which would surely have been as memorable then as now, and possibly the birthplace of the launching ceremonies performed to this day.

Diving and swimming

British Library MS Royal 15 E6, f. 20v depicts a barrel let over the side of a vessel on chains, allowing Alex-

ander the Great to view the wonders of the deep, a depiction of a story originally attributed to one Callisthenes, nephew of Aristotle and Alexander's official historian²⁶. Such illuminations raise the issue of activities like diving and swimming in the Middle Ages. Diving, according to Homer, was known in the 1st millennium BC Mediterranean: the Romans also used divers, who had their own guild of *urinatores*, and there is also sporadic evidence for diving in the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Aristotle, Plutarch and Pliny. Evidence for medieval diving is slimmer: the earliest mention of diving equipment comes from various medieval and later reprints of Vegetius's *De Re Militari*, originally of the 4th century AD (*ibid*), and some of the earliest depictions of diving are sketches by Leonardo da Vinci in his *Codex Atlanticus*²⁷. One of the few documentary records is that of Davy Owen the *dyver*, paid 6 shillings and 8 pence as a bonus for repairing the *Holigost de la Tour* underwater somewhere between² c.1422-27. It is unclear what, if any, equipment such divers used, and even whether they were diving regularly: Owen may simply have been an opportunistic workman who knew how to swim and thought the risks involved worth the payment offered. However, illuminations such as British Library MSS Additional 38126, f. 7, Royal 2 B7, f. 170 and Trinity College, Cambridge MS B. 11. 22, f. 121 all depict people swimming – or at least, voluntarily immersed, and imply that some medieval individuals knew how to swim; so too do depictions like King David bathing in Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Latin Liturgical A. 3, ff. 1, 71v. Occasional illuminations like British Library MS Royal 19 D1, f. 37v and Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Canonici Classical Latin 185, f. 192v-93 even depict diving equipment in use. Archaeological data might support this with evidence from bones with features specific to regular swimmers or divers, which could prove particularly valuable in regions with warmer waters and historically documented diving, such as around the Indian and Pacific oceans: Bodleian Library, Oxford MS 264, part 3, f. 265 even depicts pearl diving along the Malabar coast of India.

Shipwreck and rescue

Illuminations like Glasgow University Library MS Stirling Maxwell Collection 2, p. 11, British Library MS Additional 17333, f. 11, Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Douce 366, f. 89 and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris MS 630, f. 61v depict a side of maritime life in which swimming could have been vital: shipwreck. The causes of shipwreck are made clear by illuminations: British Library MS Additional 34294, f. 211v depicts a vessel manoeuvring through tight, rocky narrows, the crew using poles and oars to fend off: Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Douce 374, f. 40 depicts a *cog* actually striking a rock, large cracks appearing in the lower hull. Illuminations

like Balliol College, Oxford MS 238 E, f. 113v even depict last-minute attempts to avoid shipwreck, a ship lightened via cargo thrown overboard. There is also a rich body of medieval maritime law in relation to such jettison, shipwreck and salvage²⁸⁻³¹. Occasionally, men and materials were rescued: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris MS 5070, f. 51v depicts a shipwrecked man clinging to a chest who is washed ashore, while in British Library MS Add. 16955, f. 73v Jonah saved from the whale by two men out hunting. If more recent records are any indication³², the loss rates of sailors may have been high in this period. As the scenes of battle identified indicate, life was held cheap in the Middle Ages, and sailors were probably accustomed to a level of loss of life far higher than today.

Fishing and hunting

Medieval fishhooks have been found in London³³, and evidence for nets and floats, netting tools and twine in the Netherlands, Norway, Russia and Poland³⁵, together with fish, traps, anchors and net weights. There is also plentiful evidence for illuminations, with examples such as British Library MSS Royal 2B7, f. 73, Yates Thompson 8, f. 249v and Harlerian 4751, f. 69 depicting fish, fishermen, fishing boats, tackle, and nets. British Library MS Royal 14E6, f. 270 even depicts a man line-fishing from a bank, for which there are no excavated examples. It also depicts the related activity of duck-trapping using nets. There is no good documentary evidence for medieval fishing, including works of the 15th to 16th centuries.

