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C. R. DODWELL

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TO

PROFESSOR FRANCIS WORMALD

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PREFACE

THIS book, which is now published by the generosity of the Cambridge University Press, is substantially the same as the dissertation submitted by myself for a Ph.D. degree at Cambridge in August 1950.

Professor Francis Wormald supervised me throughout the writing of this work, and I am more than grateful to him for his unremitting guidance and encouragement. If there is any value at all in this book, it is my sincere wish that he will accept it as a tribute to the stimulus of his own teaching.

To Dr Hanns Swarzenski, whose erudition is equalled only by his generosity, I am indebted for sparing time on his visits to England to discuss various problems, and for making many valuable suggestions which I have tried to acknowledge in the text. I am also grateful to him for reading the typescript with a critical eye. Dr C. H. Talbot has given me help and information on Cistercian manuscripts, which is acknowledged in Chapter VIII, and Dr Hugo Buchthal has been good enough to answer questions on matters Byzantine. Professor R. A. B. Mynors has been extremely kind in correcting errors and infelicities in the typescript, and I am also grateful to Professor M. D. Knowles and to Professor T. S. R. Boase for pointing out mistakes and smoothing out imperfections.

I should like to thank the many librarians in England and France who have given me access to large numbers of manuscripts, often at inconvenient times. In particular, I have had to make heavy demands on the time and patience of Mr H. M. Adams, librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge, where most of my material is to be found; his unfailing courtesy and assistance have been more than any student should expect.

The identifications of Canterbury manuscripts are largely, though not wholly, based on those given by Mr Neil Ker in his *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. These in turn owe much to that great scholar Dr M. R. James; all students of the Middle Ages owe him some debt; without his work this book on Canterbury illumination could not even have been attempted.

C. R. DODWELL

20 February 1952

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION
BEFORE THE CONQUEST

IN the hundred years or so before the Norman Conquest, the art of illumination in England reached a maturity of artistic expression that was unsurpassed on the Continent, and achieved a delicacy and vigour of line-drawings that have rarely been surpassed since. At that time there was a national artistic idiom, which is easily recognizable. This is not only because of its strong calligraphic emphasis, but also because the normal style was a rapid, impressionistic one—an artistic shorthand, in fact, interested not in precision of detail but in swift, general statement.

A psalter written at the St Augustine's house of Canterbury,[1] and now in the British Museum, where it is catalogued as MS. Harley 603, provides an excellent example of this style. Many of its illustrations were copied from that most celebrated of all Carolingian manuscripts, the Utrecht Psalter,[2] which was certainly at Canterbury during the Middle Ages. It is from this Carolingian source and other related manuscripts that the impressionistic style of Anglo-Saxon art in general, and of the Harley drawings in particular, must have derived. This impressionistic style was originally a classical one, for it had been fully developed in Roman times.[3] Its transmission to the Middle Ages can already be traced in such late antique and early Christian works of art as the Vatican Vergil, the Catacomb paintings and the Vienna Genesis, even before it was consciously revived by the Carolingian Renaissance which was so influenced by the art of late antiquity.

But if Anglo-Saxon illumination perpetuates a classical style, it also expresses a native tradition. It is important to appreciate that there were other Carolingian styles current in England at the time when the Harley Psalter was made, about 1000. These were more 'painterly' and less calligraphic in character, but it was not to them that the English artist turned. The style, for example, of a ninth-century *Aratus*, which was probably already at Canterbury then (B.M. MS. Harley 647), has all the spaciousness of the Pompeian frescoes.[4] Again, another style in the heavier technique of the

[1] There are two hands in the manuscript. The first, which can be dated *c.* 1000, is similar to that of the additions to a St Augustine's manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Cotton Vesp. A i). The second, which belongs to the second quarter of the eleventh century, is close to the hand of another St Augustine's book (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 44).

[2] A facsimile has been published by E. T. DeWald in *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, 1932).

[3] Cf. M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (New York, 1929), pp. 372 ff., Pls. 542–6, 572–9, etc.

[4] See Edwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, 'Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art', *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, vol. IV, pt. 2, p. 236.

'Palace-School' tradition is represented in the illustrations of a Gospel Book (now B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. A ii).[1] This was certainly at Canterbury by the beginning of the eleventh century, for it had been given by the German Emperor Otto to Athelstan and by him to the Canterbury house of Christ Church. Yet, while the impact made by these Carolingian styles on Anglo-Saxon illumination was insignificant, the 'Utrecht' style became the dominant influence in the development of Anglo-Saxon art. Some explanation is required to account for the acceptance of one style and the rejection of others. It is, no doubt, found in the consonance between the impressionistic style and the English art tradition. From the time of the Lindisfarne and Chad Gospels the latter had shown an interest in sensitive line, in animation and in pattern, and the impressionistic style had an affinity with just these native predilections.

1a   This style offered endless opportunities for line, animation and pattern. The figures of the Harley Psalter quiver with vitality; the line itself is restless with an organic life of its own. It is concerned not to separate events but to transmit them, so that the eye is caught up in a linear convection and whirled from fold to fold or incident to incident conscious not of a particular event but of a surface breathless with episode. These are features implicit in the Utrecht drawings, but they are features drawn out and enhanced by contact with the English tradition. The spirited quality of the Carolingian drawings is given a fresh emphasis. This is sometimes obtained by small changes in the drawings. In the first illustration, for example, the spears held parallel by the soldiers are tilted by the English artist into diagonals to increase the sense of movement. In general, however, it is achieved by the fact that shading, which gives a feeling of solidity to the Carolingian illustrations, is relinquished in the Canterbury ones. Now the line is free to whisk over the surface of the page, snatching up the figures in an excited whirl of activity and transforming the hillocks into light swirling puffs of smoke. The line itself is more delicate and calligraphic, and used more for its own sake.

Yet what emphatically differentiates the drawings of the two psalters is the English preoccupation with pattern. This is not simply seen in the patterning of hills and trees and buildings. The whole illustrations are now—unlike the Carolingian ones—outlined in bright colours, such as red and blue and green, and this transforms them into gay and delicately shimmering patterns.

This emphasis on pattern becomes more and more dominant as later drawings are added. For the illustrations are not all by the same artist nor are they all of the same period. They were made by several artists and may be separated into three main groups—the original drawings, those added in the eleventh century, and those added in the twelfth. The earliest drawings are from folios 1 to 27v. and from 50 to 57v.,

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[1] One of the illuminations of this manuscript is copied in Oxford, St John's College MS. 194. The Tiberius Gospel Book is of further interest, since it can be shown that the leaves containing a copy of the so-called 'Lanfranc' forgeries concerning the primacy of Canterbury, and now dispersed between B.M. MSS. Cotton Faust. B vi and Claud. A iii, originally belonged to it.

with later additions intervening on folios 15, 15v. and 17v. The second group comprises the illustrations on folios 58 to 73v. and on folios 28 and 28v. as well as the additions referred to above. To these must be added the representation of the Trinity on folio 1.[1] This was not derived from the Utrecht Psalter. The details of the drawing are not particularly sensitive, but by some artistic alchemy they amalgamate into a composition of persuasive tenderness. The final group, which belongs to the twelfth century and therefore does not concern the present chapter, consists of the illuminations from folios 29 to 35.

The first group of drawings is a faithful iconographical copy of the Utrecht Psalter. It belongs to the period when the manuscript was first made—that is, about 1000— and it is of interest to see that these drawings were actually copied into the book before the text, for one can clearly see where the ink of the script overlays the lines of the drawings. The text itself was not copied from the Utrecht Psalter, for its version of the psalms is Roman, whereas the Utrecht Psalter's is Gallican. It is clear that the latter manuscript had been borrowed for a short time by the monks of St Augustine's and then returned, and this fact would confirm the St Augustine's provenance of the Harley Psalter, for the Utrecht Psalter belonged during the Middle Ages to the neighbouring house of Christ Church.

This Carolingian exemplar was evidently not available to the artists of the second group of drawings, which were probably added between 1040 and 1070. These illustrations[2] were not copied from the Utrecht Psalter, and, though a second iconographical model cannot be entirely excluded, it seems probable that the artists assimilated such details of the Utrecht iconography as they had in front of them in the Harley Psalter, and on this basis proceeded to invent their own compositions.

There are stylistic as well as iconographical differences between the first group of drawings and the second. The figures of the second group are heavier and larger than the others. The line is more crisp and the statement more terse. Patterning predominates even at the expense of buoyancy and exuberance; it is seen in the use of the hillocks to divide up the illustration into a fairly formal pattern; it is seen also in the figure-drawing. The group of figures on folio 70v., for example, is fused into a hard, but still vigorous pattern. Here impressionism is quite subordinate to pattern. Indeed, in the very severity and rigidity of the pattern can be detected the beginnings of a movement away from impressionism towards Romanesque.

1b

The claim that there was already in England before the Norman Conquest a reaching out from impressionism to Romanesque is a sweeping one, and this detail from the Harley Psalter is not sufficient in itself to support such a statement. However, there is evidence in another Canterbury manuscript to confirm the suggestion that this trend was perceptible in Canterbury illumination before the Conquest. This

[1] T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), Pl. xiv.
[2] Apart from those on folios 28 and 28v., which probably follow an underdrawing.

1-2

manuscript is a copy of the Rule of St Benedict and of the *Regularis Concordia*, made at Christ Church between 1040 and 1070 (B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. A iii). It is probably among the last illuminated manuscripts to be made at Canterbury before the Con-

2b quest. It has two illustrations, one of which is a painting of St Benedict and his monks on folio 117v.

The composition of this illustration derives from an earlier Canterbury illumination,

2a found in a manuscript of the first quarter of the eleventh century (B.M. MS. Arundel 155). There, on folio 133, St Benedict is represented seated under an arcade. His head is bound with a ribbon inscribed TIMOR DEI, and he has a halo, on which are written the words s[AN]C[TU]s BENEDICTUS PATER MONACHORUM. In his right hand he grasps a pastoral staff, and with his left points to the prologue of his Rule, held by one of the monks in the neighbouring arcade. Beneath him a prostrate monk with a book inscribed LIB[ER] PS[ALMORUM], embraces his master's feet. A scroll, held by the hand of God, unites the two arcades. Words on it inclined towards the saint read QUI VOS AUDIT ME AUDIT, while those intended for the monks are OBEDIENTES ESTOTE PREPOSITO V[EST]RO.

The general style of this illustration is frankly impressionistic. The monks are drawn in a delicate line, which skims lightly over the surface of the page. The grandeur of St Benedict is emphasized by the use of body colour, but the treatment even here is essentially calligraphic, and a flickering line indicates the restless folds of his drapery.

The Tiberius artist was undoubtedly acquainted with this illumination, for he has

2b adopted a similar composition. His painting has been damaged in the Cotton fire, but 'Pater Benedictus' can still be identified by some of the letters of his head-band. His position is the same as that of the earlier representation, though the pastoral staff, in his hand, can no longer be seen. The arcades have been dispensed with. A monk, however, still appears at the saint's feet, while a group of monks is seen on his left. Another monk, holding an extended scroll, which forms an arabesque in the lower part of the painting has been taken from the earlier illustration of the manuscript (Pl. 3a). The background of this painting is green and vermilion; the figures are coloured cool green, blue and brown heightened with white. The whole picture is disposed in a flowing design, which leads the eye to what is undoubtedly the keynote of the composition—the powerful S-like formula of St Benedict's knees.

If this painting is compared to the Arundel illumination it will be seen that, as in the additions to the Harley Psalter, impressionism is now much more subordinated to pattern. Patterning of a delicate kind appears in most Anglo-Saxon drawings, but here it predominates. The impressionistic lines, which in such manuscripts as the Benedictional of St Ethelwold and the Missal of Robert of Jumièges electrify the atmosphere, are here used to break up the background into pattern. The body of the monk holding the scroll is articulated into zones of dark green, and outlined by a colour band which embraces the figure like a silhouette. Above all, the formalization of

a well-known Anglo-Saxon figure style leads to the complete reduction of St Benedict to a vigorous pattern; his legs, in particular, become a triangular shape surmounted by roundels to represent the knees. It is in this reduction of bodies, not only to pattern, but to geometric shapes that one can detect the beginnings of the transition from illusionism to Romanesque.

This is more marked in the earlier illustration of the manuscript. It is a drawing of King Edgar and SS. Dunstan and Ethelwold, which precedes the text of the   3a *Regularis Concordia*. The three figures sit under arcades. A monk, looking up to them from below, represents those for whom the Rule was written. All the figures in this drawing hold undulating scrolls, which combine with the arcades to divide the whole composition into a patternwork of ellipses and ovals. Particular attention should be paid to the figure of King Edgar. He is not drawn with the flimsy line of the others, but is harder and more geometric in appearance. His legs are reduced to a firm triangle, and his knees are stylized into round shapes, which have the rigidity of carvings. Here is a stylization such as has been seen in the painting of St Benedict, but now line gives a crisper effect than brush strokes.

A copy of this drawing, perhaps made between 1050 and 1070, exists at Durham.[1]   3b In it the central figure of Edgar is omitted, but the continuation of the hardening process is quite evident in the remaining figures.

How far this process continued before 1066 is not known. Possibly, some of the manuscripts that could answer this question were destroyed by the fire of 1067, in which most of the ancient charters of Christ Church perished.[2] At Winchester, at least, Romanesque development before the Conquest was well advanced. B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. C vi is probably a Winchester book, and the figure of David on folio 30 v.,   10a massive and chiselled out, as it were, from stone, is nothing if not Romanesque. Yet however doubtful was the state of development of Canterbury illumination on the day 'when Harold was alive and dead', one thing is certain—the immediate effect of the Conquest was not to accelerate the Romanesque development, but rather to impede it: the Norman figure style that was introduced, and even at first the accompanying figure style of native Anglo-Saxon artists, were both reactionary.

[1] Durham MS. B iii 32, f. 56 v. It is published and described by F. Wormald in 'Two Anglo-Saxon Miniatures Compared', *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. ix, no. 4, p. 113, and Pl. xxxvb.

[2] Eadmer, *Historia Novorum* (Rolls Series), p. 16, '...antiqua ipsius ecclesiae privilegia in ea conflagratione quae eandem ecclesiam tertio ante sui (Lanfranci) introitus annum consumpsit pene omnino perierant'.

I

THE NORMAN INCURSION

THE Norman genius was for organization rather than for art. In the spheres of administration and architecture, where organizing abilities were primarily required, the Normans were more accomplished than the Anglo-Saxons and in this respect their contribution to England was very far-reaching. On the other hand, where the arts were concerned, the Normans could not claim either the aesthetic perceptions or the technical abilities of the Anglo-Saxons, and their illumination, their stone carvings and ivory carvings rarely achieved the quality of English work. In these applied arts, their contribution was not to enhance the native refinement or to introduce new skills, but rather—after a lapse of time—to bring England into touch with other Romanesque developments on the Continent. This contribution was of consequence for English sculpture and for manuscript illumination at such centres as St Alban's and Rochester, but for the illumination at the monastic houses of Canterbury it was not of overwhelming importance.

At Canterbury the building activities of Lanfranc, which extended to Rochester and St Alban's, were characteristic of the Norman conquerors. No one can doubt the benefits of his imposition of a Norman discipline on a house that was some-what relaxed on the eve of the Conquest. The remarks of William of Malmesbury about the secular pursuits of the Christ Church monks before the advent of the Normans must be taken critically; however, Eadmer, from whom he derives his account,[1] and who is a Christ Church chronicler of integrity, has little enthusiasm for the state of his house before the Conquest. On the other hand, for the Norman abbot Lanfranc he has nothing but praise. Lanfranc, he says, employed all his skill and knowledge to further the affairs of God and of men, enhancing the dignity of his church and promoting the spiritual welfare of its inhabitants. Certainly the arrival of Lanfranc at Canterbury was one of the decisive events of its history. 'At no house', says Professor Knowles, 'was the break with the past so complete as at Christ Church.'[2]

The break is seen in the change of script of that house. A closely-written angular hand suddenly replaces the rounder Anglo-Saxon one. This intrusion is clearly seen, for example, in the episcopal professions, which are themselves of such importance that some space must be devoted to their description.

Before being consecrated, it was the custom for bishops and abbots to make a profession of canonical obedience to the primate. This was written out by a Christ

[1] Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 80, n. 2.
[2] Ibid. p. 122.

Church scribe according to a given formula, and signed by the dignitary concerned with a cross. By the greatest good fortune, the originals of these professions, beginning in the year 1086, and continuing throughout and beyond the twelfth century, actually survive in the library of Canterbury Cathedral. They provide an unparalleled series of palaeographical documents showing, almost yearly, the development of script at Canterbury. It is on this evidence that the Canterbury manuscripts have been dated in the present work. Two copies were made of the episcopal professions. One, in the form of a scroll, is now in Canterbury Cathedral library, while the other, which was not begun until 1120, is in a British Museum manuscript (MS. Cotton Cleop. E i). These copies also are of palaeographical importance, for it can be assumed that each group of professions was copied out some time between the last entry of one group and the first of the next. So the first group in the Canterbury scroll was probably written in 1087. This is the date of the consecration of the last ecclesiastic given there, while the next group begins with the profession of John of Bath, who was consecrated in 1088.

What is significant about these early entries in the Canterbury scroll is that the first are in an Anglo-Saxon charter-hand, and the next in the new angular book-hand, while the original professions from which these are copied actually begin with the new hand. That this is a Bec script can be demonstrated by comparing the hand of one of 4b the original professions with that of a Bec manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale 4a (MS. lat. 12211). To this may be added the evidence of two Bec manuscripts, which were brought to Canterbury by Lanfranc and bound into one volume (now Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 16 44).[1] There, additions made after 1070 by Christ 4d Church monks are in a similar hand to that of the main texts. 4c

The intrusion of a Bec hand is due to the advent of Bec monks. Of this the chroniclers have nothing to say. The vernacular prose of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle at St Augustine's flows smoothly on, undiverted from its course by events of such importance to the neighbouring house. Eadmer remarks on the dispersal of Christ Church monks by Rufus after the death of Lanfranc, but does not refer to the changes effected by the archbishop himself. Nor does William of Malmesbury. It is only in the dignified prose of Anselm's letters that the full significance of the effects of the Conquest on the personnel of Christ Church becomes clear. His correspondence with Lanfranc illustrates the intimate ties that existed between Bec and Canterbury.

That Norman monks accompanied Lanfranc to Canterbury in 1070 is evident from Anselm's first letter[2] where, after congratulating Lanfranc, he adds a brief note for the Bec monks already with him: 'dilectissimi fratres nostri qui vobiscum sunt.'

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[1] Professor Z. Brooke, who discusses this book in his *English Church and the Papacy*, argues that it consists of two volumes bound into one. The gatherings confirm this. They are contemporary books written before 1070, when Lanfranc brought them to Canterbury and after 1059, since the synod of that year which condemned Berengar is referred to in the second.

[2] The numbering of the letters is taken from Dom F. S. Schmitt's edition of them (*S. Anselmi Opera Omnia* (Edinburgh, 1946), vol. III).

Some of these, or of those who arrived soon after, shortly received individual letters, or were mentioned by name. Among them were Hernostus, later bishop of Rochester, Gundulph, his successor in that see, and Henry and Herluin, who were to become abbots of Battle and Glastonbury respectively.

Relations between the two abbeys were clearly of the closest. Gifts were sent to Bec.[1] Anselm not only dispatched his writing on the Epistles of St Paul[2] and his *Monologion* to Lanfranc for comment,[3] but asked a Bec monk, on his approaching return from Christ Church, to bring with him from that house an *Aforismus*, of which he had perfected the glosses.[4] Osbern, a Canterbury monk, went to Bec for his spiritual health.[5] More and more Norman monks who had joined Lanfranc were mentioned by name. Some of them Anselm had parted from with difficulty; some he exhorted to greater perfection; all he remembered though away from him. It was, however, in a letter written after he had become abbot that Anselm first mentioned the transfer of whole contingents of Norman monks to England. In his ninetieth letter, after thanking Lanfranc for his largesse, he referred to monks he was sending in obedience to the other's instructions: 'Servos et filios vestros, fratres nostros, ad vestra mittimus vestigia, ut sicut vestra eunt iussione, ita vel maneant vel redeant vel quidlibet agant, quidquid nos ordinaverimus, vestra dispositione.' Another draft, it may be added, was sent to Gundulph of Rochester,[6] and yet another to Bury St Edmund's;[7] Anselm might well in his ninety-sixth letter refer to the monks 'de Beccensi congregatione in Anglia conversantibus'.

The contingent to which Anselm referred in his letter to Lanfranc must have been sent after 1080, since Henry, to whom as prior a letter of commendation was forwarded,[8] only received office in that year. Certainly the full impact of the Norman plantation had been made by 1086, for the original episcopal professions, which were begun in that year, were all written by Norman scribes.

Yet, if in script there is a complete break with the past, there is no such complete break in the field of illumination. After about 1070 Anglo-Saxon illumination still continues, though, certainly, one is often conscious of a change of atmosphere. Bright, flat colours appear; sometimes the line has a new harshness or unaccustomed incoherence; there is also a preoccupation with decoration at the expense of illustration, and an absorption with the initial at the expense of the full-page or marginal drawing. Yet, despite this, the vocabulary remains Anglo-Saxon. It is as if, in following the narrative, one had turned over two pages instead of one. To find the missing page it is natural to look to Normandy.

Norman illumination is to some extent a provincialization of English art. It does not compare in quality with English illumination, though from English art it partly derives.

[1] Letters 7, 14, 49, 58, 68, 89 and 90.
[3] Letter 72.
[6] Letter 91.
[4] Letters 60 and 74.
[7] Letter 92.
[2] Letter 66.
[5] Letter 67.
[8] Letter 93.

This can most clearly be demonstrated by a drawing of the crucifixion, added to a Jumièges manuscript (Rouen MS. 26, f. 48) in the eleventh century. The drawing is 5b unfinished, but enough of it remains to show that it was simply copied from an English work. It may be compared, for example, with a drawing of the same scene from a tenth-century Pontifical from Sherborne (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 943, 5a f. 4 v.). In each illumination the loin cloth of Christ is drawn up at the waist in a similar knot. In each there are the same restless draperies with fluttering hems and the Anglo-Saxon 'hood' over the knees. In many ways, indeed, this Norman drawing is a competent copy of the English one; only the wooden stiffness of the head, opposing the agitated feeling of the drapery, betrays the artist's inability to grasp the spirit of his original. On the other hand, the sensitive delineation of an angel in a Fécamp manuscript (Rouen MS. 1404, f. 81 v.), seems to be the work of an Anglo-Saxon, and 5c may suggest that there were actually English artists working in Normandy at the end of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[1]

In general, the Norman illuminator was less sensitive than the English one, and some of his drawings with long stalk-like fingers and elongated and disproportionate feet unconsciously tended to parody the Anglo-Saxon style. At other times he simplified and hardened it. An example of this hardening process may be cited from a Mont Saint Michel manuscript at Avranches (MS. 76). The drawing of St Michael on folio 1 v. is 5d clearly derived from English sources. His draperies may be compared with those of John in the crucifixion scene from the Sherborne Pontifical (Pl. 5a); in each illustration they swing out at the side and descend in steep folds from the knee. The Norman drawing, however, is much more stylized and rigid than the English one, and to that extent more Romanesque. So, by one of those paradoxes of art history the copyist produces something more progressive than the creative artist. Again, it seems probable that the figure in a St Ouen manuscript at Rouen (MS. 457, f. 30)[2] was derived from Anglo-Saxon 5g prototypes such as the figures of the *Caedmon* at Oxford. The Norman figure is once more 5f a stylization of its exemplar; the sketchy lines of the abdomen are hardened into a belt and the strokes lightly indicating the folds between the legs become a hard V-pattern. Other characteristics of Norman figure styles—for example, the hunched-up shoulders and jutting-out necks of figures in such manuscripts as Rouen MS. 456, Évreux MS. 131 and B.M. MS. Add. 17739—can be traced to English sources. In a similar way, the constructions of Norman initials have been influenced by English art.

The 'biting head' initial, for example, on folio 56 v. of Rouen MS. 483 has a good 8f English pedigree.[3] So too has the great 'B' initial which is popular in Anglo-Saxon

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[1] It may be remarked that Ordericus Vitalis, an Englishman who was in Normandy at the end of the eleventh and in the early twelfth century, refers to another at S. Wandrille; he is Ingulph of Fontenelles, later abbot of Croyland—'Hic natione Anglicus erat' (August le Prévost's edition (Paris, 1838–55), vol. II, p. 285).

[2] It is copied in a Jumièges manuscript at Rouen (MS. 458, f. 87).

[3] See for English examples of this type F. Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English MSS. from A.D. 900 to 1100', *Archaeologia*, vol. XCI, pp. 119–24.

illumination and no less frequent in that of Normandy. This consists of a panelled upright, which is joined to the bows of Franco-Saxon interlace. The bows meet in a mask-head at the centre and then continue to circle into acanthus-leaf scrolls. In England the earliest example of this initial style occurs in a tenth-century manuscript written in a Fenland monastery (B.M. MS. Harley 2904),[1] and it is a favourite construction for the Beatus initial of Anglo-Saxon illumination. An initial of this type from an eleventh-century psalter in the Cambridge University Library is reproduced (MS. Ff 1 23, f. 5). With it may be compared two Norman examples, one from Jumièges (Rouen MS. 32, f. 3v.),[2] the other from St Ouen (Rouen MS. 1404, f. 41 v.). There are, it is true, slight modifications in the Norman constructions. One replaces the mask-head by a clasp, and the other the panelled bows by dragons. Despite this, there can be no doubt about the English ancestry of these initials, though it must be added that the foliage of Rouen MS. 1404 belongs to a purely Continental tradition. Yet neither initial could be mistaken for the work of English artists. In the Jumièges manuscript the whole animation and calligraphic delicacy of the Anglo-Saxon initial have gone; the inner vitality of the foliage has been squeezed dry and has been hardened into a rigid scroll. The eye no longer dances over the surface, but follows in a dull and leaden fashion a tedious maze of lines. Apart from this difference of style there is an important difference of composition. The Norman initials combine the great 'B' construction with the inhabited scroll, and the latter is occupied by human figures.

The inhabited scroll was, of course, a familiar style in English art before the Conquest. One appears in the Bury St Edmund's Psalter in the Vatican (MS. Reg. lat. 12, f. 88v.), where it illustrates the words of the psalm, 'Thou has brought a vine out of Egypt...the boar out of the wood doth waste it'. Inhabited scrolls decorate the canon tables of the Trinity Gospels (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 10 4) which was written early in the eleventh century and perhaps belonged to Canterbury.[3] Indeed, the style had been used in initials as early as the first half of the century.[4] The Anglo-Saxon artist had formed his scroll by twisting the 'Winchester' acanthus into the desired shape, and the appearance of this acanthus leaf, albeit in a debased or highly stylized form, in Norman inhabited scrolls would argue that they received this style from England. What is quite new is the use of human figures to inhabit this scroll-

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[1] Wormald, op. cit. p. 108 and Pl. 1a.

[2] On folio 1 v. of this manuscript it is stated that Rainaldus, who became abbot of Abingdon in 1085, had sent this book to Jumièges: 'Rainaldus...abbas abbendonensis hunc sancti evangelii textum sic auro argentoque ac gemmis ornatum beatae dei genetrici ac semper virgini marie beatoque PETRO Gemmeticensis coenobii mittit....' None the less, it is unquestionably a Norman manuscript, whether written at Jumièges or, more probably, by Normans in England.

[3] The editors of the *New Palaeographical Society Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts* (first ser., vol. 1, Pls. 11 and 12, and description) say that it was probably written at Winchester. It was, however, given to Trinity College, Cambridge, by Thomas Neville, most of whose books came from Christ Church.

[4] Wormald, op. cit. Pl. IVc.

work, a feature never seen in England before the Conquest,[1] and the association of this style with the great 'B' construction, which again is an innovation. If the vocabulary here is English, the handling of it is Norman.

Two other styles of initial in Norman illumination call for attention. The first is the 'dragon', the second the 'clambering' style. Both appear earlier in England than in Normandy, and there are some indications that it was probably from England that they passed to Normandy.

The first style, in which dragons are used to form initials, is fairly frequent in Norman manuscripts of the second half of the eleventh century. It had, however, been used in England as early as the tenth century.[2] At first the English dragons were very small, but they gradually increased in size and weight before the Conquest, thus becoming more and more Romanesque. A particularly good use of this initial style in Norman hands is found in a St Ouen manuscript written towards the end of the eleventh century (Rouen MS. 467). The 'dragon' initials of this book are close enough to English 'dragon' initials to indicate that it was from England that they probably derive. Compare, for example, the initial on folio 101 v., where the letter is composed of two dragons swallowing each other's tail with a similar composition found in the celebrated Anglo-Saxon *Caedmon* (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11, f. 63). One of these dragons has two heads but otherwise the construction in both is the same. It is true that the English dragons are smaller than the Norman ones, but they belong to a manuscript of an earlier date. Dragons of a later period, for example those in the Winchcombe Psalter of Cambridge University Library (MS. Ff 1 23) are sometimes quite robust. If the one reproduced from folio 131 v. of this manuscript is compared to the right-hand one of the Norman initial, it will be seen that the similarities of wings and head are too close to be dismissed as a coincidence. The foliated tails of the St Ouen dragons, furthermore, terminate in a triple leaf which, in a more simplified form, is characteristic of Anglo-Saxon dragons such as those of the *Caedmon*.

9 c

9 a

9 b

The last style of initial to be discussed is of particular importance for the history of Canterbury illumination. It may be referred to as the 'clambering' style initial, because it is characterized by human and animal figures clambering up and round the framework of the letter. It became an important element of twelfth-century art, appearing in French and English sculpture, Spanish ivories, and in illuminated manuscripts as far afield as Jerusalem.

All available evidence points to England as the place of origin of this style. Fine examples of it were produced on the Continent before the Norman Conquest—in the Corbie Gospels for example (Amiens MS. 24), and in the Gospel Book in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (MS. McClean 19), which belonged in the fifteenth century to Cateau Cambrésis. But both these manuscripts are later than English examples and one of them, MS. McClean 19, shows unmistakable signs of English influence.

[1] For the inhabited scroll in B.M. MS. Arundel 60, see App. 2, p. 117.   [2] Wormald, op. cit. p. 119.

This style appears early in English ivories. Carved birds and animals on the lid of an ivory box in the British Museum thread their way in and out of foliage inside a framework, resembling an initial 'I'.[1] This carving has been ascribed by Dalton to the end of the eleventh or the early twelfth century.[2] But as the stylized foliage resembles that of an Anglo-Saxon Pentateuch from St Augustine's, and the braced-back heads of the birds and the tadpole-like dragons are similar to the creatures decorating the Trinity Gospels it would be safer to place this ivory in the first half of the eleventh century.[3] Even before this time clambering figures are seen in illuminated manuscripts. A tenth-century manuscript at Salisbury Cathedral (MS. 150) contains on folio 122 a letter 'A'.[4] The simple outlines of the initial are energized by small spirited dragons which scramble between its framework and sprawl across to form the cross-piece of the letter. More rudimentary forms of this style occur in an eleventh-century copy of Bede's *History* given by Leofric to Exeter, in which single dragons wind their way up the initials (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 41, ff. 266v. and 285).[5] The most fully developed example of this style before the Conquest is found in the Trinity Gospels. This manuscript has two initial 'I's', and each of them is animated by dragons, lions and birds, which squirm and wriggle up and down and in and out of the framework. One of these letters has been damaged by damp, but each shows a very spirited treatment of the 'clambering' style.

7b and c

Here it may be suggested that the use of clambering figures in Anglo-Saxon initials has been inspired by astronomical charts. A detail from one in a Carolingian manuscript, which belonged to Canterbury (B.M. MS. Harley 647, f. 21v.), is reproduced. It is easy to see that the figures, running their circular courses between the lines plotting the heavens, could without difficulty be transferred to an initial to run and clamber up its framework.

7a

In Normandy this 'clambering' style was quite frequent. It occurs in a British Museum manuscript (MS. Add. 17739), which is illuminated by the same hand as a Jumièges manuscript at Rouen (MS. 459) and in several Rouen manuscripts. A single human figure clambering up a Norman initial reproduced on Plate 5 may be compared to an Anglo-Saxon initial, where a single figure climbs up an initial 'I' (Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff 1 23, f. 17v.). Another 'clambering' initial from Fécamp (Rouen MS. 445, f. 49) has been derived from something like the Trinity initials. There are also 'clambering' style initials in one of the few books that survive from Bec. MS. lat. 2342 in the Bibliothèque Nationale is a Bec manuscript, which belongs to the end of the eleventh or

5g
5e
7e

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[1] *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, O. M. Dalton, Pl. xx, and A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Romanischen Zeit* (1926), vol. iv, Pl. vii (28).

[2] Ibid. p. 37.

[3] This chapter was written before the publication of Sir Thomas Kendrick's book, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*. He attributes it (p. 41) to the 'late Saxon period'.

[4] Ibid. Pl. xxix.

[5] The initials of Bodleian MS. Tanner 10 do not come into this category, since there the gymnastic figures are used to form the initial and not simply to animate it.

to the early twelfth century. On folio 96v. a lion and a dragon intertwine their way up a
letter 'I'. A more clumsily drawn initial occurs on folio 146v., where the letter 'P' has a   7d
heaviness and lethargy not uncommon in Norman illumination. Here again, a dragon
is found twisting its way up the framework of the initial and a human being is intro-
duced below.

From all this it is clear that, to some extent at least, Norman illumination derives from
English art. The evidence could be augmented. For example, the traditional English
elements in the 'Carilef' books at Durham have been examined by Professor F. Wor-
mald in his article, 'The Survival of Anglo-Saxon Illumination after the Norman
Conquest', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxx. In point of fact, the majority
of these 'Carilef' books were probably Norman manuscripts brought from Normandy
by Carilef.[1] This—let it be stated emphatically once and for all—is not to deny the
Continental influences, which played a decided part in the formation of the Norman style.
Some of these came from North-east France and Flanders, and it would be profitable to
compare, for example, the crucifixion scene in a Jumièges manuscript (Rouen MS. 273,   72e
f. 36v.) with one in an Amiens manuscript (MS. fonds Lescal. 2, f. 111 ter v.), the figure style   and c
of an Avranches manuscript (MS. 72) with that of the same Amiens manuscript, or the
figure style of a Jumièges manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Add. 17739) with that
of the Lobbes Bible in the Seminary at Tournai, and the decoration of a Jumièges Bible
at Rouen (MS. 8) with that of some folios added in the eleventh century to a manuscript
from Cambrai cathedral (Cambrai MS. 300). Such comparisons, however, though of
extreme interest, would lead to a long diversion from the subject in hand, and it will
have to be sufficient to repeat that there are certainly non-English elements in Norman
illumination. These were important. But English influences were even more so. Indeed,
it is hoped that enough evidence has been adduced to justify the statement that the
dominant influence on Norman illumination came from across the Channel.

Some of these influences were possibly indirect. The manuscript painting of
St Bertin and St Vaast at the end of the tenth and early eleventh centuries was closely
associated with that of England. The lack of an account of the influences of Anglo-
Saxon art on these houses is an unfortunate lacuna in the history of mediaeval art, and
a considerable amount of relevant material in the libraries of Arras and Boulogne-
sur-Mer awaits publication.[2] It is quite possible that some of the English influences on
Normandy had percolated through from these Flemish centres. On the other hand,
the amount of Norman illumination that can be confidently dated before 1066 is so
small, and the association of Norman and English art is so close that the conclusion
is irresistible: the chief stimulus in the development of Norman illumination was
contact with English art after the Conquest.

[1] See App. 1, pp. 114–17.
[2] Dr Hanns Swarzenski publishes some examples in his article, 'The Anhalt Morgan Gospels', *Art Bulletin*,
vol. xxxi (June 1949), pp. 77–83.

There were, it is true, Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts in Normandy before the Conquest. For example, those sent by Robert of Jumièges to his former abbey are still the pride of the Norman collection at Rouen. The esteem in which Anglo-Saxon art was held by the Normans before they crossed the Channel to be astonished by the quality of art in their newly conquered island is shown by the vicissitudes of an English psalter. The account is given by Ordericus Vitalis,[1] who describes an English psalter 'decorated with various pictures', which was given by Emma, wife of Ethelred, to her brother Robert, archbishop of Rouen. Robert's son, William, so loved his wife Hawise 'that he wished in every way to please her', and he secretly abstracted the book from his father's chamber to give it to her. When her son became a monk there in 1061 she gave it to St Évroult. At the time when Ordericus was writing his account it was still used in the choir.

Yet, though there was Anglo-Saxon illumination in Normandy before the Conquest, there is no indication that, to any degree, admiration had yet given way to emulation. The significant period in the evolution of Norman illumination is the last quarter of the eleventh century and early part of the twelfth. It goes without saying that the Normans during this time were in close touch with English art. From Anselm's letters it is clear that gifts were sent across the Channel from England. William of Poitiers, more specifically, refers to Anglo-Saxon art products that were sent by William the Conqueror to Normandy,[2] and, hostile as the chronicler is to England, he cannot restrain his admiration for its art. In the 'Life of St Ethelwold' in the Abingdon chronicle, there is a more pathetic reference to the way in which English art treasures were sent to Normandy, and the English houses thereby despoiled.[3] The most celebrated example of the passage of Anglo-Saxon works of art to Normandy after the Conquest is undoubtedly the Bayeux tapestry. In contrast to this, one can cite an hitherto unknown example of the same movement.

This is a Gospel Book (now Saint Lô, Archives de la Manche MS. 1) which formerly belonged to the collegiate church of Saint Évroult de Mortain. This church was founded in 1082 by William the Conqueror's brother, Robert, and it was he who probably gave it the Gospel Book. The manuscript itself is in a seriously damaged condition, but there can be no doubt that it is Anglo-Saxon. The script is Anglo-Saxon. The decoration is that of an Anglo-Saxon artist. Compare, for example, the initial 'J' on folio 5 with another initial from the Anglo-Saxon Gospels at Pembroke College, Cambridge (MS. 301 f. 11). The figure style is also the work of an Anglo-

6c, d

6b

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[1] Prévost's edition, vol. II, p. 41.

[2] *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis*, in A. Duchesne, *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* (Paris, 1619), p. 211.

[3] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, vol. I, ed. Rev. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series), p. 345: 'Fuerunt autem ista super-enumerata ornamenta, cum augmentatione bonorum aliorum, in ecclesia ista usque ad adventum Normannorum in Angliam. Illo enim tempore erant in hac domo quidam monachi et sacristae de coenobio Gemeticensi, qui ornamenta quamplurima a beato Atheluuoldo laboriose adquisita et huic domui collata, tam aurea quam argentea, eruderato penitus argento a rota memorata, secum in Normanniam fraudulenter asportaverunt.'

Saxon and is closely related to that of the Pierpont Morgan Gospels, as two comparisons will rapidly establish. Both from the script and from the style of the illumination, it seems probable that the Saint Lô Gospels were produced after the Conquest. Thus, they provide not only an interesting example of the export of Anglo-Saxon works of art to Normandy, but also an example of the survival of the Anglo-Saxon style of illumination after the Conquest.

It was primarily after the Battle of Hastings that Norman illumination was developed under English influences. The return of Norman influences to England was a comparatively late occurrence of the end of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In 1066 there was no sudden imposition of a foreign art, because at this time the Normans had little art to give. This cannot be implied from the illumination that survives, nor can it be deduced from the Norman chronicles.

The most detailed of these is that of Ordericus Vitalis. Vitalis the Englishman, as he likes to call himself, was sent in 1075, as a boy of ten, to St Évroult in Normandy, and later wrote a detailed history of that house, in which he was concerned to stress the achievements of its members. Yet, though he can speak of its accomplishments before the Conquest in music and architecture, and even in sculpture, he can nowhere find an opportunity for praising its pictorial art. The only illuminator, he mentions, is a certain William, son of Guy of Bollein, who was 'skilled in copying and illuminating books'—'praecipuusque scriptor et librorum illuminator'. He was only nine years old when he joined the abbey between 1059 and 1061, and it is clear that his illuminating activities must have taken place after the Conquest.

Though indeed the music of St Évroult is of importance, it is on the calligraphy that Ordericus places every emphasis. Theodoric, abbot from 1050 to 1057, was an excellent scribe, who left to the young people of his house some splendid examples of his art.[1] His nephew Rodolf, Hugh his companion and Roger the priest were all similarly calligraphers.[2] From this school, continues the chronicler, proceeded some excellent copyists, who exhorted the youth of the monastery to similar pursuits.[3] Osbern, abbot from 1061 to 1066, 'prepared with his own hands writing materials for the young and uninstructed', making ready tablets overspread with wax, and demanding from each one, daily, part of the original work assigned.[4] As one of the monks who visits Apulia under Theodoric is referred to as 'a skilful penman', so those who later leave the abbey with Fulk are all 'promptos et utiles librarios'.[5] From this

[1] Prévost, op. cit. vol. II, p. 47: 'Nam ipse scriptor erat egregius, et inclyta insitae sibi artis monimenta reliquit Uticanis juvenibus.'

[2] Ibid. p. 48.

[3] Ibid. 'Et ejus etiam schola excellentes librarii, id est Berengarius [etc.]...aliique plures processerunt...et exempla suis ad simile studium secuturam juventutem salubriter exhortati sunt.'

[4] Ibid. p. 94: 'Ipse propriis manibus scriptoria pueris et indoctis fabricabat, tabulasque cera illitas praeparabat, operisque modum singulis constitutum ab eis quotidie exigebat.'

[5] In 1078. Prévost, op. cit. vol. II, p. 294.

chronicle comes the story of the monk who was rescued from hell. He was saved by a letter, not by a brush-stroke. He was a scribe, not an illuminator.

The house of Bec concerns Canterbury much more closely. Here, there is less detailed information than at St Évroult, but the general impression is that, even after the Conquest, it was not a significant art centre. The emphasis was rather on teaching and, as at St Évroult, on copying.

In these fields, where so much depended on the personality of the individual prior or abbot, Bec had much to offer. In art, however, where achievement must presuppose a tradition, it would be strange if this house, which was only effectively established with the advent of Lanfranc in about 1042, and which belonged to a country where Anglo-Saxons were clearly regarded as the mentors in art, could offer a great deal to the greatest of English monasteries.

Of the Bec and Caen books, only ten or eleven survive from the eleventh or early twelfth century.[1] Only one of these contains illumination of any significance and this was written at least twenty or thirty years after the Conquest (Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 2342). There are three Bec manuscripts that can be fairly safely ascribed to the period 1060 to 85. Two were probably written before 1070;[2] they have no illumination. The third, probably written soon after and which can be safely dated before 1100,[3] has one insignificant initial. If these manuscripts are any indication of the type of book being produced at Bec at about the time of the Conquest, it may be said that there is in them no interest in art, and that they rely entirely for their aesthetic effect on the not inconsiderable beauty of their calligraphy.[4]

The sources of the history of Bec, whether it be the *Vita Herluini*, or the *Vita Lanfranci*, or the remarks made by a Bec monk in the *Miracula S. Nicolai*,[5] all indicate the intellectual ferment at that house, but show no interest in artistic pursuits. In the letters of Anselm, again, there is no reference to art; where manuscripts are concerned the emphasis is on accuracy of transcription. It is worth remarking that when Anselm sends a book to someone of the rank of Adelidis, the daughter of William the Conqueror, he asks her not to despise it, because, if it is not encrusted with gold and gems,

7d

4c
and 4d

4a

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[1] Listed by Delisle (*Cabinet des Manuscrits*, II, p. 340), Paris, Bib. Nat. MSS. lat. 2342, 12211, 12230, 12605, 13217, 13593. Add Rouen MS. 537, Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 16 44 (two manuscripts in one), Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS. 29 from Caen. B.M. MS. Cotton Nero A vii (a copy of Anselm's letters written from Bec) may be a Bec book.

[2] Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 16 44 (see p. 7, n. 1).

[3] Paris, Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 12211.

[4] In letter 25, Anselm finds it impossible to get a book transcribed for Lanfranc, since there was no scribe available, whose script was considered good enough, or who would not take an excessive time over the task. In view of the evident beauty of the Bec script, this must be less a reflexion on the Bec scribes than on the discrimination of the Bec prior and abbot.

