

Irish Sheela-na-gigs and Related Figures with Reference to the Collections of the National Museum of Ireland

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The collections of the National Museum of Ireland contain thirteen medieval carvings known as sheela-na-gigs.¹ These are grotesque sculptures of naked females posed in a manner that displays and emphasizes the genitalia.² The name by which the figures have come to be known was recorded in 1840 as the name for an exhibitionist carving on the wall of Kiltinane church, Co. Tipperary.³ It is an Irish name; however, we do not know its antiquity or how widely it was used. Margaret Guest provides evidence from the early twentieth century that 'Sheela-na-gig' was used in County Cork as a pejorative term for an ugly old woman, it being equivalent to 'hag'.⁴ Anderson cites a mid-nineteenth-century manuscript reference also relating to County Cork, which records that certain sheela-na-gigs were referred to as 'Hags of the Castle'.⁵

Although its meaning is uncertain, the most likely interpretation of 'sheela-na-gig' is *Síle-ina-giob* meaning 'Sheela on her hunkers'.⁶ *Síle* is the Irish form of the personal name Cecilia (Latin Caecilia), which was brought into Ireland by the Anglo-Normans.⁷ From the nineteenth century *Síle* has also been used as an equivalent for Julia, Judy, Judith, Jenny, Selia, Celia,

1 E. P. Kelly, 'Sheela-na-gigs in the National Museum of Ireland, together with a brief description of their origins and function', in *Irish Antiquities: Essays in memory of Joseph Raftery*, ed. M. Ryan (Bray, 1998), pp. 173–84.

2 E. P. Kelly, *Sheela-na-gigs. Origins and Functions* (Dublin, 1996), p. 5.

3 Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, typed copy of J. O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters, Tipperary, II.

4 E. M. Guest, 'Irish Sheela-na-Gigs in 1935', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 66 (1936), 107–29 (pp. 127–8).

5 J. Andersen, *The Witch on the Wall. Medieval Erotic Sculpture in the British Isles* (Copenhagen and London, 1977), p. 14.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

7 D. Ó Corráin and F. Maguire, *Irish Names* (Dublin, 1981), p. 165.

Sabina and Sally and the Anglicized forms are Sheila, Shiela, Sheela and Shelagh.⁸ Ó Dónaill in his Irish–English dictionary defines 'Síle' as meaning an 'effeminate person, a sissy' while 'Síle an phíce' ('Síle of the two pronged fork') is given as the name for an earwig and 'Síle na bportach' ('Síle of the bogs') is the name for a heron.⁹ Dinneen defines 'Síle' as the equivalent of 'Julia' as well as meaning 'an effeminate or uxorious man; a boy too fond of girls' society, a girl too fond of being with boys'.¹⁰ He also provides an entry for 'Síle na gcíoc' ('Síle of the breasts') as referring to a sheela-na-gig. His definition is 'a stone fetish representing a woman, supposed to give fertility, *gnly*. thought to have been introduced by Normans'.¹¹ Other definitions provided by Dinneen are of relevance. '*Síle an ragaid*', a bird of the crane species¹² with '*ragaid*' elsewhere defined as 'unsatisfactory behaviour or condition, loose living, anything coarse or unmanageable, tough meat, *etc*'.¹³ From *ragaid* comes *ragairne* meaning 'late hours, keeping late hours, living a fast life; dissipation, wantonness; a nervous feeling as from dissipation, *etc*; row, upset, tribulation, fuss, excitement, contention, heated discussion'.¹⁴

The definitions associated with *Síle*, as provided by both Ó Dónaill and Dinneen, relate generally to concepts of wanton or inappropriate sexuality. However Dinneen also provides an entry for 'Síle ní Gádra', which is defined as meaning 'a personification of Ireland'.¹⁵ 'Sheela na Guira' is the Anglicized form and this was the name attributed in the late nineteenth century to a sheela-na-gig in Cullahill Castle, Co. Laois, which local tradition held was the figure of the former head of the O'Gara family and an oppressor of the people.¹⁶ The linguistic and folklore evidence also suggests therefore that sheela-na-gigs may have been associated with the protection and control of land and lordly status; this possibility will be explored later.