Fishing frequently appears in illuminations because of its importance in Christian mythology. There is also evidence in illuminations for whales, supported by contemporaneous archaeological and documentary sources^{36,37}. British Library MS Additional 16955, f. 73v depicts Jonah saved from the whale by two men who capture it and release him while out whaling in a Nordic-type boat, one man using a toothed harpoon on the animal, another an axe. Whales and dolphins were also thought to be lured to ships with music being played on-board, specifically from a hurdy-gurdy, stemming from the classical Greek notion that dolphins are susceptible to music, and depicted in British Library MS Sloane 3544, f. 42v. Bestiaries often include a wider variety of aquatic creatures, both specialized animals like the *serra* (swordfish) (e.g. British Library MSS Cottonian Vespasian A7, f. 6, Egerton 613, f. 33v and Sloane 278, f. 51), and also those that – like the sea-horse and sea-calf – had counterparts on land³⁸. Mermaids and mermen were also frequently depicted, with tales of sailors being lured to their deaths with entrancing songs, used in moralized forms to warn of the lure of the devil to human foolishness and pride. Sirens were also depicted (e.g. British Library MSS Sloane 3544, f. 28v, Royal 10 E4, f. 47 and Harlerian 3244,

f. 55), their attacks on sailors lulled to sleep with their singing being allegorized as descriptive of the general corruption of humans before their redemption by Christ.

Maritime activities in illuminated manuscripts – Ship-to-shore

Embarkation and disembarkation

Preparations for the departure of vessels include the embarkation and disembarkation of both people and materials: examples like Bodleian Library, Oxford MSS Bodley 401, f. 55v, Gough Liturgical 7, f. 7 and Douce 208, f. 120v depict such activities. Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 3.59, f. 31 depicts gangplanks attached to the sheer-strake with large metal hooks on the end of the gangplank, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Français 2829, f. 18 a stepped version (depicted in cross-section), and British Library MS Royal 16 G1, f. 9 even the loading of cattle and sheep onto a vessel by two men driving the animals up wide gangways from stone-built quaysides within a city. The latter is a reminder that what may seem ostensibly 'rural' activities could take place within urban environments in the Middle Ages, and be visible within excavated assemblages. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris MS 5070, f. 51v depicts a similar scene in the countryside, a man loading cargo up into a vessel moored in a rocky cove. Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Français 59, f. 308 appears to depict a similar scene of cargo loaded by a team of men. Closer observation, however, suggests that the men are actually loading looted items: the presence of such activity (together with piracy and privateering) may explain the random nature of excavated assemblages in which an unusually varied array of materials have been recovered.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Français 5594, ff. 112 and 232 depict the embarkation of massed troops together with actual preparations for departure: crew haul on halliards in the latter folio. British Library MS Harlerian 4431, f. 112v and Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Français 103, f. 1 depict similar scenes. Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Douce 353, f. 31 depicts a more laid-back preparation for departure: some men congregate on the quayside while others carry bales up gangplanks into a vessel and two men play a game of chess in the fore-castle. Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 370, f. 253 depicts the reverse of this process, with the offloading of troops via beaching in the shallows. Comparable excavated evidence for such activity is sparse, but large movements of troops through relatively small medieval ports must have had some impact purely in logistical terms: the short-term nature of such activity probably means such evidence is hard to securely identify in excavated assemblages, but should be notable in contemporary documents.

Examples like British Library MS Harlerian 4380, f. 189 depict the landing of personal possessions from a large

vessel moored alongside a natural shoreline. This implies not only inshore moorings for relatively large vessels in this period, but also how materials were loaded and unloaded, a man carrying a large trunk on his back held via straps. Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Français 2829, f. 47v depicts a royal party boarding a ship, and is notable for the ceremony this involves: the vessel is ablaze with an assortment of carving and gilding, flags, and tapestries; sumptuous cabins have been prepared in the castles; trumpets sound; the central individuals are richly dressed as a ceremonial crowd bid farewell, and the queen boarding the vessel has a pet monkey – a symbol of international trade and wealth. Around the edges are more lowly individuals: crew preparing the vessel for departure, and personal possessions and cargo brought on board by servants. Folio 18 of MS 2829 depicts the reverse of this process, a knight coming ashore from a vessel moored alongside in deep water to a ceremonial greeting by high-ranking individuals. Embarking and disembarking clearly involved considerable ceremony in this period, activity which is invisible in the excavated record but which continues to this day in the piping and saluting of senior figures when coming aboard vessels, especially warships.