[5] *Miracula S. Nicholai conscripta a monacho Beccensi* (*Catalogus Cod. Hag. Lat. in Bib. Nat. Parisiensis*, 1890, vol. II, pp. 409ff.). This has some interesting remarks on the arrival of Lanfranc in France, and the beginnings of the efflorescence of learning soon after the middle of the eleventh century.

it is written and given with affection.[1] Too much must not be made of this, for it may refer only to the binding, but it does subscribe to the general impression derived from other sources that the emphasis at Bec was on the contents of the manuscript, not on its decoration. There is a pertinent remark in a twelfth-century obituary,[2] which says that when Lanfranc had arrived at Canterbury, 'he bestowed upon that church the special ornament of a valuable library, and many of the books which it contained were corrected with his own hand'. The emphasis, here, as at St Évroult, is on copying manuscripts; his English contemporary, Wulfstan, seems to have been as much interested in their illumination.[3]

These 'Lanfranc' books will repay investigation. Some are referred to in Eastry's catalogue. They are an *Omeliarum*, a *Priscian* and three volumes of the Epistles of St Paul.[4] None of these can be identified among the extant books of Christ Church. There exist, however, eight manuscripts in the hand of the earliest Bec monks at Canterbury. These it would be prudent to date between 1070 and 1100, but some were probably written under Lanfranc, and they may be referred to as the 'Lanfranc' books.

They are all large manuscripts, produced in a well organized scriptorium. It is a sufficient commentary on the difference between the Bec copying tradition and the English artistic one that a contemporary *Priscian*,[5] illuminated by an Anglo-Saxon, though only half the size of any one of them, has twice as many illuminations as the others put together. Two of these manuscripts are unilluminated (Cambridge, University Library MS. Kk 1 23 and St George's Chapel, Windsor, MS. 5), and two have a single small grotesque (Cambridge University Library MS. Kk 1 23 and Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 5). Two others have a single initial (Cambridge, Trinity College MSS. B 5 26 and B 4 9), a third has two (Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff 3 9), and a fourth originally had five (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 5 28). In general, the illumination of these books derives from Anglo-Saxon sources.

This is seen, for example, in an *Augustinus* in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. B 5 26, f. 1). The first, and only, initial is a letter 'B'. Its construction is a simplification of the great 'B' initial of Anglo-Saxon art that has already been discussed. The Franco-Saxon interlace is lacking. The bows, however, meet in a mask-head, and continue in the lower part of the initial into rather enervated foliage. The 'Winchester' leaf that sometimes filled the panels of the Anglo-Saxon initial has been reduced to a simple trefoil pattern. The placing of figures in this initial construction

10b

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[1] Letter 10.

[2] MS. Cotton Claud. C vi, f. 173: 'Pretioso insuper ornamento librorum Ecclesiam istam apprime honestavit; quorum quamplurimos per semetipsum emendavit.'

[3] See the story of Wulfstan as a young boy. R. R. Darlington, *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, (London, 1928), p. 5. 'Is libros scriptos, sacrametarium (sic) et psalterium, quorum principales literas auro effigiaverat puero Wlstano delegendos curavit. Ille preciosorum apicum captus miraculo: dum pulchritudinem intentis oculis rimatur....'

[4] Eastry 368, 389, 901, 902 and 903, printed in M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 1903.

[5] Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O 2 51. This is not the *Priscian* referred to in Eastry.

was not part of the English convention. However, the figures themselves derive from Anglo-Saxon art.

In the top bow of the initial appears David, who is playing a harp. To his left a dove personifies the Holy Spirit. In the lower bow are two figures. One plays a rebec and the other juggles with knives. This iconography is an Anglo-Saxon one.[1] It is found in a manuscript written about 1060 which comes perhaps from Winchester (B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. C vi). There on folio 30v., appear a similar juggler and figure with a rebec, who are now identified as Ethan and Idithun,[2] though King David sits below, and not above them, and he is more frontally placed than in the Canterbury initial. The figure style, as well as the iconography, comes from English illumination. The abruptly twisted foot of David is a convention used by Anglo-Saxon artists to animate their drawings.[3] In all three figures the folds of the sleeves at the wrist are reduced to patterned bracelets as in the Tiberius illumination. The musician in the lower bow wears a triangular 'skirt', that derives from the Utrecht Psalter and is seen in pre-Conquest drawings.[4] This figure is quite representative of the Bec figure style at Canterbury. It is debased Anglo-Saxon. The artist, influenced by English drawings, has outlined the figure in red and blue. This is not done, however, with the delicacy of the Anglo-Saxon draftsman, and the result is to submerge and blur the outline, instead of enhancing it. The sketchy application of colour has been influenced by the impressionistic style, but it is not handled with confidence and the result is somewhat confused. The real interest of the illuminator is to throw these figures into ornamental relief by the glaring yellow background.

Such brightly coloured backgrounds are normal in the 'Lanfranc' books. Coloured fields are used in Anglo-Saxon initials; they appear, for example, in the initials of the Trinity Gospels and of MS. Arundel 155. It is not coloured fields that are new, but the choice and application of colour. In Anglo-Saxon illumination the colours are discreet and diffuse so that the figures tend to merge into their background. In the Bec illumination, on the other hand, the background colours are hard and bright, and the figures stand out against them almost as ornamental pendants to the colour scheme. It is this use of bright colours, and the less sensitive handling of their material, that differentiates the work of the Bec monks from those of the Anglo-Saxon ones.

Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B 5 28 shows just this affection for hard colours. It originally contained five initials, of which the first has been removed. The remaining four are characterized more by gaudy colouring than by any clarity of composition or

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[1] Though it is also found in a Limoges manuscript (Bib. Nat. lat. 1118), reproduced in *L'Art Roman à Saint Martial de Limoges*, 1950 (Catalogue de l'Exposition), Pl. v.

[2] From *Ency. Biblica*: Ethan—'the head of one of the families which had the hereditary office of temple musicians and singers, also called Jeduthun'. Jeduthun occurs in headings of Psalms xxxix, lxii and lxxvii; the name may not be 'in any sense personal but a musical term, which by a strange transformation becomes the name of a chief singer'.

[3] See Pls. 12a and 16e.

[4] As, for example, in the calendars of B.M. MSS. Cotton Tib. B v and Jul. A vi.

qualities of draftsmanship. One of the most competent is the initial 'B' on folio 87v.   10d
This contains a stylized form of 'Winchester' leaf, which must have come from
Anglo-Saxon illumination. The dragons themselves have hard ridges on their backs,
which again betray an Anglo-Saxon parentage, for similar ridges appear on such
Anglo-Saxon dragons as those of a tenth-century manuscript from Salisbury
Cathedral[1] and those of Cambridge University Library MS. Ff 1 23.   10c

The artist of this manuscript has also illuminated a 'Lanfranc' book in the Univer-
sity Library, Cambridge (MS. Ff 3 9). Both the initials of the latter are set against
fields of bright colours. The ground to the one on folio 56 is, for example, bright
red and light blue. The initial itself is Anglo-Saxon in construction, but hardly Anglo-   11b
Saxon in execution. It is an 'articulated' initial, by which is meant that the frame-
work is articulated into panels—a construction very familiar in pre-Conquest
illumination.[2] Two animals and a bird clamber inside this framework, and the initial
is completed by a harshly drawn 'dragon' tail. The main colour of the animals is an
opaque olive-green with touches of yellow. This initial may be compared to a pre-
Conquest one from the Trinity Gospels (folio 90). This also is an 'articulated' initial,   11a
which has a dragon, though differently disposed, for a tail. It also has animals
clambering through the framework, though they do so in a more decorative way. The
Bec clambering animals are not Anglo-Saxon, and have an 'imported' look, but the
general construction of the letter has been adapted from Anglo-Saxon sources, and,
indeed, debased in the process.

This will be evident if it is compared with a contemporary Anglo-Saxon initial
from St Augustine's. This is an initial 'Q' on folio 91 of the Trinity *Priscian*. The con-   11c
struction is similar: it is an 'articulated' letter, with a dragon tail, it has scroll-work
inside the initial, and figures (here human ones) clambering inside the framework.
There, however, all resemblances end. The background of the Trinity initial is
delicate cream and soft rust, the dragon is not harshly drawn, nor is the foliage heavy
or the colours opaque. The whole initial resolves itself into a finely spun open-work
of pattern. There is patterning also in the Bec illumination, but in the English
illumination it is part of a way of thinking, not added as an afterthought.

The simplest explanation for the English influences on the initials of the 'Lanfranc'
books is that the Bec illuminators were working with Anglo-Saxon illumination in
front of them. It is not until the first quarter of the twelfth century that direct
influences from Normandy become really appreciable. This is evident in a *Ricardus
Pratellensis*, of this period,[3] which contains by far the most accomplished Norman
illumination at Canterbury though one cannot be sure that it was not imported from
Normandy.[4] It is now divided between Lambeth Palace Library (MS. 62) and the

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[1] MS. 150. See Kendrick, op. cit. Pl. xxix.   [2] See, for example, Pls. 15c and 18a.
[3] It was certainly written after 1093, since in vol. 1 Anselm is referred to as Archbishop of Canterbury.
[4] See App. 1, pp. 114–17.

9d library of Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. B 3 14). The 'dragon' initial on folio 69v.,
for example, of the Lambeth volume is quite similar to that of a St Ouen manuscript
9c already referred to (Rouen MS. 467, f. 101v.), though it is later and more stylized.
9f Again, the dragon of an initial in the Trinity volume, where the 'clambering' and
'dragon' styles are combined (folio 73v.) may be compared to another initial from the
9e same St Ouen manuscript (folio 124v.). Finally, the 'clambering' initial on folio 1v.
7f of the first volume is clearly related to one in a Fécamp manuscript (Rouen MS. 445,
7e f. 49). These styles are, however, Anglo-Saxon in origin.

Indeed, though there is a difference of emphasis, which will be discussed in the
next chapter—an absorption in decoration at the expense of illustration, and a
complete preoccupation with the initial as opposed to the full-page or marginal
drawing—an English pedigree can be traced for most of the Norman illumination at
5h Canterbury. The clambering human figure in an initial of a Trinity manuscript
(Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 9, f. 130) derives through Norman sources from
such Anglo-Saxon initials as those of the Winchcombe Psalter in the University Library.
The 'articulated' and 'dragon' initials as well as the inhabited scrolls familiar in pre-
8d Conquest art appear, and the great 'B' initial construction of another Trinity initial
8a (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 4) clearly comes from Anglo-Saxon illumina-
8c tion, though it has been modified, as in Normandy, by the placing of figures in the
scrollwork.

As far as the Bec figure-style at Canterbury is concerned, it is, in general, debased
Anglo-Saxon. The Anglo-Saxon custom of outlining the figure in colour is normally
adopted, but this is not done with delicacy, and what is used by the English artist
to suggest the body often becomes something to restrict it. The figure reproduced
11d on Pl. 11 d represents the level attained by the Bec artists at Christ Church. Theirs is a
trivial figure style, which is at its worst uncouth and at its best inconsequential. This is
not to generalize about Norman illumination as a whole, which it would be foolish
to disparage in the face of such fine work as that in the St Ouen *Augustinus* (Rouen
MS. 467) or the Jumièges Bible (Rouen MS. 8). But Bec was one of the least important
art centres of Normandy, and the illumination that the Bec monks brought to England
was by no means the best that Normandy could produce. It certainly does not bear
comparison with native work in this country. It is more interested in brightness of
colour than in felicity of line. It uses an Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, but without the
traditional skill of the Anglo-Saxon artist. It is, in fact, largely a provincialization of
English art.

This Norman stream of illumination continues at Christ Church until the middle
of the twelfth century. But, accompanying it, and finally submerging its infelicities,
is the broad tide of the Anglo-Saxon tradition that joins up pre-Conquest illumina-
tion to that of fully developed Romanesque.

II

THE CONTINUITY OF ANGLO-SAXON ILLUMINATION

AT the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth there was a bilingual chronicle at Canterbury.[1] At this time, also, there was a bilingual art. The one language was Norman and the other English, though for them both the vocabulary was Anglo-Saxon. There was, indeed, no break at the Conquest in Anglo-Saxon illumination, as there was no break in Anglo-Saxon prose. English monks continued to illuminate in their native idiom, as they continued to write, and, to a less extent, to carve[2] in it.

A Christ Church manuscript, written not earlier than 1073,[3] is illuminated in this familiar Anglo-Saxon idiom. The Easter Tables of B.M. MS. Cotton Calig. A xv have two illustrations. They are both in the direct—in fact, by now, reactionary—Utrecht tradition of impressionism. The one shows St Pachomius and his monks receiving the Easter Tables from an Angel, the other shows God dispatching the divine messenger. In the former, Pachomius and his monks, with spirited gesticulation, prostrate themselves before the messenger. In the latter, angels are seen moving around their Lord in buoyant dance. The whole atmosphere of these scenes is highly charged, as in the Harley Psalter. The illustrations here, as in the latter manuscript, are also energized by that animated patterning which is part of the native tradition. This pattern is now achieved as much by colour as by line, and it will be relevant to later Christ Church illumination to point out that the predominant colour of the figures is green. This is of some consequence because the great majority of Christ Church figures drawn between 1070 and 1150— whether in the Norman or Anglo-Saxon stream—are drawn in green also. It is from Anglo-Saxon sources that this characteristic derives.

This impressionism continues into the twelfth century. A Benedictional in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. lat. 987) was begun at Winchester in the second half of the tenth century, but probably completed at Canterbury about 1030 to 1040.[4] The

12b

12a

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[1] C. Plummer and J. Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, vol. II, p. cxxii.

[2] The capitals of the crypt in Canterbury Cathedral were carved by Anglo-Saxon artists in the twelfth century.

[3] The date is given by Professor Wormald in his book, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1952), p. 67. The hand of this manuscript, it may be added, is very similar to that of the first of the 'Lanfranc' forgeries, which was written after 1070 (B.M. MS. Cotton Faust. B vi, f. 94).

[4] *New Palaeographical Society*, first ser., vol. I, Pls. 83 and 84, and description.

12c   last benediction is for the king. This has been illustrated by a drawing, which may be
ascribed to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

The king is shown between two nimbed ecclesiastics, who bless him. He holds a
banner in one hand and a sceptre in the other a representation perhaps derived
from royal seals, where the king is seen seated with a sceptre in one hand, but with
a sword in the other. In three of the four spandrels of the composition appear two
figures playing musical instruments, and a bird. The general iconography of the scene
recalls the early consular diptychs[1] and has probably been inspired by Carolingian
art.[2] In the Metz Sacramentary, for example, the emperor is shown being blessed by
two nimbed figures on either side of him, though there he is standing, not enthroned.[3]
What is important, however, is that the flimsiness of line of this drawing indicates that
it is the work of an Anglo-Saxon. There is here some of the delicate linear patterning
that has been seen in earlier Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, the sensitive patterning of the
draperies being re-echoed and confirmed by the linear design of the background.

A *Josephus* in Cambridge, which was probably produced between 1110 and 1140,
contains some of the most accomplished illuminations of the first half of the century.
A contemporary *Anselmus* in Oxford (Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 271) was probably
illuminated by the same artists. Some of the initials of these manuscripts have the
thin quality of line of the Trinity *Priscian*. This is seen, for example, in the second
volume of the *Josephus* which is in the library of St John's College, Cambridge
37a   (MS. 8). The figures of an initial on folio 91, which is reproduced for another purpose,
will serve to show this quality. The initial is placed against a coloured field of bright
blue and red, and contains two naked figures touched in pink. Like some medieval
Laocoöns, they are encircled with serpents and face each other in a pleasing contra-
posto of rhythmic dance.

Impressionism is very much in evidence in the first volume, which is in the Univer-
13a   sity Library, Cambridge (MS. Dd 1 4). On folio 64v., for example, is another initial
'M', which is set against a background of bright blue. This use of brightly coloured
fields, which is recurrent in Christ Church illumination, is an indication of Bec
influences on the native artists. The style of the initial, however, is quite English.
A figure, touched in green, strides through the foliage inside the letter. The 'Win-
chester' ancestry of this foliage is indicated by the hard sheath on the stem, from
which the leaf-work breaks, though it is heavier and more robust than in most pre-
Conquest illumination. The figure itself is in the Anglo-Saxon impressionistic style.
The artist is restricted to the initial, but there is here something of the spirit that led
the illuminators of such earlier manuscripts as the Benedictional of St Ethelwold and

[1] Richard Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), Pl. 37, for example.
[2] A. Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne* (Paris, 1913), Pl. cxxxi.
[3] It might also be compared with Ottonian illuminations—see P. E. Schramm, *Die Deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit* (Leipzig, 1928), vol. II, Pl. 74a.

the Missal of Archbishop Robert to fill the background with swirling lines that snatch up the figures in a turmoil of linear agitation. Here, in a similar way, figure and scroll-work are caught up in an animated flux of line.

From another manuscript of the University Library, Cambridge, a last initial may be cited as a final example of the survival of impressionism at Christ Church. This is found on folio 62v., of a *Boetius* (MS. Ii 3 12), which was probably written between about 1120 and 1150. It is coloured in greens, and purples and reds, and is placed against a field of bright blue. 13d

Half-medallions on either side of the letter contain personifications of the sun and moon. Inside the initial is a drawing of the Virgin and Christ. She holds in her arm a roundel containing the lamb of the Apocalypse, and looks towards her Son. He has borrowed from the Sun-god the torch, which He grasps in His left hand. From above, the hand of the Almighty points in benediction at the Holy Pair; below, the Devil is shown thrust underfoot. The whole style of the drawing provides a telling example of the survival of impressionism, and even the iconography derives from pre-Conquest illumination. It should be compared with an eleventh-century drawing from Winchester (B.M. MS. Cotton Tit. Dxxvii, f. 75v.) which, in turn, has been influenced by the Utrecht Psalter.[1] 13c

Not only were English artists using their traditional figure drawings at the end of the eleventh and in the first half of the twelfth century, but they were handling all the elements of their native style.

The foliage used in an initial of a Trinity manuscript belonging to the first part of the twelfth century (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 2 34, f. 2) is taken straight from Anglo-Saxon sources. This will be evident if it is compared with a detail from the Trinity Gospels in the same library (MS. B 10 4, f. 16v.). 14b / 14a

The initial constructions also follow the traditional styles of Anglo-Saxon art. The 'dragon' initial, for example, on folio 101 of the St John's volume of the *Josephus* is in a direct line of descent from pre-Conquest ones. If it is compared to one from a psalter written about 1060, perhaps at Winchester (B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. Cvi, f. 60), it will be seen that the rather fleshy dragons of the two initials are quite similar, though the earlier one is more tightly composed than the later. 14e / 14d

'Articulated' initials and inhabited scrolls are used by Anglo-Saxon artists working after the Conquest. An example of the latter style has already been reproduced from the *Josephus*. A comparison of it with one from the Bec stream of illumination (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 32, f. 50v.) will give some idea of the difference between the handling of the Anglo-Saxon initial styles by Bec and native artists. 13a / 11d

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[1] See the detail of Virgin and Child approaching God, who is in a mandorla, in the illustration to the *Gloria in Excelsis* (E. T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, f. 89v.). See also a discussion of this iconography by Ernst H. Kantorowicz in 'The Quinity of Winchester', *Art Bulletin* (1947), vol. xxix, pp. 73–85.

The 'clambering' style of initial was particularly popular at Canterbury, examples
of it being found in such manuscripts as the *Josephus*. An example of this style, used
by an English artist at Rochester, whose art was very much influenced by that of Christ
Church, is also reproduced. The manuscript from which it comes is a collection of
medical tracts in the British Museum (MS. Royal 12 E xx), which on stylistic and palaeo-
graphical grounds must be attributed to Rochester. Here, figures clamber up the
letter 'I', and the whole initial pulsates with life as they pursue their vigorous inter-
weave. The possibilities of animated pattern inherent in this style must have made it
particularly popular with native artists. It is found more frequently at Canterbury
and Rochester than at other artistic centres, not because Canterbury was more
influenced by the Norman Conquest than any other house, but because the Anglo-Saxon
manuscript, in which this style was most fully developed (i.e. the Trinity Gospels) was
by the time of the Conquest probably already at Canterbury. If the Rochester initial
is compared with those of the Trinity manuscript, it will be seen that it is a
straightforward development from the earlier ones.

It is, indeed, quite unnecessary to suppose, here or elsewhere, that English artists
needed foreign illuminators to teach them how to handle their own native styles. The
great 'B' construction is certainly modified by Norman influences. When it appears
at the end of the eleventh or start of the twelfth century in a Canterbury or Rochester
manuscript (e.g. Trinity College MS. R 3 30, f. 6) the scrollwork is inhabited by
human and animal figures as in Norman illumination. The frequent appearance of
brightly-coloured backgrounds to the initials also shows the influence of the Bec
stream of illumination. Such influences were not, however, of considerable impor-
tance. The really significant fact is that native artists did continue to illuminate at
Christ Church after 1066, as at Rochester, and continued to handle their traditional
styles with traditional skill.

Even more than Christ Church, the neighbouring house of St Augustine's remained
the custodian of the Anglo-Saxon tradition after the Conquest. Here the intrusion of
Norman monks was never on the same scale as at Christ Church, and the illumination
was more purely Anglo-Saxon. This, in some ways, is a corollary to the fact that the
political and racial sympathies of St Augustine's always remained more tenaciously
Anglo-Saxon than those of Christ Church. The sentiments of the larger house had
early been Normanized by the introduction of Bec monks. Lanfranc had been both
kind and tactful, and his activities to enhance the prestige of the primatial see must
have still further accommodated the English monks of his house to his Norman régime.
It was just these activities that antagonized the monks of the St Augustine's monastery.

Their abbot, Egelsin, had in 1067 organized resistance to the Conqueror in Kent,[1]
and, fearing for his safety, had fled in the same year from England. A Norman abbot
was imposed on the monastery in his place. Though even Thorne concedes that Abbot

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[1] Thorne's chronicle in Twysden's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores*, x, col. 1786.

Scotland did 'many great things in his time worthy of praise',[1] he goes on to say that he was accepted by the monks 'not without bitterness of soul'.[2] Now, with the advent of Lanfranc, the oldest monastery of England saw its claims for free election overruled and its privileges circumscribed by a Norman archbishop. The prose of the St Augustine's monk, writing in the fifteenth century, still quivers with indignation as he recalls how the St Augustine priests were compelled to attend the archbishop's synod,[3] and how the St Augustine monks were forbidden to ring their bells before those of Christ Church,[4] how in a word Lanfranc 'thus cunningly deprived the monastery of St Augustine of its dignity and honour which from the very beginning of the birth of the church in England it had always held'.[5]

Thorne, who accuses Sprott of being overzealous for the interests of his house, was hardly less interested in the same cause himself. His chronicle, as a factual history, needs a critical, not to say sceptical, approach. As an adequate reflection of the sentiments of his predecessors, on the other hand, one can hardly doubt its authenticity. These feelings were partly the result of local jealousies such as occurred at Winchester. Partly also they were racial, and Thorne stresses the fact that Scotland and Lanfranc were both members of the same conquering race. The outcome of the local patriotism and strong anti-Norman feelings of the St Augustine monks is recorded in the *Acta Lanfranci*, a Latin addition made to the Anglo-Saxon chronicle at St Augustine's by a Christ Church monk.[6]

In 1087 Scotland died. Lanfranc consecrated as his successor a Christ Church monk named Wydo, who was almost certainly a Norman. With one voice the St Augustine monks refused to accept him. They left the monastery and the new abbot was installed in an empty church. As a result of this rebellion, the English Prior Aelfwin and the ringleaders were imprisoned, and others were dispersed, though later returned to their own house. In the same year there were fresh dissensions; a monk, Columban, confessed to a plot to murder the abbot and was degraded, flogged and expelled the city. On the death of Lanfranc in 1089 the smouldering resentment broke into open rebellion again. The monks, inciting the citizens of Canterbury to assist them, attacked Wydo, who had to flee for his life to the neighbouring house of Christ Church. The punishment for this violent insurrection was inflicted by the suffragan bishops of Rochester and Winchester. The rebels were flogged by two Christ Church monks—Wydo and Normannus, who to judge by their names were both Norman. They were then dispersed to various houses in England. In their place twenty-three monks from Christ Church together with its sub-prior Antonius were introduced into St Augustine's. How many of these monks were Norman is unknown. Nor does the *Acta Lanfranci*, undoubtedly written by one of the intruders, record whether the rebels were later returned to Canterbury.

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[1] Ibid. col. 1787.   [2] Ibid. col. 1788.   [3] Ibid. col. 1787.   [4] Ibid. col. 1792.
[5] Ibid. col. 1791.   [6] Plummer and Earle, op. cit. vol. i, pp. 290–2.

The development of the script there indicates that they were. This remains predominantly Anglo-Saxon until the end of the eleventh century and into the early part of the twelfth. During the first half of the latter century, there is an increasing influence from the neighbouring house: but though the Christ Church hand, presumably written by Christ Church scribes, does very occasionally occur, the inference from the script is that there was a gradual infiltration of influence, not its sudden imposition. As for the general illumination there, this was certainly not by Normans: it remains as unremittingly Anglo-Saxon as the general sympathies of that house.

The *Priscian* in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. O 2 51) has already been referred to. It was probably written between 1070 and 1100, and was apparently at one time in the Christ Church library since one of its fly-leaves is taken from a Christ Church book. This does not indicate that it was produced there, since the fly-leaf is taken from a later manuscript and its presence simply means that the *Priscian* was at one time in the library of Christ Church.[1] The hand of this book appears in a St Augustine's manuscript at the Bodleian Library (MS. Ashmole 1431), and though this might be explained by assuming that the scribe was one of the Christ Church monks sent to St Augustine's, the style of illumination of the book would point to an actual St Augustine's provenance. This manuscript may be discussed in relation to another profusely illuminated manuscript from St Augustine's; it is a Passionale in the British Museum which belongs to the first quarter of the twelfth century (MS. Arundel 91).

The initials of both these manuscripts are Anglo-Saxon in construction and Anglo-Saxon in execution. They may be divided into six groups. The familiar 'clambering'
15b style appears in each manuscript, and those on folios 46 and 81v. of the *Priscian* are perhaps the first developed example of this type of initial at Canterbury after the
15a Conquest. A fine example of the style occurs on folio 28v. of the Arundel manuscript. 'Articulated' initials are frequent (see, for example, Pls. 15c and 15e). The 'human' initial, in which human beings are used to compose initials, is found in a rudimentary
15d form in the *Priscian*, where on folio 34 a naked figure is used as the tail of a letter 'Q'. It is completely developed in the Passionale, as will be seen from the initial reproduced
15c from folio 40v. This type of initial had been known before the Conquest,[2] where some of the finest examples of the style occur in the Winchcombe Psalter in the University Library, Cambridge. The simple historiated initial also occurs in the Passionale; it is
15e found, for example, on folio 161v. This again had been known to pre-Conquest art; one may be cited from a Canterbury manuscript (MS. Arundel 155),[3] where, on
19a folio 93 inside an initial 'D', David is portrayed slaying Goliath. Finally, scrollwork initials, inhabited or otherwise, occur in both these St Augustine manuscripts.

[1] M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (1902), vol. III, p. 166.
[2] Wormald, op. cit. p. 125.
[3] A still earlier example is in the St Augustine's Psalter—B.M. Cotton Vesp. A i.

The scrollwork used is a very delicate version of the 'Winchester' acanthus, which is usually twisted into an animated openwork of pattern. An example of this can be seen on folio 81 v. of the Passionale. The Franco-Saxon interlace with animal-head ⟨16a⟩ terminals in this initial, it may be observed, is an Anglo-Saxon feature which appears, for example, in the Trinity Gospels. It is found at Christ Church in the first half of the twelfth century, and even survives into the middle of the century in the Dover Bible. A more calligraphic and multi-coloured version of the 'Winchester' acanthus is found in the Passionale and other St Augustine manuscripts. This has a delicately 'pretty' effect, and is simply derived from pre-Conquest illumination in a tradition, which ultimately goes back to the Bosworth Psalter.[1] An example of this on folio 170v. of the Passionale may be compared to a similar initial from a St Augustine's ⟨16e⟩ Missal in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 270, f. 46), which is a pre-Conquest ⟨16d⟩ manuscript.

The figure style of these two manuscripts has the flimsy line, which associates them with the impressionistic style of Anglo-Saxon art. This can be seen in the 'clambering' initials reproduced from the *Priscian* and the British Museum manuscript. Impressionism, indeed, survives the Conquest at St Augustine's even more than it does at Christ Church and is the normal figure style there between 1070 and about 1130.

It would be tedious to cite all the examples of this. None the less, a Martyrology in the British Museum (MS. Cotton Vit. Cxii) may be referred to.[2] The figure with an axe on folio 121 could appear without any sense of incongruity in any pre-Conquest ⟨16b⟩ calendar, although the actual manuscript in which it is found must belong to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

Again, it is worth drawing attention to a drawing of St Jerome, added to a tenth- ⟨16c⟩ century manuscript probably at the end of the eleventh century. It is found on folio 1v. of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 389. The saint, who is chiefly coloured in soft green, is seated writing. A dove, signifying the Holy Spirit, is at his right ear. His foot is twisted round in a dancing movement, familiar in Anglo-Saxon drawings, and here it conveys something of the restless ecstasy of the divine inspiration. There is a general prodigality of line in the illustration, such as is found in the Bury Psalter at the Vatican. The whole style is quite frankly impressionistic, though the line has not the vibrancy of the best Anglo-Saxon work, and is rather wiry in quality.

To these examples may be added the fact that the last illustrations added to the Harley Psalter, though not particularly felicitous in treatment, are still in the impressionistic style. A detail from folio 32 is reproduced. These drawings were added ⟨1c⟩ to the Harley manuscript in the second quarter of the twelfth century, probably as

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[1] Wormald, op. cit. p. 111.
[2] An impressionistic style very similar to that of the St Augustine Martyrology is found in a later Ely manuscript, which may be dated c. 1140 on palaeographical grounds (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 393).

late as between 1140 and 1150,[1] and the emphasis on profiles foreshadows the illumination of the Eadwine Psalter.

From all this it is quite apparent not only that Anglo-Saxon illumination continued at St Augustine's after the Conquest, but that art there continued to be predominantly, and almost exclusively, Anglo-Saxon. Here, the Norman influence on style is quite negligible. The bright Norman colours do occasionally appear in the backgrounds of the initials, but normally the colouring is soft and diffuse with greens and purples predominating. Nor must it be in any way concluded from the examples so far referred to that the Anglo-Saxon art, which continues at St Augustine's, or for that matter at Christ Church, was simply conservative. A manuscript in Florence shows that the St Augustine artists, early in the twelfth century, were resuming that development from impressionism to Romanesque which, it has been suggested, was seen before the Conquest. An account of this development, both at St Augustine's and at Christ Church, must be deferred to another chapter. Since, however, this manuscript contains illuminations in the impressionistic style, as well as being important for showing this development, it may be permissible to pause here and examine it in some detail.

The manuscript concerned is a copy of St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in the Laurenziana Library in Florence (MS. Plut. 12 17). It has no mark of provenance, though on stylistic grounds it is clearly the work of a Canterbury monk—perhaps one from St Augustine's.

It contains four full-page illustrations, and several decorative initials. The figures 17a of the illustration on folio 2v. are drawn with a flimsy line that can be paralleled in at least five St Augustine manuscripts, and they are particularly close to the drawings of three in the British Museum (MSS. Cotton Vesp. B xx, Cotton Vit. C xii, and Arundel 91). The delicately-hatched backgrounds to these figures also appear in St Augustine's manuscripts (such as B.M. MS. Arundel 91). Two of the other three illustrations are in the same impressionistic style, though the line is less refined and thin, and has something of the wiry quality of the St Jerome drawing in Corpus 17d Christi College, Cambridge. The framework to the illumination on folio 4 contains medallion heads, which derive from Ottonian art.[2] Similar medallion heads can be 17b seen in an initial of a Christ Church manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Harley 624, f. 94), while precisely the same interlocking bars appear in this manuscript 17c (see, for example, f. 141v.) as well as in others from Christ Church (e.g. MS. Bodley 161 f.9).

Turning to the initials, it will be seen that these are all decorative, and are placed against brightly coloured grounds such as red and blue. This is more characteristic of

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[1] The figure style is related to that of B.M. MS. Royal 1 B xi, though this is not impressionistic. The latter manuscript is not earlier than the second quarter of the twelfth century.

[2] See, for example, Albert Boeckler, *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III* (Berlin, 1933), Pls. 12 and 13.

Christ Church than of St Augustine's, though these brightly coloured backgrounds do occasionally appear there.[1] It is also to Christ Church illumination that the impressionistic figure style of the initials must be compared. The figure, for example, holding a fish in one hand and a bird in the other in the initial on folio 5, is remarkably close to the figure on folio 64v. of the Cambridge University Library volume of the *Josephus*. Each is drawn in the same impressionistic technique, and there is in each a similar foreshortening of the arm and the same quality of line.   13b 13a

The initials are chiefly 'articulated', and a particular detail, which occurs also in Canterbury illumination, is the way in which the panels meeting at the top and bottom of the letter are joined by a small jacket with a central core, which slips over both of them. This is seen, for example, in the initial 'S' on folio 211, which can be profitably compared to two other initial 'S's' from Christ Church manuscripts. The letter is 'articulated'; it has a medallion-head centre and biting-head terminals. A lion and eagle (with a human head in its breast) are contained in the bows of the initial. An initial from a Christ Church manuscript of the first quarter of the twelfth century (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 2 34, f. 34) has similar 'biting-head' terminals, though these are biting animals, not fish. Much closer to the Florence initial is one from another Trinity manuscript, which was written between 1130 and 1160 (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 15 22, f. 49). This is exactly similar in construction to the other initial: it is 'articulated', it has a medallion-head centre and 'biting-head' terminals holding fish. When, added to this and the other evidence, it is remembered that the astronomical lion and also the eagle found in the initial of the *De Civitate Dei* are both very frequent in Canterbury decoration, it seems reasonable to suppose that this manuscript was produced there.   18c 18a 18b

It is less easy to decide from which of the two houses it derives, and the answer to this question cannot be more than tentative. The script does not help here, for it is not characteristic of either St Augustine's or Christ Church. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon script which appears in the manuscript survived longer at St Augustine's than at Christ Church. The most plausible suggestion seems in fact to be that this is a St Augustine's book, which has been influenced by Christ Church illumination. In general, the figure style of the full-page illustrations is closer to that of the former than that of the latter house; moreover, the foliage, the appearance of simple historiated initials, and the use of dragons to form only the tail and not the whole of the letters are all more characteristic of St Augustine's illumination than that of Christ Church. The manuscript was probably produced in the 'twenties or 'thirties of the twelfth century, perhaps about 1130.

The illustration on folio 3v. has not so far been referred to. It is an author-portrait of St Augustine, and since it shows indications of a Romanesque development, a description of it, as has been said, must be deferred to another chapter. Here, when   22

[1] For example, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 274.

the Romanesque thread of development seen before the Conquest is resumed by Anglo-Saxon artists, it will be convenient to pause and attempt to assess the results of the Norman Conquest on Canterbury illumination, though this will involve the repetition of earlier remarks, and the anticipation of later ones. It will also involve distinguishing between the illumination of Christ Church and that of St Augustine's.

This in itself is one of the more paradoxical results of the Conquest. Before the advent of Lanfranc, the English houses were varied in organization and discipline, but national and uniform in art. After Lanfranc, they were much more national in organization and discipline, but their art had strong local variations. It would be a bold person who tried to determine the provenance of an Anglo-Saxon manuscript before the Conquest by the character of its illumination. After 1070, on the other hand, it is quite permissible to attribute manuscripts to various scriptoria on stylistic grounds. Some illumination is certainly debatable, but even houses as closely linked as Christ Church, St Augustine's, Rochester and St Alban's develop distinctive artistic personalities.

Another consequence of the Conquest, on which it may be permissible to generalize, is the considerable output of manuscripts in the following decades. This itself is probably a direct result of the Norman organization of the English houses. Certainly, at Christ Church, to judge from surviving evidence, the period between 1070 and 1150 was the most prolific in the history of its scriptorium.

The difference between the art of Christ Church and that of St Augustine's is partly due to the different effects of the Conquest on each. St Augustine's illumination is more calligraphic and softly coloured than that of Christ Church, which tends to be heavier and more ornamental. At both houses Anglo-Saxon illumination continues after the Conquest but at Christ Church, which probably saw a larger intrusion of Norman monks than any other house, it is accompanied by a Bec stream. This, to a large extent, is a debased Anglo-Saxon. It influences the native artists at Christ Church to the extent that they adopt the bright backgrounds of the intruded illumination, and the effect of this is always colourful and, at its best, has the warmth of a stained glass window. Apart from this, Bec illumination has little or no stylistic effect on Anglo-Saxon art after the Conquest. Nor is there any evidence that it has any contribution to make to the stylistic development of Canterbury art.[1] Development to Romanesque in the first half of the twelfth century is made by English artists inside the Anglo-Saxon stream of illumination.

If the influence of the Norman Conquest was not primarily stylistic, nevertheless its effects were important. These were twofold, and they were more pronounced at Christ Church than at St Augustine's. First, it shifted the emphasis from the illustration popular in pre-Conquest illumination to decoration. This is particularly apparent at Christ Church, where it is seen in the profusion of meaningless grotesques in the

[1] Though it did to other English monastic centres such as Rochester and St Alban's.

first half of the twelfth century. It is less in evidence at St Augustine's, though even there there is a growing concern for decoration at the expense of illustration. Secondly there is a shift of emphasis from the full-page or marginal illumination to the initial. This is true of the illumination of each house, and full-page illustrations like those of the *De Civitate Dei* in Florence are quite exceptional. This change of emphasis is, to some extent, part of a general Romanesque development, and even before the Conquest, in the Winchcombe Psalter in Cambridge University Library, there is a growing interest in decoration and the initial. None the less, this emphasis is extremely strong in all Norman illuminations and its abrupt appearance in post-Conquest illumination is too sudden to be explained as part of a general development.

This preoccupation with the initial was of potential importance, though its significance was at first largely discounted by the accompanying emphasis on pure decoration. Before the Conquest the problem of the unity of illumination and text had been solved by the accidental fact that the illustrations were themselves calligraphic extensions of the script. This obtained as long as the floating, impressionistic figure-style peculiar to Anglo-Saxon art survived. When, however, the advent of Romanesque brought weight and mass, unity could only be achieved by a more conscious organization of the page. This was achieved by the historiated initial, which integrated illustration, decoration and text into an harmonious whole. Historiated initials had certainly occurred before the Conquest, but then they had been invariably segregated from the writing of the manuscript, and treated, in effect, as part of a full-page illumination. This is evident, for example, in the historiated initial on folio 93 of B.M. MS. Arundel 155. There, David is shown cutting off the head of Goliath, but the initial is framed in a decorative border and, though it illustrates the text, it is not part of it. It was by emphasizing the initial as a subordinate, and intimate, part of the script that the Normans made possible this organization of the page.

In point of fact, it was not until the great Bibles of the mid-century that this principle was fully exploited. In the eighty years following the advent of Lanfranc there was little interest in this development at Christ Church. At St Augustine's there was a better understanding of what this involved though, there, it was often vitiated by an undue prominence given to pure decoration.

The best example of this organization of all aspects of the manuscript page is found in the British Museum Passionale (MS. Arundel 91). Many of its initials contain illustrations of the lives of the saints, which they precede. A complete pictorial narrative of the martyrdom of St Cesarius, for example, is admirably integrated into the initial 'T', with which the account of that saint's passion begins. In the top centre of the letter Cesarius watches the pagan sacrifice; Lucian, the victim, rides to the top of a mountain and hurls himself from its summit—a human sacrifice in honour of Apollo. In a medallion on the right, spectators watch the suicide; in another on the left, Lucian offers a sacrifice in the temple before his own self-immolation. Below the

19a

19b

main scene, Cesarius is judged for sorcery, and in the last medallion the incident of his martyrdom is depicted—he is sewn into a sack and thrown into the sea. In this initial, unlike the one from the Arundel Psalter, there is a complete co-ordination of decoration, illustration and text. Other initials of the manuscript show a similar ingenuity. There is ingenuousness also: the miracles of St Jerome, written by Leo, are naïvely illustrated by a small lion, which approaches the nimbed saint.

At Christ Church illustration rarely appeared to combine with the decorative function of the initial but it was not altogether absent. A portrayal of Boethius will illustrate one of his works (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 15 22, f. 1). In a Passionale, the illuminator may interrupt a series of purely decorative initials to illustrate the life of St Dunstan by showing him pulling the Devil's nose with a pair of tongs (B.M. MS. Harley 315, f. 15v.). The *Josephus* contains three illustrations. Even so one is not concerned with the text and the other two are not correctly related to it.

The initial on folio 103v. of the St John's volume shows a scribe writing to the dictation of a standing figure. The former is designated as Samuel, and the other is Josephus himself. This is not, of course, an illustration of the text, though it is of interest to know that Samuel was the name of the scribe of this manuscript, of which the script is a beautiful and characteristic example of the Christ Church hand. Two other illuminations of this volume (folios 1 and 66v.) seem to illustrate the text, but cannot be associated with the books of the *Josephus* which they precede. The explanation is that they appear in the wrong volume. Transferred to the Cambridge University Library volume they become intelligible. The first initial would then precede Book I, not Book xv of the *Josephus*. Now the illustration can be associated with the narrative. The figures, below, represent Cain offering to God the fruits of the earth and the subsequent slaying by Cain of Abel. The initial in front of Book xvII, similarly transposed, would illustrate Book III. There, the historian is concerned with the story of Moses. The latter, readily identified by the horns from his head, forms the apex of the initial 'A'. The scene underneath which seems to represent the episode of the golden calf and the massacre of the Levi, does not find a place in the narrative, though it is a scene which the medieval artist would associate with the Moses story.

The Christ Church illuminator was, in fact, little interested in using the initial to illustrate the text. Even at St Augustine's, the emphasis was on the purely decorative initial. Here, then, is the cardinal effect of the Norman Conquest on Canterbury illumination. It was not so much a change of style as a change of context and a change of emphasis. It subordinated illumination to the text by diverting it to the initial, where it was used chiefly as pure decoration. This, in a sense, is the subordination of the English tradition of illumination to the Norman tradition of copying. But Anglo-Saxon art did continue after the Conquest, and during the first half of the twelfth century resumed its transition from impressionism to Romanesque.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANESQUE

ROMANESQUE is a monumental style concerned less with impressionism or realism than with pure form.

No generalization about an art style can have complete validity, but the distinguishing characteristics of Romanesque are its massiveness on the one hand, and on the other its attempt to reduce everything to abstract shapes. This is evident in Romanesque sculpture, where the distinctive features of weight and geometric forms are conditioned by those very qualities of the architecture, into which it is integrated. 'Ce n'est pas le puissant équilibre du corps humain en soi', says Dr Baltrušaitis, 'la sûreté de ses belles proportions qui préoccupent l'imagier, mais la géométrie de son cadre, la structure de l'édifice qui le porte.'[1]

A comparison of two Christ Church initials will bring out the differences between the impressionistic and the Romanesque styles. The first is taken from the *Josephus* 20a (Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd 1 4, f. 100v.), and the second from a *Boetius* in Trinity College, Cambridge, written probably between 1130 and 1160, and 20b containing Romanesque illumination of a remarkably fine quality (MS. R 15 22, f. 5v.). The former initial has still the familiar nervous linear excitement of Anglo-Saxon art. In the latter one this has been replaced by a much more controlled and static quality, a new clarity and precision. The foliage no longer exuberates over the initial, agitating the whole surface of the page, but is disposed in clear-cut patterns, which are immobile without being lifeless. Where the figures are concerned, animation has given way to a more tranquil atmosphere of composed grandeur; they are massive and even monumental. If one attempted to pluck the *Josephus* figure from its setting, it would run through one's fingers, for it represents nothing more substantial than energy in terms of paint. On the other hand, the figure in the stem of the Trinity initial could easily be handled, for it has all the weight and substantiality of a stone carving.

It is precisely this ability to translate the figure-style into terms of sculpture that differentiates Romanesque from impressionism. The one is essentially a style suited to the chisel, the other a style for the brush or pen. Yet, despite this accession of weight, the Romanesque artist is not interested in the figure as a human being with personal feelings. In this century, which has been called 'le Grand Siècle du Moyen Âge', Romanesque represents the impersonal aesthetic of the organized Church and the figure is not used to project emotional feelings but to embody abstract forms. If the

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[1] Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *La Stylistique Ornementale dans la Sculpture Romane* (Paris, 1931), pp. 47–8.

legs of the Trinity figure are heavy, they are also rigid like stone shafts. The folds held in the hands, which may be a misunderstanding of sarcophagus carvings, such as the one reproduced,[1] are so hardened that the figure seems to be holding a metal cup rather than soft draperies. Even the hair is carved, as it were, into abstract shapes. It is this concern to disintegrate a massive figure into abstract, geometric terms that characterizes the Romanesque style.