It is a view widely held that sheela-na-gigs form part of a tradition of exhibitionist carving that developed in Western Europe within the Romanesque architectural tradition and that the figures are based ultimately on clas-

8 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

9 N. Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Bearla* (Dublin, 1977), p. 1092.

10 P. S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedilge agus Béarla an Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1927), p. 1027. The use among Australians of the term 'Sheela' meaning a woman or an effeminate man is obviously an importation by Irish settlers. During the nineteenth century a preponderance of free settlers from Ireland came from the counties surrounding the lower River Shannon, which, coincidentally or otherwise, is also an area that has a high concentration of sheela-na-gigs.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 1027. It seems probable that Dinneen's definition is based on academic speculation rather than traditional knowledge.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 1027.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 872.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 872.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 1027.

16 W. Carrigan, *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (1905), p. 232.

sical representations of fertility goddesses.¹⁷ Romanesque architecture prevailed throughout Western Europe from the middle of the tenth century to the middle of the twelfth century and its forms were largely determined by Roman prototypes. Characteristic of the style was the semi-circular arch, frequently used in elaborate doorways, as well as wide pillars with decorated capitals. The period from the second half of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth century was a time of economic and social development throughout Europe that led to increased urbanization and population growth. This coincided with the growth of papal power and the proliferation of new monastic orders under papal direction and protection. Especially along pilgrim routes – which attracted huge numbers of the faithful – new churches, cathedrals and religious houses were built in the Romanesque style. Throughout the medieval church, the sin of lust was given particular prominence and the church considered pilgrims to be vulnerable, especially from the attentions of prostitutes who thronged the pilgrim routes.¹⁸ In the Romanesque art of the period, lust was often portrayed as a naked woman whose breasts and genitalia were eaten by toads and serpents.¹⁹ This was an adaptation of an image, known in antiquity, of *Tellus Mater*, the Earth Mother, who was represented suckling snakes, ancient symbols of the earth. Church buildings along the pilgrimage routes such as that at Santiago de Compostela in Spain and elsewhere depicted a range of exhibitionist figures, both male and female, together with related carvings whose function was to alert the faithful to the dangers of the sin of lust. The emphasis on the genitalia – which are usually enlarged – related to the Church's teaching that sinners were punished in hell through the bodily organs by which they had offended.

It might be argued that there are problems in identifying transition mechanisms that link late classical images with images of the Middle Ages. However two interesting ceramic exhibitionist figures in the National Museum of Ireland's Egyptian collection, one female²⁰ and one male,²¹ may help establish such a link. The female figure (Fig. 7.1) was excavated at the settlement of Naukratis, a Greek trading settlement in the Nile Delta dating

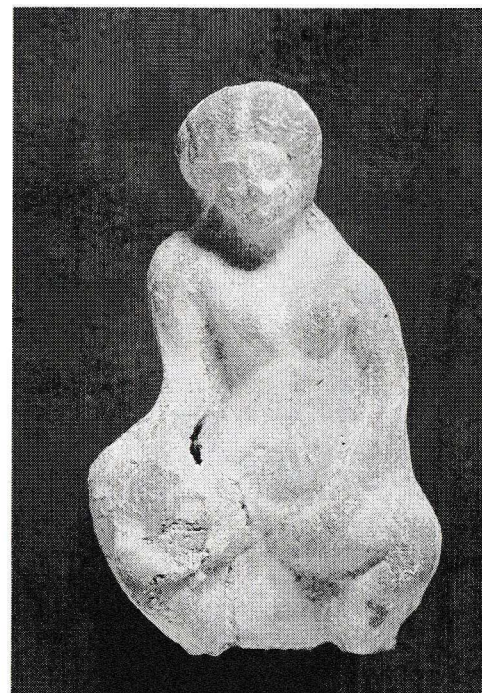


Fig. 7.1 Baubo figure connected with a women's cult concerned with childbirth and fertility found in a Greek trading settlement, Naukratis, Egypt. (National Museum of Ireland)