Transshipment

The transshipment of materials onto small craft clearly occurred in this period. Finds like the Egersund ‘barge’ imply the use of lighters and related craft, with cargoes offloaded onto these for transshipment²⁴. Such artist of what must have been a common sight in fifteenth century Flanders. It is also the earliest positive identification of a gaff rig in an illumination. Activities are depicted in illuminations such as Bibliothèque Nationale de France MSS Français 2090-92 which illustrate lighters on the River Seine at Paris, or Français 10420, f. 1v, depicting barges moored on a cityscape riverfront. Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Douce 208, f. 120v depicts a similar scene in a more sophisticated context: a gaff-rigged barge with a central cabin, median rudder and small boat alongside is loaded with cargo from a stone quay, while in the distance another barge runs before the wind. This is a Flemish manuscript, and depicts local trade activity: it is so exceptionally realistic that it implies direct observation by the artist of what must have been a common sight in 15th century Flanders. It is also the earliest positive identification of a gaff rig in an illumination.

Anchoring

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge MS 384/604, f. 189v is an example of a small vessel moored by a line to a post driven into the back of a surfaced whale mistaken for an island. Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Bodley 764, f. 74v

depicts a similar scene, as does British Library MS Harlerian 4751, f. 69. In contrast, British Library MS Harlerian 4380, f. 149 depicts a departure, with two men pushing-off from shore using poles fore and aft: the water depth in such circumstances is unlikely to be more than c.3m if such poles are to be comfortably used. Illuminations such as Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Auctarian D. 4.17, ff. 1v to 3 depict similar tools such as boat-hooks, poles and oars in use in such contexts, which have rarely survived in excavated contexts and are frequently overlooked as a subject of study. These folios also depict what was doubtless a common form of embarkation throughout the period in question and even today, virtually invisible to archaeology, with St John boarding a Nordic vessel pulled up by the stern in the shallows: holding onto a stern-mounted myke for support, he climbs on board. British Library MS Loan 88, f. 4v similarly implies such landings, which were possible even in quite rough and harsh conditions. Notably, both the beaching and the inshore mooring of vessels most often takes place at ‘informal’ landing places in illuminations – beaches and riverfronts – rather than formal harbours, which although depicted (e.g. Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Bodley 264, part 3, f. 218), are markedly less common in illuminations. This highlights once again how ephemeral most medieval landing sites are likely to be within the archaeological record.

Mooring ropes running on to land and also the shallows. In contrast, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Français 2829, ff. 18 and 47v and Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, Paris MS 630, f. 90v depict vessels moored sides-on to the bank, mooring lines running ashore around rocks and trees, and also into the water to anchors: this also implies deep water close inshore. The next step on is depicted in Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Français 366, f. 114v, where some vessels raft-up alongside one-another anchored in deep water, as occurs on small vessels to this day, while others anchor individually. The former activity calls for good ship-handling, a secure anchorage, and no requirement to break formation rapidly. Illuminations like British Library MS Harlerian 4425, f. 86 and British Library MS Royal 14 E4, f. 195 depict a similar solution, this time with small boats running ashore from larger vessels anchored well offshore in deep water. This is also implied in examples like Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Français 2685, f. 159, where a number of different sizes of vessel are moored in what by implication is deep water amid a cityscape. Illuminations like British Library MS Royal 15 E4, f. 57v are also a reminder that such mooring could occur inland, while such techniques were doubtless common in the Middle Ages, larger vessels frequently require more permanent moorings. Illuminations depict a range of techniques for which there is little excavated evidence beyond random anchorage debris, and which relate to the types of vessel in use. Examples like Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Laud Miscellaneous 733,

f. f 22v depict ships moored bows-on to land with depicting a fleet of ships anchored in a river.

Seaborne assault

Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Francais 366, f. 114v depicts the pitching of a military camp for troops landed from a fleet. The troops remain on board vessels anchored offshore, small boats pulling ashore with a 'field crew' to pitch tents and ship baggage before the body of the army disembarks. There is evidence for personal sea-chests in use, the cautious manoeuvring of chests on small boats almost dwarfed by their cargo: the difficulties of moving cargo from ships into small boats even in sheltered conditions as vessel sizes and tumblehome must have increased in this period. Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Francais 54, f. 160v depicts a rather more cautious anchoring of a fleet of warships, pikes at the ready as an anti-boarding precaution. The need for such concern is emphasized by illuminations such as Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Latin 8200, f. 49v, where a warship anchored inshore is overrun by troops attacking simultaneously from a series of small boats, its defences overwhelmed despite the best efforts of the crew.