20c

At Canterbury, it has been seen, there was a tentative approach towards this style even before the Conquest. The latter event did not accelerate the transition, and it is not until the first half of the twelfth century that the development takes place to full Romanesque, reaching its culmination about the middle of the century.

The new feeling can be seen in a St Augustine's manuscript in the British Museum, written between 1140 and 1160 (MS. Royal 1 B xi). Here, as in all St Augustine's illumination, however, there is a calligraphic emphasis, and the illustrations never achieve the weight that body-colour gives to the illumination of Christ Church; to this extent they are less Romanesque. Two of the initials of the Royal manuscript have been copied from the Passionale (B.M. MS. Arundel 91) that has been discussed in the last chapter. One of these shows St Michael slaying the dragon; it appears on folio 26v. of the earlier, and on folio 6 of the later manuscript. The composition is an interesting one of opposing contours and diagonals interpreted by two sensitive artists. The second, however, has relinquished the impressionistic style of the earlier one. His drawing has not the fragile quality of the other, hovering delicately on the surface of the page, instead it has become something altogether more taut and incisive.

21a
and b

A similar straightforward transition from impressionism to Romanesque can be seen in the Bosworth Psalter (B.M. MS. Add. 37517). This is a tenth-century manuscript, probably from St Augustine's, but it contains two initials and a drawing of Christ added towards the middle of the twelfth century. The latter has almost certainly been copied from a pre-Conquest drawing, and may be compared, for example, with one from a Trinity manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 15 34, f. 1). The position and draperies of the two figures are quite similar, but here again the flimsy line of the earlier one has been hardened, and its ethereal atmosphere has gone; the Bosworth Christ is heavier and has gained in power what it has lost in delicacy. It shows no interest in impressionism, nor does it show an interest in the life and vitality of the figure. Rather it is an abstraction, in which the artist can deploy his real interest, which is in geometric shapes. The draperies resolve themselves into contours and triangles, the hem no longer flutters lightly but is arrested and petrified in space, even the hair, falling in heavy contours, is an organized composition rather than an organic growth.

24a

24b

[1] There were sarcophagi at Canterbury, though it is not known whether they were Roman like the one reproduced. See below, p. 69.

Yet even in the early part of the twelfth century there is evidence of a transition towards Romanesque at St Augustine's. This is seen in the Laurenziana manuscript of the *De Civitate Dei*, in which most of the figures are still in the impressionistic style. In the full-page author-portrait on folio 3v.,[1] however, impressionism is already tempered by Romanesque. The composition of this illumination is slightly similar to that of the pre-Conquest representation of St Benedict and his monks in British Museum MS. Arundel 155. St Augustine, like St Benedict, is framed in an architectural setting, as also are the monks whom he is addressing, though they are now disposed in two subordinate arcades, not a single neighbouring one. These figures are outlined in light brown with draperies worked in light green, violet-blue and brown, and are clearly still in the impressionistic tradition. The central figure, however, is already leaving that tradition. It is more monumental than the others, and, though the lines of the upper draperies are impressionistic ones, there is a hard, incisive outline to the neck, the arms and the legs. In the latter there is no pretence at impressionism; they are reduced to simple geometric shapes with patterning superimposed, while the ear is reduced to a shell-pattern and the hair to formal, heavy curls. This is not a full Romanesque drawing, but its importance as an intermediate link between Anglo-Saxon impressionism and twelfth-century Romanesque will be established when it is compared to two later figures from Christ Church.

The first of these occurs in a copy of Boethius's *De Musica* in Cambridge University Library (MS. Ii 3 12), from which an example of impressionism has earlier been cited. The juxtaposition of styles in Canterbury manuscripts is quite frequent, and on folio 61 v. is a full-page illumination in which Romanesque development is complete. This contains four figures. One is Boethius himself and the other three are philosophers, who have influenced his *De Musica*. The two lower figures representing Plato and the neo-Platonist Nichomacus in disputation are reproduced. The whole composition is framed (in a way reminiscent of enamels) by a text which describes the different philosophers.

What immediately impresses one about these figures is their surprising massiveness and weight. This is particularly apparent in the figure of Nichomacus below. His feet are planted sturdily on the ground, and he stands heavily like a carving in stone. There is a heavy quality about his drapery, which, disposed in a champlevé effect about the shoulder, sags with its own weight into a loop over the arm. It is to the figure of Plato, however, seated on the left and drawn in soft greens, light browns and reds that attention must be drawn. He sits in precisely the same position as St Augustine, looking frontally and turning slowly towards the book, which he holds in his extended hand. The relationship of posture is, indeed, close enough to suppose that the Christ Church artist had seen the St Augustine illumination. Now, however, the

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[1] Dr Hanns Swarzenski draws my attention to the fact that there is a copy of this portrait on a single leaf of the Rosenwald Collection—E. Morgan, *Rosenwald Collection* (Washington, 1950), pl. 3.

Romanesque feeling, which is still tentative in the Laurenziana drawing, finds full expression. Plato is drawn in a bold outline, which is used to define the abstract shape of the body. The right arm and the legs become rigid horizontals and verticals; the cloak is transformed into a hard disc as it falls over the arm, and is not so much folded as moulded into a sharp contour at the waist.

There is an even closer association between the St Augustine's drawing and the justly celebrated portrait of Eadwine, which is at the end of the Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 17 1, f. 283 v.). This picture of Eadwine is, of course, a portrait only in the most extended use of the word. Some form of portraiture must have existed in the twelfth century, for William of Malmesbury records that when Anselm was in Italy the anti-pope Guibert sent an artist to take a likeness of him, so that, however disguised, the saint should not escape detection.[1] The published portrait, however, invariably consisted, as here, of a stock figure identified not by features of resemblance but by an added description. The description itself reads:

SCRIPTOR: S[C]RIPTORUM PRINCEPS
EGO NEC OBITURA DEINCEPS
LAUS MEA NEC FAMA.
QUIS SIM MEA LITTERA CLAMA.
LITTERA: TE TUA S(C)RIPTURA
QUEM SIGNAT PICTA FIGURA
PREDICAT EADWINUM
FAMA PER SECULA VIVUM.
INGENIUM CUIUS
LIBRI DECUS INDICAT HUIUS
QUEM TIBI SEQUE DATUM
MUNUS DEUS ACCIPE GRATUM.

This is less reticent than one might expect from a member of the Rule of St Benedict, and the self-encomium, coupled with the interest in fame is, perhaps, due to the influence of classical literature in the twelfth century.

Names of artists and scribes in this century are by no means unknown. The sculptor of a twelfth-century capital from St Augustine's, for example, will inscribe his work 'Robertus me fecit'.[2] When a shrine is begun at St Alban's in 1124, the name of the craftsman and a description of him is given in the chronicle of the house. At Christ Church, it has already been seen that the *Josephus* in St John's College, Cambridge, contains a representation of the scribe, who is designated by name. Yet despite all this, the full-page portrait of the copyist of the Eadwine Psalter must be unique in twelfth-century art. It is interesting to see that the portrait of the author in the *De Civitate Dei* has given way to the portrait of the scribe. This, again, may be attributed to the influence of the twelfth-century Renaissance.

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[1] *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Series), p. 103: 'quod ferebatur Wibertus pictore Romam misso, imaginem ejus in tabula pingi fecisse, ut quocumque se habitu effigiaret non lateret.'

[2] The capital is at St Augustine's College, Canterbury.

The portrait itself is one of the most accomplished and mature expressions of Romanesque art at Canterbury. The body has a massive, sculptural quality. This is partly achieved by the use of body colour, which is an important factor in giving weight to the body, but also the monumentality of the figure is emphasized by the way in which it is cramped into the arch framing it. Its recession in depth is suggested by shading on the chest, while green highlights on the head give it a dome-like roundness and feeling of solidity. There is little or no attempt at realism. The beard and hair are blue, fringed with white. The body is disintegrated into abstract shapes; the hood does not fall over the shoulder but stands out rigidly like a cone; the folds over the back become like a stiff plume, and the lower draperies are disposed into triangular or elliptical forms. A Gothic artist would have been interested in the texture of the draperies and in showing their relationship to the body beneath. Here, the illuminator will not sacrifice his affection for form to the precepts of nature; the shape of the thighs emerges defiantly through the material that covers them. The whole figure is defined by a bold line, like a taut black wire, and it will be sufficient to compare it with the portrait of St Augustine to see that here is a consummation of all the Romanesque tendencies of the earlier drawing.

That the Christ Church artist had seen this portrait or something very similar to it is very probable. His own figure has been turned into profile, but the delicate linear tracery covering the draperies has been clearly derived from the impressionistic lines describing the upper part of St Augustine's body. This will be immediately apparent if the pattern on the shoulder of the scribe is compared with the swirling lines, which indicate the shoulder of the saint. The two portraits show at its clearest the development at Canterbury from Anglo-Saxon impressionism to full Romanesque.

In sculpture, it has been remarked, the characteristics of the Romanesque style were conditioned by the geometry of the architecture. So to some extent at Canterbury the figure-style was influenced by the geometry of the initial into which it was integrated. When animals and dragons are actually used to form initials they are naturally treated in terms of the hard contours which they are defining. This had been evident even before the Conquest, for the dragons forming the initials of the *Caedmon* and the 9a Tiberius Psalter are quite hard and geometric. In the twelfth century a similar 14d assimilation can be seen in the dragons of the *Ricardus Pratellensis* from Christ Church. 9d So, too, with birds and animals. The birds, for example, on folio 15 of Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 9 are stylized into segments of circles, since it is only in this 44a form that they can compose the initial. A lizard, used as the cross-piece of a letter 44c 'E' in the Cambridge University Library *Boetius* (folio 106v.), is so completely assimilated to its horizontal severity that only the concession of a head and claws betrays its true identity.

The same process also reduces human life to a rigid geometry. In the first initial of 25a the St John's College *Josephus*, for example, there are two distinct styles. The figures

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enacting the Cain and Abel episode inside the initial still have some of the spirited quality of pre-Conquest art. When other figures, however, are used to compose the initial there is a change of treatment. Coloured in yellow, red and orange, they are assimilated to the hard curves of the letter, and their bodies are also patterned off into segments, which respond to its general rhythm. The result is a style showing an interest in geometric forms, which can be referred to as Romanesque.

25b   Another initial of this manuscript contains a figure related to one from the Trinity *Boetius*. It occurs on folio 191. There, a human being helps to compose the upright of an initial 'A', and as a result is treated in its geometric terms. His body is severely vertical, and the drapery over the arm, like the hood over the shoulder, is stylized into

25c   a triangle. The portrait of Boethius on folio 1 of the Trinity manuscript is emancipated from the initial structure, but has clearly been influenced by the latter figure. The upper part of the body, with the extended arms, and the cloak reduced to a triangle, is very close to that of the other. Massive in conception, and completely resolved in terms of geometric shapes, it typifies, indeed, all that is meant by Romanesque. None the less, though the contribution of the initial to this development may be observed, it must not be exaggerated, for both before and after the Conquest there was an evolution to Romanesque apart from the initial.

The Romanesque characteristics that emerge in the figure style of the first half of the twelfth century are found also in the decoration of this period. The 'Winchester' acanthus, which clutches the framework at the top of the portrait of St Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei* in Florence, is already being stylized into a rigid patternwork, though there is still in it a latent sense of movement. At Christ Church the foliage is much heavier and more stylized, and combines with the bright colours, which are popular in that scriptorium, to give a highly ornamental effect. A characteristic

26a   example of this is reproduced from a Trinity manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 2 36, f. 3), where the colours are bright blues and reds with greens and yellows, and the foliage is completely reduced to hard shell-like patterns. A less

26b   developed example of this stylization is found in a *Pseudo-Isidore* in the British Museum (MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 47). There, single acanthus scrolls inside the letter are hardened, much like those at the base of the full-page portrait of St Augustine in the Laurenziana manuscript. Between the scrolls forming the stem of the letter, however, a leafwork pattern has been added. In the Trinity manuscript can be seen an elaboration of this process, by which a rigid patternwork is built up round a single acanthus.

In the preceding chapter it has been seen that the figure style introduced by the Bec monks was quite trivial. It has been shown also that Anglo-Saxon impressionism continued after the Conquest; indeed, in twelfth-century manuscripts, such as the *Josephus* and the *Boetius* in the Cambridge University Library, impressionism is found side by side with fully developed Romanesque illuminations. In this chapter it has

been argued that it was from this Anglo-Saxon impressionism that the Romanesque style at Canterbury was developed. That is not to say, however, that there were no foreign influences on Canterbury in the first half of the twelfth century. There are very important ones from Italy.

There are Italian influences on the wall-paintings of the Cathedral. Those of the crypt of St Gabriel's chapel have still to be adequately analysed iconographically and stylistically. However, a comparison of them with those of San Clemente in Rome[1] is convincing. The head of the figures should further be related to those of S. Angelo at Formis.[2] These Canterbury wall-paintings have influenced the illumination of Christ Church, thus bringing Italian influences indirectly to bear on the manuscript art. If, for example, the head of St Elisabeth from the wall-paintings is 25d compared to that of Boethius, which has already been reproduced (Pl. 25c) from a Trinity manuscript, it will be seen that in each the neck is ringed with shadows, while the wide-open eyes, the boldly rounded eyebrows, the aquiline nose and slightly pouting lips of each face are also related. This facial type has influenced other figures in Christ Church illumination. It is evident, for example, in the drawing of Nichomacus in the Cambridge University Library *Boetius* (Pl. 21c), and has also influenced the head of Eadwine.

There are more direct Italian influences on the illumination of Christ Church. It has been said that an *Anselmus* in the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. 271) is contemporary with the Cambridge *Josephus*, that is to say, it was written between 1110 and 1140 and probably about 1130. On folio 36 an initial 'T' is formed by a figure, drawn 31b in green and blue, who holds a dragon on his shoulder. His posture is reminiscent of that of a figure in a South Italian Exultet Roll in the British Museum, where a man, crossing the Red Sea, also has one hand on his hip, and with the other balances a bundle on his shoulder.[3] The similarity may not be altogether coincidental, for the figure style of the initial is closely related to that of an Italian wall-painting. The latter is in the crypt of Aquileia Cathedral, and represents the martyrdom of SS. Ermagora and Fortunato. The Christ Church illuminator must have seen something similar to the executioner, whose tunic is meticulously creased up into small folds, for his own 31c figure is very similar. Now, however, the folds have been reduced to a patternwork devoid of any functional significance. The style appears again in the Cambridge University Library *Josephus*, where it is made more Romanesque. The figure, drawn in green on folio 216, is quite massive and is now splintered up into hard geometric shapes. The style is found in a more exaggerated form in the Lambeth Bible, which will be described in a later chapter, and there it is completely assimilated to the English tradition.

[1] E. W. Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Painting of the Twelfth Century* (1944), p. 17.

[2] See, for example, P. Muratoff, *La Peinture Byzantine* (Paris, 1935), Pl. LXXVIII.

[3] MS. Add. 30337. See *An Exultet Roll illuminated in the XIth century at the Abbey of Monte Cassino* (published by the British Museum), Pl. x; and M. Avery, *Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton, 1936), vol. II, Pl. XLVIII (a).

For, as foreign influences are being assimilated to Romanesque at Canterbury, so, too, the whole Romanesque style is being assimilated to the native tradition. At about this time the Anglo-Saxon language is giving way to Middle English, and what has been said of this transition may also be said of the transition from impressionism to Romanesque: 'There is no break in the tradition itself, but there is a change in the medium by which that tradition is preserved.'[1] In the first half of the twelfth century there is a change of style but not a change of idiom. The native affection for animated line and pattern asserts itself in Romanesque as in earlier illumination. This can be seen, for example, in the drawing of Christ in the Bosworth Psalter. It is also evident in the portrait of Eadwine, which is characterized no less than the earlier impressionistic drawings by animated linear pattern. This emerges in the treatment of the cloth over the lectern, in the lively and delicate pattern which covers the drapery, and even in the way the latter falls over the arm like a hank of thread, so linear is its treatment. The same native predilections are evident in the illustrations of the text of that manuscript.

[1] R. M. Wilson's introduction to *Sawles Warde*, p. xix (Leeds School of English Language, Texts and Monographs, no. LII).

THE EADWINE PSALTER[1]

THE date of the Eadwine Psalter[2] can fortunately be determined with some accuracy. From the calendar it is known that the extreme dates within which the manuscript was written are 1130 and 1170. This is derived from the fact that the dedication of Christ Church, which took place in 1130, is recorded, while the death of Becket in 1170 is not.

Stylistic evidence would point towards the first half of this period. The *Anselmus* in the Bodleian has on folio 43 v. an initial, in which an angel supporting a representation 26 c of Christ in Majesty is drawn in the same style as that of the illustrations of the Psalter, and perhaps by the same hand. The Bodleian manuscript has been dated about 1110–40, and the decoration of the Trinity manuscript is associated with other manuscripts of the same period. In two British Museum manuscripts, for example (MSS. Cotton Claud. E v and Harley 624) the scrollwork is bent into formal patterns like the leads of stained glass windows as in the Eadwine Psalter; also the dragons are similarly stylized and have ridges on their bodies giving them a corrugated appearance, as in the latter manuscript.

Written evidence in the book further points to a period before 1150, and narrows down the date of writing to practically a single year. This is a description of a comet, which accompanies a drawing of one on the lower margin of folio 10. The passage refers to the radiance of the comet as a star; it further adds that it is called in English 'a plumed star', and that comets, which are seldom seen, are prognostications. All this is written in Anglo-Saxon, which is of interest in showing that the natural form of expression for an English monk of this period was still Anglo-Saxon. For dating the manuscript, however, it is of incomparable importance. The comet referred to must be the one mentioned by Ralph de Diceto, who describes the appearance of a comet in 1146. In his description of the events of that year he writes: 'Circa tempus istud cometa diebus multis apparuit in occidente, vicinum aerem spaciis circum-quaque diffusis choruscantibus radiis in immensum illuminans.'[3] Matthew of Paris borrowed this description in his *Chronica Majora*,[4] and, like Eadwine, emphasized its prognostic qualities, associating it with the deaths of Geoffrey of St Alban's, Ascelinus of Rochester, Roger of Chester and Robert of Hereford. Diceto himself does not seem

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[1] See below, pp. 99 ff., for some leaves which may have been prefixed to the Eadwine Psalter.

[2] A reduced facsimile of the manuscript has been published by M. R. James with the title *The Canterbury Psalter* (London, 1935).

[3] Radulphi de Diceto, *Opera Historica* (Rolls Series), vol. I, p. 256.   [4] Rolls Series edition, p. 178.

too confident of the exact date of the appearance of the comet. On the other hand, there is in an *Annales* from Christ Church (B.M. MS. Cotton Vesp. D xix, f. 69) a very precise reference to it. Under the year 1147 appears the entry 'Hic apparuit cometa ii idus maii'. The latter source seems to be the more reliable and the comet may be ascribed to the year 1147. Comets, as Eadwine himself remarks, are not frequent, and the assumption that the scribe is referring to this particular one fits in with the dating of the Psalter from other sources. The description itself has no relationship to the text of the manuscript. Its presence in the margin can only be explained as the action of a person, who had actually witnessed the comet, who had it fresh in his memory and who wished to record the fact. If all this is correct, the Eadwine Psalter was written in the year in which the comet appeared—that is, 1147—or very soon afterwards.

The Eadwine Psalter is the second copy of the Utrecht Psalter to be made at Canterbury. And though the first copy—the Harley Psalter—had been begun about 1000, the final additions to its illustrations must have been made at roughly the same time as the second copy was written. It is clear that the Eadwine Psalter derives from the original Carolingian archetype and not from the Harley Psalter, for it is a complete copy of the exemplar, which the latter is not.

The drawings of both the Utrecht and the Harley Psalter had interpreted the Psalms in literal terms. By adding new compositions to those derived from the Utrecht Psalter, the artists of the Eadwine Psalter, however, introduced a completely new element into the illustrations; in fact, they supplemented one psalter tradition of the literal illustration of the text with a completely different psalter tradition of the illustration of the commentary on the text. A similar marriage of the two traditions is found in the Odbert Psalter (Boulogne-sur-Mer MS. 20), where the marginal illustrations illustrate the text, and the illustrations inside the initials illustrate the gloss. In the Eadwine Psalter, however, there was but a fleeting honeymoon between the two, for additions were only made to four of the psalms. After this, the artists forsook their rôle as match-makers, for the much simpler one of copyists. None the less, their early additions are interesting and largely original, and for this reason deserve a complete description.

The first addition is to Psalm iii. This consists of the drawing of the death of Absalom, which appears on the right of the illustration. He is shown hanging by his hair from a tree, while his now riderless mule passes on. This drawing has been prompted by the title of the psalm: 'Psalmus David cum fugeret a facie Absalom filii sui', and to this extent is still in the tradition of literal psalter-illustrations. The other additions, however, are more ambitious and are directly related to the relevant commentaries in Remigius of Auxerre's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*.[1]

On folio 10, the addition made to the Utrecht illustration is not simply a detail but a complete picture. Christ, enthroned in a mandorla, is shown in the centre. On

[1] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. cxxxi, cols. 133–844.

either side of Him is a seraphim and an angel, and He lifts up His right hand in blessing. In a scene to the left is portrayed first, a woman with a child on her knees and secondly, a woman with her head bowed in grief. In a scene on the right, the latter, now with a child of her own, looks on as the former, with a vessel strapped to her back, leads away her child. A man stands between the two with his hands raised.

The title of this psalm is: 'In finem pro ea quae haereditatem consequitur.' According to Remigius[1] this refers to the story of Sarah and Agar.[2] Sarah was the wife of Abraham, who finally in her old age was granted a gift of a son by God. When Isaac was weaned, she asked Abraham to send away his bondwoman Agar and her son, lest the full inheritance of Isaac should be prejudiced. Sarah, as the free woman, says Remigius, represents the Church of the faithful. Agar, as the bondwoman, signifies the Church of the false Christians and the heretics, who, though the offspring of Abraham (who in turn symbolizes Christ), will not receive their inheritance. This, then, is the explanation and significance of the illustration. Christ is shown in the centre, because He will divide those who receive their due reward from those who are deprived of it. This division is prefigured in the illustrations on either side of the Genesis story. The two women on the left represent Agar with her child and Sarah grieving for her barrenness. In the right-hand scene, Sarah is now shown with her son Isaac, while in front of her stands Abraham. On the extreme right Agar and her child walk away: 'So Abraham rose up in the morning, and taking bread and a bottle of water, put it upon her shoulder, and delivered the boy, and sent her away.'[3]

The Utrecht illustration of the next psalm has also been supplemented by an illumination, which relates to Remigius's commentary on the title of the psalm.[4] This reads: 'Psalmus David pro octava in finem in hymnis.' Remigius interprets this to mean on the one hand the generation of the flesh from the first man to the arrival of Christ, and on the other the generation of the spirit from the life of Christ to the end of the world. This he deduces from the fact that the flesh is composed of four elements and the spirit consists of three faculties—reason, anger and desire. The two together, therefore, represent the number '7', which is significant because as the world was made in seven days so it will endure for 7000 years. On the eighth day, says Remigius, will come the Judgment and the words 'pro octava' in the title signifies this last Judgment of God.

The added illumination is divided into two scenes. The spiritual generation, to which Remigius refers, is represented in the right-hand one, where Christ is seen in glory above the twelve apostles, in a mandorla supported by two angels. In the left-hand scene there are four figures, which represent the generation of the flesh. They are in various attitudes of grief and supplication. One of them carries a sack, and there is another sack on the floor. The episode portrayed seems to be that of Joseph's

[1] Ibid. col. 166.   [2] Genesis xxi.
[3] Genesis xxi, 14.   [4] Migne, P.L. vol. cxxxi, col. 171.

brethren, finding the money and the cup in their sacks of corn. This may have been prompted by the last verse of the psalm: 'Let all mine enemies be ashamed and sore vexed: let them return and be ashamed suddenly.' Its significance, however, may also derive from the fact that Joseph prefigures Christ,[1] and that, therefore, his brothers, who were his enemies, symbolize the generation of the flesh, which was opposed to Christ.

The last attempt of the Eadwine artists to supplement their exemplar occurs on folio 12 v. above the Utrecht illustration to Psalm vii. The title of this psalm is: 'In finem psalmus David, quem cantavit Domino pro verbis Chusi filii Jemini.' In his commentary on it, Remigius refers to the story of Ahithophel, who aided Absalom and gave him evil counsel, and of Hushai, the friend of David, who investigated the plans of Ahithophel and sent David warning of his son's intentions.[2] The first incidents depicted in the illumination are concerned with this. In a walled city on the left, Absalom, surrounded by counsellors, is seen listening to the advice of Hushai, while behind him stands Ahithophel, whose counsel has been rejected.[3] In a smaller one sits David with his followers; God stands behind him to signify the divine approbation, for, as Remigius points out, the name David signifies the perfect of faith.[4] The figures of God the Father and God the Son are also behind the next representation of David. The latter is here seen listening to a messenger—undoubtedly the one sent by Hushai to warn him of his son's plans.[5] In the final scene of the illustration David is shown enthroned. He gazes upwards towards God, who is seated in a mandorla supported by two angels. Figures appear on either side of Him, those on His right hand being clothed, and those on His left being naked. A group of soldiers are shown below. The latter may be 'the congregation of the people' that in verse 7 'compass Thee about'. The scene of Christ in glory may illustrate the words of verse 7, 'for their sakes therefore return thou on high' and of verse 6, 'Arise, O Lord,...and awake for me to the judgment that thou hast commanded'.

After this illustration to Psalm vii, the artists of the Eadwine Psalter relinquish their original intention of supplementing their model with compositions of their own devising. It is true that slight variations do sometimes occur later. A pelican at the top of a tree in the illustration to Psalm ci becomes an owl. A lion and figure are omitted from the illustration to the Canticle of Isaiah. Such deviations, however, are exceptional and accidental. From now on the Eadwine Psalter is, iconographically speaking, simply a faithful copy of the Carolingian prototype.

When the term 'Eadwine Psalter' is used, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that Eadwine is the scribe, not the illuminator of the manuscript.[6] There are, in fact, at least three artists involved in the illustrating of the text. The first is responsible for the

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[1] St Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (Migne, *P.L.* vol. xxxvii, col. 1037).
[2] II Kings (II Samuel) xvi, xvii.
[3] II Kings (II Samuel) xvii, 14.
[4] Migne, *P.L.* vol. cxxxi, col. 176.
[5] II Kings (II Samuel) xvii, 16, 21.
[6] See inscription above, p. 36.

illustrations from folios 8 to 27, 70 to 84, and 166 to 234: the second for the illuminations from folios 32 to 36v., from 49 to 68, 86 to 142v., and 235v. to 281: the third has illustrated the Psalter from folios 144v. to 164v. The illustrations on folios 5v. and 6v. seem to be by other artists.

The figure styles of the first two illuminators are similar. In each the bodies are slender and slightly elongated; the heads, normally craned forward, are almost invariably in profile, though the eye is represented from the frontal not the side-view; in each, too, colour and pattern predominate. Yet despite these similarities the two styles are distinguishable. An illustration from the work of the second artist is reproduced as well as a detail from that of the first. It will be seen from these that the first artist is the more calligraphic. The figures of the second artist are more spirited than those of the other and their expressions more animated. His colours also are brighter and are manipulated in a more lively way. The figure style of the third artist is different from that of the others—that is, if his clumsy attempts to indicate the human figure can be graced with the name of a style. The bodies are heavy and formless: the faces wooden and unrefined: the nose is disproportionate and is an extension of the forehead: the mouth is a simple incision, while the eye has a fixed expression so that individuals look through, rather than at, one another. All this will be seen in the single figure reproduced from one of his illustrations. He, like the other artists, is interested in patterning by colour, but his colours are more sombre and they are less felicitously handled.

Both this style and that of the two first artists derive from a psalter now at Hildesheim, which was written between 1119 and 1146, probably at St Alban's.[1] The latter manuscript has two distinct styles. The first, which will be referred to as the St Alban's style, is used in most of the prefatory full-page illustrations and has reminiscences of impressionism. The second, which is harder and more geometric, appears in the initials of the manuscript. It is the latter style that has influenced the third illuminator of the Trinity manuscript, though it has been so debased by him that it is almost a caricature of its former self. None the less, if a detail from the St Alban's Psalter is compared to one from the Canterbury manuscript, it will be seen that there is still a recognizable relationship between the two styles particularly in the heads, with their wooden expression, the protruding under-lip and the extension of the forehead to form the nose.

The first style of the St Alban's Psalter is the more important. The figures show a Romanesque stylization, they are closely knit and the faces have a new solemnity. The style has been appropriately described as 'liturgical'.[2] It is, indeed, as though the spontaneous art of individual faith has given way to the more sumptuous and studied art of

[1] Professor F. Wormald, Dr O. Pächt and myself are working on the subject of the St Alban's Psalter. When it appears, the publication will reproduce all the illuminations and give a more precise dating.
[2] F. Wormald, 'The Survival of Anglo-Saxon Illumination after the Norman Conquest', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1944, vol. xxx, p. 13.

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organized belief. The figures impress and even intimidate rather than inspire. At times the iteration of verticals and diagonals has the semi-hypnotic effect of an incantation.

The influence of this style was by no means limited to Canterbury, and it spread rapidly to other centres in the second quarter of the twelfth century. As it spread, so it became more assimilated to the English tradition. Even in the original St Alban's manuscript linear patterning is in evidence; this is seen particularly in the upper parts of the bodies of the figures reproduced. In the Shaftesbury Psalter, however (B.M. MS. Lansdowne 283), which was probably copied from the Hildesheim manuscript,[1] patterning is much more pronounced. The process can be watched even more closely in the Pembroke New Testament (Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 120). This manuscript was given to Bury St Edmund's in the fourteenth century, and Dr Hanns Swarzenski has made the interesting suggestion that the prefatory cycle of illustrations, which are iconographically and stylistically associated with the St Alban's cycle, was not an original part of the book but was added later.[2] This would certainly account for the fact that the illuminations in a Bury style are found in a manuscript, which was not apparently given to Bury until the fourteenth century. Against this must be set the fact that these illustrations do fit the manuscript perfectly and seem to be contemporary with the text, for both were probably produced towards the middle of the twelfth century.

The heads of the Bury New Testament are heavier and less sensitive than those of the St Alban's Psalter. The nose has been lengthened and has now become the apex of a disproportionately large triangle, of which the point of the beard and the tip of the head are the other two corners. None the less, the figure-style of the two manuscripts is closely related. This will be immediately clear if a comparison is made between a group from each. The Bury figures, like the others, are in profile with craning necks; they have the same hieratic quality, and, elongated and stiff, stand rigidly on the page like column-statues deprived of their architectural backgrounds. Yet patterning, which is certainly present in the other, has now become more emphatic. The half-circles on the bodies of the St Alban's figures have become in the Bury ones more important than the body itself, and in the finished drawings the human figure is completely submerged beneath a many-coloured cloak of pattern.

In much the same way the figure-style of the Eadwine Psalter shows an assimilation of the St Alban's style to pattern. Even the type of pattern, with half-circles on the chest, is quite similar, as a detail from the complete illustration reproduced will demonstrate. There is, however, a difference. The Canterbury figures are more animated and less hieratic. This Christ Church style is, in fact, a Romanesque style tempered by impressionism: it is a St Alban's style modified by that of the Utrecht

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[1] The calendar illustrations of each are similar. Compare, for example, the positions of Leo and Taurus in each. In both manuscripts, also, the Virgo has been transformed into an angel by the addition of wings.

[2] H. Swarzenski, 'Unknown Bible Pictures by W. de Brailes', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* (1938), vol. I, p. 65, n. 20.

Psalter. The artists have not only been influenced by the twelfth-century manuscript, but by the style of their prototype. Their figures reproduce the spirited gestures and attitudes of the Carolingian ones: they gesticulate excitedly and raise their hands in vivacious expressions of horror and amazement. They are slighter in build than those of the St Alban's group, with legs tapered off at the ankles and widely splayed fingers reduced at times to pointed stalks. In individual details the second artist even recaptures some of the buoyancy of pre-Conquest impressionism. This is particularly evident in the drawing of devils, such as the two on the left of the illustration reproduced. 27a

Yet, when all this has been said, the fact remains that the Utrecht style has been sufficient to temper, but not to dispel, the rigidity of the Eadwine Psalter illustrations and they remain essentially Romanesque. The Hell-mouth on folio 180 has the inci- 27b sive, chiselled-out quality of the Romanesque period. The whole style is more severe, and is quite different from the first illustrations of the Harley Psalter as a comparison 1a, 27a between the reproduced illustrations to Psalm xxx will indicate. In general, the sketchy, wind-swept quality of the Anglo-Saxon drawings has gone. The groups are no longer linear suggestions; they are wedded together into hard crystalline clusters and divided by bright colours into enamel-like facets. Angels no longer float, but hang, as it were, on invisible wires. The lightly sketched houses have become heavily constructed edifices. The feathery trees have been replaced by the ornate foliage of the St Alban's Psalter. The hillocks are stiff and decorative, turning unashamedly now into shell-like patterns, now into wave-crests frozen into immobility, now into curved motifs like heavy crooks, and now into patterned leaves knit together. They are no longer the excuse for an exhilarating line whisking over the surface of the page, but have become a framework to separate incident. All this is, in fact, the working out of principles emerging in the later eleventh-century additions to the Harley Psalter. There, too, hillocks had been becoming purely decorative, and groups had been fused together into hard patterns. There, too, suggestion had been giving way to definition, impressionism to Romanesque.

The Eadwine Psalter illustrations are, of course, different in style to the earliest ones of the Harley Psalter. The idiom, however, is similar, and in each manuscript the native feeling for animated pattern expresses itself. This in the Trinity manuscript, as in the Anglo-Saxon drawings of B.M. MS. Cotton Calig. A xv, is provided as much by colour as by line. Colour is, indeed, a dominant aspect of the illustrations. Where the figures of the Harley manuscript had been lightly flushed with it, those of the Eadwine Psalter perform the function of metal to a brooch—a hard setting for the jewel-like colours that tumble over the page. It is these bright colours that agitate the surface in kaleidoscopic profusion. They perform the function that in the earlier manuscript had been reserved for line. The means are different but the ends are the same. Here, as in other Romanesque illuminations, the English tradition of animation and pattern assimilates to itself a new art style.

V

THE GREAT BIBLES

THE same assimilation can be seen in the two Great Canterbury Bibles of the mid-century. One of these seems to be written by the same hand as the Eadwine Psalter. This is the Dover Bible, which is now in two volumes at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MSS. 3 and 4), and which contains the press-mark of the priory of St Martin at Dover. This press-mark does not disqualify the identification, for Dover was a dependent cell of Christ Church, and there is evidence to show that books passed from Canterbury to Dover.[1] It is, indeed, highly probable that an ambitious work of this quality was produced at the mother house, though it had reached Dover by 1389 for it is mentioned in a catalogue of this date.[2]

In an earlier catalogue of Christ Church, compiled by Eastry between 1284 and 1331, there is, in fact, an entry which may refer to this very manuscript. This is an Eadwine Bible—'Biblia Edwini'[3]—which precedes the entry of the Eadwine Psalter. It is not described as a 'Biblia bipartita' but unless it be assumed that Eadwine wrote two Bibles, it probably refers to the Dover one.

There is further evidence to associate the Dover Bible with Eadwine. Small marginal drawings appear at the foot of some of the folios of the Eadwine Psalter and of the first volume of the Bible. They are in the same ink as the script,[4] which seems to indicate that they were drawn by the scribe. The fact that similar drawings, now in the orange and green ink of the initials, are incorporated into the text itself of the second volume (folios 33v., 39v. and 40v.) would support this suggestion. The drawings in the Psalter and Bible (chiefly of animal and human heads with stalks or leaves in the mouth) are by the same hand. A comparison of an example of each of these motifs from both manuscripts will make clear the identity of authorship. Further to this, there is some stylistic association between the illumination of the second volume and that of the illustrations of the Psalter, which is apparent, for example, in the Beatus initial to the Psalms (folio 13). There, the green hillock, on which the psalmist sits in the lower bow of the letter, is stylized into a hard shell-like pattern exactly parallel to others in the Psalter. The closest stylistic association, however, is with the portrait of Eadwine, and this will be discussed later.

The second of the Great Bibles is the Lambeth Bible. This, also, is in two volumes. The first (MS. 3 of Lambeth Palace Library) has associated with it the second volume

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[1] Manuscripts such as Digby 13 and Arundel 16 have pressmarks of both Christ Church and Dover.
[2] Nos. 2 and 3 of the catalogue. [3] Eastry 322.
[4] A few in the Eadwine Psalter are coloured.

of another Bible (MS. 4), which was originally mistaken for its companion volume. The second volume, sadly mutilated, is, in fact, in Maidstone Museum (MS. P 5). It was discovered there in 1923 by Dr Eric Millar, who has already pointed out that it may have been written at Canterbury. This he does in a valuable description of the Bible, which he gives in his catalogue of illuminated manuscripts at Lambeth.[1]

This provenance was suggested to him by entries found at the end of the Maidstone volume. These record incidents in the family history of the Colyars, and later of the Perys. The first entry, dated 5 August 1538, is of the marriage of John Colyar of Lencham (i.e. Lenham near Maidstone) to Margaret Burges of the same place; the second records the birth of their eldest son Anthony on 13 September of the next year. There follows an entry of the death of Sir Christopher Hales, Master of the Rolls, on 11 April 1541, and among further details of the history of the Colyar family occurs a note of the death of John Hales, who was either a cousin or an uncle of Sir Christopher.

It is certainly a coincidence that this volume was as close to Canterbury as Maidstone at the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries. And as the evidence from these entries is investigated, coincidences repeat themselves until they cease to remain coincidences.

Both the Hales were local dignitaries of Canterbury. John Hales, a Baron of the Exchequer, was a magistrate,[2] who lived in a manor house in Canterbury, which, appropriately enough was known as the Dungeon. He was a counsel for Canterbury,[3] and after the Dissolution is found interceding with Cromwell on the city's behalf.[4] Sir Christopher was also a counsel for the city. He lived at Hackington,[5] a suburb of Canterbury, and from 1522 to 1523 represented the city in Parliament.[6] The position, which they both held, is indicated by the gifts given to them, which are recorded in the city records. In 1512 or 1513, the Common Serjeant was sent to London to John Hales at Gray's Inn with 'two troughts and xii capons for the grete favour that he hath shewed into the city'.[7] On the marriage of his daughter in 1520 or 1521 he was presented by the city with two cranes and a swan. Further gifts followed in 1523 or 1524, and about this time the road leading to his home was cleaned and enclosed at public expense.[8] In 1525 or 1526 both Baron Hales and Sir Christopher Hales were given two hogsheads of wine 'for their good favour shewed towards the Citie', and in the next year they were presented with half a porpoise.[8] Each of them served on special commissions concerned with Kent in general or Canterbury in particular.[9]

[1] E. G. Millar, 'Les Manuscrits à Peintures des Bibliothèques de Londres', *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures*, vol. VIII (Paris, 1924), pp. 15 ff.

[2] *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Ninth Report*, pt. I (1883), p. 152.   [3] Ibid. p. 150.

[4] James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. XIII (ii), p. 475.

[5] *R.C.H.M.* vol. IX (i), p. 151.   [6] Ibid. p. 152.   [7] Ibid. p. 150.   [8] Ibid. p. 152.

[9] In 1536, they served on a Commission of Sewers and Embankments (ibid. p. 175); in 1538 on a commission of gaol delivery of Canterbury Castle (*L. and P.* vol. XIII (i), p. 140), on a Commission of Peace (ibid. p. 568), on a Commission of Oyer and Terminer (ibid. p. 563) and on a special commission (*L. and P.* vol. XIII (ii), p. 424).

One of these took them to Maidstone, for a commission for gaol delivery had to be delivered there in 1538.[1] This, no doubt, explains why a letter sent from Christopher Hales to Cromwell in April 1538 was written at Maidstone.[2] More important is the fact that John Hales had a family connexion with Lenham, to which the Maidstone volume found its way. His wife came from that place.[3] In view of this, and of the evident interest of the Colyars in the Hales family, it is perhaps not entirely an accident that the recipient of the volume, John Colyar, was in January 1539 made a clerk of pleas in the Exchequer when John Hales was a Baron there.[4]

As far as the Lambeth Bible is concerned, the association of the Colyars, who owned the second volume, with the Hales, and of the latter with Canterbury, certainly indicates that the volume may have been taken from one of the Canterbury houses to Lenham by Christopher or John Hales.

There is some evidence from the illumination of the Bible to support the suggestion, though this in itself is by no means sufficient to make the attribution tenable. The custom of placing initials against a field of colour, which outlines them, is familiar in Canterbury illumination, and some of the colours used—rich blues and crimson and sand-brown—are found in Canterbury manuscripts. The figure drawing, it will be seen later is related to an earlier Christ Church style and also has similarities to the celebrated wall-painting of St Paul and the viper[5] in the Cathedral. There is in the wall-painting and in the illumination a similar resolution of the body into ovoid and pear-like shapes and a similar patterning of the draperies.

It is also worth remarking that the Bible has influenced the art of two houses both associated with Canterbury. One is the Flemish house of St Bertin, whose close links with Canterbury will be discussed in Chapter VIII. In a Bible written at this monastery, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, there is a Tree of Jesse, which is closely related to a similar illustration in the Lambeth manuscript.[6] The other is the English house of St Alban's. The first Norman abbot there after the Conquest had been a relative of Lanfranc, who had helped him in his rebuilding activities there. The fact that names of St Alban's monks are recorded in a Martyrology of St Augustine's (B.M. MS. Cotton Vit. C xii) shows that there was some connexion between the two houses in the twelfth century, though too much must not be made simply of an exchange of prayers. Certainly there was an artistic relationship, for a large initial introducing the Book of Genesis in the Lambeth Bible has been copied into (or from) a *Josephus* from St Alban's now in the British Museum.[7]

[1] *L. and P.* vol. XIII (i), p. 140.   [2] Ibid. p. 293.

[3] B.M. MS. Add. 18472, vol. III, f. 232; this is a biographical dictionary of Kent.

[4] *L. and P.* vol. XIV (i), p. 75.

[5] Tristram, *English Medieval Wall Paintings of the Twelfth Century* (London, 1944), suppl. Pl. I.

[6] Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 16746, f. 7v. See A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (Oxford, 1934), Pl. XXIII, and compare Pl. xv.

[7] B.M. MS. Royal 13 D vi, f. 3.

Lambeth Palace MS. 4, which was for some time accepted as the second volume of the Lambeth Bible, was, says Dr Millar,[1] copied from the same prototype as the Maidstone volume. He suggests that the person who acquired the first volume completed it with this volume of another Bible taken from the same monastery. In view of his suggestion, it is relevant to point out that an initial of Lambeth Palace MS. 4 is similar to one from a Christ Church manuscript. The latter is B.M. MS. Harley 624, which belongs to an earlier period. On folio 100 of this manuscript there is an initial 'A', which resembles that of another initial 'A' on folio 62v. of the Bible. Each letter is placed against a coloured field, and in each the upright consists of an open framework terminating at each end in foliage: the bow is formed in each by a dragon with a foliated tail. These are stylistically alike, though in the later manuscript the position has been reversed.

29a

29b

To these stylistic comparisons may be added an iconographical one. In the initial to Psalm cix of the Maidstone volume the first verse of the psalm is illustrated: 'The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.' Two representations of Christ are shown, both wearing crossed nimbi. The one raises His left hand and points with His right to the feet of the other. The second holds a cross in His hand, and is trampling underfoot two figures, which represent His enemies. This iconography originally came from the Utrecht Psalter and also appears in the two Canterbury copies of it. It may be compared, for example, with the representation in the Eadwine Psalter. All three manuscripts were at Canterbury when the Lambeth Bible was written.

29c

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From all this it may be said that there are some indications in the illumination of the Lambeth Bible to support a Canterbury provenance. This internal evidence is not so strong as the external, but the two together, if not altogether conclusive, are strong enough to justify the inclusion of the manuscript in a study of Canterbury illumination. The very nice question still remains, however, from which of the two Canterbury houses it comes.