back to at least 630 BC. Now measuring 13.5 cm. in height, the figure, which appears to be naked, is that of a young woman squatting with the legs splayed. The right hand rests on the right knee while the left hand gestures towards the genitalia. The posture relates the image to the so-called Baubo figures that were commonplace in Ptolemaic Egypt during the third to second centuries BC. Baubo appears in Greek mythology in a story in which she is associated with Demeter, goddess of fertility. According to Andersen, where represented, Baubo 'is inclined to touch herself as part of a specific sexual purpose'. Connected with a women's cult concerned with childbirth and fertility, the figures were often in the form of small amulets, and they are found in or near the women's rooms in Egyptian houses.²²

One of the early Fathers of the Church, born around AD 150, St Clement of Alexandria, was extremely knowledgeable about Greek myths and cults. He gives an account of Baubo in which she displays her private parts to Demeter to induce laughter designed to banish her depression over the kidnapping of her daughter. Clement's account is provided in full by Weir and Jerman who conclude that this was an attempt by Clement to distort and trivialize an important ritual of the Eleusian Mysteries. Clement's account of Baubo appears to have been known in medieval times, and its inclusion in Christian

¹⁷ The Romanesque background of the figures have been accepted by a number of authors including A. Weir and J. Jerman, *Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches* (London, 1986); S. Cherry, *A Guide to Sheela-na-gigs* (Dublin, 1992); C. E. Karkov, 'Sheela-na-gigs and Other Unruly Women: Images of Land and Gender in Medieval Ireland', in *From Ireland Coming. Irish Art from the Early Christian to the Late Gothic Period and its European Context*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, 2001), pp. 313–31; Andersen, *The Witch on the Wall*; Kelly, *Sheela-na-gigs. Origins and Functions*.

¹⁸ J. A. Jerman, 'The Sheela-na-gig carvings of the British Isles: Suggestions for a Re-classification, and other notes', *Co. Louth Archaeological and Historical Journal* 20.1 (1981), 10–24 (p. 22).

¹⁹ Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, Pl. 28.

²⁰ Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, Reg. no. NMI 1911:394.

²¹ Reg. no. NMI L661:3.

²² Andersen, *The Witch on the Wall*, p. 134.



Fig. 7.2 Greco-Roman figure of the satyr Silenus from Fayum, Egypt; the figure was formerly endowed with a phallus, now missing. (National Museum of Ireland)

writings, together with knowledge of the figures themselves, may have played a part in the creation of the Romanesque female exhibitionist carvings that in turn gave rise to the Irish sheela-na-gigs.²³

The male figure referred to is an earthen-red terracotta of the Greco-Roman period (Fig. 7.2). It is a statuette in Hellenistic style of a drunken bearded man who supports himself against a palm tree while raising his garment to expose his genitals and buttocks. There is a hole for the attachment of a phallus, now missing. Found at Fayum, Egypt, it measures 17.5 cm in height. Despite his emasculation and the absence of any tail at the rear, the pot-bellied, ugly figure with pronounced ears may be identified as Silenus, the oldest, wisest and most drunken of the satyrs in whom intoxication inspired his wine-hazed mind with a special knowledge and powers of prophecy. Silenus is a companion and tutor of Dionysus, god of vegetation, wine and ecstasy who, in his earliest manifestation appears to have been a male fertility equivalent of Demeter.²⁴ In the Roman world, Dionysus is equated with Bacchus, god of wine and master of the revel.²⁵ Fertility images of the pagan classical world such as the Silenus statuette may have come to inspire medieval depictions of sinful sensuality. St Clement attacked pagan licentiousness as well as the shamelessness of the Greeks in displaying sexual organs, naked girls, drunken satyrs and erect phalli. As Weir and Jerman

point out: 'In other words he is preparing the ground for the Christian view of sex which will permeate the carvings of the Romanesque masons.'²⁶