Broader evidence for coastal fighting tactics can also be ascertained from illuminations, as in Bibliothèque Nationale de France MSS Francais 2643-46, Latin 6067, f. 82 and Francais 2813, ff. 4, 165, 245, 281, 317, 368, 417, which depict a range of ship-to-ship and ship-to-shore activity. Examples such as British Library MS Harlerian 4379, f. 60v, Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Francais 2643, f. 42v, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris MS 5090, f. 86 and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris 5187, f. 59 imply the military use of relatively 'long', low, flat-bottomed *barge*-like vessels propelled by either oar and/or sail, a form of troop-carrying vessel akin to modern landing craft. Some of these vessels have wooden coverings to protect the crew and troops from enemy fire in the final stages of an assault, as in Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris 5090, f. 86. Illuminations make clear how important amphibious assaults were in the Middle Ages, 'combined operations' of troops and ships. Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Francais 2829, f. 32v depicts a seaborne attack by the troops of St Louis, repelled by artillery and small-arms fire from shore while bowchasers firing through bow ports return fire. Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Francais 6440, f. 163 and British Library MS Harlerian 326, f. 29v depict similar amphibious assaults: in the latter, two separate fleets make a simultaneous attack, with trumpeters on-board a vessel sounding the attack while a man fires a hackbutt from the bows. Numerous depictions within Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Francais 2813 and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 16 also reinforce the understanding of such actions from earlier in the period before artillery came into use. The latter depicts

vessels carrying forms of free-standing castle, attacking coastal defences with a variety of weapons including sling-shots and arrows loaded with incendiaries. Such actions involve massed fleets of vessels running up into shallow water, with poles at the ready to push back off in an emergency (e.g. f. 163v). Such activity was clearly often the case, with a number of major military engagements of the Middle Ages either at ports along the coasts of the Holy Land, Levant and Eastern Mediterranean during the Crusades, or the coasts of France and England during the Hundred Years War. Examples like Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Francais 990, f. 2 and Francais 77, f. 386v are also a reminder that such activities were often directly observed by the populace in this period: in the latter, a crowd stands on the quayside of a deepwater port (implied by the tops of the masts of sunken ships just visible) watching a fleet of warships in the aftermath of battle, with two shipwrecks close inshore and an attempt at salvage underway. Illuminations also make it abundantly clear that the worlds of trade and war were inherently interlinked in this period, particularly in the coastal environment: Bibliothèque Nationale de France MS Francais 2644, f. 85 depicts the harsh vengeance undertaken for the death of Roger d'Auvergne during the Hundred Years War, with the city of Oudenarde razed, and the merchants of Ghent unflinchingly massacred aboard their ships.

Conclusion

This brief review of shore-side and ship-to-shore activities depicted in medieval NW European illuminated manuscripts highlights that iconographic sources contain a wealth of wider 'maritime' imagery of use to archaeologists and historians, far beyond simply technological data on vessel technology. A more in-depth review of a broader number of sources is currently in preparation³⁹, and further demonstrates the breadth and complexity of maritime themes in these manuscripts. While care must always be taken due to problems of stylisation, copying and error innate to medieval artwork as a medium, these remain a valuable and genuinely useful source.

As Table 1 demonstrates, such sources can also provide more than simply illustrate information on the material details of life in the maritime zone in the Middle Ages. Once large numbers of manuscripts are compared to the available archaeological data, some sense of the artistic perception of the 'maritime cultural landscape' becomes apparent. Medieval artists who depicted maritime scenes illustrated virtually every aspect of the maritime 'zone', from activities on rivers and lakes well inland right through to well out to sea, beyond sight of land. While stylised, common themes also become apparent, such analyses make clear that the maritime zone was not marginal or insignificant in the Middle Ages, the domain of specialist activities and groups: rather, it was a vibrant

Table 1.

| INLAND | COAST | SEA |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Transhipment | Trade, exchange | Sealife |
| Warfare | Warfare | Warfare |
| Craft and trade | Shipwreck, rescue | Travel |
| Leisure | Exoticism, travel, exploration | Apocalypse, storm, shipwreck |
| Riverine cities | Idealised city- and landscapes | Islands |

and integral part of wider society with excellent popular awareness and understanding.

Manuscript illuminations also highlight the 'maritime paradox' of the Middle Ages: that while Judeo-Christian culture-philosophy defines water as chaotic, uncontrollable and fundamentally negative, medieval Christendom was a society looking more and more towards the sea in a positive fashion. Several hundred years later, by the dawn of the Renaissance, manuscript production waned as the printed book took hold, but this positive and outward looking ethos to the sea and maritime activities continued as the mercantile seaborne empires of Europe took hold across the globe.