Both the Hales had some associations with Christ Church. In 1507 John Hales was seneschal for the manors of that house in Kent.[2] Sir Christopher Hales seems to have acted as counsel for Christ Church for in an undated letter, which has been ascribed to the year 1520, Prior Goldwell of Christ Church asks for 'my lord of C. and Master Christopher Hales' to try a case in Chancery in which he was concerned.[3] In 1538 Hales witnessed the acknowledgement of a sale of lands to the king at Christ Church,[4] and the prior, writing to Cromwell on 5 November of that year, points out that he has long since promised the reversion of one of the offices of his house (the keepership of Westwell Park) to Sir Christopher.[5] More important is the fact that Hales was one of

[1] Op. cit. p. 18.
[3] Christ Church Letters, ed. J. B. Sheppard (1877), p. 79.
[4] L. and P. vol. xiii (i), p. 472.

[2] R.C.H.M. vol. ix (i), p. 120.
[5] L. and P. vol. xiii (ii), p. 294.

the commissioners appointed to dissolve Christ Church, with instructions to 'draw up a surrender in form...and then to take an inventory of all the goods, chattles, plate, jewels and lead belonging to the monastery and convey to the Master of the Jewel House of the Tower of London all the plate, precious ornaments and money which they should receive'.[1] Hales profited handsomely from the Dissolution and it is quite possible that he anticipated his future rewards by taking the second volume of the Bible from Christ Church.

The very strong argument against this, however, is that the Maidstone volume was at Lenham on 5 August 1538, and the commission for the surrender of Christ Church (the actual document of surrender does not exist) is not dated until 20 March 1540. One possible explanation is that the manuscript was removed before the Dissolution. Documents of the period do show that the embezzlement of Church property was taking place to anticipate the Dissolution;[2] in particular, a letter from Christopher Levyns to Cromwell, assigned to the year 1535, represents the prior of Christ Church as taking away movables from his house in that year.[3] Nevertheless, St Augustine's was dissolved on 30 July 1538, exactly six days before the appearance of the Maidstone volume at Lenham, and the most economical explanation of the evidence is that this volume was taken from the latter house, not from Christ Church. Whether either of the Hales was included in the commission for the dissolution of St Augustine's is not known. Christopher, at least, seems to have been in Canterbury at about this time. He signed a memorandum at Canterbury on 30 June,[4] and on 1 September accompanied the mayor and the prior to meet the French ambassador and my lady of Montreuill at Canterbury.[5] The only reference to John Hales at this period shows that he was at Canterbury on 22 August.[6] In this context it is worth remarking, first that Christopher Hales did receive some of the property of St Augustine's after the Dissolution,[7] as he profited also from that of Christ Church, and secondly, that Lenham was a possession of St Augustine's.[8] Moreover, among the signatories of the latter's surrender, who were all apparently monks there, was a William Burges.[9] This is the family name of the wife of John Colyar, and it is possible that it was he, and not one of the Hales, who took the manuscript to Lenham.

It is unfortunate that comparative illumination of the time of the Lambeth Bible from St Augustine's is so meagre. Yet one contemporary manuscript from this house, now in the British Museum (MS. Harley 105), though illuminated on a very modest scale, has colours quite similar to those of the Bible, and also the foliage with hard cups to the leaf work and tendrils reduced to elegant spirals is quite close. It is also

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[1] E. Hasted, *History of Kent* (1778–99), vol. IV, p. 567.
[2] *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1848), vol. II, p. 90.
[3] *Suppression of the Monasteries*, ed. T. Wright (1843), p. 90.
[4] *L. and P.* vol. XIII (i), p. 472.   [5] *L. and P.* vol. XIII (ii), p. 102.   [6] *L. and P.* vol. XIV (ii), p. 21.
[7] *L. and P.* vol. XIII (ii), p. 496.   [8] Hasted, op. cit. vol. II, p. 438.
[9] *Eighth Report* of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records (1847), App. II, p. 15.

quite possible that the Bible was illuminated in the same scriptorium that produced the drawing of Christ in the Bosworth Psalter. There is a similar interest in the drawings of each manuscript in the linear patterning of the draperies and the division of the body into round shapes. This will be evident if a figure of Christ from the Maidstone volume (folio 17) is compared to the Bosworth drawing. The illumination of the Lambeth Bible is, in fact, characterized by a pronounced emphasis on line-drawings, which is more in the tradition of St Augustine's than that of Christ Church. It would, indeed, be fitting if the house that above all others was the custodian of the Anglo-Saxon style after the Conquest should provide the supreme example of the assimilation of Romanesque to the English tradition.

24c
24a

The date of the Bible may be placed about the middle of the century. Its illumination, it will be seen, is related to that of a manuscript produced in 1146. Its script appears to be contemporary with that of the Bury Bible, which was written before 1148. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the Lambeth Bible was written between 1140 and 1160, and probably about 1150. This means that the Dover and Lambeth Bibles are contemporary manuscripts. Each represents the Romanesque style of its own house at its most accomplished. Each shows that style most completely expressed in terms of the native idiom of line and animated pattern. Each, moreover, takes its place among the masterpieces of twelfth-century art.

The use of the historiated initial to provide a complete organization of all aspects of the manuscript page, which had been made possible by the Norman Conquest, finds its most developed and consistent expression in these Bibles. Fine examples of this are provided by the initials to the first and fourth Books of Kings in the first volume of the Dover Bible. Each initial extends the whole length of the page and contains an illustration of the Book concerned. In the first initial David and Goliath are shown above confronting each other, while below David cuts off the giant's head. The story of Elijah being taken up to heaven is just as fully illustrated in the other initial. Thus a complete synthesis is made of decoration, illustration and text. The same synthesis is found in the Lambeth Bible, where initials contain illustrations of the text and also perform a decorative function. The latter manuscript, it should be added, contains full-page illustrations also, which the Dover Bible does not.

55a, l
54a, c

The figure style of the Lambeth Bible is more flowing and less hieratic than that of the Dover one. The colours are more delicate with soft mauves and pinks set off by richer blues and salmon-reds. The fact that the figures are coloured in these pastel shades and normally only outlined in the richer colours means that they are, in effect, line-drawings set against a coloured wash. Without the body colour of the Dover Bible figures they are inevitably less massive, and to that extent less Romanesque. It is the linear quality of these figures that immediately impresses one. The whole illumination of the Bible is characterized by a delight in line for its own sake, and the line has the delicacy and assurance of a long linear tradition. Everything is expressed in

terms of line and also of pattern. The executioners sawing up the body of Isaiah on folio 198v. are patterned into contours, and drawn out into long swinging curves which repeat the design of the bow of the letter. The figure of Ezekiel on folio 258v. is not a person: he is an essay in linear pattern. It is this genius for interpreting everything in terms of spirited designs that gives such life to the illumination, and also gives unity to it, for the separate figures are caught up and completely assimilated to the general design. A detail from folio 66v., for example, shows Moses counting the tribes. Here the figures have no independent validity, they are aspects of an animated network of line, which flows over the page permeating every corner of the illumination. Nothing in Romanesque art is so close to the spirit of the Lindisfarne and Chad Gospels. Nothing in Romanesque art shows so completely the domination of the English tradition.

Apart from this general affection for linear pattern, the figure style of the Lambeth Bible has several pronounced characteristics. The heads vary, but the hair is often reduced to a network pattern, while particularly frequent is the 'U' convention that joins the eyebrows to the nose. The draperies are normally wrapped round the body in a rhythmic sequence of line; they develop also at times into a projection at the hem. The whole body is disintegrated into oval and pear-like shapes, which are defined by a double line. This style is an elaboration of the one derived from Italy, which has already been seen in the *Anselmus* in the Bodleian and in the Cambridge *Josephus*. If the figure of the prophet Ezekiel from the Bible is compared to the relevant figure from the *Josephus*, it will be seen that the triangular patterning on the drapery between the legs is the same in each. In the earlier figure the projection at the hem of the draperies is already evident, and the whole body is being resolved into shapes not dissimilar to those of the Lambeth drawing with a similar double or triple line outlining them. The latter is, in fact, an exaggerated version of the former, and it shows the complete assimilation of the Italian-inspired style to the English tradition.

On the Continent there is illumination so closely related to that of the Lambeth Bible that it raises a problem which is easier to state than to solve. A Gospel Book[1] at Metz (MS. 1151) contains all the information that can be desired about its provenance and origin. An inscription on folio 2 gives the name of the scribe and the precise date of the writing of the manuscript[2]—it was written by one Johannes in 1146. The appearance of an abbot, designated Wedricus, who holds up a book to Christ on folio 133v., completes one's knowledge of the manuscript. Wedric, in 1146, was abbot at Liessies near Avesnes, where he constructed "the finest and most beautiful of

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[1] Dr Hanns Swarzenski has kindly drawn my attention to this manuscript. I have since found that it, and related illumination, has been described, and illuminations reproduced, by A. Boinet in 'L'Atelier de Miniaturistes de Liessies au XIIe siècle', *La Bibliofilia* (1948), pp. 149–61.

[2] See the catalogue of the Metz manuscripts (*Catalogue Général des MSS. des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, vol. XLVIII, p. 393); also Boinet, op. cit. p. 150.

libraries'.[1] The manuscript must have been written there. The importance of this Gospel Book lies in its illumination which is so close to the style of the Lambeth Bible that both manuscripts must either have been illustrated by the same artist or by artists from the same scriptorium. It will be sufficient to compare the figure of Christ on folio 133 v. of the one manuscript with that of King Manasseh on folio 198 v. of the other. It will be seen that the lower draperies of the figures are practically identical. The foliage of the Metz manuscript is also remarkably close to that of the English one, the reduction of the stems to graceful convolutions, the appearance of heads in the leaves and the hard shell cupping each leaf being characteristic of each.

Two leaves in the possession of the Musée d'Avesnes are closely related to the Metz Gospel Book. One of them, showing John the Evangelist writing, and the same abbot Wedricus holding his ink-horn, is reproduced. This, again, has all the characteristics of the Lambeth style. Here is the hair reduced to a network pattern and the 'U'-convention joining the nose to the eyebrows. Here is the swept-out hem of the draperies and the complete resolution of the whole figure in terms of curved shapes, which are defined by two or more lines. Here, in fact, is a figure indistinguishable from those of the Lambeth Bible, and one which shows once more that the artist was either the Lambeth master himself or someone who had worked with him.

The problem raised by this close relationship is whether the Lambeth style was brought to Canterbury by one of Wedric's artists. It cannot be that the Bible itself was brought from the Continent, for the script is English. Wedric became abbot of the Flemish house of St Vaast in 1147,[2] the year after the Gospel Book was written, and it is possible that he took artists with him. There were close associations between Canterbury and Flanders, particularly with the house of St Bertin. This was in part geographical, for the latter house marked the entry to the Continent from England as Dover and Canterbury marked the entry to England on the reverse journey. There were other connexions too. In a Christ Church Martyrology of the middle of the twelfth century St Bertin is included among the 'Societates ecclesiarum de transmarinis partibus',[3] while a St Bertin chronicle written later proudly boasts of its long association with Canterbury.[4] Where St Augustine's is concerned, some of her manuscripts show an interest in St Bertin,[5] and a twelfth-century Martyrology of that house (B.M. MS. Cotton Vit. C xii) contains obits of St Bertin monks. Further to all this, the archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald, was in exile in Flanders at a time when Wedric was at St Vaast, and in 1148 was at St Omer.[6] Historically speaking, it is

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[1] *Chronicon Laetiense* (in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. XIV), p. 498—'bibliothecam optimam et pulcherrimam...construxit'.

[2] *Chronicon Laetiense*, p. 499. [3] B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. C vi, f. 166.

[4] See below, pp. 110ff.

[5] For example, in B.M. MS. Royal 13 A xxii (f. 71 v.) there is added a hymn on the preservation of St Bertin's from fire by the intervention of SS. Vincent, Omer and Bertin as three white pigeons.

[6] Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series), vol. I, p. 135.

possible for the Lambeth style to have been imported from the Continent through Flanders.

This possibility can by no means be rejected out of hand. But in favour of the theory that the Lambeth style travelled from Canterbury to Liessies two points can be made. First, the foliage of at least one page of the Wedric manuscript—that containing 30b St John—is simply a Romanesque version of the Anglo-Saxon 'Winchester' acanthus, 22 not far removed from that found in the St Augustine's copy of the *De Civitate Dei*. Secondly, the development of the Lambeth style can be explained from earlier Canterbury manuscripts without postulating French or Flemish influences. What may be very loosely called the 'Lambeth' style certainly does appear in manuscripts of Northeast France. It appears, for example, in a St Amand manuscript of about the middle 33d of the twelfth century (Valenciennes MS. 108, f. 58v.) and a St Fuscien Psalter, which 33c seems to belong to the third quarter of the century (Amiens MS. 19). There must certainly have been some definite link between the style of the Liesses manuscript and the Canterbury scriptorium, but the styles of the Valenciennes and Amiens manuscripts may be due rather to a development in France parallel to that of England than to a definite influence between the two countries—that is, to the assimilation of Italo-Byzantine influences. The whole problem will only be satisfactorily resolved when French manuscripts of the twelfth century can be dated with more precision. Meanwhile, from present evidence it seems that the rudiments of the Lambeth Bible style appeared in England before they did on the Continent.

Certainly this style was more important for English art than for French. The wall-painting of St Paul at Canterbury Cathedral has already been referred to, and variations of this style appear at other English monastic centres. The figures on two fly-leaves in a St Alban's manuscript at Oxford (Corpus Christi College MS. 2) are more attenuated, but there is a similar interpretation of the body in terms of flowing linear designs, while the colours are delicate pastel ones like those of the Lambeth Bible. The colour scheme of the Bury St Edmund's Bible at Cambridge is much brighter and richer but the draperies are similarly wrapped closely round the body and divided into rhythmic shapes by a double line. The so-called 'Henry of Blois Psalter' from Winchester (B.M. MS. Cotton Nero Civ.) falls stylistically between the Bury and Lambeth Bible, and here again a double line flows over the body, dividing it into oval shapes. The artist of this Psalter was probably responsible for the wall-paintings of the Norman church of Saint-Julien at Petit-Queuilly,[1] which was founded by the English king Henry II and which seems to have been decorated by an English artist. The Lambeth Bible style in England was not confined to illumination or wall-paintings but is found also in metal-work[2] and sculpture.[3]

[1] An important series, which has never been adequately reproduced. See Abbé J. Touflet, *Le Millenaire de la Normandie* (Rouen, 1913), pp. 192 and 194. [2] M. Chamot, *English Medieval Enamels* (London, 1930), Pl. 2. [3] A. Gardner, *A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1937), Figs. 84 and 103.

The illumination of the Dover Bible is much less homogeneous than that of the Lambeth one. This is due partly to the fact that it combines progress and archaism, and partly to the fact that the two volumes are illuminated in quite different styles. The archaism is evident in the decoration of each volume. Franco-Saxon interlace with animal-head terminals is found in the initials and this derives from Anglo-Saxon art, though it is a formula, which, it has already been seen, survived the Conquest at both Canterbury houses. The foliage also derives at times from Anglo-Saxon illumination; that grasping the framework of the initial above and below the medallion-head of St John on folio 208 of the second volume, is simply the pre-Conquest acanthus leaf, which shows little influence of a Romanesque hardening. The rich colours, which include bright blue and crimson, are not, however, those of Anglo-Saxon illumination, rather do they recall the initials of the Eadwine Psalter. There is also a use of gold in this decoration, which probably shows the influence of metalwork. The initial 'C' on folio 96v. of the second volume is coloured in blue, orange and green, but the central core consists of an oval layer of gold, on which the foliage is scored in the black ink. There is a similar use of gold combined with penwork in the Melissanda Psalter (B.M. MS. Egerton 1139), and in each the influence must be that of engraved metals.

The figure-styles of the two volumes are by two artists. Their styles are not only different, but they show varying stages of development, that of the first being almost precocious in its advancement. Since this is already relinquishing the Romanesque style, it will not concern the present chapter and any further references here to the Dover Bible will be to the second volume only.

The illustrations of this second volume are by a great master of Romanesque painting. His is a massive style, evincing at its best a tranquil feeling of composed grandeur, which combines with a lively surface play of line. The figures are heavy and angular, they are normally painted in body-colour and their hieratic quality is, at times, emphasized by the gold which outlines them. The style is quite an individual one, but it shows the influences of other illumination.

The Dover Bible has been associated with the Eadwine Psalter and the first of these influences is that of the Eadwine portrait. This is particularly apparent in the figure of Solomon, which prefaces the Book of Ecclesiasticus on folio 65v. The background 33b of the initial was originally in crimson and green with blue intervening; this latter colour, however, as in most of the initials of this volume, has been scraped off. Solomon himself is coloured in red and light blue. He is cramped into his background in much the same way that Eadwine is cramped into his architectural setting, and the drawing itself is little more than a schematization of the larger portrait. This is particularly apparent in the floral patternwork darting lightly over the surface of the drapery of each figure.

Most of the other portraits in the second volume of the Dover Bible are more massive and more angular than this. This will be seen if it is compared, for example, with

32d   the representation of St Peter on folio 237. He is seated with his right hand raised in blessing, and with his left holding a pastoral staff. The rich blue of the background has been partly scraped off; the curtain against which he is placed is patterned in green and crimson. The figure itself is coloured in bright blue and green and red, while the outlining of the draperies in gold increases the general hieratic impression. But, colouring apart, the saint is no creature of flesh and blood. Except for the head it is an abstract composition of geometric shapes. The body is simply ignored; the knees are reduced to a plain rectangle and are joined to the head by a triangular chasuble, the angular shape of which is emphasized by the superimposed triangular patternwork within.

32a   This severely angular interest probably derives from Flemish art.[1] A figure from an eleventh-century Flemish manuscript (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. II 175, f. 2) is quite similar to this one, and, in much the same way is conceived in rectangular and triangular terms. The Dover illumination, it is true, is more precise and uncompromising, more massive and altogether more Romanesque, but there were more developed examples of this style in Flanders, which the English artist may have

32c   actually seen. The illuminations, for example, of a manuscript at Douai (Bibliothèque
32b   Municipale MS. 315) and another at Valenciennes (Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 512) are very close to those of the English Bible. Compare, for example, the hard, decorated draperies over the knees and the rigid posture in each of these illustrations. It has already been shown that there were relations between Canterbury and Flanders at about the time that the Dover Bible was written, and Flemish influences are further confirmed by the fact that the use of a curtain as a backcloth behind St Luke appears also in another Flemish manuscript—the Stavelot Bible (B.M. MS. Add. 28106, f. 2v.).

   The Romanesque qualities of the Dover illumination can be demonstrated by
33a   another figure. It is that of St Paul which precedes his Epistle to the Ephesians. Placed against a gold background, the apostle is coloured in vermilion, green and blue with touches of purple. With one hand on hip he turns his head to the right and inclines his foot in a light dancing movement. The whole figure has been disintegrated into its component shapes and restated in terms of abstract, geometric forms. This illu-
31a   mination shows the influence of the Italian-inspired style, to which the Lambeth Bible drawings have been related. The diagonal patterning of the left leg and of the chest is
31b   closely related to the patterning of the figure in the Bodleian *Anselmus*. The division of the right leg into segments shows the influence of the same illumination. This figure should, in fact, be placed between the one in the *Anselmus* and the Ezekiel of the Lambeth Bible, for it represents an intermediate version of the style immediately received from Italy and the more exaggerated version of it in the Lambeth Bible.

   [1] It is also evident in twelfth-century English sculpture. See, for example, the Chichester carvings and Brighton Font—A. Gardner, *A Handbook of English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1937), Figs. 50, 51 and 100.

The illumination that has influenced this portrait has influenced another in the Dover Bible. It is that of St Matthew. This is perhaps the most impressive of all the Dover figures and certainly one of the masterpieces of Romanesque art. The evangelist turns gravely to the left in slow deliberative pose. With one hand he solemnly unfastens the book which he is holding. He is framed in a rectangular border, outlined in gold, and is set against a background of sand-brown originally set off by a rich blue. His threaded hair is blue and his halo gold. His drapery is edged in gold, and is coloured in orange and different shades of purple and blue, which alternate in patterns. The diagonal patterning of the lower draperies should again be compared to the Bodleian illumination. That on the drapery which weighs down over the arm in a heavy ellipse shows, however, a different influence. It is that of Byzantine art. If the drapery over St Matthew's arm is compared to the folds in the overmantles covering the legs of two figures from the Palermo mosaics, it will be seen that it represents an English version of a Byzantine style. The influences of Byzantine art on both the style of the first volume of the Dover Bible, and on the iconography of the Dover and Lambeth Bibles, are so marked that their investigation must occupy a separate chapter.

VI

SOURCES OF ROMANESQUE
DECORATION

AN examination of Byzantine influences at Canterbury will involve describing
the transition from Romanesque to Gothic. It would, therefore, be convenient
to postpone this investigation until the study of the Romanesque period has
been completed by a survey of the sources of its decoration. At the same time this
period will be extended to cover the manuscripts of the end of the eleventh century.

From this decoration emerge the strangest of grotesques and prodigies. Horned
animals appear with fishes' tails, and fish with the wings and claws of birds. Birds
themselves are found with the feet of animals, and animals are seen that can fly.
Incredible creatures are shown with two heads or two bodies, while even human
beings are sometimes half-fish or half-animal. The celebrated apostrophe of St Bernard
against the meaningless carvings of Cluny could be applied with almost literal accuracy
to the contemporary illumination of Canterbury:

What signifies these ridiculous monsters, those amazing things horrible in their beauty and
beautiful in their horror? To what purpose are these filthy monkeys? these savage lions?
these monstrous centaurs? these half-human creatures? these striped tigers? these fighting
soldiers? these huntsmen with horns? You may see one head on several bodies, and again
many heads on one. Here may be seen a four-legged creature with a serpent's tail, there a
fish with an animal's head. There is a beast which is horse before and goat behind, here a
horned animal which is a horse at the back.[1]

To the medieval theologian such decoration lacked significance because it lacked
meaning and because it distracted the spectator from things of the spirit. To the
historian, however, this decoration is not without interest. It shows, for example, how
classical art and thought could survive by devious routes into the Middle Ages and
influence the art of the twelfth century.

One such route was the astronomical manuscript.[2]

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[1] *Apologia ad Guillelmum* (Migne, *P.L.* vol. CLXXXII, col. 916). With this may be compared the remarks
of a later writer published in a posthumous paper on 'Pictor in Carmine', by M. R. James, in *Archaeologia*,
vol. XCIV.

[2] There is a catalogue of medieval astronomical manuscripts in F. Saxl, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mytho-
logischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters* (vol. II, including English manuscripts, is in prepara-
tion). Some English astronomical manuscripts are reproduced and commented on in section 3 of F. Saxl and
R. Wittkower, *British Art and the Mediterranean*. A more general and very stimulating exposition of the subject
is found in Panofsky and Saxl's article on 'Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art', *Metropolitan Museum Studies*,
vol. IV.

The Greek genius for personification had early led to the association of groups of stars with human or animal figures. It was deemed fit, says one poet, 'to group the stars in companies, so that set in order they might form figures, hence the constellations got their names'.[1] The original purpose for this had been a practical concern for scientific accuracy. The stars could be more easily identified and more accurately related to each other if it were assumed that they defined the outline of some recognizable figure. The association of these figures with myths, however, led in Greek literature to an increasing emphasis on their mythological qualities. This process reached its most popular, but by no means most developed form in the poem of Aratus, the *Phaenomena*. There the two constellations in the North are identified with the two bears, which succoured Zeus as a child and nurtured him in a cave. The goat that nourished him is also found as a constellation. Other mythical figures appear: Eridanus and the winged Pegasus; Cepheus and Andromeda, standing with eternally outstretched arms; Cassiopeia and Perseus, who strides in everlasting dust-stained pursuit through the heaven of Zeus.

The *Phaenomena* was translated into several latin versions. St Jerome, commenting on St Paul's reference to the poem,[2] can say 'quod hemistichium in Phaenomenis Arati legitur, quem Cicero in latinum transtulit, et Germanicus Caesar, et nuper Avianus et multi quos enumerare perlongum est'.[3] It was by the slightly modified version of Cicero that this poem was chiefly known to the Middle Ages. Other classical literature on this subject was also handed down. This is apparent, for example, in the astronomical section of the *De Imagine Mundi* by Honorius of Autun. The latter is an artless exposition of classical mythology untempered by medieval theology.

From both the literary and artistic point of view the most important source was the *Aratus* of Cicero. Illustrations of this poem must have existed in late classical times, for not only were they copied in early Byzantine and Islamic art,[4] but two Carolingian copies are remarkably classical in style. One, now at Leyden (Cod. Vossianus lat. 79), was later copied at St Bertin (Boulogne MS. 188). The other (London, B.M. MS. Harley 647) was brought to Canterbury in the tenth century.[5] The latter was probably not the only astronomical manuscript at Canterbury in the Middle Ages, yet it is itself of exceptional importance. On the one hand, it provides the finest extant text of Cicero's poem.[6] On the other, its illustrations are 'closer to the spirit of the Pompeian frescoes than anything else made in the west in the Middle Ages'.[7] These illustrations are partly cut off by the text of the manuscript which is written

[1] Aratus, *Phaenomena*, ll. 379 ff.   [2] Acts xvii, 28.

[3] *Comment. in Epistolam ad Titum* quoted by Victor Buescu in *Cicéron: Les Aratea* (1941), p. 20.

[4] Panofsky and Saxl, op. cit. p. 232.

[5] Saxl and Wittkower, op. cit. sect. 30, where two of the illustrations are reproduced.

[6] Buescu, op. cit. p. 42: 'la première place revient incontestablement au Harleianus 647.'

[7] Panofsky and Saxl, op. cit. p. 236.

inside them. When, therefore, copies were made of them before and after the Conquest the artists could use their own pictorial imagination in completing the figures.[1]

The appeal of such illustrations to the medieval artist was, however, always a purely pictorial one. Their original scientific purpose was completely disregarded. The stars, which had provided the *raison d'être* for the constellations, were misplaced or ignored. The constellations themselves became all-important. Nor were these copied with painstaking accuracy. Rather they were seen as original themes on which each artist could play his own variation. The constellations are usually recognizable, but they differ considerably in detail. Leo, for example, in the Leyden manuscript rears on its hind legs and looks forward with its head in profile. Later it will be shown with three or four feet on the ground and with its head turned towards the spectator or twisted completely round. This dissociation of the constellations from any pretence of scientific accuracy must have been helped by their employment to illustrate calendars. There the months of the year were often accompanied by drawings of the appropriate sign of the zodiac. It was this practice that familiarized the artist with many of these personifications from classical antiquity.

The process by which such symbols originating in classical science and mythology could be transferred into elements of a purely decorative vocabulary is well illustrated at Canterbury. A St Augustine's martyrology (B.M. MS. Cotton Vit. C xii) is divided into monthly sections. These, on the analogy of calendar illustrations, are illustrated by the relevant constellation for each month. So Capricornus represents January, and Aquarius, with his upturned urn, February. A Virgo precedes the September section and a woman with scales, representing Libra, the October one.

This use of the constellations to represent the months of the year is perfectly apposite. They are, however, already misunderstood, as are the labours of the
35a months that sometimes accompany them. Taurus, the zodiacal sign for May, has acquired a halo, and is obviously confused with the symbol of St Luke. It is to the
35b illustration for August that attention must be directed. This is Leo, the lion which according to Eratosthenes was slain by Hercules and then translated to the heavens. It stands on a pillar. One foreleg is raised and its head is turned round to look at its tail. The same animal appears in another St Augustine's manuscript (B.M. MS.
35c Arundel 91). A pillar is there provided by an initial 'I', on which it stands. In treatment and posture it is the same as the earlier Leo. Yet it is not here used to illustrate an astronomical treatise, nor even a calendar of the months of a martyrology. It stands in front of an account of a saint's life. It has lost any association with astronomy and has become simply another aspect of the decorative repertory of Canterbury illumination.

The astronomical lion is, with the fish, the most popular decorative motif of Canterbury art. It appears twice in the capitals of the crypt of the cathedral (one of

[1] Saxl and Wittkower, op. cit. sect. 30.

these is reproduced). It even decorates a capital in an illumination. In the *De Civitate*   35d
Dei in Florence a lion appears in the architectural framework under which St Augus-   22
tine sits, where it is shown, as in the other two St Augustine manuscripts, with head
twisted round and one fore-paw raised. This is also how it appears in Christ Church
illumination. It will be sufficient to compare such a lion from the *Josephus* with an   36a
Anglo-Saxon calendar illustration (B.M. MS. Cotton Galba A xviii, f. 10) to see how   36c
those astronomical personifications, that found their way into the zodiac, could be
transmitted through calendars to Canterbury decoration.

In this initial, as in others at Canterbury, the lion is accompanied by a bird. This is
an eagle. It was originally the constellation Aquila, which, according to Eratosthenes,   36b
bore Ganymede aloft. The possibility that this lion and eagle are simply symbols for
St Mark and St John is not to be overlooked, but where such symbols do appear in
Canterbury and also Rochester decoration they have a halo and a book. It is
unlikely that illuminators, who gave haloes to the creatures of classical mythology,
would deprive their rightful owners of this symbol of sanctity. Apart from this,
manuscripts containing the Leo or Aquila are also decorated with figures, which
undoubtedly derive from constellations.

In two initials of the *Priscian* in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. O 2 51), for
example, there is a lion which is similar in posture to that of the *Josephus*. In two
others there appears a centaur, which is of obvious classical lineage. One of these is on   36d
folio 46. This has a bow and arrow, which shows it to be the constellation Sagittarius,
which was described by Eratosthenes as a centaur, and was, of course, depicted as an
archer. A comparison of the *Priscian* figure with one from an astronomical manuscript   36e
will make clear the route by which it passed from pagan antiquity to Canterbury
decoration.

Besides the initial of the *Josephus* already discussed, there are two others, which
show the influence of astronomical manuscripts. On folio 91 of the St John's College,   37a
Cambridge, volume is a most pleasing composition. Two dragons with interlacing
necks curve their bodies to form a letter 'M'. In each of the bows, thus formed, a nude
figure steps lightly forward. The serpent, encircling each, indicates whence they have
been derived. The Serpentarius, says Cicero,[1] grasps in his hands a serpent, which
encircles him round the middle of the body, thus gripping him in its own twisting
form. In astronomical manuscripts he stands on a scorpion. Yet neither the absence   37b
of this, nor the modifications of the composition to enhance its rhythm, makes
doubtful the identification of this dignified nude figure, his leg posed forward, one
hand grasping his beard instead of his assailant, and the other lightly resting on the
bow of the letter.[2] The other initial is on folio 219. This contains strange creatures with   37d

[1] Buescu's edition, p. 179.
[2] The Serpentarius is also found in Romanesque ivory carvings as decoration. See A. Goldschmidt,
Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Romanischen Zeit (1923), vol. i, Pl. LIII (171).

long necks and pointed ears. The body of the lower one disappears into the framework of the letter. His fellow above is similar in appearance, but has four legs instead of

37c two. Both derive from the constellation Cetus the whale, which Honorius somewhat unconvincingly claims was killed by Perseus when it was about to attack Andromeda.

No less strange to the medieval eye must have been a creature, which recalls St Bernard's description of being half-fish and half-animal—'in pisce caput quadrupedis'. It decorates the lower part of an initial 'S' of a *Boetius* in Cambridge

38a University Library (MS. Ii 3 12, f. 93v.). It appears in another *Boetius* in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. R 15 22, f. 92) and is also seen in the St Augustine's *De*

22 *Civitate Dei*. Like the Chaldean god of wisdom Ea, it is a horned animal in front and a fish behind. It is, in fact, the Capricornus, which as the constellation for January had been used to illustrate the first monthly section of the St Augustine's Martyrology.

38a It is accompanied in the University Library initial by the boldly-drawn figure of a
38b dog leaping forward. This is the constellation Anticanis, so called because it rises
38h before Canis. The latter is found also in other initials. It forms the upright of a letter
38i 'I' in another Christ Church manuscript at Cambridge (Trinity College MS. B 2 34, f. 137v.), where the initial is completed by a fish above and a limp, puppet-like figure below.

The fish, which is seen in the mouth of the Canis, is a very frequent decorative motif of Canterbury illumination, which also appears in one of the capitals of the crypt. The fish was an early element of Christian iconography, where, since its name was composed of the initials of the Greek words 'Jesus Christ, Son of God and Saviour', it could be used as a useful symbol for Christ. The fish motif may be a debasement of this into a purely decorative form. However, it did exist as a constellation—the

38g Magnus Piscis. A comparison of a representation of this constellation (though it is reproduced upside down) with a fish in a Christ Church manuscript (B.M. MS.

38f Cotton Nero C vii, f. 42v.) will indicate that astronomical manuscripts may have played a part in the dissemination of this decorative type. If this is so, the dots which

47b pattern a fish held by a bird in a *Josephus* initial may possibly be a reduction to simple ornament of the stars which the fish originally outlined as a constellation.

Just such a reduction is, indeed, seen when the double fish, or Pisces, is taken over as decoration. Of all constellations this could most readily be transformed into manuscript decoration. It consists of two fish, the tails of which, says Cicero,[1] were . joined by apparent chains. According to Honorius of Autun[2] they represented Venus and Cupid, who lay hid as two fish in the water, when the giant Typhaeus was put to flight by the gods. They are seen in the Carolingian manuscript that was at Canter-

38e bury during the Middle Ages, and an illustration of them in a twelfth-century calendar at St John's College, Cambridge, is reproduced. It was only necessary for the illuminator to stiffen the diagonal that linked the two fish in order to form a letter 'Z'.

[1] Buescu, op. cit. p. 193.　　　　　　　　　　　　[2] Migne, *P.L.* vol. CLXXII, col. 143.

This is exactly what has happened on folio 45 of B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E v.   38d
A straight diagonal is supplied by a serpent, and the stars (which have been lost in
the calendar illustration) have been transformed into decorative dots.

Many, but not all, of the astronomical symbols which appear in Canterbury
decoration were given currency by their use as calendar illustrations. There were,
however, other means of illustrating medieval calendars. The month of January was   37f, e
often represented by Janus, whose two-faced head appears in medieval calendars as it
appears in Roman coins. Here in Christian manuscripts is a strange perpetuation of
the pagan deity, whose name in the prayers of antiquity even preceded that of Jupiter.
When a head with two faces appears in Rochester illumination (Baltimore, Walters
Art Gallery MS. 10 18, f. 146)[1] it is clearly from such calendar illustrations that it   37g
derives. It has been assimilated to the decoration, but otherwise little modified. At
Canterbury, however, the artist could not resist filling in the blank space between the   37h
two profiles and in an initial of British Museum MS. Harley 624 (folio 141 v.) Janus
is given a third face.

Apart from this, a frequent method of illustrating medieval calendars was by the
labours of the months. These, too, are classical in inspiration and 'find their immediate
origin in the art of the antique world'.[2] There still exists a Hellenistic frieze, which
contains representations of the months, while other early illustrations survive on a
Roman arch at Rheims, in the celebrated Chronograph originally made in the year
352 and published by Strzygowski, as well as in mosaics. Such labours of the months,
elaborated by the medieval artist in his calendar illustrations, find their way into
Canterbury decoration.

A hawking scene appears in almost all these cycles. The one reproduced from a
St John's College manuscript (Cambridge, St John's College MS. 42, f. 3) illustrates   39b
the month of May in a twelfth-century calendar. A figure holds with one hand his
hawk, and with the other a branch. In a Christ Church manuscript (Cambridge,
Trinity College MS. B 3 4, f. 1) the hawk has been turned into a dragon, but the   39a
episode has been derived from some such hawking scene. The same transformation of
an illustrative episode into a purely decorative one is seen at St Augustine's. In the
martyrology of that house (B.M. MS. Cotton Vit. C xii) a male figure on folio 134   35b
also holds a dragon instead of a hawk. This decorative emphasis is carried much further
at both houses. In the St Augustine's De Civitate Dei at Florence a man holds not only   13b
a bird in one hand but also a fish in the other, while at Christ Church figures holding
animals instead of hawks are quite frequent.

[1] The script of this manuscript is similar to the Christ Church hand. The illumination, however, is distinc-
tively Rochester. See below App. 2, p. 118, for a short note on the Rochester books.

[2] J. C. Webster, The Labors of the Months (1938), p. 5. See also on this subject Julien le Sénécal, 'Les Occupa-
tions des Mois dans l'Iconographie du Moyen Âge', Bull. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de Normandie, vol. xxxv;
G. Rasetti and Doro Levi, Il Calendario nell'arte Italiana; and Doro Levi, 'The Allegories of the Months in
Classical Art', Art Bulletin (1941), vol. xxiii, no. 1, pp. 251-91.

Other labours of the month are transformed into pure decoration by the Canterbury illuminators. A vintage scene normally represents the month of September, and a figure with grapes appears as early as the cycle on the Hellenistic frieze.[1] The month of September, for example, in a calendar of a St Mesmin manuscript at the

39c   Vatican[2] is illustrated by a figure picking grapes. The figure, also gathering grapes,
39d   in the British Museum manuscript (MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 49) is not exactly similar to this one, but it clearly derives from some related calendar illustration.
39e   Another vintage scene occurs in the same Christ Church manuscript on folio 28, though there the man gathering the grapes has been turned into a grotesque. This
39f   initial may be profitably compared to a vintage scene in the illustrated encyclopaedia of Rhabanus Maurus. The latter is an eleventh-century manuscript at Monte Cassino (MS. 132), probably copied from a Carolingian prototype with illustrations inspired by late Antique art.[3] The similarities between the scene in the Monte Cassino manuscript and that in the British Museum initial must be due to the fact that each represents an iconographical type handed down through calendar illustrations.

Calendar illustrations were by no means the only medium by which aspects of classical art and thought were perpetuated into the Middle Ages. Personifications of the sun and moon, which appear in the Cambridge University Library *Boethius* (MS.
13d   Ii 3 12, f. 62v.), derive ultimately from the art of antiquity. Such personifications appear in astronomical manuscripts and illustrated encyclopaedias, but here the operative source of transmission was probably Carolingian art. The fidelity of the latter to antique models led to the appearance of such personifications in its ivories and illuminations, and they often appear above the Cross in Carolingian crucifixion scenes.

Less easy to trace is the channel by which other classical motifs passed into Canterbury decoration. The leaves of a Passionale now in the library of Canterbury Cathedral (MS. E 42) were for some time used as covers for Registers. As a result, the initial on folio 34 is too worn and battered to reproduce. In it a figure can still be discerned holding up a roundel containing a bust above its head. It appears to be a male figure, but despite the difference of sex may be indirectly related to female personifications of Victory, which in Consular diptychs similarly hold above their heads laurel wreaths containing busts.[4] On the other hand, it may derive directly from the Atlas-like figures in the Utrecht and Eadwine Psalters.[5] Again, on folio 22v. of the Maidstone volume of the Lambeth Bible is a small scene, which may derive ultimately from classical art. In the lower part of the initial there is a figure with his
40b   hands tied behind his back and butting with his forehead a ram. A similar motif

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[1] Levi, op. cit. Fig. 18.   [2] MS. Reg. lat. 1263, f. 71v.
[3] It is 'connected with antiquity by a true representational tradition' (Panofsky and Saxl, op. cit. p. 250).
[4] Richard Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), Pl. 45.
[5] See the illustrations to Psalms lxxxi and xcviii.

appears in the Bible from St André au Bois at Boulogne-sur-Mer (Boulogne MS. 2, vol. II, f. 188). It may have originated in classical representations of Pan, where the goat-footed god is shown also with his hands tied behind his back, butting with his forehead, this time a goat. The means of transmission, however, are unknown, though one possibility is through engraved gems. 40a

The means by which the Gorgon's head of Greek art passed into Canterbury decoration is also difficult to determine. This terrifying creature of classical mythology was often depicted in Greek art. The belief in its power to paralyse the enemy with fear led to it being carved on walls and gates and armour. It also appears on amulets, ornaments and coins. Later Greek art saw the poignancy of the legend in which the hair of a beautiful maiden is turned into serpents. Earlier representations, however, were more concerned with the horror of the transformed creature and on coins, for example, the head is shown as a grimacing mask with protruding tongue. Two such portrayals on Greek coins may be compared to similar masks that appear in Canter- 40c–f bury illumination in the first half of the twelfth century (B.M. MS. Harley 624, ff. 106v. and 141v.). The latter are completely assimilated to the decoration of the manuscript but, with their drawn-back lips and protruding tongues, they probably derive ultimately from Greek art. It is just possible that astronomical manuscripts played a role in transmitting this ancient symbol of terror to the Middle Ages, for the constellation Perseus was normally shown holding the Gorgon's head in one hand.

Two Canterbury initials, and also a Rochester initial, may be referred to as the 'sarcophagus group' for they all contain scenes which originate in Roman sarcophagi. It is fitting that an initial in a manuscript of Lucan's *Pharsalia* (which comes from Rochester) should contain an iconography that is classical in origin. It appears before the opening lines of the poem, where the beginning of the civil war is described (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R 3 30 f. 6). The griffin in the upper bow of the 8e letter is purely decorative, and it would be difficult to interpret otherwise the hunting scene below, since it would certainly be straining the association to suppose that it refers to lines 559 and 560 of the narrative: 'Wild beasts leaving the woods by night make bold to place their lairs in the heart of Rome.' A boar with bristling back pursues a naked man. A clothed figure in front is holding aloft a weapon with which to club the beast.

Such scenes appear in Roman sarcophagi, where they represent Meleager's chase of the Calydonian boar. In a sarcophagus at Athens[1] the boar, attacking a nude figure, is about to be clubbed by a huntsman. The latter, however, is standing behind the animal, not in front of it. A scene closer to that of the Rochester illumination is found on a sarcophagus in the Conservatori in Rome of which there exists at Autun a replica from Arles. There, the huntsman stands in front of the boar. Although this scene has additional details, such as that of a young boar sheltering under the larger

[1] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, vol. II, pp. 355–6.

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animal, the illumination must be indirectly related to it. Hunting scenes often occur on ivories, though none extant is strikingly similar to this one. The classical iconography may have been handed down by this medium. Alternatively, the channel of the transmission could have been illustrated treatises on hunting, or calendar illustrations of the labours of the months, in which a hunting scene is normally depicted.

Boar hunt, from a Roman sarcophagus
(after Reinach).
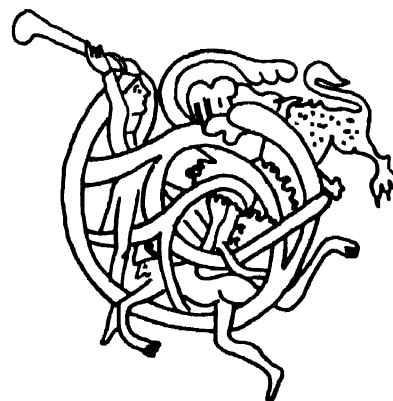
Detail from Cambridge, Trinity College
MS. R 3 30, f. 6.

41 b   Two initials of the Lambeth Bible contain a figure wrestling with a lion. One of them is reproduced. The same theme is quite frequent in French illumination. It
41 a   originated in classical carvings of Hercules and the lion, the scene probably being handed down in the Christian guise of the struggle between David and the lion. The theme in a different form occurs in a capital of the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, where it is clearly related to sarcophagi scenes,[1] and should also be compared to representations of David and the lion in Byzantine ivories.[2]

The Christianization of a pagan theme appears even more clearly in an initial of the *Josephus*. On folio 157 of the Cambridge University Library volume is an initial,
41 c   in which is a roundel containing the bust of Christ. He is beardless and raises His right hand in blessing. Two angels weave their bodies through the framework of the initial to support the medallion. The original of this composition is to be found on
41 d   pagan sarcophagi. There the bust of the dead man was often represented in a medallion, which was carried aloft by two genii. By transforming the latter into angels, and replacing the bust of the dead man by one of Christ, it was possible to adapt this iconography to Christian needs. Such a transformation is found in Byzantine art, where the medallion is simply occupied by a cross, and before this in early Christian
41 e   ivories. It is probably from the latter source or from their Carolingian derivatives,
41 f   both in ivory carvings and illumination, that the Canterbury composition obtains.
and g

[1] G. C. Druce, 'Some Abnormal and Composite Human Forms in English Church Architecture', *Archaeological Journal*, vol. LXXII (London, 1915), figs. 7 and 8.

[2] David confronting a rearing lion on two back legs is also found in the Odbert Psalter and in the work of Nicholas of Verdun.

The classical iconography of this 'sarcophagus group' of illuminations is undoubted. Only the intermediate family tree is hypothetical. There were, in fact, carved sarcophagi at Canterbury, but there is not enough information about them to show whether these were the actual antecedents of this iconographical group at Canterbury, or whether—as is more probable—the antecedents were much more remote.