A century before the invasion of Ireland, the Hiberno-Norse towns came under the influence of the Anglo-Norman church centred on Canterbury. Concerned particularly with seeking reform of the ecclesiastical organization of the Irish church, English churchmen also sought reform of the customary Irish laws on divorce and remarriage – as well as the married status of Irish churchmen. The Synod of Cashel in 1101 partially reformed Irish law by forbidding marriage among close kin but, by failing to address the practices of concubinage and divorce, fell short of the requirements of Rome. Nevertheless, through the efforts of reforming Irish churchmen such as St Malachy, a degree of reorganization of the Irish church took place during the first half of the twelfth century. There was also renewed contact with the Papacy, and continental orders such as the Augustinians and Cistercians were introduced. In the period immediately prior to the Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169, renewed contact with Europe led to changes in Irish religious architecture and sculpture. This was partly through the pilgrimages of Irish kings, aristocrats and prominent churchmen to continental shrines where they became familiar with Romanesque architecture with its exhibitionist and related figures. As a consequence, in Ireland, the earliest exhibitionist figures appear to be those associated with pre-Norman Romanesque buildings, one of the best known of which is that on the chancel arch of the Nun's Church, Clonmacnoise, depicting a naked figure whose face is embraced by the legs (Fig. 7.3). However, the vast majority of true sheela-na-gigs found in Ireland appear to date to the period after the Norman invasion of 1169 and are found mainly within or adjoining areas where there was heavy Anglo-Norman settlement.²⁷ The greatest concentration is in north Munster, Ossory and the midlands, being virtually absent from the far west and north of the island. One of the most westerly examples, that from Aghagower, Co. Mayo, is, perhaps significantly, located along a pilgrims' road to Croagh Patrick (Fig. 7.4). Whereas the earlier Romanesque exhibitionist figures tend to form part of a larger decorative scheme, post-invasion sheela-na-gigs tend to be single figures that were carved to be set in isolation, usually on a wall near a window or door or on a gable quoin stone. However, this is not always the case as the Birr, Co. Offaly, sheela-na-gig is carved on a corbel (Fig. 7.5) very much in the European tradition.

Generally, sheela-na-gigs are stolid forms with large heads, often with bulging eyes, gaping mouths and jug ears. The majority are carved on rectangular blocks of stone, which are twice as high as they are broad, ranging in height between 40 cm and 60 cm. Many are carved roughly but some are excellent examples of the stonemason's craft. Some variations in pose exist,

²³ Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, pp. 111–12.

²⁴ A. Cottrell, *The Encyclopedia of Mythology* (Godalming, 1996), p. 37.

²⁵ J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London, rev. edn, 1979).

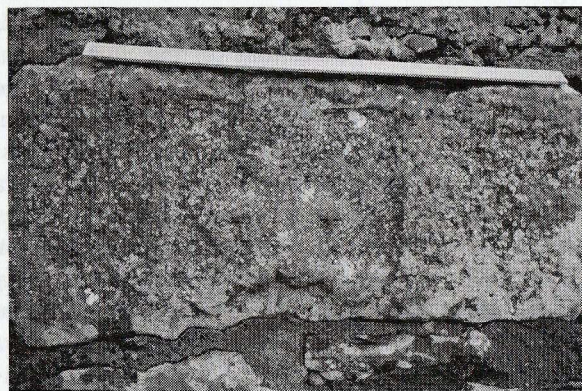
²⁶ Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, p. 112.

²⁷ Kelly, *Sheela-na-gigs. Origins and Functions*, Fig. 1.



Fig. 7.3 Exhibitionist or acrobat figure carved on the chancel arch of the Nun's Church, Clonmacnoise, Co. Offaly. (National Monuments Service, Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Dublin)

Fig. 7.4 The small sheela-na-gig from Aghagower, Co. Mayo, located along a pilgrims' road leading to the shrine of the national saint on the summit of Croagh Patrick, Co. Mayo. (National Museum of Ireland)



on the basis of which the figures have been arranged into classes,²⁸ but it is by no means certain whether these have any real significance. In general, sheela-na-gigs appear to be evenly divided between those that seem to be standing and those that may be seated. The legs may be widely splayed or, alternatively, the thighs may be splayed but with the heels together. In some cases the legs appear not to have been represented at all. The commonest position of the arms is that whereby the hands are placed in front with a gesture towards the abdomen or, more explicitly, towards the pudenda. The

²⁸ Guest, 'Irish Sheela-na-Gigs in 1935', pp. 107-29; Jerman 'The Sheela-na-gig carvings of the British Isles', pp. 13-14.