Manuscripts Cited

Balliol College, Oxford

MS 238 E: German and Italian, mid 15th century (c. 1445–48).

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris

MS 630: French, late 15th century (c. 1499).
MS 5070: French, early to mid 15th century (c. 1414 or else 1445–50).
MS 5090: French, 15th century.
MS 5187: French, 15th century.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

MS Francais 54: French, 16th century.
MS Francais 59: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 77: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 103: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 366: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 990: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 2090–91: French, 13th to 14th century (c. 1280 onwards).
MS Francais 2092: French, early 14th century (c. 1317).
MS Francais 2643: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 2644: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 2645: French, 15th century.

MS Francais 2646: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 2685: French, mid 15th century (c. 1457–61).
MS Francais 2813: French, early 14th century (c. 1307).
MS Francais 2829: French, later 15th century (c. 1482).
MS Francais 5594: French, later 15th century (c. 1473).
MS Francais 6440: French, 15th century.
MS Francais 10420: French, early 16th century (c. 1523).
MS Latin 6067: French, 15th century.
MS Latin 8200: French, mid 15th century (c. 1460).

Bodleian Library, Oxford

MS Auctarian D. 4.17: English, mid 13th century (c. 1250–60).
MS Bodley 264, part 3: English, 14th to 15th century (c. 1400).
MS Bodley 401: English, mid 14th century.
MS Bodley 764: English, mid 13th century.
MS Canonici Classical Latin 185: Italian, mid 15th century (before 1462).
MS Douce 208: Flemish, later 15th century (after 1474).
MS Douce 366: English, late 13th or early 14th century (c. 1300–1330).
MS Douce 374: Flemish, later 15th century (after c. 1456).
MS Gough Liturgical 7: Flemish, 15th to 16th century (c. 1500).
MS Junius 11: English, 10th to 11th century (c. 1000).
MS Latin Liturgical A. 3: Italian, later 15th century.
MS Laud Miscellaneous 733: English, mid 15th century (c. 1440–50).

British Library, London

MS Additional 16955: French, 15th century.
MS Additional 17333: French, early 14th century.
MS Additional 18193: Spanish, mid 15th century.
MS Additional 18850: French, early 15th century (c. 1423).
MS Additional 34294: Italian, late 15th century (c. 1460–80).
MS Additional 38126: French, late 15th century (c. 1480 onwards).
MSS Cottonian Vespasian A7: French, 13th to 14th century.
MS Egerton 613: French or English, 13th century.
MS Egerton 1894: English or French, late 14th century.
MS Harlerian 326: English, later 15th century (c. 1475–85).
MS Harlerian 3244: English, early 13th century (c. 1235).
MS Harlerian 4379: French, later 15th century (c. 1470).
MS Harlerian 4380: French, later 15th century (c. 1460–80).
MS Harlerian 4425: Flemish, 15th century.
MS Harlerian 4431: French, early 15th century (c. 1410).
MS Harlerian 4751: English, 12th to 14th century (c. 1230–40 or c. 1300).
MS Loan 88: English, 13th century.
MS Royal 2 B7: English, mid 14th century (c. 1325–53).

MS Royal 10 E4: English, 14th century (c. 1300–25).
 MS Royal 14 E4: Flemish, late 15th century (c. 1461–83).
 MS Royal 14 E6: Flemish, later 15th century (c. 1473–83).
 MS Royal 15 D3: French, 14th to 15th century (c. 1400).
 MS Royal 15 E4: Flemish, later 15th century (c. 1470–80).
 MS Royal 15 E6: French, mid 15th century (c. 1445).
 MS Royal 16 G1: Flemish, late 15th century.
 MS Royal 19 D1: French, mid 14th century.
 MS Sloane 278: French, 14th century.
 MS Sloane 3544: French or English, 14th century.
 MS Yates Thompson 8: French, 13th to 14th century (c. 1290–1310).

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge

MS Ee. 3.59: English, mid 13th century (c. 1255–60).

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

MS 16: English, 13th century (c. 1240–53 and later).

Glasgow University Library, Glasgow

MS Hunter 370: Italian, 15th century (c. 1450).
 MS Stirling Maxwell Collection 2: Italian, mid 15th century (c. 1425 onwards).

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

MS 384/604: English or French, late 13th century (c. 1270–90).

St John's College, Cambridge

MS 231: English, 13th century (c. 1270–80) or 14th to 15th century (c. 1397–1400).

Trinity College, Cambridge

MS B. 11. 22: Flemish, early 14th century (c. 1300).
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