Scotland, the first Norman abbot of St Augustine's, took the characteristically Norman decision to enlarge the building of his house. This necessitated moving the body of St Augustine and also those of the early kings and archbishops of Canterbury buried there. The final translation was not completed until four years after his death in 1091, and the monk Goscelin wrote a history of the translations of that year, which he dedicated to St Anselm. From two casual remarks in this narrative it is evident that not only were some of the bodies entombed in sarcophagi, but that the latter, or some of them, had decorative carvings. When, owing to the impatience of the monks working, the building collapsed, Goscelin hails as a miracle the fact that 'the sculptures and the wonderfully wrought figures of angels with the Christ in majesty on the tomb of Augustine' escaped damage.[1] Again, when on the advice of Odo of Bayeux, it was decided to move not only the body of St Adrian but his tomb entire, there is a reference to 'his great block of stone splendidly decorated'.[2]

Goscelin, who came from Flanders, shows little interest in the art brought to light after hundreds of years. It is another reflection on the relative strength of the art-tradition in England that when his English contemporary Reginald of Durham describes the disentombment of St Cuthbert thirteen years later, it is to the decoration of the silks and carvings of the coffin that his attention is drawn, and he gives a meticulous description of them. The most that can be derived from Goscelin's account is that there were carved sarcophagi at Canterbury. But whether such carvings were classical, or even remotely connected with illumination is unknown.

Classical influences are not confined to the transmission of iconographical types. They are seen in a different form in the illustration of classical texts. In particular the illustrations of the fables of antiquity, which were handed down to the Middle Ages in the various derivative sources described by Hervieux,[3] are relevant to the decoration of Canterbury manuscripts. Illustrated fables were known in late Roman times, so the medieval illustrations may sometimes reflect a representational tradition going back to antiquity.[4]

Of all these illustrated fables, the most popular in medieval art was that of the ass with the lyre. This, originating in Chaldean art, had been introduced to the Middle

[1] Migne, *P.L.* vol. CLV, col. 16: 'sed et sculpturae et imagines angelicae cum Dominica majestate super tumbam magnifici Augustini mirifice formatae, cunctis miracula Dei acclamantibus illaesae apparuere.'
[2] Ibid. col. 38: 'Totus itaque desiderabilis Adrianus cum saxosa mole sua speciose adornata, robustissimis trabibus excipitur.'
[3] Léopold Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, 5 tom. (Paris, 1884–99).
[4] See Adolph Goldschmidt, *An Early Manuscript of the Aesop Fables of Avianus* (Princeton, 1947).

Ages through the fables of Phaedrus. There, the theme was extended so that almost any animal was shown with a musical instrument, which did not necessarily have to be a lyre. The illuminator, illustrating the Shaftesbury Psalter, even represents Capricornus as a goat blowing a trumpet. Mâle's contention that the anecdote was given currency by a reference to it in Boethius[1] is fully borne out by the fact that a medieval writer refers to carvings of 'Boethius's ass and lyre'.[2] Certainly the idea was quite familiar in the twelfth century, and it is quite evidently used as a commonplace by Philip de Thaun when he refers to someone being as ridiculous 'cum li asnes a harper'.[3] The theme, or variations of it, is frequent in Canterbury art.

An animal standing on its hind legs and blowing a trumpet has already been seen
39d in the initial of a British Museum manuscript containing a vintage scene. A similar
42a animal appears in an initial of the St John's College, Cambridge, volume of the
Josephus (folio 164). Closer to the fable are the two creatures in a Canterbury Cathedral manuscript, which, at least, have stringed instruments even if they are not
42d asses (MS. E 42, f. 36v.) Animals with musical instruments appear in other illuminations. They are also found carved in two capitals of the crypt, where they have
42b probably been copied from initials. In one the animal with a trumpet, standing on its
39d hind legs, exactly reproduces the position of a similar creature in a British Museum manuscript. Its companion with a harp should be compared to the musical animal
42d in the left-hand scroll of the Canterbury Cathedral Library manuscript. The ram with
42c a lyre in the other scroll of this initial is similar to a carving of another capital.

Two very fine examples of fable illustration occur in an initial of the Dover Bible, where they have some relevance to the text. In the first chapter of the second Epistle of Peter occurs the phrase 'we have not followed cunningly devised fables'. It is these words, no doubt, that have suggested to the artist the idea of showing two
43a fables in the initial to the chapter concerned. The first of these is that of the fox and the cock. There, he has captured something of the arrogance of the bird, and the slinking body of the fox is the very epitome of cunning. The other is the fable of the wolf and the crane. The wolf, its paws tensed with pain, strains open its mouth while the crane, bending its long neck in a flowing arabesque, peers professionally down the throat of the patient. This incident is represented in the Bayeux tapestry and also appears in Romanesque sculpture.[4] Yet in no portrayal is there such delicacy and sureness of line, which makes this the most graphic as it is the most appealing fable illustration in the Canterbury repertory.

These are the only fable scenes that can be associated with the text. Elsewhere,
43b they are used purely decoratively. In another initial of the second volume of the

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[1] E. Mâle, L'Art Religieux du XIIe Siècle (1941 ed.), p. 340.

[2] See James's article on 'Pictor in Carmine' already quoted.

[3] In Le Livre des Créatures, quoted by L. Charbonneau-Lessay in Le Bestiaire du Christ (1940), p. 232.

[4] For an example at Saint Ursin of Bourges, see Paul Deschamps, La Sculpture Française—Epoque Romane (Paris, 1947), Fig. 8.

Dover Bible, for example, there appears a fable that is again found in the Bayeux tapestry. This is the one of the fox and the crow. Now, however, the decorative sense of the illuminator has impelled him to balance the crow on the right of the letter by another bird on the left, and he has further omitted the cheese, which the crow, all too susceptible to the flatteries of the fox, drops from its beak.

In general, the Canterbury artists were as indifferent to the literary purport of these fable illustrations as they were to the significance of other classically inspired art. Their interest was simply to assimilate them to initial decoration. This is particularly evident in an illumination of the *Pseudo-Isidore* in the British Museum. On folio 31 of MS. Cotton Claud. E v is an initial 'E'. The cross-piece of the initial is formed by a dog. Its body is reduced as much as possible to the horizontal required, and to the same purpose its head is braced violently back under its legs so as not to distract from the rigid geometry of the letter. Despite this treatment, the animal still retains in its mouth a bunch of grapes. This shows that it comes from a fable, which was passed down to the Middle Ages through several writers. It is the story of the dog, which passing over a river with food in its mouth sees its own reflection below. The animal jumps after the reflected food, and by its greed sacrifices the substance for the shadow. 'Thus', says Phaedrus, 'do all the covetous lose what they have without obtaining what others have.'[1] This incident is sufficiently familiar to be incorporated into bestiaries. It appears, for example in the Cambridge University Library bestiary reproduced by James, where the dog is shown with a round cake in its mouth.[2]

The bestiary itself is ultimately derived from classical sources. Here are preserved many of the more credulous ideas of antiquity embalmed in the winding sheets of medieval theology. Encyclopaedists, it is true, place more and more emphasis on the Christian commentaries attached to the bestiary, until finally the theological connotation becomes more important than the 'scientific' description. To this extent it becomes something specifically medieval. It is, however, just the theological associations that give permanence and currency to ideas, which are classical in origin, and which survive into the poetry of Milton and Shakespeare. Many of the strange creatures that appear in the decoration of Canterbury manuscripts derive from this medieval text-book of natural science, which had little to do with nature and even less with science.

The sirens were undoubtedly a product of the classical imagination. In Homer they appear half-woman, half-bird, to charm sailors to their doom. Ovid also refers to them having the feathers and feet of birds and the faces of maidens. In this form they appear on Greek coins and vases, though in the latter they are sometimes given the bearded head of a man. Christian writers on natural science like Isidore and the author of the *Physiologus* take over the classical conception of the siren, though the

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[1] Hervieux, op. cit. vol. II, p. 160.

[2] M. R. James, *A Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford (Roxburghe Club), 1928), f. 21.

former thinks of them specifically as women[1] and the latter in more general terms as human beings.[2] Bestiaries also perpetuate this conception in visual imagery. The bird-siren, holding pipes, reproduced from a twelfth-century bestiary at the Bodleian Library (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 602, f. 10), is a descendant of the type of bird-siren, also holding pipes, that is found in the frescoes at Pompeii. The pipes have been changed into a trumpet in an initial of the *Pseudo-Isidore* in the British Museum (MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 54), and the siren is a male one, yet, despite this, it has been influenced by a visual tradition that goes back to antiquity.

.43d

43c

43e

This latter figure has a long thin tail instead of a feathered one, and here can be seen the influence of a different type of siren. By the time of Hugo of Saint Victor[3] the latter is described, not as being half-bird and half-woman, but as being half-fish and half-woman. This idea is a specifically medieval one, but even so its representation is influenced by classical art. It is assimilated to classical representations of Tritons and Nereids[4] and normally appears with two long tails, one of which it holds in each hand. These long tails have been replaced in a Trinity manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 9, f. 15) by birds, and the siren has a short fish-tail. In the Harley manuscript (B.M. MS. Harley 624 f. 128v.) a siren holds a long, single tail, but there the addition of a griffin head has changed it into a meaningless grotesque.

44a

The serpent, which the latter creature holds in its hands, is not a normal one. It has a head at each end of its body. This, in fact, is another bestiary subject—the amphisbaena. Isidore, who, it is to be noticed, quotes a classical source—Lucan—on the subject, remarks that the amphisbaena is so called because it has two heads, one in its proper place and the other on its tail. It could therefore run in either direction.[5] In bestiaries it appears with two heads, and there it is sometimes represented as a serpent, and sometimes as a dragon. At Canterbury, the device of adding a second head is used quite indiscriminately and a dragon, killed by St Michael will have a second head on its tail (B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 134v.) as will a peacock carved in a capital of the crypt.

Another serpent that appears in bestiaries is the hydrus or water-snake. It is normally associated with the hydra or crocodile. In his colourful account, Hugo of Saint Victor[6] says that according to the poets the hydra was a dragon with many

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[1] Migne, *P.L.* vol. LXXXII, col. 423: 'ex parte virgines, ex parte volucres.'

[2] *Physiologus Latinus Versio Y*, ed. F. J. Carmody (Univ. of California pub. in Classical Philology, vol. xii, no. 7, 1941), pp. 113–14: 'usque ad umbilicum hominis habent figuram.'

[3] Migne, *P.L.* vol. CLXXVII, col. 78: 'superne usque ad umbilicum figuram muliebrem habent, inferna vero pars usque ad pedes piscis habet figuram.'

[4] As both G. C. Druce and D. Jalabert point out in, respectively, 'Some Abnormal and Composite Human Forms in English Church Architecture,' *Archaeological Journal* (1915), vol. LXXII, p. 177, and 'Les Sirènes', *Bulletin Monumental* (1936), p. 462.

[5] Migne, *P.L.* vol. LXXXII, col. 443: 'Amphisbaena dicta, eo quod duo capita habeat, unum in loco suo, alterum in cauda, currens ex utroque capite', and copied by Hugo of St Victor (Migne, *P.L.* vol. CLXXVII, col. 101).

[6] Migne, *P.L.* vol. CLXXVII, col. 60.

heads. This is curtly dismissed—'sed hoc fabulosum est'. A more accurate account of both creatures is now given. The hydrus is the lifelong enemy of the crocodile. It is the normal custom of the snake to approach the crocodile when it is asleep and to slide into its mouth and from there into its stomach. The hydrus, however, has not been seeking its own destruction but that of its enemy. It proceeds to tear the latter's inside to pieces, and finally makes its own exit from the body 'not only alive but even un-harmed'. Bestiaries normally represent the hydrus as an animal, but they do not all perpetuate the mistake censured by Hugo and show, as in a Corpus Christi manu-script (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 22, f. 162), the hydra with more than one head. The Canterbury illuminator is never, in his decoration, interested in 'scientific' accuracy. When he borrows this bestiary subject in an initial (B.M. MS.

44e
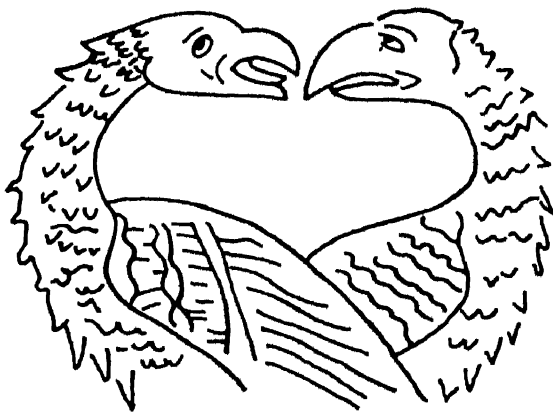
Vultures from a twelfth-century
bestiary.
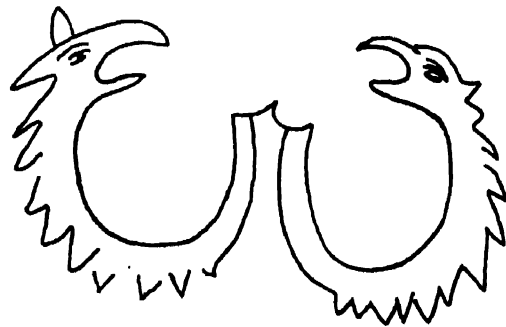
Cambridge, University Library MS.
Dd 1 4, f. 34v. (detail).

Cotton Claud. E v, f. 36v.), the animal looks more like a lion than a crocodile, and the water-serpent, instead of plunging into its mouth, threads itself through the under-side of its body. None the less, he has clearly been influenced by the bestiary episode.

44f

No less strange are the activities and appearance of a bird which passes from the bestiary to Canterbury decoration. The assida or ostrich has the feet of a camel and will only lay when the star Virgilia has risen. A classical origin for this creature may be indicated by the fact that the *Physiologus* says that it is called by the Greeks the strato-camelon. It is normally represented with cloven feet as in the initial of an *Anselmus* at Oxford (Bodleian, MS. Bodl. 271, f. 127v.). There, the addition of a foliated tail and of a boy on its back has nothing to do with the bestiary subject. They are but another indication that the Canterbury artist was uninterested in the sources of his motifs, but only concerned with transforming them into something purely decorative.

This is even more apparent in the treatment of another bird. In bestiaries, two vultures are sometimes shown facing in opposite directions but with necks curved back so that their beaks almost meet (see line-drawing above). In an initial of the University Library volume of the *Josephus* these birds have been deprived of their bodies and their heads and necks are reduced to a purely decorative device.

Another Cambridge University Library manuscript shows a bestiary creature integrated, not so much into the decoration, as into the actual construction of the initial. The animal, forming the horizontal of the letter 'E' on folio 106v. of MS. Ii 3 12, has relinquished its tail and its back legs in its attempts to assimilate itself to the geometry of the initial, but it is still recognizable as the lizard of bestiary illustrations. A similar, and more complete, reptile appears in an initial of the British Museum manuscript (MS. Harley 624, f. 132) which, however, seems to have been partly coloured by a later hand. Similar reptiles appear in two related initials from Rochester (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O 4 7, f. 132, and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS. 18, f. 29).

In the same Harley manuscript that shows the four-legged lizard appears a two-legged one, also taken from bestiaries. This is seen in the top left-hand scroll of the initial 'T' on folio 106v. On the right of the letter there is a human being with a dog's head. The cynocephalus, which this represents, is so called, says Isidore,[1] because it has the head of a dog, and its barking shows it to be more animal than human. Apart from its appearance in bestiaries, this creature is also found in illustrated manuscripts of the Marvels of the East. A good example of it appears in the Christ Church *Pseudo-Isidore* (B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 4v.).

There is another incredible creature found in the illumination of both Canterbury houses. In the St Augustine's Passionale (B.M. MS. Arundel 91 folio 86) appears a creature with horns and goat's feet clambering up the stem of the initial. This is possibly a satyr, which Solinus is content to describe as 'human in nothing but their appearance',[2] but which, when represented in bestiaries, can hardly be described as human even to this degree. They are shown with tails and pointed ears or horns, and sometimes with goat's feet. Creatures with such characteristics appear in Christ Church as well as St Augustine's initials. A human figure with a tail occurs in a Trinity manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 2 34, f. 47v.), another with horns or long ears appears in a Rochester collection of medical tracts (B.M. MS. Royal 12 E xx, f. 35v.). There is also a man with a tail and goat's feet in another Canterbury manuscript from the same library (B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 107v.). Yet such grotesques may be simply devils. Druce has pointed out that St Jerome associated satyrs and fauns with devils and that the two types became assimilated.[3] The illustrated encyclopaedia of Rhabanus Maurus, for example, shows the devil as a horned ape-like creature with a tail and claw-feet,[4] and devils in the Utrecht Psalter and in the Bury St Edmund's Psalter in the Vatican are of this type.

Another half-human, half-animal creature found in Canterbury illumination is

[1] Migne, *P.L.* vol. LXXXII, col. 421: 'Cynocephali appellantur eo quod canina capita habeant.'
[2] Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilum*, ed. Th. Mommsen (1895), p. 190.
[3] Druce, op. cit. p. 155.
[4] *Miniature della Enciclopedia Medioevale di Rabano Mauro*, ed. A. M. Amelli (Monte Cassino, 1896), Pl. XXXIV.

74

more assuredly derived from bestiaries. They, like the satyr, well merit St Bernard's epithet of 'semi-homines'. They are called manticoras and are conceived as animals with human heads. Literary descriptions are more elaborate than artistic representations. Solinus, for example, describes the manticora as being red in colour, as having three rows of teeth, bluish-grey eyes, the voice of a sybil and an appetite for human flesh. The last part of the description seems to be the most accurate, for Dr Valentine Bell has shown that the word manticora is a corruption of the Persian for man-eater— that is, tiger.[1] These human animals appear in the Christ Church manuscript (B.M. 45a MS. Harley 624, f. 93 v.), and also in a Rochester manuscript (B.M. MS. Royal 12 E xx, f. 68 v.).

This by no means exhausts the account of how exotic offsprings of classical phantasy passed from bestiaries to Canterbury decoration. A pardus, which Isidore likens to a panther,[2] decorates the lower part of an initial of the Harley manuscript (folio 11). An animal, identified as the capra because it is biting its foot,[3] appears in a manuscript of Canterbury Cathedral Library (MS. E 42, f. 36 v.) as it also appears in the capitals of the Canterbury Cathedral crypt. One could continue. In the last initial reproduced, however, there are perceptible other influences besides those of the bestiary. The two manticoras are shown back to back, but their heads are turned round to face each other. If the subject-matter of this initial shows the influence of bestiaries, its composition indicates the influence of silks. In a later silk from Regens- 45b burg two animals are shown with bodies thrown round to face each other in precisely the same way.

Decorated silks had an important influence on Canterbury illumination, and they are not even remotely classical in origin. It must, indeed, be emphasized that though Canterbury illumination shows classical influences at various removes, this was not due to the fact that the artist was a classicist but to the fact that he was an eclectic. His lack of sympathy with the art that originates in antiquity is shown by his casual treatment of it. He will change a hawk into a dragon and a figure plucking grapes into a grotesque, and in so doing deprive his models of the meaning that was theirs in classical art. The medieval illuminator was here quite indifferent to the significance of his subject-matter; his sole interest was to absorb it into his initial decoration. He was, in fact, as prepared to copy a seal as he was to copy a classically-derived ivory or illumination, and the nimbed ecclesiastic in a Christ Church manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 14, f. 1) has clearly been taken from the former source. 45d In the same way he was prepared to integrate into his initial decoration designs and e on silks.

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[1] Quoted by James, *A Bestiary of the Twelfth Century* (Roxburghe Club, 1928), p. 40.

[2] Migne, *P.L.* vol. LXXXII, col. 453.

[3] See Hugh of St Victor (Migne, *P.L.* vol. CLXXVII, col. 140): 'Capra...pedem findit.' It is so depicted in bestiaries.

There is the fullest evidence to show that silks did exist at Canterbury during the Middle Ages. Not only do documentary sources attest this fact, but some silks actually survive in the form of seal-bags in the treasury of the Cathedral.[1]

In silks and woven stuffs, Lanfranc himself was one of the most generous benefactors to Christ Church. The chasubles and copes, which he gave, were of such magnificence that, when they were eventually worn out, it was found worth while to reduce them to ashes in order to regain the gold.[2] An inventory, made in 1315, gives the then surviving gifts of Lanfranc[3] and it glows with the colours of an Eastern bazaar. Three chasubles, presented by him, which still remained, were all enriched with gems and pearls. The first was embroidered 'cum avibus et bestiis', the second 'cum Capitibus in circulis aureis' and the third simply decorated throughout with 'circulis magnis aureis'. It may also be added in parenthesis that a Henry, who may have been Henry the prior, also gave a sumptuous chasuble adorned 'cum stellis et crescentiis'. The copes he gave were not less magnificent and they also were adorned with gems and gold. Two had fifty-one silver bells, and one a large topaz and four enamels on the breast. Some were further embellished: one with 'ymaginibus in vineis'; another with 'bestiis et floribus aureis'; and yet a third with 'nucibus pini et ramis arborum et herbarum'. In the same inventory, a dark blue dalmatic fretted with gold, which Lanfranc had also given, is described. It had a black tunicle with 'stellis et bestiis aureis in circuli(s)'.

Lanfranc was not the only donor of silks, and there were probably already some at Canterbury at the time of the Conquest. Certainly, their existence explains not only the disposition of the manticoras in the Harley manuscript but also the illuminations of other manuscripts. The first, and only, initial to a 'Lanfranc' book at Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. B 3 5, f. 3) consists of a small, two-headed bird in green outline. Instead of wings it has two small limbs, which are derived from the upper structure of wings.[4] Now, the inventory of 1315 describes a red samite dalmatic embroidered with two-headed eagles—'aquilis cum duobus capitibus aureis'.[5] Moreover, in one of the seal-bags at Canterbury 'probably woven at Byzantium in the ninth or tenth century' a double-headed eagle is represented. The initial has no doubt been inspired by this, or a similar, silk. The illuminator used these, like his other sources of decoration, quite freely, and animals as well as birds are given two heads by him. Such an animal appears, for example, in another of the 'Lanfranc' books (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 5 28, f. 60v.). They also occur in Rochester illumination, and one is carved in a capital of the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.

45c

45f

[1] See the valuable article by Gertrude Robinson and H. Urquhart, 'Seal Bags in the Treasury of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury', *Archaeologia*, 1935, vol. LXXXIV, pp. 163–211.
[2] J. Wickham Legg and W. H. St John Hope, *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury* (London, 1902), p. 13.
[3] Ibid. pp. 51 ff.
[4] Compare, for example, the two-headed eagle reproduced by von Falke (op. cit. vol. I, Pl. 163).
[5] Legg and Hope, op. cit. p 57.

St Bernard had referred to creatures with more than one head and to others with more than one body. If the illumination of Christ Church provides examples of the first, that of St Augustine's can produce an example of the second. A lion in a British Museum manuscript from St Augustine's (MS. Royal 5 B xv, f. 1) has one head and two bodies. Two-bodied creatures had been known to early Sumerian art[1] and are familiar in Romanesque sculpture. The channel, by which this motif was transported from the East to the West, was probably, as Mâle suggests,[2] silks. A double-bodied lion does indeed appear on a silk from Vich reproduced by von Falke,[3] though there its two bodies are half-animal and half-bird.

A different type of lion is the winged lion that appears in the illumination of both Christ Church and Rochester. Such animals are found on silks[4] and, no doubt, derive from that source. In particular, two winged lions, forming the apex of an initial A on folio 184 v. of the Cambridge University Library *Josephus*, rear in opposite directions to form a design like that on a Sicilian silk.

46c

46b

46a

The griffin is an animal that appears in both the illumination and sculpture of Canterbury. It is to Rochester illumination that one must turn to see how directly this creature of the oriental imagination was transferred to Western art by means of silks. And this is quite permissible, for Rochester illumination is much influenced by that of Christ Church. In an initial of a Rochester manuscript (B.M. MS. Royal 6 B vi, f. 23) there appears a design, which is repeated in another manuscript from the same house (B.M. MS. Royal 1 C vii, f. 120v.). It is composed of two griffins, which are back to back, but turn their heads towards each other. Precisely the same design appears on Byzantine silks, and undoubtedly the illumination has been copied from such a source.

46e

46d

There are birds as well as bird-animals in Canterbury illumination which originate in silks. Two of the surviving Canterbury seal-bags have peacocks represented on them. One silk, which is described as Spanish work of the eighth or ninth century,[5] has two peacocks confronting each other on either side of a highly stylized tree. Another seal-bag, which is probably a tenth-century manufacture,[6] has a design of peacocks repeated vertically. Each stands frontally on a plinth, its tail fully spread, its head inclined towards the right. A peacock in an initial of the St John's College, Cambridge, volume of the *Josephus* (f. 200v.) stands in a similar position to that of the latter birds.[7] It does not, however, have their fanned-out tails, and has, indeed, the claws of a bird of prey. None the less, such birds do exist in silks. A silk, reproduced

47a

47b

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[1] Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Art Sumérien, Art Roman* (1934), p. 20.

[2] Op. cit. p. 357.

[3] Ritter Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin, 1913), Abb. 209.

[4] Ibid. Pl. 189; also Julius von Lessing, *Die Gewebe Sammlung des Königlichen Kunstgewerbe Museums* (1900), vol. I, Pl. 34.

[5] Robinson and Urquhart, op. cit. p. 174 and Pl. XLIX.

[6] Ibid. p. 184.

[7] Similar frontally placed peacocks are found in the canon tables of the Gospels of Henry the Lion and in the illustrations of the Berthold Missal.

by von Falke,[1] shows large-clawed birds with the head-feathers of peacocks but without their tails. A bird's head, which appears in a Trinity College Manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 15 22, f. 28), has the head-feathers of a peacock, and has probably been copied from something similar to the extant seal-bags.

A frequent design on woven stuffs consists of two birds, which, like the griffins, turn 47d round their bodies either towards or away from each other on either side of a stylized 47c tree. The silk reproduced shows them in the latter position and the initial reproduced from a Christ Church manuscript (B.M. MS. Cotton Nero C vii, f. 46) shows them in the former one. Despite this, the relationship is clear and the illumination has been undoubtedly inspired by designs on silks. Yet the influence of the latter on Canterbury illumination was not confined to the simple copying of birds and animals. Their symmetrical designs influenced the disposition of figures inside the initial. This has

Detail of initial on folio 28 of Cambridge,
Trinity College MS. R 15 22.

Detail of seal-bag design on
a Canterbury silk.

already been seen in the placing of manticoras. It is also evident elsewhere, particularly in the disposition of dragons. These sometimes confront each other (e.g. Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 13, f. 88v.), and sometimes are placed back to back with heads twisted round to face each other as on folio 34v. of Cambridge University Library MS. Dd 1 4.

Apart from silks and other sources of decoration, there was in the illumination of theological manuscripts an inexhaustible supply of materials for the Canterbury artist. He simply took illustrations out of their context and used them as pure decoration.

The most direct example of this occurs in the Eadwine Psalter. A lion devouring 47e a goat appears in the illumination on folio 182 to illustrate the words of the psalm: 'The young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God.' Similar animals 47f appear in the initial 'L' on folio 229, where their function is no longer to illustrate, but simply to decorate the text. A lion swallowing a man in an earlier manuscript still at Canterbury (Canterbury Cathedral Library MS. E 42, f. 41) no doubt derives from the same source. In other manuscripts there appear as quite arbitrary decorative motifs St Michael and the dragon, Samson and the lion and symbols of the Holy

Op. cit. Abb. 282.

Spirit and the Evangelists. A drawing of the Holy Trinity, which has been described   13d
in an earlier chapter, is used to decorate a copy of the *De Musica* of Boethius. The devil,
urging a monk to gluttony in two St Augustine manuscripts (B.M. MSS. Arundel 91,
f. 190, and Royal 1 B xi, f. 6 v.), must have originated as an illustration of Chapter xxxix
of St Benedict's Rule, which is concerned to censure gluttony. The animal swallowing
a woman in an initial of the *Josephus* (Cambridge University Library MS. Dd 1 4,   30a
f. 220) derives from medieval representations of Jonah and the whale, where the
latter is sometimes represented as an animal. This will be evident if it is compared to
an Italian carving.[1] A small figure, holding bread in one hand and wine in the other
(B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 126), seems to have originated in early Christian art, and the
source of transmission may have been illuminations, though it may just as probably
derive from decorated glass-work. The initial on folio 34 of the *Priscian* in Trinity
College, Cambridge (MS. O 2 51) contains a nude figure, encircled, like some of the   15d
later figures of Blake, with serpents. This may simply derive from the Serpentarius.
On the other hand, it may have originally illustrated Caedmon's poem on Christ and
Satan: there, Satan refers to the horrors of Hell, 'where round about naked men
serpents entwine'.[2]

Such examples of theological illustration reduced to decoration could be multiplied.
Two others only, however, need detain attention, since they are the most popular
themes derived from this source. The first is that of the archer. This is a well-known
representation in Christian art. Both St Jerome and St Damian had compared Satan
to a hunter, and the archer in art often symbolized the enemy of the Church. As such
it appears in the Ruthwell Cross, and in the Utrecht, the Bury St Edmund's and the
St Alban's Psalters. In the Utrecht Psalter, Psalm vii is illustrated by a figure of God
with both bow and sword to represent the words of verse 12: 'he will whet his sword;
he hath bent his bow, and made it ready.' When a figure with both these weapons
appears in a Christ Church manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 15 22,
f. 28), it no doubt represents the influence of the Carolingian manuscript or one of its
derivatives. Normally, however, the archer in Canterbury illumination is shown in
pursuit of an animal. Here, again, it cannot be interpreted as a personification of the   15a
Devil or the wicked man, but probably has the opposite significance. St Augustine
had compared Christ Himself to the unwearied huntsman,[3] and a twelfth-century
baptismal bowl represents Him as an archer, transfixing an animal with an arrow.[4]

Frequent as is this motif, it is superseded in popularity by another. That is the
struggle between men and dragons. From the time of the Conquest until the middle
of the twelfth century this is a recurrent theme in Canterbury illumination. Inside

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[1] W. F. Volbach, 'Sculture medioevali della Campania', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, vol. xii (1936), Fig. 2.

[2] Op. cit. line 135.

[3] Sermo li; quoted by L. Charbonneau-Lassay in *La Bestiaire du Christ* (Bruges, 1940), p. 295.

[4] Reproduced, ibid. p. 296.

14c
and 18b
initials and over their framework, men scramble after dragons and animals, attacking them with swords or assailing them with their hands. On the analogy of the conflict between David and the lion, which had been interpreted in Christian theology as one between good and evil, such conflicts had been recognized early in medieval art as symbols of the everlasting battle between those two powers. By the twelfth century it is not only in Canterbury illumination that these are used in a purely decorative sense. Theophilus, among his descriptions of ornamental motifs for metalwork, can suggest those of horsemen fighting dragons, lions or griffins.[1] At Canterbury, some of the finest depictions of this conflict occur in the *Josephus* from Christ Church and the *Priscian* from St Augustine's. These are not theological tracts on good and evil. The first is concerned with the history of the Jews, the second with a study of grammar.

This assimilation of themes, significant enough in their own context, to pure decoration was not peculiar to Canterbury or to illumination.[2] It plays a significant part in Romanesque sculpture, as the words of St Bernard indicate, and as the researches of Mâle and Baltrušaitis have demonstrated. At Canterbury, decoration was derived from every conceivable source. Manuscript illustrations, silks, seals and ivories, all these the Canterbury illuminator used to enrich his repertory. Many of these sources show influences that are ultimately classical in inspiration. Such influences, however, like those of the Orient passed on by silks, are unconsciously absorbed, not deliberately followed. The artist does not, like the contemporary writer purposely 'season', as William of Malmesbury puts it,[3] 'his crude materials with Roman salt'. Literature and art in the first half of the twelfth century follow divergent paths. Chroniclers and other writers quote consciously from classical poetry because it is classical. Artists, on the other hand, use classical decoration unconsciously simply because it is decorative. There is in this period a growing humanism in literature, but this finds no response in Canterbury illumination. It is neither humanistic in the narrower sense that it deliberately copies the art of antiquity, nor in the wider sense that it is concerned with humanity and the development of the fullness of man. Until the middle of the century this illumination is concerned not to humanize, but to dehumanize. Its development is towards depersonalization and the reduction of the human figure to geometry. It has been progressing, in a word, to Romanesque.

[1] Theophilus Presbyter, *Schedula Diversarum Artium*, ed. Albert Ilg (Vienna, 1874), vol. I, p. 301.

[2] It is found, for example, in the Cistercian manuscripts at Dijon. To quote only two examples: Dijon MS. 135, f. 82 shows a Capricornus, and MS. 141, f. 67 a vintage scene reduced to decoration.

[3] In *De Gestis Regum* (Rolls Series), p. 2: '...exarata barbarice Romano sale condire.'

VII

BYZANTINE INFLUENCES

I. ICONOGRAPHY

AT about the middle of the twelfth century, the breath of humanism does stir the figures of Canterbury illumination. Their rigidity is relaxed, and the relaxing agency is that of Byzantine art. The influence of the latter is particularly evident in the Great Bibles; it is seen in the style of one of them, and in the iconography of both. This fact will emerge from an examination of some of their illustrations.

The first full-page illumination of the Lambeth Bible occurs on folio 6,[1] where it precedes the Book of Genesis. It is divided into two compartments, the upper one of   48a which illustrates the episode of Abraham and the three angels. On the left, Abraham bows to them as they approach and on the right brings food to them at table. The Abraham story was popular in Byzantine art, where the angels came to represent the figures of the Trinity, an interpretation retained in Russian ikons. The story is illustrated earlier in the fourth-century mosaics of the Basilica of S. Maria Maggiore, and the development of this iconography by Byzantine artists can be traced through the seventh-century mosaics of Ravenna to the Octateuchs of the twelfth century. What in these Octateuchs are two separate episodes is integrated in the mosaics of Palermo and Monreale into a sequence similar to that in the Lambeth Bible. The one   48b at Palermo, for example, is quite close to the Lambeth illumination. Each shows Abraham receiving his divine visitors on the left, and waiting on them on the right. There are certainly differences of detail. In the manuscript illustration Abraham bows gracefully instead of prostrating himself to the ground. The trees are stylized into a linear pattern, and there are two of them instead of one. Despite this, the Canterbury artist has adhered in essentials to the Byzantine iconography, and a particularly close detail is that of the left-hand angel at table, who is placed in a very similar position to that of the parallel figure in the mosaic.

In the lower compartment of the Lambeth illumination two episodes are repre-   49b sented. The first is of Jacob's dream, and the second of the sacrifice of Isaac. The linear association of the two illustrations gives unity to the whole, while clarity of exposition is maintained by the use of different coloured backgrounds of blue and green, which isolate and define each sequence. The second incident also had its liturgical significance in the art of the Eastern Church. There it symbolized the Lord's Supper.[2]

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[1] Folio references to the Lambeth Bible will refer to the first volume.

[2] In two Western ciboria, both probably English, the incident is depicted as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion (M. Chamot, *English Medieval Enamels* (London, 1930), Pls. 5, 6 and 7).

It is used with this significance in the Ravenna mosaics, where, as in the Bible, it is associated with the entertainment of the angels. The Ravenna iconography, however, is not followed by the Canterbury artist. There, as in the Sicilian mosaics, Abraham is shown with a knife. Here, he uses a sword. This is warded off by an angel appearing from the right, who points with a peremptory finger at Abraham. The latter is holding his son by the hair with his left hand, and below him the ram which is to be the ultimate sacrifice is seen caught in the thicket. This iconography is an early Christian one, and one which survives until the time of Cimabue and Ghiberti. It
49d   may be compared with a detail from an early Christian sarcophagus, where the chief difference of detail is that the hand of God appears instead of the restraining angel. There is no need to suppose that this representation was transmitted to Canterbury through Byzantine sources.

On the other hand, the portrayal of Jacob's dream has been clearly derived from Byzantium. The dream itself is illustrated by the ladder, thronged with a concourse of angels, passing diagonally up the page. It terminates at a roundel, in which God holds out a scroll, on which is written 'Ego sum Deus Bethel ubi unxisti lapidem' (Gen. xxxi, 13). On the left, Jacob is shown asleep, and, higher up the page, he is seen pouring oil on the stone which had been his pillow. In the Smyrna Octateuch, as in an Anglo-Saxon Pentateuch from Canterbury (B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. Biv, ff. 43v. and 44), these two episodes are separately illustrated. They are, however, combined in the same Sicilian mosaics that integrated the two incidents of Abraham and the angels. The representations in these mosaics of Palermo and Monreale are very similar, and their iconography is followed by the English illuminator.[1] The English representation of Jacob pouring oil on the stone is, for example, clearly related to the one at Palermo.
49a   The recumbent figure of the sleeping Jacob, below, has been reversed in the manuscript, and he is placed at the side of the ladder instead of below it, but in each picture Jacob supports his head with one arm, and stretches his other across the length of his body. The head and shoulders of God in the mosaic are a seventeenth-century addition, though, to judge from the Monreale illustration, their position is that of the original representation. The English artist has replaced this half-figure by one holding in outstretched hands a scroll that links it to the Abraham and Isaac episode. He has also increased the number of angels on the ladder. Such modifications have been made to enhance the linear rhythm of the composition, but it need hardly be said that, despite them, the influence of the Byzantine iconography is quite clear.

frontis-
piece   This full-page illumination is not the only illustration to the Book of Genesis. On the other side of the leaf is the initial to the Book, extending the whole length of the* page. This, it has already been said, is copied in or from a St Alban's manuscript.[2] It contains eight roundels, in which is recapitulated the story of the Creation, beginning

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[1] The comparison is also made and illustrated in Saxl and Wittkower, op. cit. sect. 26.
[2] See above, p. 50.

with a portrayal of God. There follow representations of the creation of the angels, the creation of heaven and the division of the waters, the creation of plant-life, of the sun and the moon, of the birds of the air and finally of Man. In the last roundel God is seen resting on the seventh day. The sequence of these Creation scenes is the same as in the mosaics of Monreale, an unusual episode included in both cycles being the creation of the angels. The Lambeth scenes are so highly schematized that comparisons are difficult. However, the illustration of God creating Man is sufficiently close to the interpretation of the same episode in the mosaics of St Mark's, Venice, to endorse the impression that here is an abbreviated version of a Byzantine iconography. In both the initial and the mosaic, God sits in a similar position, fashioning in front of Him a figure of a Man, in a way which recalls the comparison made by Isaiah and Jeremiah of the latter to the potter's clay.

50a
50b

The next initial of the Bible is to the Book of Leviticus on folio 52. In the lower part of the initial (not included in the plate) is an illustration of a burnt offering (Lev. i 5). Above, Moses is shown on Mount Sinai running forward to receive the Laws. These have been inscribed by a fourteenth-century hand with a quotation from Leviticus (xxii, 31), ascribed however to Exodus: 'Loqueris filiis israel dicens Custodite mandata mea et facite ea.' This is similar to a representation of Moses receiving the Laws in a Byzantine Psalter now at Berlin (Berlin University Institute of Christian Archaeology MS. 3807, f. 118v.)—similar, that is, in iconography; stylistically it is quite different. The horns on Moses are a Western addition and the mountain has been transformed into a formal pattern; the sense of movement has been enhanced by the linear flow of draperies billowing out behind and the whole emphasis has shifted from the drama of the actual episode to the excitement of the line depicting it.

50c

50d

Like the Book of Genesis, the Book of Ruth is illustrated both by a historiated initial and by a separate illumination. The latter is on folio 130 and shows three incidents—Ruth gleaning in the fields (ii, 17), Ruth bringing the corn to Naomi (ii, 18) and Ruth at the feet of Boaz (iii, 7). The first scene is dominated by the standing figure of Boaz, who, with peremptory gesture, gives instructions to his men. Yet the bending figure of Ruth in the foreground is not overshadowed, for the rich crimson of her drapery stands out boldly against the gold background. The reapers in front of her listen attentively to their master, and one, obeying his orders, drops corn at Ruth's feet. In the right foreground a busy little creature, with his sickle tied into his belt, binds up the sheaves. The whole illustration is expressed masterfully in terms of flowing contours, but, however English is the style, the iconography again seems to derive from Byzantine sources.

51a

The version of this episode in the Smyrna Octateuch, it is true, is not at all the same. Fortunately, however, a different Byzantine iconography has been preserved. This is in a thirteenth-century Bible in the Arsenal Library at Paris (MS. 5211, f. 364v.), which has been described with slight exaggeration as 'une copie directe d'un modèle

byzantin faite par un latin'.[1] The illustrations of this manuscript seem to be somewhat condensed, but they probably give a reliable indication of the Byzantine prototype. The Ruth scene in this cycle is certainly less detailed than that of the English Bible. Moreover, the thirteenth-century artist has given Boaz a horse. Yet, despite this, there are similarities which can hardly be accidental. The bending figures of Ruth in the two manuscripts resemble each other. Also in each Bible one reaper turns round towards his master, while another carries on cutting corn. Such similarities are very general, but they do seem to point to an indirect relationship, which might be explained by the supposition that the illustration of the Lambeth Bible, like those of the Arsenal one, has been influenced by a Byzantine iconography.[2]

It is possible that the selection of the episode which precedes the Book of Isaiah on folio 198v., has been influenced by the same source. This is not an illustration of the Book of the prophet but a representation of his death. This representation is not infrequent in Byzantine manuscripts. The reproduced example comes from a Vatican manuscript (MS. Cod. Gr. 755, f. 225). Here, however, Isaiah is standing, whereas in the Canterbury illumination he is bound to a table and lying horizontally, while an addition in the latter initial is of King Manasseh directing the execution.

A much less debatable example of Byzantine influence is found in the iconography of the illustration to the Book of Daniel on folio 286. The inside of the initial to the Book provides the lions' den, in which Daniel sits with the lions, while Habbakuk, carrying food, and propelled by the hair by an angel, helps to form the stem of the letter. The episode of Habbakuk and Daniel is illustrated in a pyxis from Egypt, which Dalton assigns to the sixth or seventh century.[3] There, too, the angel guides Habbakuk by the hair towards Daniel, but the position of the latter follows the formula of the Catacombs, and he stands in the frontal 'orans' position with uplifted hands.[4] This position is relaxed in an eleventh-century Byzantine manuscript at Mount Athos (MS. 49, f. 76), and there Daniel is in profile with Habbakuk above him. A link between this illustration and the Canterbury one is provided by a Salzburg Bible, which is under strong Byzantine influence. In the Gerard Bible at Admont (MS. 1, f. 228) Daniel is seated in the lions' den, and, as in the Lambeth initial, looking upwards to see the miraculous intervention.

Byzantine influences, which emerge in the iconography of the Lambeth Bible, are no less evident in that of the Dover one. In the first volume, for example, the fourth Book of Kings is illustrated on folio 161v. by the departure of Elijah from earth. In the bow of the initial Elijah is shown being taken into heaven by the fiery chariot, which is surrounded by red flames. At the foot of the initial, which extends the whole

The margin markers on the left read:
51b
52a
52c
53a
53c
53d
53b
54a

[1] H. Martin and Ph. Lauer, *Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal à Paris* (Paris, 1929), p. 17.

[2] Comparison should also be made with the Ruth illustration of a Salzburg Bible (G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei* (Leipzig, 1913), Pl. xxix, Fig. 100.

[3] Dalton, op. cit. p. 12.   [4] As in the fifth-century doors of S. Sabina, Rome.

length of the page, stands Elisha, who looks upwards towards the mantle of the   54c
prophet floating down. The position of the latter is very similar to that of an Elisha
in a Byzantine copy of the Books of the Kings (Vatican Library MS. Vat. gr. 333,   54d
f. 109v.); both the Byzantine and the Western figures throw back their heads and
extend their hands to receive the cloak that is floating down. The scene above, which
Elisha is watching, was a subject popular in Byzantine art, where the Ascension of
Elijah came to represent the Ascension of Christ. Here again the English iconography
is closely paralleled in Byzantine illumination. If it is compared, for example, with an
earlier illustration in a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. grec 510,   54b
f. 264v.), it will be seen that with few modifications the first is an iconographical
version of the second. Especially close is the position of the divine messenger in each,
his left-hand on the reins, and his right crooked to receive the prophet.