Fig. 7.5 Sheela-na-gig carved on a corbel from Birr, Co. Offaly. (National Museum of Ireland)

hands may join in front of the genitalia or may be shown gripping the pudenda. In some instances the arms are placed behind the thighs. On the sheela-na-gig believed to have come from a Dominican friary in Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, the right arm is behind the thigh while the left is in front, with both touching the pudenda. The right hand rests on the right leg, with one finger of the left hand resting on the pudenda in what may be a masturbatory gesture on the carving from Ballylarkin church, Co. Kilkenny (Fig. 7.6). A deliberate effort appears to have been made to represent sheela-na-gig as grotesque, hideous and ugly. A particularly terrifying example is that from Cavan, Co. Cavan (Fig. 7.7). The tongue protrudes from a large head and a series of emaciated ribs are shown. Breasts are rarely represented but in those cases where they are present they are small and usually accompanied by ribs indicating emaciation. A small number of sheela-na-gigs show striations on the cheeks or brows that may represent wrinkles or perhaps tattoos; teeth are also sometimes depicted.

Like the earlier Romanesque figures, sheela-na-gigs are to be found located on churches, generally placed high up on the walls. However, examples carved on pillar-like stones at Tara, Co. Meath, (in the graveyard of a medieval church) and Swords Glebe, Co. Dublin, probably once flanked the doorways of medieval churches. More often, however, Irish sheela-na-gigs are to be found on the walls of castles and tower houses where they may have functioned as protective carvings and symbols of lordly status. Generally

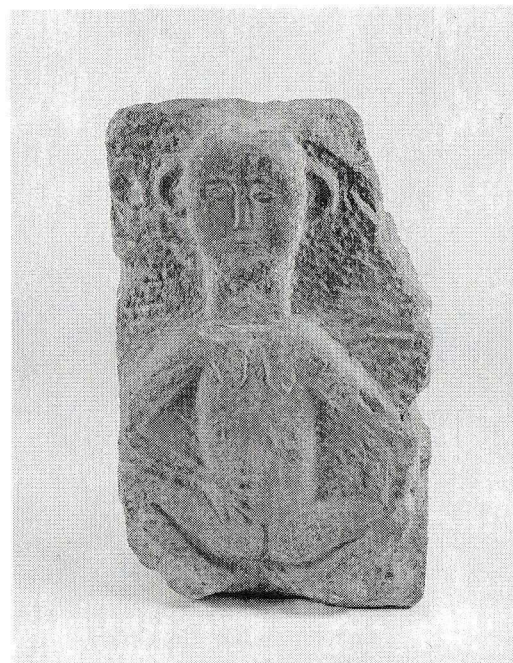


Fig. 7.6 The figure from a thirteenth century church at Ballylarkin, Co. Kilkenny, is one of the best carved Irish sheela-na-gigs. (National Museum of Ireland)



Fig. 7.7 There has been a deliberate attempt by the carver to represent the sheela-na-gig from a church at Cavan, Co. Cavan, as ugly and threatening. (National Museum of Ireland)

speaking, it may be the case that the figures found on castles tend to be later in date than those occurring on churches, thus indicating a change through time in their perceived meaning and function. The reasons for this may be found in the cultural assimilation of the Anglo-Normans in all areas outside the Pale during a time of Gaelic resurgence from the late thirteenth to the sixteenth century.²⁹ The Pale was a fortified earthwork surrounding an area extending about thirty miles from Dublin outside of which the authority of the English crown was weak and power rested in the hands of local lords of both Irish and Norman ancestry. During the Middle Ages, the adoption of Irish ways, laws, language and literature made a deep impact upon the worldview of the Anglo-Norman settlers living beyond the Pale, of whom it was said they became 'more Irish than the Irish'. In the Irish tradition, the land was a female entity to which the lord was wedded metaphorically and therefore responsible for its protection, wealth and fecundity. Elements of ancient pre-Christian beliefs were embedded within these concepts of lordship, and these elements found reinforcement in the Irish literary and intellectual tradition that the newcomers adopted. Important components of the tradition were the ancient epic tales and mythology, versions of which continued to be compiled in manuscript form throughout the Middle Ages. Even into the seventeenth century compilation continued to be undertaken by Gaelic scholars who made a conscious effort to record the history and traditions of a civilization that they recognized as doomed. In the tales female characters appear, such as Medb, warrior Queen of Connacht, and the war-goddess Morrigan, who are literary personifications of the ancient earth goddess.³⁰