The iconography of the illustration to the first Book of Kings also resembles that of
Byzantine art. It is the story of David and Goliath. In the top part of the initial   55a
stands the giant—a huge figure, clad in dark mail armour and holding a long spear
and a shield emblazoned in purple and gold. On his right, the diminutive David
swings his sling above his head. At the tail of the initial, David, outlined in red, holds   55b
the hair of the Philistine with his left hand, and with his right severs the head from
the sprawling body of the giant. Similar to the first scene is the encounter between
David and Goliath in a Marciana Library manuscript (MS. gr. 17, f. 1v.). There, too,   55c
David is shown swinging his sling, while Goliath stands in front of him holding—though
in a different way—a spear and shield. There are also iconographical resemblances
between the Dover and Byzantine representations of the beheading of Goliath. This
will be seen if the former is compared to the well-known illustration from the Paris
Psalter (Bibliothèque Nationale MS. grec 139, f. 4v.). The position of the giant in the   55d
Canterbury manuscript has been reversed to fit in with the structure of the initial, but
the posture of David is too close to be dismissed as a coincidence. On the other hand
the representation of this episode in a pre-Conquest Canterbury manuscript (B.M.   19a
MS. Arundel 155, f. 93) is also not dissimilar, though there David holds the giant by
the beard not the hair. This is an iconography with a tradition in the West as well as
in the East, both traditions having a common departing point in early Christian art.

The initials to fifteen of the sixteen Books of the prophets in the first volume of the
Dover Bible contain portraits of the prophets concerned, and all but two of these [1] are
full-length figures. They normally hold scrolls and these are inscribed with extracts
from their prophecies. This method of illustrating the Books of the prophets is
Byzantine, and it is interesting to see that it is found in a twelfth-century Syrian
Bible, which, like the English one, has been influenced by Byzantium (Cambridge,
University Library MS. Oo 1 2). It is used, for example, in a Byzantine copy of the
Books of the prophets in the Vatican Library, and a portrait of Amos, which prefaces   56a

[1] Haggai and Zechariah (on folios 267v. and 268v.) are represented by medallion heads.

56b   his Book there, may be compared with one of Nahum in the Dover Bible.[1] The scroll held by the Byzantine figure is not unrolled as in the English manuscript, but prophets with open scrolls appear in the mosaics of Cefalu,[2] of Palermo[3] and of St Mark's at
51d   Venice[4] and another comparison may be made between the prophet Daniel from the
51c   Palermo mosaics and the prophet Obadiah from the Bible. The positions of the two figures are quite similar.

Byzantine influences on iconography are evident in the second volume as well as in the first. There, however, they are less strong and, probably, less direct.

57a   The impersonal figure of Alexander crowning two slighter figures, which appears in the initial to the Book of Maccabees, has probably been inspired by the fourth verse of Chapter i, where it is remarked that nations and kings were subject to him. The iconography is an adaption of Byzantine coronation scenes. In these Christ is shown, as here, crowning a figure on either side of him with each hand. These represent either the emperor and his son or the emperor and his wife. The former couple
57c   are seen in a Vatican manuscript written in 1128 (MS. Urb. gr. 2, f. 19v.) where the Emperor John Comnenus and his son Alexios are represented. The personifications of justice and clemency behind Christ are an unusual addition to the traditional formula. They do not appear in an earlier manuscript of St John Chrysostom written between 1078 and 1081 for Nicephorus III, where that emperor and his empress are similarly being crowned.[5] Nor are they present in an ivory carving of the coronation of Romanus II and Eudoxia, executed between 944 and 949, where Christ is seen standing, not sitting as in the manuscript illustrations, between the imperial couple.[6] Yet, though there is an evident association between the Canterbury illumination and Byzantine coronation scenes, the relationship was not necessarily a direct one. Already in the eleventh century this iconographical formula had been taken over into Western
57b   art, and in an Echternach Gospel Book the Western Emperor Henry III and his wife Agnes are shown being crowned on either side of Christ in much the same way as their Eastern counterparts. The appearance of two martyrs placed in a similar posi-
57d   tion, one on each side of Christ, in a twelfth-century Cologne ivory would indicate that this iconography was fairly current in the West by the time of the Dover Bible.

Byzantine influences are perhaps evident in an unusual representation which appears on folio 241 v. of the second volume of the Bible, of an artist actually painting the initial, in which he stands. Outlined in a reddish-purple, he holds a paint-pot in one hand, and with the other applies himself to painting the diagonal of the letter. In the upper part of the initial, against a deep green background, an assistant, wearing vermilion drapery, pounds up the lapis lazuli that will provide the rich blues for his

[1] See also Antonio Muñoz, *I Codice Greci Miniati delle Minori Biblioteche di Roma* (Florence, 1905), Pls. 1–10.
[2] Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1950), Pls. 6c and 6d.
[3] Ibid. Pls. 47A and 48B.
[4] Sergio Bettini, *Mosaici Antichi di San Marco a Venezia* (Bergamo, 1944), Pls. LXXIII–LXXVI.
[5] André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* (Paris, 1905), vol. 1 (i), Fig. 136.   [6] Ibid. Pl. III.

palette. Evangelists are sometimes seen painting the first initials of their Gospels in Byzantine manuscripts,[1] and it is possible that the English episode is an elaboration of such a representation.

There is adaptation rather than elaboration in the following initial, which is to St Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians (folio 244). Wearing draperies outlined in gold and coloured in blue and red with touches of orange, the Saint is placed against a blue background, most of which, however, has been scraped off. His right foot is poised forward and is balanced by his outstretched left arm. His head is turned back and he carries in front of him a cross with two transverse arms. He is, indeed, in just the position of Christ in Byzantine representations of the Harrowing of Hell. In the Anastasis scene of the Melissanda Psalter (B.M. MS. Egerton 1139, f. 9v.), for example, Christ takes up a similar pose. He is poised forward on one foot with the other slightly bent; His head is also turned back, moreover His cross also has two transverse arms. It is probable that the Dover artist had seen some such painting.

Yet though there is evidence of Byzantine influences on the iconography of the two Canterbury Bibles it is not suggested that there are no other influences or problems present.

An interesting iconographical problem is raised by the Mithras-like illustration to Luke's Gospel in the second volume of the Dover Bible, where the evangelist appears to be slaying his own symbol. He is set against a sand-brown background and wears a blue cloak edged in gold and patterned with red spots. He apparently has a gold halo. The gold of this, however, is interrupted near the neck by a red section, and on closer examination it proves to be not a halo but a hood. The figure, moreover, is tonsured and dressed as a priest; it is not, in fact, St Luke but a priest slaying the sacrificial victim. All this is explained by recourse to Flemish not Byzantine art.

58a

In a Flemish Bible from Floreff, written about 1160 (B.M. MS. Add. 17738, f. 187), the Gospel of St Luke is illustrated by two scenes. In the upper one is the Crucifixion. In the lower is the sin-offering of the Old Testament—the sacrifice of a calf by a priest, who is perhaps Aaron. Verses on the arch above the two scenes explain the association:

58c

Pro nevo fraudis vitulus datur hostia laudis
Quod Christus vitulus sit docet hic titulus.

To redeem the original sin a calf is given as the sacrifice of praise; this epitome shows that Christ is that calf.

Four writers of the Old and New Testaments, each with scrolls bearing quotations from his respective Book related to a sacrifice, witness the two scenes. The one in the lower right-hand corner is St Luke. He holds his symbol in one hand, and in the other a quotation from his Gospel concerned with the killing of the fatted calf at the return of the Prodigal Son.

[1] See Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des IX und X Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), Pl. LII (308).

A much closer parallel to the Dover scene is found in a manuscript of about the middle of the twelfth century from St Sepulchre now at Cambrai (Cambrai MS. 344,

58b f. 2v.). As in the Canterbury Bible, the initial to the Gospel of St Luke contains a picture of a figure slaying a calf. A gloss written above the initial explains the scene.

Vitulus sacerdotalis hostia (est). Per vitulum ergo hoc evangelium figuratur in quo a sacerdotibus inchoatur et in vitulo consummatur, id est Christo qui pro mundi vita immolatur.

The calf is the priestly sacrifice. Through the calf, therefore, is pictured this Gospel, in which what was begun by priests was consummated by a calf, that is Christ, who was sacrificed for the life of the world.

The Dover illustration is now elucidated. It is a typological scene in which the sacrifice of the calf in the Old Testament anticipates the sacrifice of the Son of Man in the New.

Illustrations associating the Old and the New Testaments appear in the Lambeth as well as in the Dover Bible. The Book of the prophet Habbakuk for example, is illustrated on folio 307 by a New Testament scene. It is that of the Crucifixion. In the centre of the initial, Christ appears on the Cross. Disposed on either side and below Him, in a way which recalls the composition of enamels, are half-roundels. The right one is inscribed LEX PETIT OCCASUM and contains a personification of the Synagogue. Her crown is fallen and her banner broken and a hand draws the veil from her eyes. The left one is inscribed PIA GRATIA SURGIT AD ORTUM and contains Ecclesia., She has a crown and banner and holds a chalice to receive the blood of Christ. The appearance of Church and Synagogue at the Crucifixion is seen in Carolingian ivories,[1] and in an eleventh-century German illumination they are found with the precise quotations that appear in the Lambeth Bible.[2] Below them both is a roundel on the border of which is written: [H]ABACUC P[RO]PHETA; the prophet himself is represented below, holding open a scroll, which shows the words OPERUIT CAELOS GLORIA EIUS. It is this sentence from his prophecy that explains the New Testament scene. St Isidore considered that when Habbabuk remarked that 'he had horns in his hands and there was confirmed the virtue of his glory' (Hab. iii. 4), he was actually contemplating the Crucifixion.[3] Here, then, is a portrayal of that event, in which the presence of the Synagogue and the Church represents the transition from the Old Order to the New.

59a This transition is given a calmer emphasis in the full-page illustration to the Book of Isaiah, which represents the Tree of Jesse. From the loins of Jesse, whose recumbent figure recalls the sleeping Jacob of an earlier illumination, the tree climbs upwards

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[1] A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser*, vol. I, Pls. 85 and 86, etc.

[2] G. Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei* (Leipzig, 1901), Pl. XIII (31).

[3] In his *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*, Migne, *P.L.* LXXXIII, col. 115.

against a gold background. It reaches the bust of Christ, which is enclosed in a double medallion, and surrounded by seven doves representing the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. Extended along the length of the tree is the Virgin, appropriately dressed in blue. On either side of her are three roundels; these are meant to represent branches, though, like those in the wall-paintings of the Chapel of St Gabriel in Canterbury Cathedral,[1] only the slight addition of foliage makes any allusion to their real character. Figures inside each of these are disposed in linear arabesques. It is in the uppermost two of these that personifications of the Church and Synagogue appear again. Here the Old Covenant gives way to the New in a less violent manner than in the Habbakuk initial, for the one holds a cross instead of a banner and chalice, and the other is no longer associated with the falling cross and broken banner. The Synagogue is held by two prophets, one of whom is identified by the horns on his head as that Moses whom the Synagogue is continually quoting in St Augustine's dialogue between her and the Church.[2] Accompanying the Church in the opposite roundel are two figures; they are probably Peter and Paul.

The lowest two roundels are each occupied by two lightly swaying figures pointing upwards to the Redeemer. These are Old Testament prophets, one of whom is Isaiah, for he holds a scroll containing the quotation from his prophecy of which this Tree of Jesse is an illustration: 'Et egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice eius ascendet.'

The figures in the two middle roundels have been identified by Dr Millar.[3] They are the four virtues referred to in Psalm lxxxiv. There 'Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other.' Mercy holds a vase, and Justice her scales. This meeting of the Virtues is illustrated in both Carolingian[4] and Anglo-Saxon[5] psalter illustrations.

59c

One reason for their presence here is provided by St Jerome. In his commentary on Psalm lxxxiv,[6] he says that Truth symbolizes the Jews, for their promise of a saviour was fulfilled in Christ. Mercy represents the Gentiles, for, though they were not born to that promise they received its fruits. Further to this, Truth is similar to Righteousness, for without truth there is no justice or right. In like manner, he equates Peace with Mercy, for the former cannot survive without the latter. Therefore the verse refers to the union of Gentile and Jew under one shepherd—Christ. This significance would be appropriate to the other elements of this Tree of Jesse. St Bernard, however, provides another interpretation.[7]

The first man, he argues, was endowed with all these four virtues but lost them at the Fall. Thereupon they quarrelled. Truth and Justice demanded the death of Man.

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[1] Tristram, op. cit. Pls. 21 and 22.

[2] *Dialogus de Altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, Migne, *P.L.* vol. XLII, cols. 1131-9.

[3] Millar, op. cit. p. 25. [4] E. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Pl. LXXVIII.

[5] Vatican Library MS. Reg. lat. 12, f. 92. [6] *Breviarium in Psalmos*, Migne, *P.L.* vol. XXVI, col. 1077.

[7] Migne, *P.L.* vol. CLXXXIII, cols. 383 ff.

Mercy and Peace opposed them. The conflict was settled when brought before the throne of God the Father. He decided that if any man died for another, Death could not hold him since he owed nothing to Death. God the Son promised to make such a redemption, and so the opposing Virtues were reconciled and Righteousness and Peace kissed one another. This explanation would also be appropriate to their presence here, for it was their dispute that led to the Saviour's birth.

The scheme of theological thought in the Lambeth Tree of Jesse is completed by medallions at the corners of the illumination. They are similar to those containing prophets with scrolls in the wall-paintings of St Gabriel's Chapel, and, like the latter, contain half-figures with scrolls. The upper two are nimbed and represent Old Testament prophets. The lower two are crowned, and perhaps represent, as Dr Millar suggests, David and Solomon.

The illumination as a whole provides a good example of the artist's skill in handling linear design. The emphasis on roundels may indicate the influence of ivories (there is a similar emphasis in some Byzantine ones) or perhaps textiles. The general elaboration of the Tree, however, has been inspired by earlier representations of the Trees of Virtues and Vices, and may be compared with a Tree of Virtues from a 59b Salzburg manuscript of the second quarter of the twelfth century. At the base of this Tree is a personification of Humility. From her the trunk reaches upwards to a medallion containing a bust of Christ—the new Adam. A representation of Charity appears on the trunk, and three branches on either side terminate in roundels, which contain the various Virtues. It is only necessary to replace Humility by Jesse, Charity by the Virgin and the Virtues by the more complex symbolism of the Lambeth Bible 59d to obtain a rudimentary version of the Tree of Jesse. A Tree of Virtues does appear in an earlier Canterbury manuscript from Christ Church (Inner Temple Library MS. 511 10, f. 21), but this lacks the personification of Humility and more notably the trunk, which so effectively unifies the whole.

Trees of Jesse had been known before this one,[1] yet there is no representation of this subject that conveys such a wide scheme of thought with such clarity of exposition and grace of execution. Gregory the Great had said that painting was the book of the unlettered. Here it is used to communicate theological thought as well as Biblical incident. Not least of the achievements of Canterbury illumination was this ability to express such a range of abstract thought in terms that are at once pleasing to the eye and comprehensible to the mind.

Before leaving the question of the iconography of the Great Bibles, one last com- 60a parison may be made. In the Lambeth Bible, a detail, reproduced from the full-page illumination preceding the Book of Numbers, shows Moses counting the tribes. His horns are lightly shown on his head, and, with one hand uplifted, he draws a figure from the group in front of him. This scene must ultimately derive from a similar

[1] See on this subject A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (Oxford, 1934).

representation in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore. There, Moses is shown addressing
the Israelites, not counting them, and, therefore, he does not draw a figure from their
midst. None the less, with one hand raised, he is in a similar position to the Moses of
the Canterbury Bible, while in both mosaic and illumination the depth of the group
is suggested by inverted perspective. It is probable that this iconography was handed
down to the English artist not through Byzantine but through Carolingian art. In the
Grandval Bible in the British Museum (MS. Add. 10546), for example, the portrayal
of Moses addressing his people belongs to the same iconographical group, though there
the inverted perspective is less pronounced than in either the S. Maria Maggiore or
the Canterbury representations.

61a

60b

It is not claimed that illustrations such as these derive from Byzantine art. Yet, if
the latter is not the sole influence on the iconography of the two Canterbury Bibles,
it is certainly the most important one.

Some of these Byzantine influences may be indirect ones that had percolated
through from the Continent. It is worth pointing out, for example, that the scene of
Jacob's ladder in the Lambeth Bible is very similar in iconography to that of an
illustration in a Liége manuscript at Berlin (Berlin Staatlichen Museen, Kupferstich-
kabinett MS. 78 A 6, f. 4v.). The association between Canterbury and North-east
France and Flanders has already been pointed out, and such a Byzantine iconography
could have come to St Augustine's, not directly from the East, but indirectly from
Flanders. Other relations, it has already been suggested, may not represent influences
at all, but simply be expressions of a Western iconographical tradition parallel to the
Eastern one, both ultimately deriving from early Christian art. There are one or two
close iconographical resemblances, for example, between an Anglo-Saxon Pentateuch
from St Augustine's (B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. B iv) and Byzantine art,[1] and these can
only be explained in this way. Certainly, the Creation scene in St Mark's, which has
been compared to the one in the Lambeth Bible, derives from an early Christian
source,[2] and the Lambeth Bible illustration of Elisha receiving Elijah's cloak
can be paralleled just as readily in early Christian sarcophagi[3] as in Byzantine
illumination. When all this has been said, however, the very sudden appearance
of a Byzantine iconography at Canterbury does point to an impact of external in-
fluences. Moreover, when this Byzantine iconography is accompanied by Byzantine
stylistic influences, all the evidence indicates that much of it came direct from
Byzantine art.

49b

49c

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[1] Compare the scenes of Jacob's ladder (folios 43v. and 44) with similar scenes in a Byzantine Octateuch
(D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque de Smyrne*, Pls. 99 and 100). Also compare the Creation scene on
folio 4 with that from St Mark's, and the portrayal of Moses addressing the people on folio 117 with a similar
scene in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (Pl. 59b of this volume).

[2] See J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Genesis Mosaicen von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältniss zu den Miniaturen des Cotton-
bibel* (Helsingfors, 1889).

[3] Joseph Wilpert, *I Sarcofagi Cristiani Antichi* (Rome, 1932), vol. II, Pl. CLXXXX, 3 and 6.

II. STYLE

The covered hands of figures in the second volume of the Dover Bible are a Byzantine,
not a Western convention, as is also the use of scrolls instead of books in the Lambeth
Bible. Some of the heads in the former volume and the latter manuscript show
Byzantine influences; such is the head of St John before his Gospel in the Dover Bible,
while the head in an initial on folio 285 of the Lambeth Bible may be usefully com-
pared to one from a fresco in the convent of Nerez in Macedonia. It is, however, to
the first volume of the Dover Bible that one must look to see the full impact of
Byzantine art on the stylistic evolution of Canterbury.[1]

The artist of the first volume uses a rather more delicate palette than that of the
second. The backgrounds of the initials are often coloured in leaf-green or emerald
green and ultramarine blue. On the figures, purple and mauve, crimson and orange,
blue and green, dark brown and golden brown are combined in harmonies that are
quite delightful. The style of these figures is different from that of the second volume,
and, indeed, differs from anything that has so far been seen at Canterbury. It marks
a break in the stylistic development that not even the Norman Conquest had been
able to effect. These are not impressionistic beings living in the rarefied atmosphere of
illusionism; nor are they Romanesque ones reduced to a geometric abstraction. The
whole inflexible rigidness of the latter style has been relaxed. It is as though the
Gorgon myth has reversed itself, and figures, chiselled from stone, have been warmed
into life.

At times there are reminiscences of Romanesque in the bold outline and the
reduction of Goliath's hair to hard spikes for example. But most of the figures are,
comparatively speaking, creatures of flesh and blood. They are patterned by line and
colour, it is true, yet the line and colour are functional as well as decorative, and
their primary purpose is to define the contours of the body, even if at the same time
they ornament it with designs. The body of the prophet Jonah is patterned up into
segments by golden-brown high-lights, but the patterning is something organic to the
body. Here there is no question of simply subordinating the figure to its own technique,
and completely dissolving it, as in the Harley Psalter and Lambeth Bible, in a network
of the line that draws it. Nor is there anything comparable here to the reduction of
the figure to geometric masses that has been seen in the second volume of the Dover
Bible. Jonah is recognizably a human being, and the whale beneath him a com-
paratively naturalistic drawing of a fish. The prophets of this volume may pose for a
moment, but they are not petrified for eternity. Rather the reverse, for the artist, at
his best, has a freedom and ease of treatment which gives them a latent sense of
movement and a convincing glow of life.

(marginal references: 33a and 34, 61b, 61d, 55b, 61c)

[1] The script on the scrolls held inside some of the initials of the first volume shows that these illuminations
were not added at a later date, but were, in fact, made at the same time as the text.

The prophet Daniel, for example, on folio 245 v., pointing upwards to his God   62a
is a comparatively persuasive and unconstrained picture of a man pointing to the
heavens. The body is convincingly placed, the green and red draperies, though rustling
in over-meticulous folds at the hem, fall quite freely, their arrangement dictated only
by their own weight and the contours of the body which they cover. The same is true
of the sensitively drawn figure of Nahum on folio 265. Here the breeze is fresher. The   56b
movement is explicit as well as implicit. The draperies flutter, the body is warm. The
linear emphasis, also, is stronger here, and expresses itself not only in the curving
scroll and fluttering draperies, but in a restless patterning of the purple and green
folds of the draperies. In such a drawing, this linear emphasis does deprive the figure
of some of its substantiality and weight. Much the same is true of the Byzantine
mosaics of Sicily, where the 'crystallization of the linear style reaches its logical
completeness'[1] and it is with just these mosaics that the closest stylistic parallels are
to be found.

If, for example, the prophet Nahum is compared to two saints from the Palermo   56b
mosaics (SS. Thomas and Philip), it will be seen that the former combines the   56c
stylistic features of the other two. His upper draperies are related to those of the right-
hand figure, and his lower ones to those of the left-hand one. Like St Philip he wears
an over-mantle, which rests lightly on the right shoulder and is draped fully over the
left shoulder in folds, which hang down over the arm. In each portrait the folds of the
edge of the mantle over the chest are quite similar. The folds of the lower draperies,
particularly those over the right leg, compare closely with those of the left-hand saint,
and, though the treatment of the illumination is lighter, a careful examination will
show that much the same kind of linear patterning emerges in each.

On folio 196 there is a portrayal of God inside the initial and one of Jeremiah out-   63a
side it. The head of God with its threaded hair and thin beard is practically identical
with that of Adam in the Palermo mosaics. The draperies He wears are fairly close to   63b
those of the angel expelling Adam from Paradise. The lower draperies of Jeremiah,
with the over-mantle falling steeply from the knee and the under-mantle crinkled
into small folds at the hem, are very similar to those of a figure fleeing from the destruc-   63c
tion of Sodom in the Monreale mosaics.

Again, the affinity between the Canterbury illuminations and the Sicilian mosaics is
seen in a comparison between the figure of Zephaniah on folio 266 v. and that of   64a
St Paul at Palermo. In the former there is an over-elaboration of highlights, which is   64b
not seen in the latter, and these 'dimple' the draperies in rather a fussy manner.
Despite this, the general disposition of the draperies of each figure is quite similar, as
is also the posture of the figures themselves. But perhaps the most convincing demon-
stration that this Canterbury style derives from Byzantine art is provided by the   62a
prophet Daniel on folio 245 v.

[1] V. Lasareff, speaking of the Cefalù mosaics in 'The Mosaics of Cefalù', *Art Bulletin*, vol. XVII, no. 2, p. 220.

He faces towards the left and his mantle with its free end fluttering is caught up in a heavy fold over the arm. This mantle is tucked in at the back of the waist in a 'pouch', and it ripples down from the knee towards the feet. This Canterbury prophet is related to the figure of Noah in the Monreale mosaics. The head of the latter is similar to that of the former, and not less similar are his draperies. These, too, are caught up over the arm in a loop and have a fluttering free end. The 'pouch' at the waist, which is seen in other figures of the Dover Bible besides that of Daniel, is also in evidence here. There is the same interest in puckering up the drapery between the feet in tiny folds. The drapery over the legs also falls from the knee—though less sharply than in the illumination—and the folds on it are similarly patterned out with light curved lines. There are certainly differences between the two figures. That of Daniel, for example, is more tightly composed. Yet the general rhythm is the same; in fact, it would not be too much to say that, if the mosaicist were asked to illustrate a manuscript, the result would be in a style not far different from that of the Canterbury prophet. This is, indeed, a foreign style that the English artist is using, and the mature skill with which it is handled is not less surprising than its sudden appearance at Christ Church

One reason for the rapid assimilation of this style at Canterbury was probably its linear quality, which must have made it congenial to an English illuminator. Another was perhaps that after literature had been for some time pervaded by humanism artists were ready to respond to a style that may be loosely described as humanistic. Certainly, after the many contacts between England and Byzantium from the eleventh century onwards—either directly or indirectly through the Norman kingdoms of Jerusalem and Sicily—English artists would be more receptive to the influences of the East.

The question of Byzantine influences on Canterbury is part of the more general problem of Byzantine influences in Europe in the twelfth century.[1] However, a direct contact between Canterbury itself and Byzantium is recorded as early as the eleventh century. This is in a Rochester lectionary at the Vatican published by Haskins.[2] Soon after the death of Lanfranc, a Christ Church monk, named Josephus, called at Constantinople after making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and there tried to procure relics for the newly built church of Rochester. The fact that he found friends among the Varangian guard, which was composed of Anglo-Saxons who had fled after the Conquest, and which included at least one person brought up at Canterbury,[3] shows that he was a native Englishman. How successful he was in his mission is not

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[1] See the article by W. Koehler, 'Byzantine Art in the West', *Dumbarton Oaks Inaugural Lectures* (1941), vol. I, pp. 61 ff.

[2] C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (Oxford, 1929), pp. 160–3.

[3] See the remark of Goscelin in his *Miracula S. Augustini* (Acta Sanctorum Maius tom. VI, p. 406f.): 'vir honorificus de curia et nutritura Beati Augustini cum multis optimatibus patriae profugis Constantinopolim transmigravit.'

known, for the account is incomplete; however, relics of St Andrew do occur in later inventories of Christ Church.[1] Apart from this isolated event, the Normans had a strong affection for pilgrimages, and it is possible that some of them at Canterbury, like the Bec monk Albold who was later abbot of Bury St Edmund's, had visited South Italy on the way to the Holy Land.

During the twelfth century a dynastic connexion between England and Jerusalem was provided by the marriage of Matilda, daughter of Henry I and mother of Henry II, to Geoffrey of Anjou, whose father two years later in 1129 became king of Jerusalem. The Templars' Crusade in 1128 took Englishmen to the Holy Land,[2] and grants of land, such as that made by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury,[3] to the Templars must have led to a permanent association between England and Jerusalem. That there were Englishmen in Jerusalem during the first half of the century is sufficiently indicated by the fact that the Melissanda Psalter, produced in Jerusalem (B.M. MS. Egerton 1139), has a calendar based partly on a South English one.[4] Haskins has published an imposing list of individual contacts between England and Sicily in the twelfth century.[5] These include John of Lincoln and Herbert of Braose, who were canons of Girgentilin in 1127, Robert of Salesby, who was chancellor under Roger, and Thomas Brown, who probably accompanied him to Sicily and possibly composed the foundation charter of the Cappella Palatina.

In art, the result of such contacts had not been important, and until the middle of the century Byzantine influences were either casual or indirect. Now, however, there is seen in the Canterbury Bibles one of the first waves of the tide of Byzantine influence that is to sweep over English art in the second half of the century. The most important iconographical and stylistic comparisons of these Bibles have been made with the mosaics of Sicily, and it is probably from this country that the Byzantine influences derive. The means by which they were transmitted can only be a question of surmise. It is possible that John of Salisbury played a role. After seven or eight years in the papal service, he became attached to Canterbury as a clerk in 1153 or 1154.[6] In 1155 he visited South Italy from Canterbury,[7] but he had already been at Ceprano in 1150.[8] There, as he recalls in a later letter,[9] he had been entertained by Robert of Salesby, the English chancellor of Sicily, with wine brought from Palermo and Greece.

[1] Wickham Legg and St John Hope, op. cit. pp. 74, 81 and 93.
[2] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* ed. T. Arnold, 1879, p. 245: 'Hoc etiam anno Hugo de Paiens, magister militum templi Jerusalem, veniens in Angliam secum multos duxit Jerusalem.'
[3] Beatrice A. Lees, *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1935), p. 25.
[4] I owe this information to Professor F. Wormald.
[5] C. H. Haskins, 'England and Sicily in the Twelfth Century', *English Historical Review*, vol. xxvi (1911), pp. 433–7.
[6] R. L. Poole, *Ioannis Saresberiensis Historiae Pontificalis* (Oxford, 1927), p. lxxv.
[7] Ibid. p. lxxiii.   [8] Ibid. p. lxxiii.
[9] Quoted by Poole, op. cit. p. lxxiii. The Gargantuan feast at Ceprano is also recalled by Salisbury in his *Policraticus* (see Webb's edition, p. 270).

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It is just possible that, besides bringing to Canterbury memories of the wine of these two places, he also brought examples of their painting. There is, however, no evidence in his writings that he was interested in art.

A more probable explanation of Byzantine influences on Canterbury is provided by an event which took Englishmen through Byzantium and Jerusalem and back again through Sicily to their native country just before the middle of the century— that is, the Second Crusade. The chroniclers are unanimous in recording the participation of the English in this Crusade. Henry of Huntingdon is content to remark that 'many of the race of the English took part',[1] but other contemporaries are more forceful in their expression. One declares that the whole strength of the youth of England took up the Cross, 'so that you would imagine that England would be emptied and exhausted by the movement'.[2] Another says that those who assumed the Cross included many men of great authority and dignity from France, Normandy and England; nor were these only men-at-arms and laymen, but even bishops, clerics and monks participated.[3] This is, of course, a description of the Anglo-French forces in general, but it can be applied to the English contingent in particular. William of Warenne, earl of Surrey, was an important leader of the campaign.[4] At least one bishop from England accompanied the expedition: Roger, Bishop of Chester, who died on the way. Finally, William of Newburgh, writing towards the end of the century, refers in his section on the Crusade to having seen in his youth a venerable monk, who had returned from the East after serving under Raymond, Prince of Antioch.[5]

This Crusade began in 1147 and ended in disaster in 1149. The English and Normans under the Bishop of Lisieux joined the French army under Louis VII.[6] He reached Antioch in the spring of 1148, and stayed in the Holy Land until the spring of the following year. He then set sail for Sicily. Some of his ships, one of which was carrying his queen, were captured by units of the Byzantine fleet, but after being rescued by Sicilian forces they landed safely at Palermo.[7] Louis, meanwhile, had arrived at Calabria. There he was delayed for three weeks, and after being reunited to Eleanor at Potenza[8] in the Basilicata was further delayed by an illness which she

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[1] *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold (1879), p. 279: 'multi de gente Anglorum.'

[2] *Chronicles of Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett (1884), vol. III, p. 122: 'Et licet valida totius Angliae pubes, omnesque masculi pectoris et constantis animi virtute insignes, ad haec vindicanda paratissime convolarent, ita ut tot et tantis undique promoventibus vacuam et exhaustam Angliam putares.'

[3] Robert of Torigni in Howlett, op cit. vol. IV, p. 152: '...multi magnae auctoritatis et dignitatis viri, Franci, Normanni, Angli... non solum milites et laici, sed etiam episcopi, clerici, monachi crucem in humeris assumentes ad iter Jerosolimitanum se praeparaverunt.'

[4] Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry (Columbia, 1948), p. 54. Also Robert of Torigni, vol. IV, p. 152.

[5] Howlett, op. cit. vol. I, p. 67: 'Memini me, cum essem adolescentulus, vidisse quendam venerabilem monachum ab orientis partibus cum magnis suffragiis venientem, qui ex ejusdem clarissimi principis olim militia fuerat.'   [6] Odo of Deuil, p. 22.   [7] *Historiae Pontificalis*, p. 61.

[8] John of Salisbury says Palermo, but see the remark of Poole, op. cit. p. xxix.

had contracted. As a result of all this the royal couple spent over two months in Sicily or South Italy.[1] At Potenza, Louis had been met by Roger, who gave him and all his companions many gifts.[2] Whether among his entourage were Englishmen like William of Warenne, and whether they received at this, or another time, anything in the nature of illuminated manuscripts, is unknown. Whether among the monks who accompanied the Crusade there were some from the largest house in England, is unknown also. One thing only is certain: that those Englishmen, who after their sojourn in Sicily or South Italy returned to their native land about the middle of the century, would have entered England by Dover, and from the priory there would have been passed on to the mother house of Canterbury.

[1] Louis landed at Calabria on 29 July. He and Eleanor reached Monte Cassino on 4 October, 1149.

[2] *Historiae Pontificalis*, p. 61: 'et tam illum quam omnes suos multis donariis studuit honorare.' See also Romuald's chronicle (*Mon. Germ. Hist.* XIX, p. 425).

VIII

THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

WHEN John of Salisbury—the greatest of all medieval humanists—came to Canterbury in 1153 or 1154, the artists there had either recently introduced humanism into their painting, or were just about to do so. It is at this point that the paths of literature and painting meet, and for each of them an important centre for the transmission of humanist influences had been Sicily. Even now, however, the meeting of the two arts was but a transitory one. Already in the second half of the century—as John himself complained—literature was passing from the warmer slopes of humanism to the keener pinnacles of scholasticism. On the other hand, the exploration and elaboration of what may be called humanism in painting, which includes an interest in the grace and elegance of the human figure, was to occupy artists for the rest of the Middle Ages, until finally Gothic, which is a product of the Renaissance of the twelfth century, develops into the scientific realism of the Renaissance of the fifteenth.

The introduction of a style at Canterbury which is transitional from Romanesque is first seen in the first volume of the Dover Bible. Its development is admirably demonstrated in the Paris Psalter at the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. lat. 8846).[1] The script of the manuscript is very close to that of the canonical profession of Richard of Winchester, who was consecrated in 1174. The style of the illuminations is quite advanced, and it would probably be safe to date the book between 1170 and 1200.

It is the third and last copy of the Utrecht Psalter made at Canterbury. Strictly speaking, it is not a copy of the Carolingian original, but of the intermediate version of it—the Eadwine Psalter. This is indicated by the fact that the Paris manuscript follows a deviation of the earlier Christ Church Psalter from the archetype and the death of Absalom is added to the illustration of Psalm iii. The complete compositions with which the Eadwine artists supplemented their prototype are not copied, but the Paris Psalter, like the Eadwine one, differs from the Utrecht Psalter in its use of large decorative initials in the text. Its illustrations are a close, but by no means slavish, copy of the original. The artist does not hesitate to add trees or reduce the number of human beings, nor does he hesitate to alter the whole relationship of figures in order to close up the empty spaces often left in the Eadwine Psalter. This can be seen, for

[1] A reduced facsimile of the illustrations of the manuscript has been published by the Bibliothèque Nationale under the title *Psautier Illustré, XIIIe siècle*, ed. H. Omont.

example, in the illustration to Psalm xxix, where the tumbling animals and men are disposed in a diagonal instead of a horizontal composition, in order to leave no space empty. He did not complete his illustrations, and these are only carried up to folio 93 by him. The later illuminations are in an Italian style of the fourteenth century. They are the work of Catalan artists,[1] who are also responsible for the paintings on folios 72v., 73v., 80v., 81v., 82v. and on folio 93 itself. These latter illustrations, unlike the later ones, follow the Utrecht iconography, which must indicate that the Canterbury artist had left under-drawings for them to follow. It is not known when the Canterbury manuscript passed from England to Spain, but the fact that there are in Spain wall-paintings which are remarkably like the illuminations of the Psalter,[2] and which stylistically must be dated at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, would indicate that it left Canterbury soon after it was written. Such a hypothesis would explain why the original illustrations were not completed.

Apart from illustrations to the Psalms, the Paris Psalter contains a cycle of Old and New Testament scenes, which precedes the text of the manuscript. These are contained in small panels on the first three folios of the Psalter. They culminate on folio 4 with a Tree of Jesse, which knits together the Old and New Testament sequences. This consists of three rows of medallion heads interspersed with foliage and set against a gold background. The centre one shows the genealogy of Christ, beginning with Jesse and including David and the Virgin. The side ones contain representations of the twelve Apostles, headed by Peter and Paul. The earlier scenes do not completely illustrate the Biblical story. The Old Testament ones begin with the Creation, and appropriately end with the anointing of David, the ancestor of Christ and author of the Psalms. The New Testament ones are restricted to the life of Christ on Earth, His miracles and parables, but not His death. The whole clearly expresses the spiritual Aeneid of Christianity, finding its expression in the Old Testament in the arrival of David, and its ultimate fulfilment in the New in the birth and life of the Redeemer.

What gives this sequence of Biblical illustrations a new significance, however, is that it derives from an earlier cycle of which four leaves only survive.[3] These belong to about the middle of the twelfth century, and are now divided between three museums in England and America—Victoria and Albert Museum MS. 661, B.M. MS. Add. 37472(1) and Pierpont Morgan Library MSS. 724 and 521. Each leaf is illustrated on both sides. The Old Testament cycle of these scattered leaves is very fragmentary, and only carries one from the birth of Moses to the entry of David into Jerusalem. The New Testament cycle, however, is very comprehensive and apparently complete,

[1] Millard Meiss, 'Italian Style in Catalonia', *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* (1941), vol. IV, pp. 73 ff.

[2] See W. W. S. Cook and J. G. Ricart, *Ars Hispaniae* (Madrid, 1950), vol. VI, Pls. 96–102, for excellent reproductions. The foliage and even the iconography (see the illustration of Adam delving and the sequence of prophets on Pl. 96) derive from the Paris Psalter.

[3] They are reproduced in a posthumous paper by Dr M. R. James, 'Four Leaves of an English Psalter, 12th century', in *Walpole Society* (1936–7), vol. XXV, Pls. I–VIII.

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including the Passion of Christ and some of His miracles which do not appear in the Paris Psalter. It is clear that the sequence in the latter manuscript is associated with the earlier one. The leaves of each cycle have the same format: that is, twelve illustrated panels to a page. Each cycle contains such uncommon illustrations as that of the death of Herod and of the reference of Christ to the foxes having holes in which to hide. Each has a Tree of Jesse, though in the earlier illumination it takes its place between the illustrations of the Old Testament and those of the New and in the later one at the end of both.

A comparison between a page from the earlier cycle with one from the later one will be sufficient to show how closely related the two are. One side of the British Museum leaf and folio 3 r. of the Paris Psalter are reproduced. If they are examined, it will be seen that there are some variations in the Paris Psalter. The illustrations of Christ's Temptations, for example, are elaborated. Further, where the earlier artist sometimes includes two scenes in one panel, the later one always confines himself to one. The result is that the later illuminator takes up more space to illustrate the episodes of the Cana feast or that of Peter's mother-in-law[1] than does his predecessor. The iconography and sequence of events, however, are the same—the Baptism, the feast of Cana, the Temptations of Christ, the healing of the leper, the healing of Peter's mother-in-law and her ministering to the disciples and, continuing on the verso side of the Paris folio,[2] Christ's reference to the foxes having holes and the birds their nests, Christ calming the waves and driving devils from two men possessed into the swine, the healing of the man sick of the palsy, Christ eating with publicans and sinners and Christ raising the girl from the dead. It will be noticed that in the Paris illustrations of the healing of Peter's mother-in-law the episodes are represented in the wrong order so that she ministers to the disciples before she is healed. This would confirm that the artist was copying from the earlier leaves, where the two episodes are contained in the same panel and their sequence has simply been confused.

Now, since it is known that the main illustrations of the Paris Psalter were copied from the Eadwine Psalter, and the prefatory Biblical cycle apparently derives from these scattered leaves, the question raised is whether the latter did at one time belong to the Eadwine Psalter.[3] The measurements of the leaves would certainly fit in with such a theory. Moreover, the fact that their Old Testament illustrations end with the life of David shows that they did at one time belong to a psalter. It is further worth noticing that the preface to the Eadwine Psalter[4] contains references not only to

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[1] The reference is to Matt. viii, 14–15, not as Omont suggests (op. cit. p. 9) to Luke iv, 38–9. This would fit in with the chronology; it occurs between two other incidents from Matt. viii—the healing of the leper and Christ's reference to the foxes having holes. Moreover, there is no reference in Luke iv, as there is in Matt. viii, to Christ touching the hand of Simon Peter's mother-in-law, which is illustrated in the miniature.

[2] Omont, op. cit. Pl. 7.

[3] A question already raised by Dr Hanns Swarzenski in *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 1 (1938), p. 67.

[4] Folio 5.

David but to Old Testament and New Testament episodes, which are either illus-
trated in the four leaves, or which, on the analogy of the Paris Psalter, must have been
originally included in the cycle. There are references, for example, to Noah's ark, to
the sacrifice of Abraham, to the crossing of the Red Sea, to Esau and Jacob and to the
Passion and Resurrection of the New Testament. Stylistically, the attribution is a
perfectly permissible one. The foliage is stylized into hard patterns and the hillocks
into frozen curves as in the Eadwine Psalter, and the colours, also, are quite similar.
In the figure drawings two styles are perceptible. The first is akin to that of the second
volume of the Lambeth Bible. The second ultimately derives from the St Alban's
Psalter style. It is, however, closer to that of the Eadwine Psalter than to anything
produced at St Alban's or Bury St Edmund's.[1] The figures are less rigid than in illu-
minations from the latter scriptoria, and as in the illustrations of the Eadwine Psalter
this style is tempered by the animation of an earlier art period. It is unfortunate that
the gatherings of the Eadwine Psalter do not survive, for this would certainly indicate
whether the manuscript in its present form is complete. However, though there is no
certain evidence, general indications do indicate that the four leaves being discussed
were part of a Biblical cycle, which originally prefaced the Eadwine Psalter.

This, in its turn, raises a problem of fundamental importance for all medieval art.
That is, whether the 'Eadwine' cycle was in its turn copied from a cycle prefacing the
Utrecht Psalter. There are certain obvious similarities between the iconography of
some of the illustrations[2] and that of Byzantine art. To take examples only from the
page reproduced, the Baptism scene may be compared to that in the Palermo mosaics,[3]
and the Temptation scenes to those in the mosaics of St Mark's.[4] There is also an
iconographical relationship between this English cycle and that of the twelfth-century
Byzantine Gospel-Book in the Laurenziana at Florence (MS. Laur. VI 23). The
question is whether such similarities represent simply a parallel development or a
related one; whether, in fact, the iconography of the 'Eadwine' and Paris Psalter
cycle derives through the Utrecht Psalter from an early Christian one or whether it
has been directly influenced by Byzantine art.

Unfortunately, this question cannot be fully answered here,[5] but at least it can be
said that the former possibility cannot be rejected out of hand. Dr DeWald has shown
that there may be nine leaves missing from the beginning of the Utrecht Psalter, and
though he suggests that they contained St Jerome's prologue to the Psalms they might
have contained illustrations similar to those of the 'Eadwine' leaves. The format of
both the 'Eadwine' leaves and of the Paris prefatory pages is the same as that of one

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[1] Where the St Alban's style was very important.

[2] The iconography of the full-page illustrations of the St Alban's Psalter and of the Pembroke Gospels also
follows that of the relevant scenes of the Eadwine leaves quite closely.

[3] Demus, op. cit. Pl. 19A.

[4] Sergio Bettini, *Mosaici Antichi di San Marco a Venezia* (Bergamo, 1944), Pl. XII.

[5] I hope to deal more fully with this question in a separate publication.

of the illustrated pages[1] of the sixth-century St Augustine's Gospels at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (MS. 286, f. 125); each page is divided into twelve panels, all of which contain illustrations. On folio 129 v. of the Corpus Christi manuscript there is a representation of Christ saying that the foxes have holes and the birds nests. No foxes or birds are represented but only Christ addressing his disciples and the sole indication of what the illustration refers to is a marginal explanation 'Jhesus dixit vulpes fossa habent'. The inference from this is not only that this unusual episode from the Gospel of St Matthew, which occurs in the two Canterbury cycles of the twelfth century, was known to early Christian art, but that the incident in the St Augustine's Gospel Book must itself have been copied from something similar to the two illustrations in the 'Eadwine' leaves, in which Christ addresses the scribe in one scene, while in the adjacent one the subject of His remarks is illustrated. This latter scene gave significance to the former one, and its omission in the Gospel Book means that, without the marginal explanation, the one scene by itself would be meaningless.

It has been pointed out that there are strong Byzantine influences on such contemporary Canterbury manuscripts as the Lambeth and Dover Bibles, and this would support the view that the influences on the iconography of this Canterbury cycle did come from Byzantium. But against this also must be set the fact that there are apparently non-Byzantine elements in the iconography. The portrayal of the death of Herod, for example, belongs to a Western, not an Eastern, tradition, and in the Adoration scene there is no angel to guide the Magi as there normally is in Byzantine representations of the episode. One thing is clear—that the artists of the 'Eadwine' leaves were copying from something else either from the East or the West, for they have mistaken Peter's mother-in-law for a man, and represented her as such. But it must suffice at this point simply to set out the problem, observing only that if it could in fact, be shown that the Paris and 'Eadwine' cycles do derive from an early Christian one, then it would be difficult to overestimate their importance, for they would represent the most comprehensive early Christian Biblical cycle that remains, and one that includes such rare illustrations in medieval art as those of Christ's parables.

Though the question of Byzantine influences on the iconography of the Paris Psalter's prefatory illustrations must be left an open one, Byzantine influences on the style of the illumination is by no means so uncertain. There are, it is true, other influences perceptible in the manuscript, particularly those from the French books given to Christ Church by Herbert of Bosham.[2] This is evident in the initial decoration and in the use of gold interlace, for example in the Beatus initials. It is also seen in the sumptuous colouring of the book, in the reds and bright blues and, more particularly, in the bright vermilions that appear on almost every page. From the same source comes an idiosyncracy of the figure-style. Where the folds of the drapery are tucked in at the waist, they are sometimes stylized into hard ridges. The detail of a figure on

[1] R. Garrucci, *Storia della Arte Cristiana* (1876), vol. III, Pl. 141.   [2] See below, pp. 105 ff.

fol. 62v. sharpening his scythe will exemplify this trait. It is sufficient to compare this   70b
figure with one in an initial of a Bosham book at Trinity (Cambridge, Trinity College
MS. B 5 7, f. 92v.) to see whence the mannerism derives.

Despite this, the most important influences on the figure-style are Byzantine.
A single comparison will demonstrate this. One of the figures on folio 11v. is an old,   70c
white-bearded man, who leans slightly forward and lifts up his hands to his head in
grief. The style of this painting is clearly related to that of a figure in a Byzantine   70d
manuscript in the British Museum (MS. Add. 11870, f. 242v.). Patterning is more
pronounced in the English figure, which is made more powerful by these linear
diagonals, yet it manifestly derives from something like this Byzantine illumination.
The position of the two men, the disposition of their draperies and the use on them of
white highlights are close enough to point to a direct interpretation by the Western
artist of an Eastern prototype. The thick-paint technique of the Psalter illustrations
similarly indicates direct Byzantine influences.[1]

The second wave of Byzantine influences on Canterbury, like the first seen in the
Dover Bible, probably derived from Sicily. It will not be necessary to recapitulate the
many contacts between England and Sicily in the second half of the twelfth century.
It will be sufficient to recall those that concern Canterbury. The most important of
these was the marriage of the English princess Joanna to William of Sicily in 1176,
for she was escorted to Sicily by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury.[2] The closest
script to that of the Paris Psalter, let it be repeated, is in an episcopal profession made
to Richard. Another archbishop of Canterbury travelled through Sicily. This was
Baldwin, who died in the Holy Land.[3] Lastly, Peter of Blois, who had been tutor to
William II of Sicily, became chancellor to the archbishop of Canterbury about 1173.

These influences produced at Canterbury a style which repudiates the geometry of
Romanesque and advances towards the naturalism of Gothic. The heavy-paint
technique means that the figures are heavier and more massive than those of the
Dover Bible, but they make an intelligible development from the latter, and there is
certainly nothing in them of the rigidness and massiveness of Romanesque art.
Professor Gilson, speaking of the philosophy of the twelfth century, says that 'il
possède en propre une élégance, une grâce, une aisance dans l'acceptation de la vie'.[4]
Here in paint is some of that graciousness and ease and humanity. The illustration to
Psalm xxx may be profitably compared to the parallel illustrations in the Harley and   69
Eadwine Psalters. As a result of the better appreciation of the human form made   1
possible by contact with Eastern art, the human figure is no longer an excuse for a   27a
linear shorthand, nor is it an abstract shape—a mannikin reduced to pattern. If not

[1] Reference should also be made to the relationship between the style of the Paris Psalter and that of the
Ingeborge Psalter. See Chanoine V. Leroquais, *Les Psautiers Manuscrits latins des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*
(Macon, 1940–1), vol. III, Pls. LII–LIX.
[2] Gervase, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (1879), vol. I, p. 260.   [3] Ibid. p. 488.
[4] E. Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1944), p. 339.

yet painted with the anatomical accuracy that will suspend all disbelief, it is yet portrayed with all the persuasiveness and dignity of which the artist is capable. The musician and the performing bear on the right are comparatively naturalistic. There is a humanity about the gesture of the angel with extended arms in the centre, and a deliberate attempt to portray with accuracy the figure of the psalmist, who advances towards him. On the left, the sinner, who holds his head, has a real look of grief and is convincingly delineated. These are recognizably human beings, not without their own ease and grace. Here is a definite reaching out towards the Gothic style.

In it there is evident much of the native affection for linear pattern that had been seen in the first copy of the Utrecht Psalter, made 200 years earlier. Yet, if to this extent the style is characteristically English, it is no longer of a distinctively Canterbury origin. Monastic centres with an individual artistic personality are a phenomenon of the Romanesque period. Before this time English art was national, and during the Gothic period afterwards it merges into something quite general, and ultimately international. The last great achievements of the Canterbury scriptorium as a distinctive school of illumination are in the Great Bibles of the mid-century.

Apart from this blurring of the individual personality of the Canterbury school the magnificence of the Paris Psalter must not blind one to the insignificance of Canterbury productions in the second half of the twelfth century. If this one manuscript is excepted, the amount of illumination produced there during this period is quite trivial.

The books given by Herbert of Bosham are certainly important. The latter, it may be said, was never, as a fifteenth-century monk of Christ Church remarks,[1] 'a brother of Cristes Church in Canterbury'. A portrayal of him in a Trinity manuscript (MS. B 5 4) shows him as untonsured. He is referred to as 'magister' not only in his correspondence, but in the later catalogue of Christ Church, while Gervase refers to him as 'magister et clericus'.[2] He was, it is true, associated with Christ Church, but this was due to his close friendship with Becket. It was Herbert whom Becket took up behind him on a horse when he escaped from the Council of Northampton.[3] It was Herbert who first met the archbishop in France, and who, as he himself remarks, remained with him in exile, the only person to share his fortunes in adversity as in prosperity.[4] It was Herbert who was ready at every crisis to stiffen the opposition of his master with advice, which gave Becket the reputation of being a saint if it did not give him one for being a diplomat. If violent in giving advice,[5] Herbert was not less

[1] Thomas Wade, see Sir Thomas Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of British History* (London, 1865), vol. II, p. 363.
[2] Gervase, op. cit. vol. I, p. 393.
[3] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard, 7 vols. 1875-85 (Rolls Series), vol. III, p. 68.
[4] Trinity MS. B 5 6, f. 3v.: 'de boseham gloriosi martiris beati thome sicut in prosperis et in adversis comitis individui.'
[5] See, for example, William FitzStephen (*Materials*, vol. III, p. 58).

bold in putting it into practice. He did not hesitate to speak bluntly to Henry II himself, and when taunted with being a priest's son he retorted that he was no more a son of a priest than Henry was a son of a king.[1] William FitzStephen gives a pen-portrait of him at this interview. Of imposing height and handsome appearance, he was splendidly attired in a coat of the green cloth of Auxerre, with an ornamented cloak of the same material hanging down to his heels after the fashion of the Germans.[2]

Eastry lists five books given by Herbert to Canterbury, and four of these have been identified by James. They comprise two manuscripts, each divided into two volumes. The first is a glossed Psalter (Eastry 854 and 855) now divided between Cambridge and Oxford (Trinity College MS. B 5 4 and Bodleian Library MS. Auct. E inf. 6). The second is a glossed copy of the Epistles of Paul (Eastry 856 and 857) now at Trinity College, Cambridge (MSS. B 5 6 and 7).

These volumes form a homogeneous group. They are all essentially 'manuscrits de luxe', in which the lavish use of gold and colour combines with a delicacy of execution to produce illuminations of a splendid quality. The foliage has a glittering, and hard, tinsel-like quality. The gold is sometimes pounced, and excellent marginal drawings occur at times. There is also a remarkably frequent use of illuminated initials, which are used not only to mark off each section but even each sentence of the text. These are books with illumination, of which any scriptorium would be proud. Yet the credit for their production cannot be given to Canterbury, or, indeed, to any English scriptorium.

The two manuscripts can be dated within fairly narrow limits. The preface to the Epistles refers to Becket as a martyr, so it was clearly written after his death in 1170. The dedication of the Psalter describes him as a saint. On folio 1 of the first volume occurs the phrase 'nunc vero glorioso christi martyre *sancto* videlicet thoma cantuariensis'. Later on, in an apologia intended to deflect the attacks of hostile critics, with which Herbert seems obsessed, he says that 'summus sacerdos christi neomartyr noster *sanctus* thomas' had urged him to prepare the work, and again that 'dominus meus neomartyr *sanctus* thomas post gloriosum transitum suum' had appeared to him in a vision to commend this work to him. From this it may be deduced that the Psalter was written after Becket's canonization in 1173.

Both these manuscripts are dedicated to William, Archbishop of Sens. This means that their 'terminus ante quem' is 1177, for William was translated to Rheims in that year. The 'terminus ante quem' for the Epistles is probably even earlier. The title does indeed refer to 'gloriosi martiris beati thome', but there is no mention of Becket as a saint in the prefatory letter. This would indicate that the book was composed before 1173. The remarks of Herbert in the preface would support this suggestion. He refers, for example, to the fact that he has been hardly able to finish it between his grief and tears—'inter lugendum scribens et inter scribendum lugens'. Even allowing

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[1] *Materials*, vol. III, p. 101. [2] Ibid. p. 99.

for the exaggerations of Herbert's hagiographical style, the fact does seem to emerge that this work was written soon after the death of his master. From all this it would appear that both manuscripts were written between 1170 and 1177, the Epistles probably between 1170 and 1173, and the Psalter between 1173 and 1177.

The argument, which some might put forward, that these are not the original manuscripts but later copies of them can soon be disposed of. First, there is nothing to suggest that more than one copy was ever made of these actual manuscripts with their commentaries since they are the only surviving ones. Secondly, Herbert himself gave these books to Christ Church and it is hardly probable that the manuscripts in his own possession would be anything but the originals. Thirdly, script and decoration agree with the dates assigned to them; it will be seen later that these are, in fact, related to manuscripts of Becket, which belonged to the period *before* 1170.

If these Bosham books were written between 1170 and 1177, they could not have been produced at Canterbury for throughout this period Herbert was in France.

In 1170 Becket, fearing for his safety, sent him to France.[1] In 1172 he was still away from England, for a letter sent to the Pope in that year, demanding the canonization of Becket, is headed 'Petitio exsulantis Herberti'.[2] The Pope, writing to him in the same year, commends him to his legates, and speaks of effecting his return to his own country.[3] In 1177, Herbert was still in exile, for another letter addressed to the Pope in that year still bears the heading 'Ex epistola Herberti exsulantis'.[4] Indeed, all the surviving letters of Herbert are addressed from 'Herbert in exile'. He did not return to England until 1184, when he came to collect materials for his life of Becket, and, even then, a remark in his *Liber Melorum*[5] makes it clear that his return was not a final one, though he was still in England in 1187 for Gervase refers to his presence at Canterbury then.[6]

There is nothing, in fact, in these manuscripts to associate them with the Canterbury scriptorium. The fastidious layout of the page, so that the very disposition of the script becomes a decorative element in itself: the use of colour in that script, which often leads the copyist to alternate his marginal remarks in blue and red inks, and to underline important phrases in red—this is unlike the work of Canterbury scribes. The illumination, moveover, is completely French in appearance. In the figure-style the stylization of the drapery at the waist, which has already been referred to, is found in French manuscripts.[7] A strange creature with creased skin, invariably standing on its hind legs, occurs in these initials; this animal is also found in French illumination

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[1] *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. J. C. Robertson (Rolls Series), vol. III, p. 485.
[2] *Materials*, vol. VII, p. 531. [3] Ibid. p. 530. [4] Ibid. p. 576.
[5] *Materials*, vol. III, p. 553, '...ut orbis Britannicus, in quo, dum hanc martyris historiam scriberem, aliquandiu sum moratus, mihi communicare vix velit nesciosi aut dignetur aut audeat.'
[6] Gervase, op. cit. vol. I, p. 393.
[7] For example Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 11534 and Valenciennes MS. 500.

of the period, for example, Rouen MS. 4. Small white lions, which ultimately derive from Monte Cassino illumination of the eleventh century, and which are very frequent in French illumination of the twelfth, appear in their Gallicanized form here (those of Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 21795 are very similar). The custom of incorporating into the initial the first letters of the sentence, the small tadpole-like creatures with large heads and thin snaking bodies, the use of full-length human figures to form the stem of the initial 'P', all these are found in the Chartres manuscripts reproduced by M. Delaporte.[1]

These Bosham manuscripts, it has already been hinted, are related to the Becket books. Eastry lists 35 manuscripts which Becket gave to Christ Church. Six of these have been identified by James[2] and two more by Mr Ker.[3] It is also possible, though by no means certain, that a glossed *Ezechiel* in Pembroke College, Cambridge (MS. 147) is the *Ezechiel* given by Becket, and mentioned in Eastry's catalogue (no. 796). This has no mark of provenance, but it is similar in appearance to other Becket books, and an initial on folio 3, though badly mutilated, also has parallels in the Becket group. Of these nine manuscripts, two contain penwork initials (Trinity College, Cambridge, MSS. B 4 23 and R 4 4), and the rest are all illuminated to a greater or less degree.

All these illuminated books have resemblances to those given by Bosham. A glossed Pentateuch in the Bodleian Library (MS. Auct. E inf. 7) and a Gospel Book with a gloss by Bosham in Trinity College, Cambridge (MS. B 5 5) are similar in size and also in script. None of the Becket manuscripts are so lavishly illuminated as the Bosham ones, but the decoration has the Bosham characteristics. Here is the hard bright foliage outlined with white dots, the animal with a creased skin, the tadpole-like creatures with a serpent body and the little white lions. The similarities are close enough to resolve any doubts about the date of the Bosham books, for the latter cannot have been produced long after the Becket books, which were, of course, written before 1170. They are also close enough to show that the two groups of illuminated manuscripts were produced in the same locality, and perhaps in the same scriptorium. This locality was clearly French—an attribution, which could be supported by a detailed stylistic analysis. A comparison might be made, for example, between two initials from the Becket books (Cambridge, Trinity College MSS. B 3 11, f. 2v. and 65a, c B 3 12, f. 91v.) and two from the Bible of St André au Bois (Boulogne-sur-Mer 65b, d MS. 2, ff. 34 and 240v.). There is a similar use in the Trinity manuscripts and in the Boulogne one of white lions and the animal with creased skin. But fortunately there is documentary evidence, not only to support this French attribution of

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[1] Y. Delaporte, *Les Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres* (Chartres, 1929).

[2] M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (1903), pp. 540–1. I am not including his identification of Eastry 787 with Univ. Lib. MS. Dd 4 25, with which I do not agree.

[3] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, in which Eastry 784 is identified with Bodleian MS. Auct. E inf. 7 and Eastry 803 with Trinity MS. B 4 23.

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the Becket books,[1] but also to indicate fairly precisely the centre in which they were produced.

Becket was made archbishop in 1162 and went into exile in 1164. These were the only two years that he spent at Canterbury; they were largely taken up with his dispute with the king and there is no reference to any bibliophilic activities of his before he went to France. It is clear from the chronicles that it was while in France that he built up the library that he later gave to Canterbury.

When he fled the country in 1164, Herbert of Bosham states that he took with him nothing except his insignia of office.

Fugit itaque deposito orario, nihil secum praeterquam insigne illud metropolitanorum, quod pallium dicitur, et sigillum suum in via portans.[2]

It was when he returned to England in 1170 that he had accumulated his library, for William of Canterbury makes him refer to his collection as he is about to embark for his native country.

Bibliothecam vero, quam cismarinis interim partibus deponere decreveram, una mecum transferre pro rei vario et incerto compellor eventu, ut quem retro merita non commendant, gratantius excipiatur ad tumulandum possessor ex possessione.[3]

Becket spent two years of his exile at Pontigny and four at the neighbouring house of St Columba. A more specific answer to the question of the provenance at least of the Becket books is given by William FitzStephen, who, in his *Life of St Thomas*, remarks that it was at Pontigny that Becket had the books copied that were later to enrich the library of Canterbury.

Archiepiscopus...etiam studio litterarum et maxime divinae paginae, operam dabat, libris etiam conscribendis, et perquirendis a domino papa privilegiis. In quarumcunque ecclesiarum omnibus armariis nullum audiebat in Galliis esse antiquitatis vel approbatae auctoritatis librum, quem transcribi non faceret, nullum privilegium quod ecclesiae suae non perquireret, ut omni retro tempore optimis voluminibus et privilegiis ecclesia Cantuariensis ita ditata et nobilitata non fuerit, sicut tandem eam refersit.[4]

This is quite clear-cut evidence to show that at least some of the Becket books were written at Pontigny. Others may have been written at St Columba.

It is very probable that the Bosham books came from one of these two houses. They are stylistically related to the Becket manuscripts. Both houses were in the archdiocese of Sens, and it was to Sens that Herbert was sent in 1170;[5] he was acting as secretary to William of Sens soon afterwards,[6] and it is no accident that both the manuscripts,

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[1] It is further worth remarking that the original twelfth-century binding of the Pembroke manuscript (MS. 147) is French, though this is the manuscript with the least claim to be regarded as a Becket book (see G. D. Hobson, 'Further Notes on Romanesque Binding', *The Library*, 4th ser., vol. xv (1935), p. 205).

[2] *Materials*, vol. iii, p. 318-19.   [3] Ibid. vol. i, p. 87.   [4] Ibid. vol. iii, p. 76-77.

[5] He was sent 'ad dominum nostrum regem Francorum et ad venerabilem fratrem nostrum Senonensem archiepiscopum' (*Materials*, vol. iii, p. 485).

[6] J. A. Giles, *Herberti de Boseham—Opera quae extant Omnia* (Oxford, 1846), vol. ii, pp. 292 and 297.

which he gave to Christ Church are dedicated to that archbishop. It seems also that Herbert collected the materials for his glosses in the library of Pontigny, for in one of his manuscripts he refers to 'the pastureland of Pontigny, richly supplied with books on the scriptures'.[1] This does not necessarily mean that his books were written there, they could as easily have been written at St Columba. None the less, the fact that some of the Becket books were produced at Pontigny is important. It shows that, despite the Cistercian constitutions, manuscripts were being illuminated in the second half of the twelfth century.

These are by no means isolated examples of such illumination, which was produced in Cistercian houses not only in the first half of the twelfth century, but also in the second half and in the thirteenth century. In the municipal library of Troyes there are numerous illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Clairvaux, some of them very beautiful in appearance.[2] What is most surprising about these Clairvaux books is that one of the most lavishly illuminated—a Bible in three volumes (MS. 458)—traditionally belonged to St Bernard himself, the author of the *Apologia ad Guillelmum*. At Dijon[3] there are Cîteaux manuscripts belonging not only to the first half but also to the second half of the twelfth century which are illuminated, and there is also one in the British Museum.[4] Illuminated manuscripts also survive from Pontigny, which is the house of most importance for the Becket books. There is a fragment of a richly illuminated Bible from Pontigny in the Bibliothèque Nationale,[5] while two Pontigny books illuminated on a much more modest scale exist in the British Museum.[6] The Becket books offer a possible—though hardly convincing—explanation for this cleavage between precept and practice. It is that such illuminated manuscripts may have been produced not for the Cistercian abbey concerned, but for individuals temporarily or permanently associated with the house. All this is of interest—but its interest lies outside the context of Canterbury illumination.

Apart from the Bosham and Becket books, there are three volumes of an important Bible, now in the Ste Geneviève Library in Paris,[7] which is usually ascribed to Canterbury. That this Bible was indeed written by a Canterbury scribe is certain, for

[1] Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 5 4, f. 1: 'in loco pascue Pontiniaci scilicet ubi locuples scripturarum armarium.'

[2] For example, Troyes MSS. 115, 252 (with drawings of remarkable quality), 392, 424, 626, 900 and 924.

[3] For example, Dijon MSS. 3, 4, 9–11, 31, 44, 101 and 102.

[4] MS. Add. 31831. One initial is reproduced in Eric G. Millar, *Souvenir de l'Exposition de Manuscrits Français à Peintures organisée à la Grenville Library* (Paris, 1933), Pl. IX.

[5] MS. lat. 8823. See Ph. Lauer, *Les Enluminures Romanes des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), Pl. LXXXIV.

[6] MSS. Add. 38,687 and Egerton 2818; there are also penwork initials in MSS. Add. 26,761 and 762 from Pontigny. Dr C. H. Talbot points out to me that these are some of the other illuminated Cistercian manuscripts in the British Museum: MSS. Sloane 1975 (Ourscamp—beautifully illuminated), Royal 3 E vi (Jervaulx), Royal 8 E vi (Rievaulx), Royal 3 D ix (Kirkstead).   [7] MSS. 8–10.

this is quite explicitly stated in a colophon;[1] the latter begins 'Hanc byblyotecam scripsit Manerius scriptor cantuariensis'.

An explanation of the name, both ingenious and flattering, is given by the writer, who interprets it as meaning one skilled in the art of writing. 'Mainerus [sic] enim interpretatus e mutata in a manu gnarus, quia peritus fuit et gnarus in arte scribendi.' A description of his relatives which follows makes it clear that they are English for they all have English names. Among them occurs that of his father Wimundus (Wigmund) and of his mother Liveva (Leofgifu). The latter's name occurs in a Canterbury rental of about 1165[2] where a Liviva, widow of Wimundus, is referred to as a tenant of the priory. It is evident from this that Manerius came from the town of Canterbury, but this does not necessarily mean that he was at one of the Canterbury monasteries at the time that the manuscript was written. The fact that he describes himself as Manerius of Canterbury would suggest the contrary. A Canterbury scribe writing at Canterbury, such as Eadwine for example, does not find it necessary to advertise to his contemporaries that he is a monk of Canterbury.

The general appearance of the manuscript is not that of a Canterbury book. The normal layout of the page in Canterbury manuscripts of the twelfth century was for all horizontally drawn lines to be bounded by the ruled margins, except one or perhaps two at the top and the bottom, which were carried through across the whole page. Here, not only these but two in the centre and a further one at the top for the titles of the page traverse the whole width. The illumination has a highly ornamental, even florid, quality. The general impression given by it is certainly not that of an English book but rather of a French one. Some of the details of the illumination would also indicate a French provenance. Among these is the habit of incorporating the first words of the sentence into the illuminated initial, and the decorative use of snaking tadpole-like creatures, which has been seen in the Bosham books. A further French trait is the use of large nude figures in the construction of the initial.

The figure style points more particularly to a St Bertin provenance for the manuscript. It is quite close to that of a large St Bertin Bible in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. lat. 16746), and perhaps even closer to that of another St Bertin manuscript in St John's College, Cambridge (MS. 68). Further to this, the fore-edge of the Bible is flecked in red and orange, a form of decoration unknown to Canterbury books, but one which is seen in a number from St Bertin.[3] In the second half of the twelfth century there were, in fact, Canterbury monks at St Bertin. One of its chronicles, while discussing the exile of Becket, refers to the long association of that house with

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[1] Printed in New Pal. Soc. 1st ser. vol. 2 (1), p. 141.

[2] Rental 31. I owe this information to the Keeper of Manuscripts of Canterbury Cathedral library, Mr William Urry.

[3] The following are some St Bertin books at Boulogne with fore-edges flecked in these or other colours: MSS. 26, 27, 33, 34, 38, 39, 44, 46, 81, 103, 126; and at St Omer: MSS. 30, 42, 150, 168, 254, 715.

Canterbury.[1] It further says that when Henry exiled the supporters of Becket in 1164, several Canterbury monks together with their prior were received at St Bertin.

In hoc autem monasterio Sancti Bertini recepti fuerunt plures monachi Cantuarienses, cum priore at famulis eorum. Illud enim Cantuariense cathedrale monasterium a longis retro temporibus fuit semper et est de specialibus societatibus nostris.

A St Bertin provenance for the Bible might account for the rather strange colophon. After the martyrdom of Becket, French houses which had been associated with him were anxious to emphasize any link with Canterbury. This is done, for example, by the St Bertin chronicler when he speaks of the exile of the saint in the passage quoted above. St Bertin was the monastery to which Becket had first gone on his exile and its abbot, Godescalcus, had conducted him to Sens.[2] Such a house might be willing to advertise any association with Canterbury, even if it meant giving undue prominence to the person who provided the link.

It is probable that this Bible was written after the martyrdom of Becket, for a reference in the last sentence of the colophon to the fact that all the scribe's family (which included four brothers and a sister) were dead[3] would indicate that Manerius was fairly old when he wrote it. If it is, indeed, a St Bertin manuscript it is also more probable that it was written under Abbot Symon than under Abbot Leonius. The former's activities in encouraging and reviving the arts of the abbey make a most imposing catalogue in the chronicle of his house.[4] Moreover, a list of the books written under the latter abbot does not include any mention of a bible.[5] Such a St Bertin origin cannot be absolutely certain, but at least it can be said with confidence that the Manerius Bible was illuminated by French, not English artists, and that there is a convergence of probabilities pointing to a St Bertin provenance.

When it is shown that the Becket and Bosham books and the Manerius Bible all have dubious claims to a Canterbury provenance, little is left in the way of illuminated manuscripts between 1150 and 1200. Even two of the few left must be rejected. One (Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 4 30) is not associated with the name of Becket, but is so similar to the Becket books that it cannot be accepted uncritically as a Canterbury manuscript. Another (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 375) is not in a recognizably Christ Church hand, and since it contains a long poem on the passion of St Katherine (from the time of Abbot Geoffrey an important St Alban's saint), and verses on St Alban, it probably originated as James suggests[6] at St Alban's.

If penwork initials are excluded, the number of manuscripts to represent the

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[1] Johannis Longi, *Chronica S. Bertini*, p. 808 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. xxv).

[2] Gervase, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 194.

[3] 'Anime omnium istorum et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam dei requiescant in pace.'

[4] *M.G.H.* op. cit. p. 670.

[5] Ibid. p. 669.

[6] M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (1909), vol. II, p. 221.

illumination of Canterbury in the second half of the twelfth century can be counted on the fingers of one hand.[1] The two most important of these (apart from the Paris Psalter) are Christ Church books. The first is an exposition of the Rule of St Benedict, which was perhaps written between 1150 and 1180. As well as two penwork initials, 68a B.M. MS. Royal 10 A xiii contains as a frontispiece a full-length portrait of St Dunstan copying out the Rule. The portrait, which is in blue and gold, still has some of the rigidness of Romanesque. This, however, has been completely relaxed in the second of the manuscripts, which belongs to the end of the twelfth century. In the first initial 68b of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 200 is a portrait of the author of the text— Archbishop Baldwin. He sits writing in much the same position as St Dunstan in the other manuscript, but here the whole style has been completely relaxed into something which can only be called Gothic.

The meagreness of illumination at this period makes a striking contrast with the prolific flood of the first half of the century. The decline in artistic activities is due partly to the dislocations caused by the exile of St Thomas, partly also to other disputes of the period. The dissension between St Augustine's and Christ Church over the profession of obedience of the abbot of the smaller and older house drags on from the earlier part of the century. The Christ Church monks dispute with the bishops over the election to the primatial see, and, what is more, are engaged in bitter conflicts with their own archbishops.

The first evidence of this struggle is seen under Theobald. In 1150 he undertook to administer the Conventual property on the petition of the prior. His economies, however, so incensed the monks that they appealed to Rome, while the archbishop, in his turn, confined the monks to their monastery and arrested their envoys. Under Baldwin the conflict became acrimonious in the extreme.[2] Gervase's account of Baldwin's pontificate crystallizes into a narrative of bitter dissensions, during which the monks were confined to their house, the monastery was besieged, and divine service there suspended. The controversy is further punctuated by a series of appeals and counter-appeals to Pope and King, which took several of the Christ Church monks as emissaries to Italy and France. The central dispute concerned the archbishop's proposal to found a collegiate church at Hackington, on the outskirts of Canterbury. This was professedly to do honour to St Thomas but in fact, as Gervase remarks, was probably intended to undermine the authority and prestige of the Christ

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[1] While this book was at the press, Professor R. A. B. Mynors drew my attention to a life of Becket by John of Salisbury in the British Museum (MS. Cotton Claud. B ii). Though rejected as a Canterbury book in Mr Neil Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, this is clearly a Christ Church manuscript, an attribution which is confirmed by the fact that the marginal drawings of animals and human heads are copied from one of two Christ Church manuscripts, either the Eadwine Psalter or the Dover Bible. The book was probably written in the 1170's or early 1180's, and the representation of Becket's death on folio 341 is probably the earliest illustration of that event.

[2] The best account of this dispute is found in Stubbs's introduction to the *Epistolae Cantuarienses*.

Church monks in the cathedral. The quarrel was renewed under Baldwin's successor Hubert, who proposed to implement Baldwin's later plan to build his church at Lambeth, and the peace of the convent was broken for the rest of the century.

These disruptions do much to explain the paucity of illumination of the second half of the century. But there is also a deeper reason for the decline in artistic activity. It was an aspect of the shift of the whole cultural centre of gravity from the monasteries to the lay schools and universities.

The primary function of the monastery had never been a cultural or artistic one. As interest passed from theology to philosophy and dialectic, so the initiative passed to the hands of non-monastic scholars, who could devote their time completely to thought and letters, and who could travel freely to the new centres of learning in France, since they were not confined to the precincts of a given monastery. 'L'institution monastique et ses écoles, au XIIe siècle', say the historians of this period,[1] 'perdit le contact avec les temps nouveaux; l'esprit d'initiative et le sens du progrès passèrent en d'autres mains.' At Canterbury during the latter half of the twelfth century, the centre of cultural life had not been in the two monasteries there. It was rather in the entourage of 'eruditi'—the scholars and lay clerks that surrounded the archbishop, and which consisted of men like John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois.[2] It is a commentary on this shift of emphasis in Canterbury Cathedral itself that when the monk-archbishop St Anselm went into exile, he took with him the monk Eadmer. When St Thomas, who until his consecration had been chancellor, was sent into exile, he took with him the lay-clerk, the 'magister et clericus', Herbert of Bosham. To all this, the decline in the artistic productivity of the Canterbury monasteries in the second part of the twelfth century is a corollary. It would be dangerous to generalize.[3] But, as in the twelfth century literature had chiefly passed from the monasteries, so, in the thirteenth century the tendency was for illumination also to pass into non-monastic hands.

[1] G. Paré, A. Brunet and P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance du XIIe Siècle* (Paris and Ottawa, 1933), p. 39.

[2] The writings of Nigel, the Canterbury satirist, are not sufficient in themselves to invalidate the generalization. Though he was a monk at Christ Church, his writings belong to the John of Salisbury tradition of literature running outside the monastery.

[3] There is considerable evidence in the St Alban's chronicle to show that monks were not only illuminating there in the thirteenth century but also painting and carving. See *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley (Rolls Series, 1867), vol. I, pp. 233, 279–80, 281–2, 283, 286 and 314.

NORMAN MANUSCRIPTS IN ENGLAND

The whole question of the influence of the Norman Conquest on English illumination is complicated by the fact that the Normans undoubtedly brought manuscripts to England after the Conquest. At the end of two Canterbury manuscripts for example, there is a definite statement that they had been brought by Lanfranc from Normandy.[1] One cannot often expect such categorical evidence in solving historical problems, but at least some attempt should be made to distinguish between what are Norman books and what are Norman influences before answering the whole question of how far the Normans influenced English illumination.

At first sight, the most important centre of Norman influences in the eleventh century is undoubtedly Durham. William of St Carilef, who was bishop there between 1081 and 1096, gave to his house almost fifty manuscripts, of which about twenty survive.[2] With two exceptions, the decorated manuscripts of this group are remarkably Norman in appearance. In some of them there is the scratchy pen-line,[3] which is typical of Norman work, in others the patchwork of bright, flat colours[4] that is found in Norman manuscripts[5] and in others the use of those very English initial styles that artists were borrowing in Normandy.[6] It is unfortunate that the Norman elements of this Durham illumination cannot be analysed at length since this would involve a considerable number of illustrations. However, one or two comparisons can be made to illustrate the relationship between Durham illumination and that of Normandy.

The first initial of a *Rabanus Maurus* at Durham (Durham Cathedral MS. B III 16, f. 2)[7] for example, should be compared with an initial from the St Ouen *Augustinus* at Rouen (MS. 467, f. 140v.). Both initials are outlined in red and decorated with fine green hairlines; both are set against coloured backgrounds; further, the construction of each with the triangular stem and the robust leafwork is remarkably similar.

71 a, c

A similar initial is found on folio 98v. of the Carilef Bible which is one of the most important and most characteristic of the Durham illuminated books. Dr Hanns Swarzenski has found at Bayeux a *Gregorius*, whose illumination is very like that of this well-known manuscript.[8] The illumination of a manuscript from the Abbaye de la Croix-Saint-Lefroi (Bib. Nat. MS. lat. 2058) is also similar, and that of the St Ouen manuscript is not less close. It has the same colours as the Carilef Bible, uses similar parrot-heads in the initials and there is a clear relationship between the initial constructions and style of the two

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[1] Trinity College Cambridge, MS. B 16 44, f. 405. See also above, p. 7.

[2] The conclusion of Dr C. H. Turner is that, apart from service books, 'sixteen appear to be certainly, and another three not improbably still in the Chapter Library' ('The Earliest List of Durham Manuscripts', *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xix, pp. 121–32). Professor R. A. B. Mynors lists twenty-two books in his section on Carilef's books (*Durham Cathedral Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1939)).

[3] Mynors, op. cit. Pl. 25.   [4] Mynors, op. cit. Pl. 28.

[5] For example, Rouen MSS. 273 and 458.

[6] For example, the clambering style and 'dragon' style (Mynors, op. cit. Pls. 22 and 18).

[7] Published by Mynors, op. cit. Pl. 30.

[8] Hanns Swarzenski, 'Der Stil der Bibel Carilefs von Durham', *Form und Inhalt—Festschrift für Otto Schmitt* (Stuttgart, 1951), pp. 89–97.

71 d, e manuscripts. This will immediately be seen if a dragon initial 'S' is compared from each manuscript (Durham Cathedral MS. A II 4, f. 165 and Rouen MS. 467, f. 176v.). The Carilef dragon has the same robustness, the same linear emphasis, the same patternwork of dots along the neck and the same boldly defined eyebrows as the St Ouen one. Again, the

71 b, f accomplished drawing of an angel in front of the Gospel of St Matthew[1] is in a multicoloured striped style similar to that of the St Ouen *Augustinus*. Apart from a general resemblance between the two figures, there is a close similarity of detail; each head has a similar severe hair style, similar pouting lips, a similar curved line at the top of the forehead and double projecting line at either side of the neck.

Such comparisons could be multiplied. Suffice it to say, however, that, with three exceptions,[2] all the illumination of the surviving Carilef books is by Norman artists. Furthermore, with the same exceptions the Carilef manuscripts are all written in a Norman hand. There is more than one script in these manuscripts, but the palaeographer will find similar ones in the manuscripts of St Ouen, Jumièges and even Bec. To this it may be added that the individual use of coloured square capitals in some of the Durham manuscripts, and the filling in of one or two lines of script with bright colours—normally red and green—can also be paralleled in books of Normandy.[3]

The immediate impression from all this is that here is a group of books illuminated by Normans at Durham. However, there is an important consideration, which makes it necessary to treat the claims of these books to even a titular English provenance with some reserve. Though these manuscripts are remarkably Norman in appearance, Durham under Carilef was a predominantly Anglo-Saxon house. It had been refounded by Carilef in 1083 with *English* monks from Jarrow and Wearmouth.[4] The number of monks there in 1083 was twenty-three, and if one assumes that this number doubled itself under Carilef's rule, and further assumes that the first list of post-Conquest monks entered into the *Liber Vitae* of that house[5] in a twelfth-century hand is in some kind of chronological order, then it must be accepted that most of the monks under Carilef were Anglo-Saxons, for only a few Norman names appear among the first forty-six monks.

This appearance of a number of Norman manuscripts in a house that was largely Anglo-Saxon raises something of a problem. Fortunately, there exist two pieces of information that offer a means of resolving it. The first is found in the last volume of a set of three books of St Augustine's Commentary on the Psalms (Durham Cathedral Library MS. B II 14), of which two volumes survive. Verses written on the last folio of the manuscript[6] in the same hand as the text specifically say that the book was ordered by Carilef when he was away from his See—that is when he was in Normandy—and though the script of this volume is not the same as that of the other one of the set that survives, the illumination of the two books is certainly similar. After his implication in the revolt of Odo of Bayeux, Carilef was exiled

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[1] Reproduced in colour, Mynors, op. cit. Pl. 17.

[2] Durham Cathedral MS. B II 10 was, I believe, brought from Christ Church, Canterbury; MS. B II 16 has Anglo-Saxon script and illumination; and MS. B IV 14 has an Anglo-Norman hand and illumination by an Anglo-Saxon.

[3] See, for example, Rouen MS. 467 for the square capitals and Rouen MS. 511 for colouring of script.

[4] Knowles, op. cit. p. 169.

[5] B.M. MS. Cotton Domit. A vii, ff. 42 ff., printed in Surtees Society, vol. cxxxvi.

[6] Printed by Th. Rud, *Codicum manuscriptorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis catalogus classicus* (Durham, 1825), p. 111.

for three years, from 1088 to 1091, and took refuge in Normandy. In his account of the bishop's return to Durham, Symeon of Durham gives the second piece of information. He says: 'But he [Carilef] by no means returned empty-handed, but took care to send forward to his church not only several vessels of gold and silver for the sacred altar and diverse ornaments, but also *very many books*.'[1] Here is unexceptionable internal and external evidence to show that Carilef had manuscripts written in Normandy, which he later gave to Durham. Indeed, though there are Norman influences in Durham illumination of the twelfth century, it has to be accepted that many of the Carilef manuscripts are simply Norman books.[2]

In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, there is a group of illuminated Exeter manuscripts of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, which are as Norman in appearance as the Carilef books. A few are, in fact, illuminated in the 'Carilef' style, by which is meant the style of the Carilef Bible.[3] One such manuscript is MS. Bodl. 301, which also has the square coloured capitals of some of the Durham and some of the Norman books. Its one initial on folio 4 with its bird-heads and striped figure-style and exaggerated linear mask-head, might easily have come from the Carilef Bible. The construction of the letter is the same as that of an initial of the *Gregorius* at Bayeux, where also a figure is seen perched inside the initial just above a mask-head (Bayeux Chapter MS. 58, f. 145v.). The figure-style is the same as that of the St Ouen *Augustinus* at Rouen, as an illustration from that manuscript will clearly show, and even the colours of the Exeter figure—the green hair and stripes in green and blue—can be paralleled in the Rouen manuscript. The relationship between the figure style of these Exeter and St Ouen manuscripts is so very close that one can only conclude that either the same artist illuminated each manuscript, or the artist of each manuscript came from the same scriptorium—that of St Ouen.

72a

72b

72d

One or two other Exeter books, which seem slightly later and probably belong to the early twelfth century, are illuminated in a tighter, less fluent style,[4] but one which is no less Norman and which might be compared to the illumination of such Carilef books as the *Augustinus*.[5] The most important of these is a *Jeronimus* (Bodleian MS. Bodl. 717), which has the celebrated self-portrait of its illuminator Hugo Pictor.[6] In the decoration of this manuscript is found the Norman affection for beading and for tightly picked out penwork patterns, the Norman interest in bright colours and in pen-lines, which are here so undisciplined that they have an irritatingly ragged appearance, like straggling wisps of hair. It will be sufficient to compare the prefatory full-page portrait of Jerome with a drawing of Christ from an earlier Jumièges manuscript (Rouen MS. 1408, f. 32) to see how Norman in appearance is the illumination of the Exeter book. In each illumination there is a similar disposition of the draperies with the folds radiating from the knees, a similar beading of the hems and, in the heads, a similar severe hair style.

70e, f

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[1] *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* (Rolls Series), vol. I, p. 128: 'At ille nequaquam vacuus rediit, sed non pauca ex auro et argento sacro altaris vasa et diversa ornamenta, sed et libros plurimos ad ecclesiam praemittere curavit.'

[2] If they are, they do as much as anything to prove my earlier contention in Chapter I that the Norman style of illumination largely derives from England. Professor F. Wormald has analysed the English elements in the Carilef Books in his article 'The Survival of Anglo-Saxon Illumination after the Norman Conquest' (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. xxx).

[3] For example, Bodleian MSS. Bodl. 301, 701, 783 and 813.

[4] For example, Bodleian Library MSS. Bodl. 135, 147 and 739.   [5] See Mynors, op. cit. Pls. 19 and 21.

[6] For an important article on whom see O. Pächt, 'Hugo Pictor', *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. III, no. 30 (Oct. 1950).

It has been said earlier that on stylistic grounds the artist of one Exeter manuscript (Bodleian MS. Bodl. 301) must have come from the Norman scriptorium of St Ouen. One cannot, however, assume that Norman monks came to Exeter to illuminate manuscripts because there was no monastery attached to Exeter Cathedral at this time. It is possible, then, that if the monks did not cross the Channel it was their products that did; in fact, that some of the Exeter books, like some of the Durham books, were imported from Normandy. The possibility that some of the Exeter books came from English monasteries where there were Norman monks cannot be excluded. It is in fact worth noting, in view of the stylistic relationship between the Exeter and Durham illumination, that the name of William Warelwast, who was Bishop of Exeter between 1107 and 1137, does occur in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham.[1] On the other hand, if some Exeter books did come from Durham the whole problem is merely restated, for some Durham books were brought from Normandy. The stylistic relationship between the Durham and Exeter manuscripts could be adequately explained by the hypothesis that some of the Durham and some of the Exeter books came from the same Norman scriptorium. This, in the absence of documentary evidence, must remain a probability rather than a certainty, but it is worth noting that Warelwast did visit Normandy while Bishop of Exeter, and certainly the English provenance of the Exeter books cannot simply be taken for granted.

Apart from such manuscripts, which were probably produced in Normandy, attention may be drawn to two books in the British Museum, which have never been claimed for an English house, and which are probably Norman. The first is MS. Add. 17739, which is a Gospel Book illuminated by the same hand as a Jumièges manuscript at Rouen (MS. 459), and in which the illumination and script are both Norman. It was brought from France, so that it is highly improbable that it was produced by Normans in this country. The second is another Gospel Book (MS. Add. 11850). Like the other, it has many illuminations, including not only full-page portraits of the evangelists but illuminated canon tables. On stylistic grounds it may be attributed to St Ouen, and should be compared with Rouen MS. 498.

Appendix 2

THE INHABITED SCROLL IN BRITISH MUSEUM MS. ARUNDEL 60

British Museum MS. Arundel 60 is a Psalter, probably from the New Minster at Winchester, written about 1060. This contains on folio 13 a scroll inhabited by human beings;[2] it is doubtful, however, whether it was part of the original illumination of the manuscript.

In the latter, there are two quite distinct styles of illumination. The first is found in the illustrations of the calendar and the drawing of the Crucifixion on folio 12 v.[3] This represents the original illumination of the manuscript. The second, seen in another Crucifixion on folio 52 v.,[4] in the inhabited scroll on folio 13 and the decoration of folio 53, was added, it is suggested, after the Conquest. Though the manuscript was written about 1060, parts of it

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[1] B.M. MS. Cotton Domit. A vii, f. 42.
[2] Wormald, *Decorated Initials in English MSS. from A.D. 900 to 1100*, Pl. 1 c.
[3] Kendrick, op. cit. Pl. xxi (1).   [4] Ibid. Pl. xxi (2).