To these literary images, sheela-na-gig supplied a readymade visual image that could be expropriated and displayed on a lord's residence to provide validation of his role and status. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the period when the power of the Gaelic and Gaelicized Anglo-Irish lords was at its greatest and the most typical buildings of the time were tower houses. The Irish masons who built these fortified residences of the gentry produced their own style, which was an amalgam of past and present and there is little evidence of English influence.³¹ Unlike earlier castles, tower houses were an internal development, the architectural characteristics of which were essentially Irish,³² and it was on such buildings that powerful lords displayed sheela-na-gigs. Some of these lords, such as O'Brien and O'Melaghlin were the descendants of Irish high kings while others such as Butler and Fitzmaurice were of settler stock.

²⁹ Kelly, *Sheela-na-gigs. Origins and Functions*, pp. 44–6.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³¹ R. Stalley, 'Gothic Art and Architecture', in *The Illustrated Archaeology of Ireland*, ed. M. Ryan (Dublin, 1991), pp. 172–6 (p. 172).

³² D. Newman Johnson, 'Later Medieval Castles', in *The Illustrated Archaeology of Ireland*, ed. Ryan, pp. 188–93 (p. 191).



Fig. 7.8 The sheela-na-gig over a yard gate at Moate castle, Co. Westmeath, may be among the latest in the series of Irish stone carvings. The figure is in an oval area sunk in a slab and it has unusual proportions, most notably the enormous face. (National Museum of Ireland)

The carving of stone sheela-na-gigs appears to have ended with the final defeat of Irish Gaelic society during the seventeenth century, and a sheela-na-gig at Moate castle, Co. Westmeath, erected on a wall rebuilt in 1649 may represent the end of the Irish series of stone carvings (Fig. 7.8).³³ There was, however, a final late manifestation of the tradition using different media that may have been a reflux from the Low Countries during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The figures in question occur on pipe tampers or pipe stoppers of which there are five examples (four bronze and one ivory) in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland. Each has an elaborate handle and a cylindrical projection that, once a tobacco pipe was lit, the smoker used to tamp tobacco in the bowl to compact it for more efficient burning. No provenance is recorded for the copper alloy examples but the ivory example³⁴ is docu-

³³ Guest, 'Irish Sheela-na-Gigs in 1935', p. 120.

³⁴ Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, Reg. no. NMI SA1901:33.



Fig. 7.9 Ivory pipe tamber recorded as having been found beside a castle in Co. Tipperary. The pose is similar to that found in a number of stone sheela-na-gigs. (National Museum of Ireland)

mented as having been found 'in a dug field at Castle, Co. Tipperary'.³⁵ The ivory figure is that of a female wearing a dress gathered at the waist exposing the buttocks and genitalia (Fig. 7.9). The right hand grasps the right buttock and the left hand gestures towards the genitalia. The legs are flexed, with the knees together, and the figure appears to be defecating. The head is missing. Two bronze tampers were acquired as part of a collection together with two bowls from seventeenth-century tobacco pipes and what appear to be two Dutch tobacco boxes of the eighteenth century, although no direct connection between any of the objects can be demonstrated.³⁶ One tamber³⁷ is plain on one side and on the other there is a standing naked female, bent over fully so that the head peers backwards from between the splayed legs (Fig. 7.10). A second similarly posed example,³⁸ shows a backward-looking female whose buttocks and genitalia are exposed. However the opposite side depicts a male figure with enlarged phallus and testes (Fig. 7.11). A third bronze tamber³⁹ shows a couple copulating while the final example is of a naked cherub standing with the right arm flexed, the hand resting on the stomach.

³⁵ Science and Art Museum Irish Antiquities Register, 1898–1928, p. 54.

³⁶ Dublin, Royal Irish Academy Museum, Register of Antiquities (1859–1886), pp. 103–6.

³⁷ Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, Reg. no. NMI R.560.

³⁸ Reg. no. NMI R.561.

³⁹ Reg. no. NMI R.2088.



Fig. 7.10 Copper alloy tamper depicting a woman looking backwards through splayed legs in a revealing pose. The reverse is plain. (National Museum of Ireland)

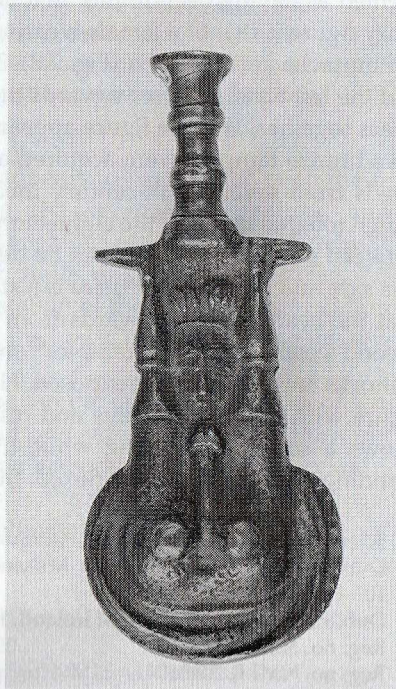


Fig. 7.11 Copper alloy tamper depicting a well-endowed man looking backwards through splayed legs. The reverse shows a woman in the same pose as figure 10. (National Museum of Ireland)

Tampers were one of the pipe smoker's most important tools, and examples with elaborately ornamented handles were cast from at least the year 1660 onwards.⁴⁰ The tamper bearing the figure of a naked boy or cherub is identical to a tamper found in North America for which a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century date has been proposed.⁴¹ All of the National Museum of Ireland tampers may be either of Dutch or English origin, and they may reflect renewed contacts with England and Holland arising from the Williamite war (1689–91). The designs and themes employed to decorate the handles were inspired frequently from those of an earlier age⁴² and the lewd or erotic examples suggest a background in the Low Countries. The themes may derive ultimately from the erotic and exhibitionist figures represented on tin/lead alloy badges that were particularly prevalent in the Netherlands and Flanders during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴³ To a lesser extent similar erotic badges were to be found in the surrounding countries, including England.⁴⁴ The erotic badges can, in turn, be linked to the Romanesque sculptural tradition where similar themes are frequently found and, to a lesser extent, to the details of manuscript illustration.⁴⁵ In turn, it is the Romanesque tradition that gives rise to the Irish series of sheela-na-gigs.

Coming first to antiquarian attention during the nineteenth century, academic interest in sheela-na-gigs has grown steadily since then and, following the publication in 1977 of Dr Jørgen Andersen's important book *The Witch on the Wall. Medieval Erotic Sculpture in the British Isles*, the sculptures have found a general audience. A growing interest in feminism, Celtic spirituality and New Age beliefs has served to promote further interest in the carvings. While academics debate the meaning and significance of the figures, sheela-na-gigs continue to be powerful images that generate strong passions and public controversy. Most contemporary popular interest in the carvings tends to lay stress on the reproductive function of female sexuality, viewing the figures in a positive light. However, interpretation of the figures is clearly a complex matter and, perhaps most importantly, their significance and function appear to have changed across space and time.

⁴⁰ I. N. Hume, *A Guide to the Artifacts of Colonial America* (New York, 1976), p. 310.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Fig. 98.3, p. 311.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁴³ A. M. Koldewey, 'A Barefaced Roman de la Rose (Paris, B.N., ms. Fr. 25526) and some Late Medieval Mass-Produced Badges of a Sexual Nature', in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*, ed. M. Smeyers and B. Cardon (Leuven, 1995), pp. 499–516.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 503–16.