(folios 47–52 and 133–42v.) are in an Anglo-Norman hand of the last quarter of the eleventh century. The script is contemporary with that of a charter of William the Conqueror in the British Museum (MS. Stowe 944, f. 41). Two of the illuminations of the second style immediately precede these folios, and another two (folios 13 and 53) are on pages where the interlinear Anglo-Saxon is in a different hand from that of the main part of the manuscript. It seems, therefore, that these illuminations were added—like the Anglo-Norman script—after the Conquest. They certainly show Norman influence. This is seen in the 'newly-washed' colours and in the enervated figure style of the inhabited scroll. The figure of Christ   72f
in the Crucifixion should be compared to one from a St Ouen manuscript (Rouen MS. 273,   72e
f. 36v.), where there is a similar emphasis on the muscles of the body and a similar reduction of the drapery to a brittle patternwork. This, in turn, derives from such North-eastern France illumination as the Christ on the Cross of an Angers manuscript (Amiens MS.   72c
fonds Lescalopier 2, f. 11 ter v.).

Appendix 3
A SHORT NOTE ON THE ROCHESTER BOOKS

The script of the Rochester books is very close to that of Christ Church. In one or two books it is indistinguishable from it, and these may represent the work of Canterbury monks working at Rochester. Rochester does, however, develop in the first half of the twelfth century a characteristic hand distinct from that of the neighbouring scriptorium; examples of it are found in Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O 4 7 and Cambridge University Library MS. Ff. 4 32. The gatherings of Rochester manuscripts are sometimes indicated by letters of the alphabet—a, b, c, etc.—and sometimes by Roman numerals. Christ Church manuscripts invariably have gatherings in Roman numerals. If, therefore, the gatherings of a doubtful manuscript are indicated by letters it may be assumed that it comes from Rochester. The converse, however, is not true, i.e. doubtful books with gatherings in numerals do not necessarily come from Canterbury.

The illumination of books which were definitely written at Rochester is largely derived from that of Christ Church. Despite this, there is a difference of texture between the two, and it is usually not difficult to distinguish between the productions of the two houses on stylistic grounds. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS. 10.18 is in an apparently Christ Church script, and its gatherings are indicated by Roman numerals. Nevertheless, the decoration is distinctly Rochester, and for this reason it is attributed to the latter house.

Appendix 4

A HAND-LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS ILLUMINATED AT CANTERBURY BETWEEN 1050 AND 1200[1]

CHRIST CHURCH

1040–70	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Tib. A iii (ff. 2–173). *Reg. S. Benedicti*, etc.
1050–1080	Durham Cathedral Library	MS. B III 32. *Aelfric's Grammar*
1073	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Calig. A xv. *Computistica*, etc.
1070–1100	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Ff. 3 9. *Gregorius*
	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Kk 1 23. *Ambrosius*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 5. *Jeronimus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 4 2. *Augustinus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 4 9. *Gregorius*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 5 26. *Augustinus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 5 28. *Augustinus*
1080–1110	Durham Cathedral Library	MS. B II 10. *Jeronimus*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 827. *Ambrosius*
1090–1120	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Ii 3 33. *Gregorius*
	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 187. *Eusebius*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 9. *Ambrosius*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 33. *Augustinus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 4 26. *Augustinus*
	London, British Museum	MS. Arundel 16. *Osbernus*
	London, Inner Temple Library	MS. 511. 10. *Macrobius*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 385. *Jeronimus*
1120	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Cleop. E i. *Professiones episcoporum*, etc.
1100–1130	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 2 3. *Beda*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 4. *Jeronimus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 10 *Ambrosius*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 14. *Ric. Pratellensis*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 32. *Augustinus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 4 5. *Florus diaconus*
	London, Lambeth Palace Library	MS. 62. *Ric. Pratellensis*

[1] The identifications of MSS. are chiefly based on those given in Mr N. R. Ker's book, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (London, 1941). Manuscripts with very simple pen-work initials are not included.

1100–1130	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 161. *Beda*
	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale	MS. lat. 987 (drawing on f. 111). *Benedictionale*
1110–1140	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Dd 1 4. *Josephus*
	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Dd 8 15. *Haymo*
	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Ff 3 29. *Isidorus*
	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 19. *Ivo Carnotensis*
	Cambridge, St John's College	MS. 5. *Ambrosius*
	Cambridge, St John's College	MS. 8. *Josephus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 2 34. *Jeronimus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 2 36. *J. Chrysostomus*, etc.
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 4 25. *Augustinus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 4 28. *Jeronimus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 5 22. *Jeronimus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 5 23. *Jeronimus*
	Canterbury Cathedral Library	MS. E 42. *Passionale* (written after 1129)
	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Claud. E v. *Pseudo-Isidore*
	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Nero C vii. *Passionale*[1]
	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Otho D viii. *Passionale*
	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Vesp. B xxv. *Solinus*, etc.
	London, British Museum	MS. Harley 315. *Passionale* (ff. 1–39)[1]
	London, British Museum	MS. Harley 624. *Passionale* (ff. 84–143)[1]
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 271. *Anselmus*
1120–1150	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Ii 3 12. *Boetius*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 217. *Beda*
c. 1147	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. R 17 1. *Psalterium*
	London, British Museum	(?) MS. Add. 37472(1).[2] *fragm. Psalterii*
	London, Victoria and Albert Museum	(?) MS. 661.[2] *fragm. Psalterii*
	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library	(?) MS. 521.[2] *fragm. Psalterii*
	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library	(?) MS. 724.[2] *fragm. Psalterii*
1130–1160	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 457. *Alex. Cantuariensis*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 13. *Angelomus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. R 15 22. *Boetius*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 317. *Florus diaconus*

[1] B.M. MSS. Cotton Nero C vii, Harley 315, and Harley 624 were originally part of the same manuscript.
[2] These leaves were originally part of the same psalter—perhaps Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R. 17 1. Their Canterbury provenance is not certain.

1140–1160	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Ii I 41. *Prosper*, etc.
	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MSS. 3 and 4. *Biblia*
	London, British Museum	MS. Royal 7 E vi. *Martyrologium*
1150–1180	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 46. *J. Sarisberiensis*
	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 345. *Hilarius*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 2 9. *Hesychius*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 2 31. *Pseudo-Dionysius*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 3 28. *Jeronimus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 15 10. *Hugo de S. Victore*
	London, British Museum	MS. Royal 10 A xiii. *Smaragdus*
1160–1190	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 2 33. *Augustinus*
	Cambridge, Pembroke College	MS. 210. *Numerus glossatus*
1170–1200	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Claud. B ii. *J. Sarisberiensis*
	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale	MS. lat. 8846. *Psalterium*[1]
1180–1200	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 200. *Baldewinus*

ST AUGUSTINE'S

1040–1070	London, British Museum	MS. Harley 603. *Psalterium*, additions on ff. 15, 15v., 17, drawings on ff. 28, 28v., 58–73v.
1070–1100	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 1 40. *Augustinus*
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. O 2 51. *Priscianus*[2]
	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. R 14 31. *Chirurgica*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Ashmole 1431. *Apuleius Barbarus*
1080–1110	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 267. *Freculphus*
	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 389. *Vita Pauli*, etc., additions on f. iv. and 17v.
	Canterbury Cathedral Library	MS. A 8. *Augustinus*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 391. *Theologica*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 596. *Vita S. Cuthberti*, ff. 175–214
1090–1120	London, British Museum	MS. Harley 652. *Omeliarium*
	London, British Museum	MS. Royal 13 A xxiii. *Chronica Odonis*, etc.
	Florence, Laurenziana Library	MS. Plut. 12. 17. *Augustinus*

[1] See above p. 99 for Catalan additions. [2] Initial on f. 121 added later.

1100–1130	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 94. *Ivo Carnotensis*
	London, British Museum	MS. Arundel 91. *Vite sanctorum*
	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Vesp. B xx. *Goscelinus*
	London, British Museum	MS. Cotton Vit. C xii. *Martyrologium*, ff. 114–57
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Fell 2. *Vite sanctorum*[1]
1110–1140	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College	MS. 274. *Ambrosius*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. e Museo 66. *Beda*
1120–1150	London, British Museum	MS. Harley 603. *Psalterium*, drawings on ff. 29–35
	London, British Museum	MS. Royal 1 B xi. *Evangelia*
	London, British Museum	MS. Royal 5 B xv. *Augustinus*
	London, British Museum	MS. Royal 7 D ii. *Miscellanea*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Bodl. 826. *Augustinus*
1130–1160	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. laud. misc. 300. *Jeronimus*
1140–1160	London, British Museum	MS. Add. 37517. *Psalterium*, additions on ff. 128 v. and 135 v.
	London, British Museum	MS. Egerton 874. *Augustinus*, addition on f. 69 v.
	London, British Museum	MS. Harley 105. *Goscelinus*
	London, Lambeth Palace Library	MS. 3. *Biblia pars*
	London, Lambeth Palace Library	MS. 4. *Biblia pars*
	Maidstone Museum	MS. P 5. *Biblia pars*
1150–1180	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Digby 174. *Boetius*
	Oxford, Corpus Christi College	MS. 221. *Miscellanea*, ff. 69–end
	Oxford, St John's College	MS. 152. *Priscianus*, ff. 1–78 v.
1160–1190	Cambridge, University Library	MS. Ff 4 40. *Epp. Pauli glo.*
	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Selden supra 26. *Mathematica*
1170–1200	Cambridge, Trinity College	MS. B 14 37. *Miracula S. Thome.*
	London, Lambeth Palace Library	MS. 185. *Sermones*
1180–1210	Oxford, Bodleian Library	MS. Selden supra 25. *Mathematica*

[1] Initial on f. 295 added later.

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The printed materials for this study are so dispersed among historical and Patristic sources on the one hand and works on medieval art on the other, that it would be difficult to compile anything like an exhaustive bibliography. It has seemed best, therefore, simply to list the books actually quoted in the text. 'R.S.' is used as an abbreviation for 'Rolls Series'.

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THE PLATES

In order to accommodate as many photo-graphs as possible in the following plates, it has been necessary to reduce the originals in most cases

b   London, B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. A iii, f. 117v.

a   London, B.M. MS. Arundel 155. f. 133.
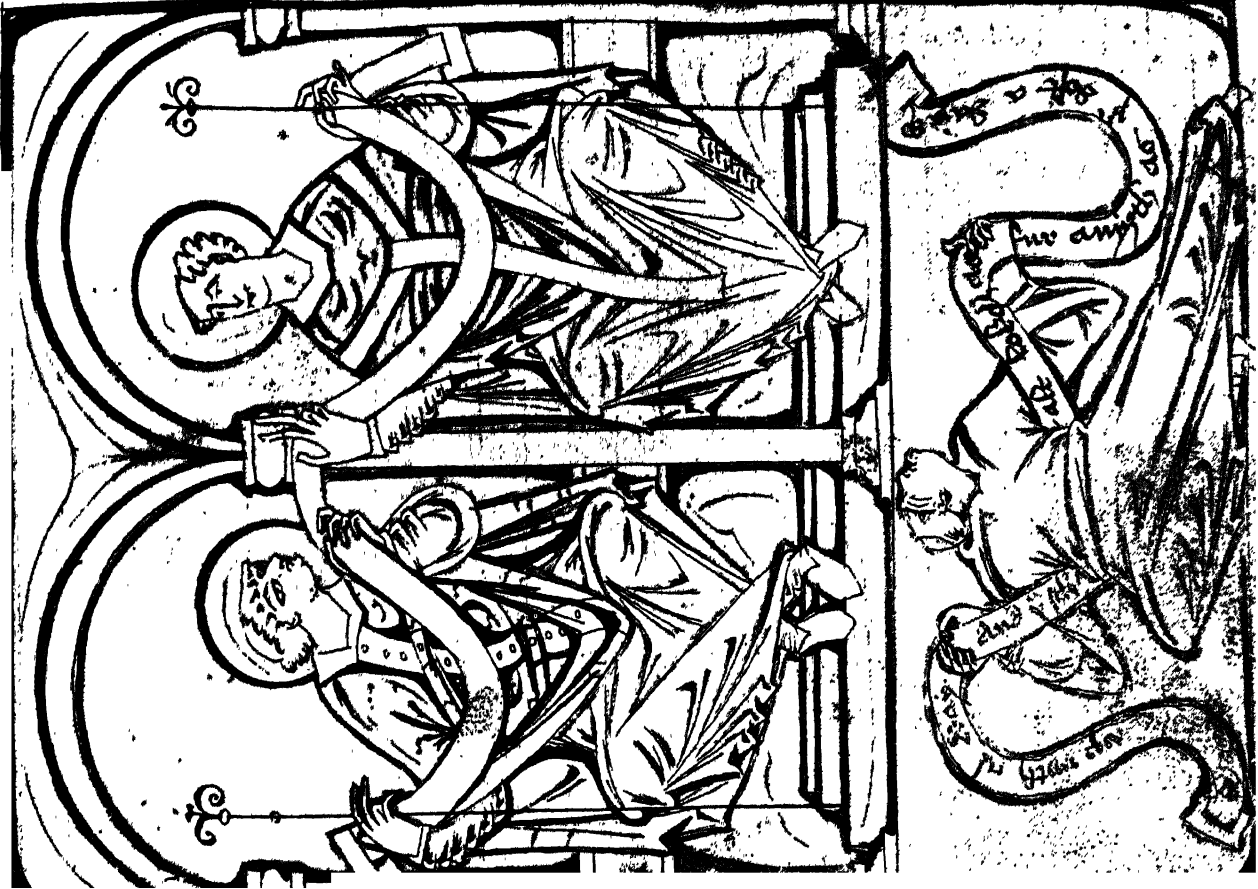
b Durham Cathedral Library MS. B III 32, f. 56v.

a London, B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. A iii, f. 2v.

scandalum · querenteſ ingeniū uulneri · Humidę miſerunt ·
ſed ſtigiſtratuſ miſit · Vbi ſit tigiſt · noruit eſt · Quimiſſi ſunt cle
rici extra congregauert ab eccta · & clericoſ cartaginiſ accede
re noluerunt · Viſitatorem poſuert · a lucilla exceptiſt · Auqor
totī mali · numida hereticuſ fuit · Innumidia unde uentū eſt
huc cū tanto malo muſcariū uix inuenit · in cur ſionib · habi
tant · Quom monſ umbroſuſ in numidia · Dic michi ergo · Holi
huc uſq̇ · rectare · dſ ab africo · Exigo & ſequentia · It ſci de mon
te umbroſo · Sed oſtende michi partē donati a numidia de
monte umbroſo uenire · Inuenieſ nuda omia · uino ueſ auide

a   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 12211, f. 14.

Sicut paſtor a comiſſo ſibi grege debitū paſtorali prelationi ſ eiſq̇ e honore
ſic ſumma cū deuotione prelatiſ ſuiſ debitā ſtudeat exhibere ſubiectione · Non
enī iuſte uidetur eſſe rationiſ · nolle prelatū ſuiſ exhibere qd a ſubiectiſ exigit
ſed nimiū piculoſe damnationiſ · Propterea reuerentiſſime pater LANFRANCE ſ
cantuarienſiſ eccl̄ arch̄iep̄e vo ROBERTVS ceſtrenſiſ ecc pa ſtor electuſ li
benti animo tibi ſucceſſoribuſq̇ tuiſ debitā pmitto ſubiectione · quatinuſ in
ſuſcepto honore ſummo paſtori placere · eiq̇ depoſito onere carniſ facie inde re
ualeam ſine confuſione ·

b   Canterbury Cathedral Library Charta Antiqua C 115, no. 2.

tende · omiſq̇ coepoſ frr̄ nrōſ e nra parte ſaluta · & ad honore & utilitate ſc̄e romanę eccl̄ ſtudio ſeruare
fraterne hortare ·

Clemenſ ep̄ſ ſeruuſ ſeruoꝝ dī LANFRANCO cantuarberienſi arch̄iep̄o ſicut hi io conf̄ri
& apl̄ica benedictione · Nouerit caritaſ tua cariſſime fr̄ · quia deſiderio deſiderauīt te uidere ·
ore ad oſ tecū loqui ac pmanibuſ te habere · Ad cui efficaciā uoti exterior licet homo ii uult
& · interior tam moluit & impleat · mediat ac quaſi te preſente conſpiciat · Condelectan enī
in dilectione fraternit tue · & quaſi quoddā fundamtū ſpei ad utilitate fidei xpiane & ad
religioniſ antiquiſ uelut lapidē tam uiuū ac tot modiſ expolitū te eternī · & ad honorem
eccl̄ ſc̄i petri maximū te futuri cooparorem nrm̄ pdi miſediam expectam · Vnde uolumuſ

c   Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 16 44, f. 396.

INCIPIT ISPALENSE CONCILIVM SECVNDVM
IN NOMINE DOMINI SALVATORIS NOSTRI IHV XPI CONSIDENTIBVS NOBIS IN SECRETARIO
ſacroſc̄e Iſm iſpalenſiſ eccl̄ · cū illuſtrib · uir iſ ſiſiſelo rectore rerū publicarū · atq̇ ſuil
lane actore rerū fiſcaliū · ſtante religioſiſſimo clericoꝝ coetu · prima actione THEODVLFI
malacitanę antiſtitiſ eccl̄ ad noſ oblata pcatio eſt · aſſerentiſ antiquā eiuſdē urbiſ paro
chiā militariſ quondā hoſtilitatiſ diſcrimine fuiſſe deciſam · & ex parte aliqua ab eccliſ ·
aſtigitanę · eliberritanę · atq̇ egabrenſiſ urbiū · eē retenta · Proquare placuit · ut omiſ
parochia quā ab antiqua ditione ante militare hoſtilitate retinuiſſe eccl̄am ſuā cōpbaret ·
ei priuilegio reſtitueret · Sicut enī lege mundiale iſ quoſ barbarica ſeuertaſ captiuane
ceſſitate tranſ fugerit · poſt lim inio reuertentib · reddit antiqua poſſeſſio · n̄ aliter & ecclearete

d   Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 16 44, f. 405.

PLATE 5

a
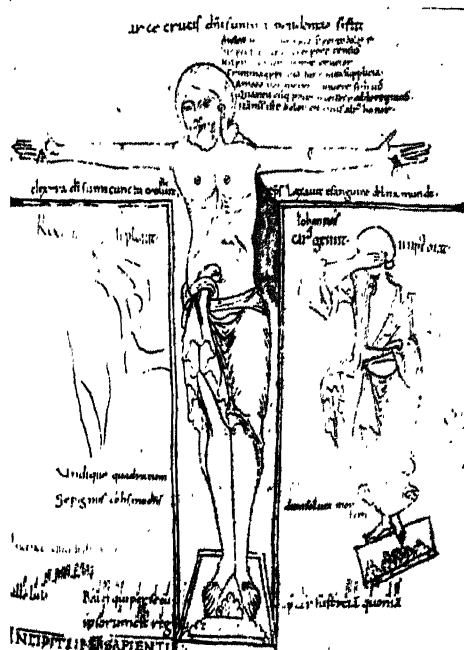
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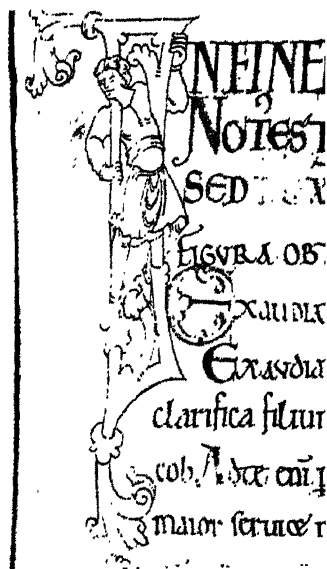
g
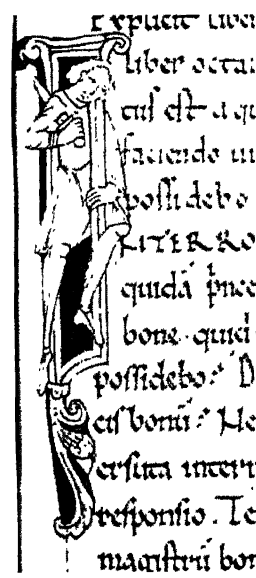
h

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 943, f. 4v.
Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 26, f. 48.
Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 1404, f. 81v.
Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 76, f. 1v.
Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff. 1 23. f. 17v.
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11, f. 78.
Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 457, f. 30.
Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 9, f. 130.

a   New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. 709, f. 48v.

b   St Lô, Archives Départementales de la Manche MS. 1, f. 42v.

c   Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 301, f. 11.
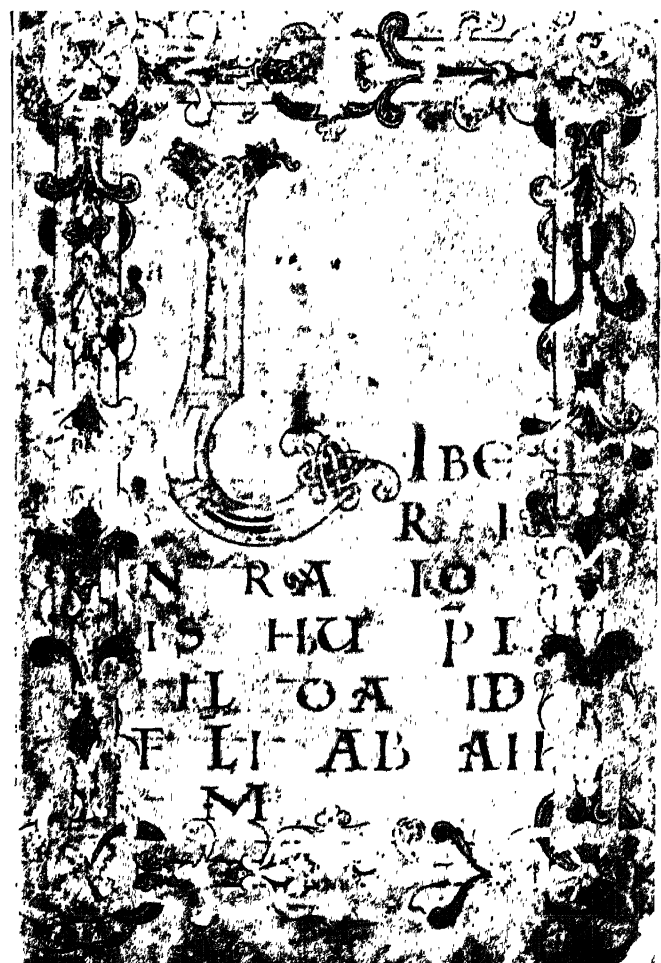
d   St Lô, Archives Départementales de la Manche MS. 1, f. 5.

PLATE 7

a Detail from an astronomical chart.

b Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 10 4, f. 60.

c Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 10 4, f. 133.
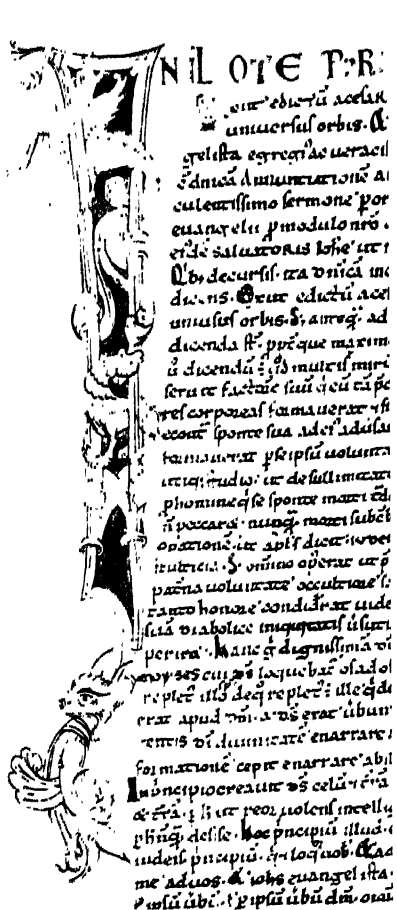
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e Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 445, f. 49.

f London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 62, f. 1v.

PLATE 9
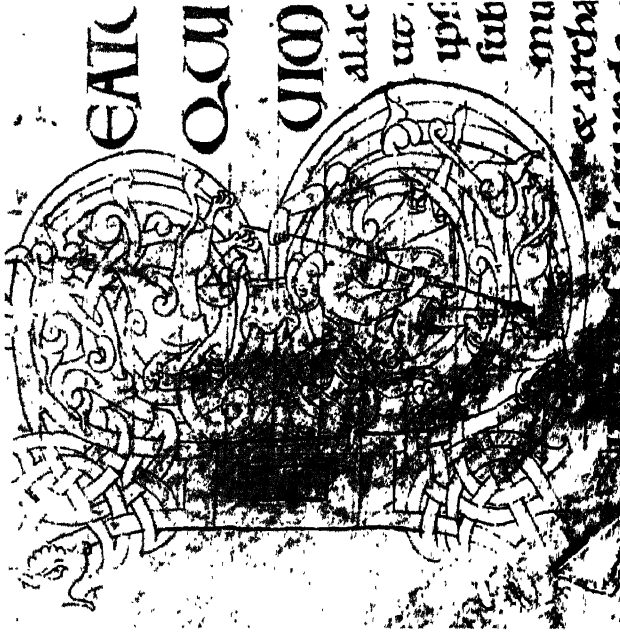
a Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Junius 11, f. 63.

b Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff 1 23, f. 131v.

c Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 467, f. 101v.

d London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 62, f. 69v.
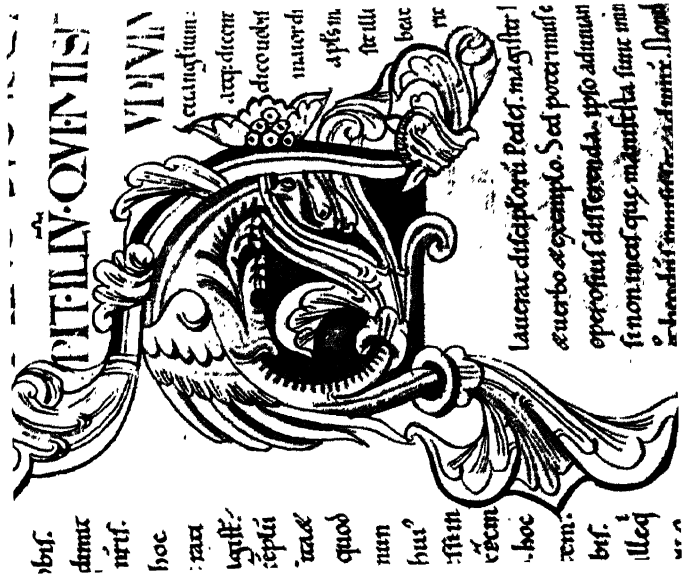
e Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 467, f. 124v.
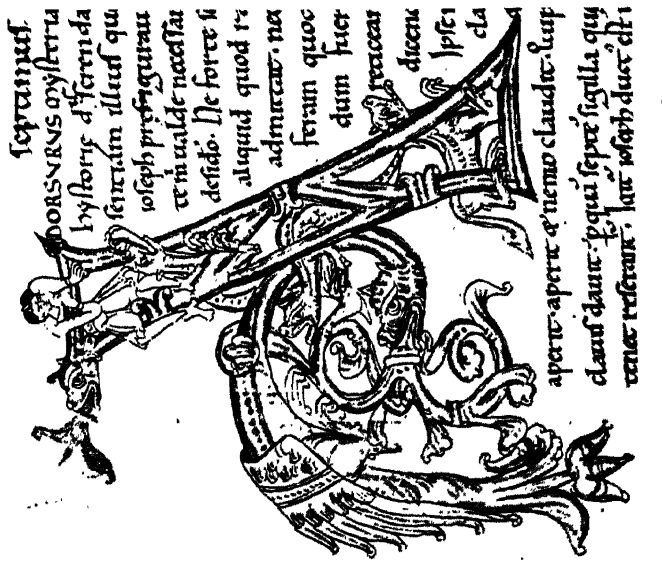
f Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 14, f. 73v.
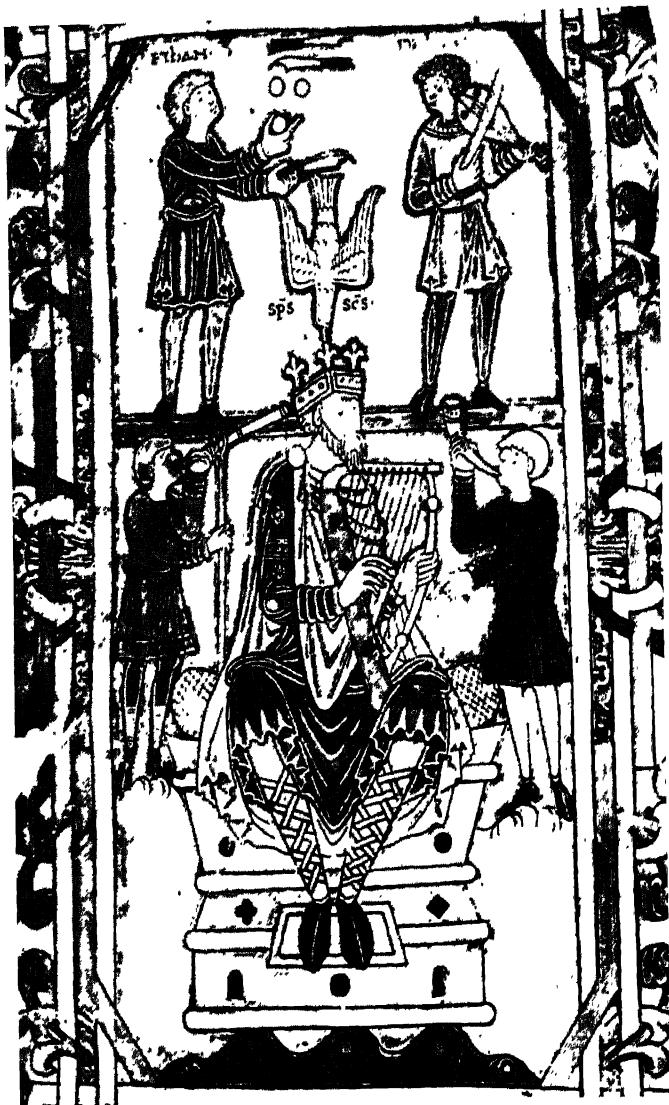
a   London, B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. C vi, f. 30v.

b   Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 5 26, f. 1.
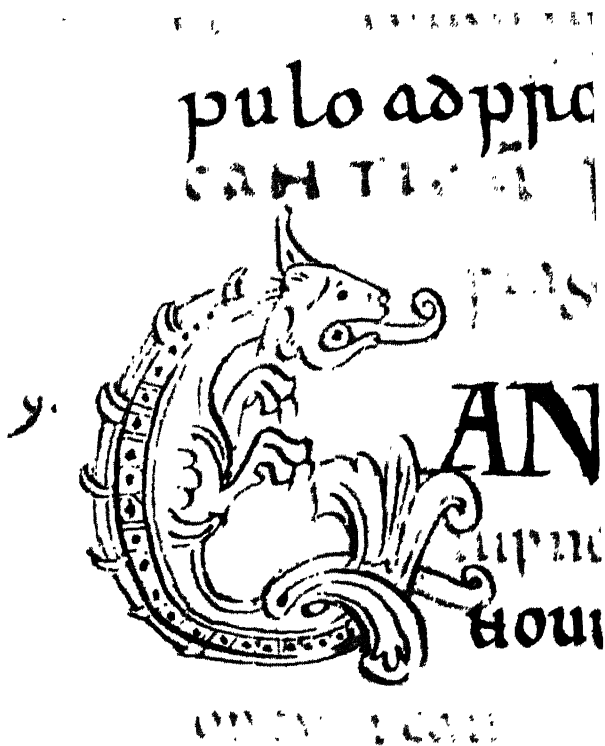
c   Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff 1 23, f. 249v.

d   Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 5 28, f. 87v.

PLATE II

a Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 10 4, f. 90.

Incipium omelię beati Gr
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transiens: transibn
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b Cambridge, University Library MS. Ff 3 9, f. 56.

c Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O 2 51, f. 91.

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tali comendaret n
moreretur pseru
ri. Hactus est xpc

d Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 32, f. 50v.

PLATE 13

a Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd 1 4, f. 64v.

b Florence, Laurenziana Library MS. Plut. 12. 17, f. 5.

c London, B.M. MS. Cotton Tit. D xxvii. f. 75v.

d Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii 3 12, f. 62v.

a Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 10 4, f. 16v.
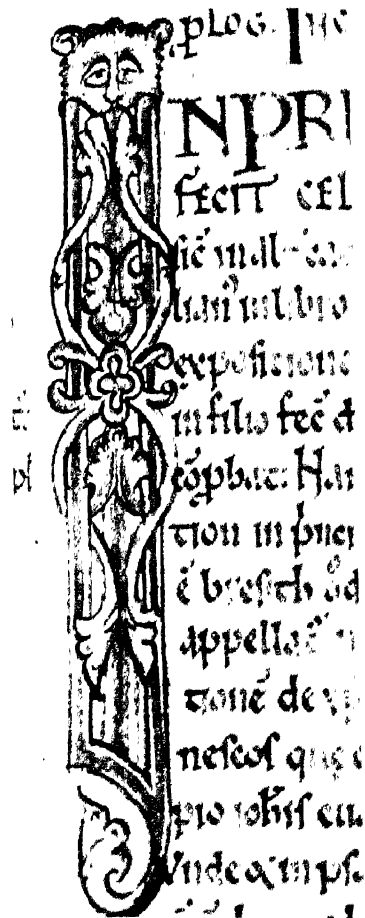
b Cambridge, Trinity College
MS. B 2 34, f. 2.

c London, B.M. MS. Royal 12 E xx,
f. 124v.
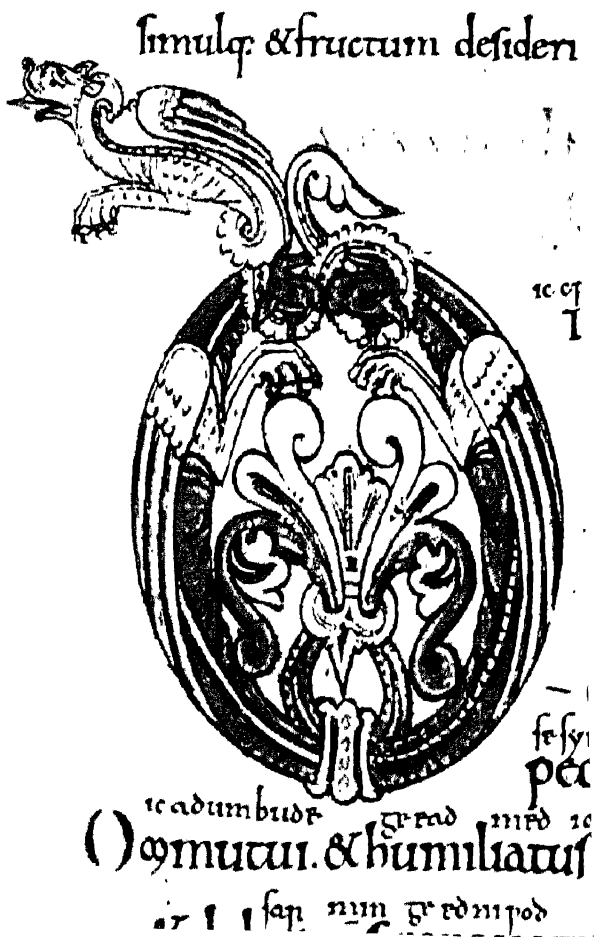
d London, B.M. MS. Cotton Tib. C vi, f. 60.

e Cambridge, St John's College MS. 8, f. 102.

PLATE 15

a London, B.M. MS. Arundel 91, f. 28v.

b Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O 2 51, f. 81v.

c London, B.M. MS. Arundel 91, f. 40v.

d Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O 2 51, f. 34.

e London, B.M. MS. Arundel 91, f. 161v.
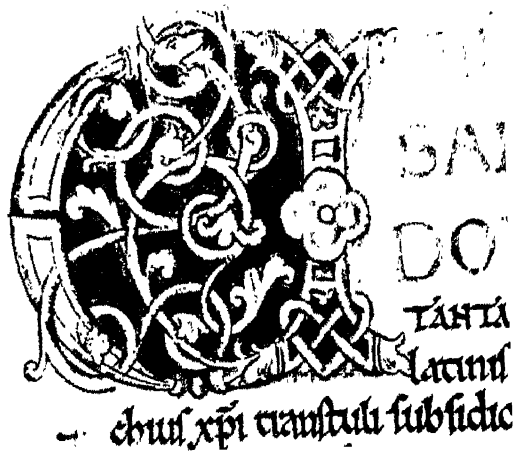
a London, B.M. MS. Arundel 91, f. 81v.
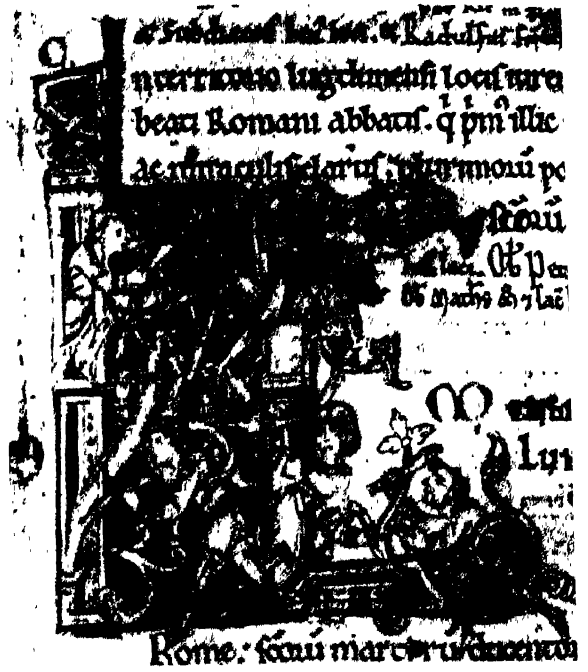
b London, B.M. MS. Cotton Vit. C xii, f. 121.

c Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 389, f. 1v.

d Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 270, f. 46.

e London, B.M. MS. Arundel 91, 170v.

PLATE 17
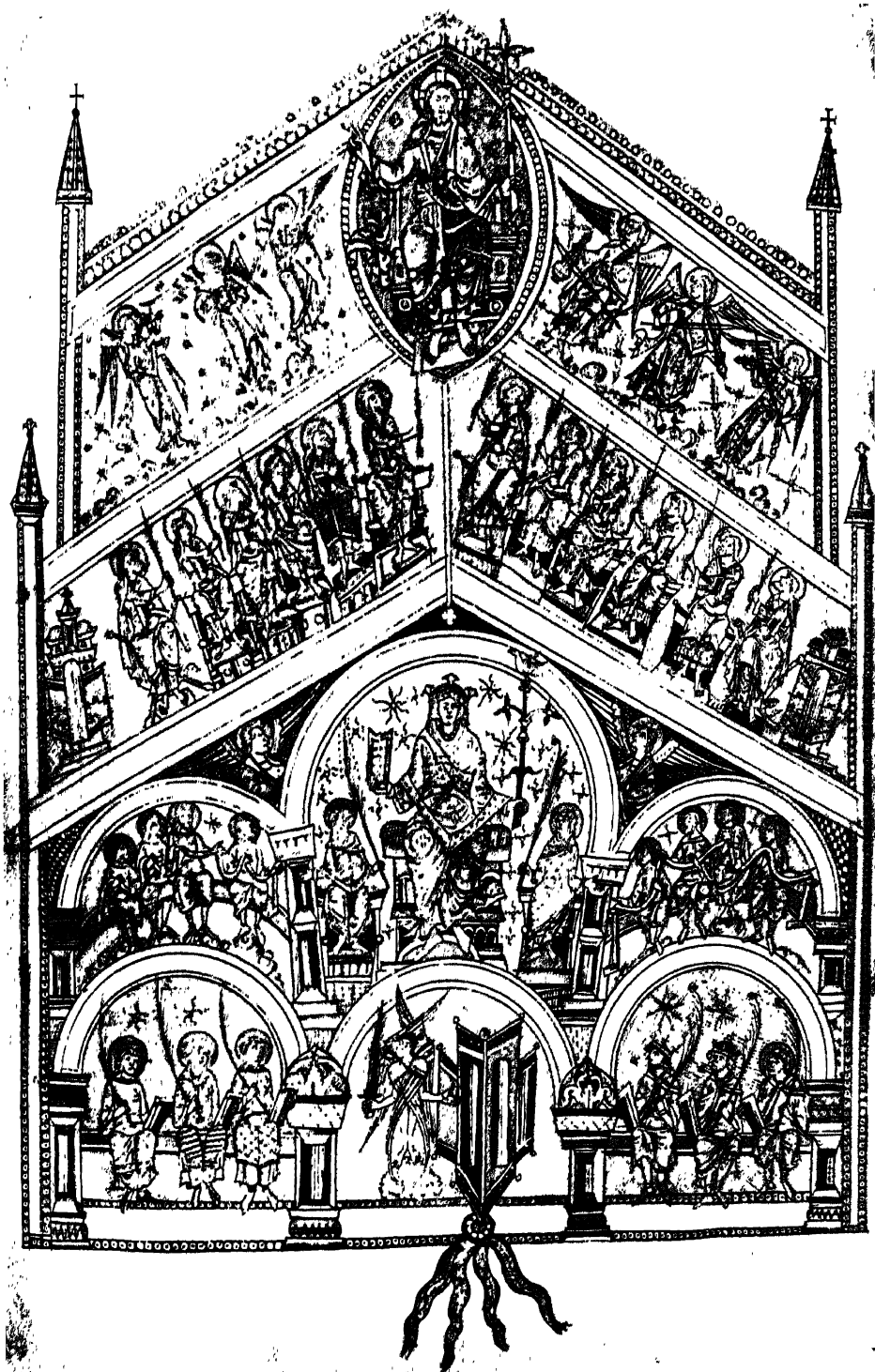
a Florence, Laurenziana Library MS. Plut. 12. 17, f. 2v.
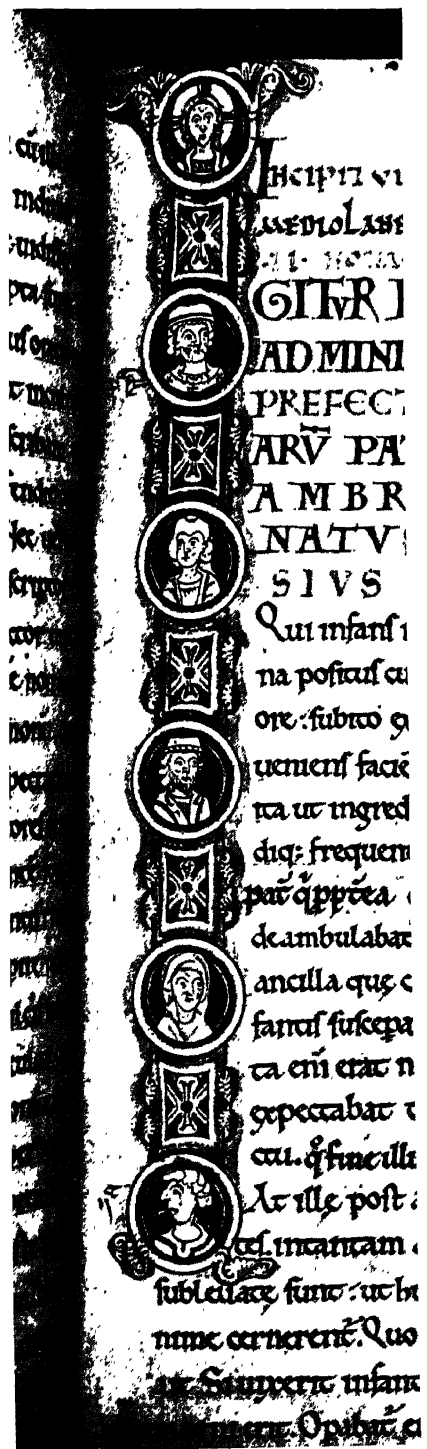
b London, B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 94.

c London, B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 141v.

d Florence, Laurenziana Library MS. Plut. 12. 17, f. 4.

a Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 2 34, f. 34.

b Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 15 22, f. 49.

c Florence, Laurenziana Library MS. Plut. 12. 17, f. 211.

a London, B.M. MS. Arundel 155, f. 93.

b London, B.M. MS. Arundel 91, f. 188.

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a Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd 1 4, f. 100v.

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b Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 15 22, f. 5v.

c Detail from Gallo-Roman sarcophagus
(after Esperandieu).

PLATE 21

a   London, B.M. MS. Arundel 91, f. 26v.

b   London, B.M. MS. Royal 1 B xi, f. 6.

c   Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii 3 12, f. 61v.

Florence, Laurenziana Library MS. Plut. 12. 17, f. 3v.

Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 17 1, f. 283v.
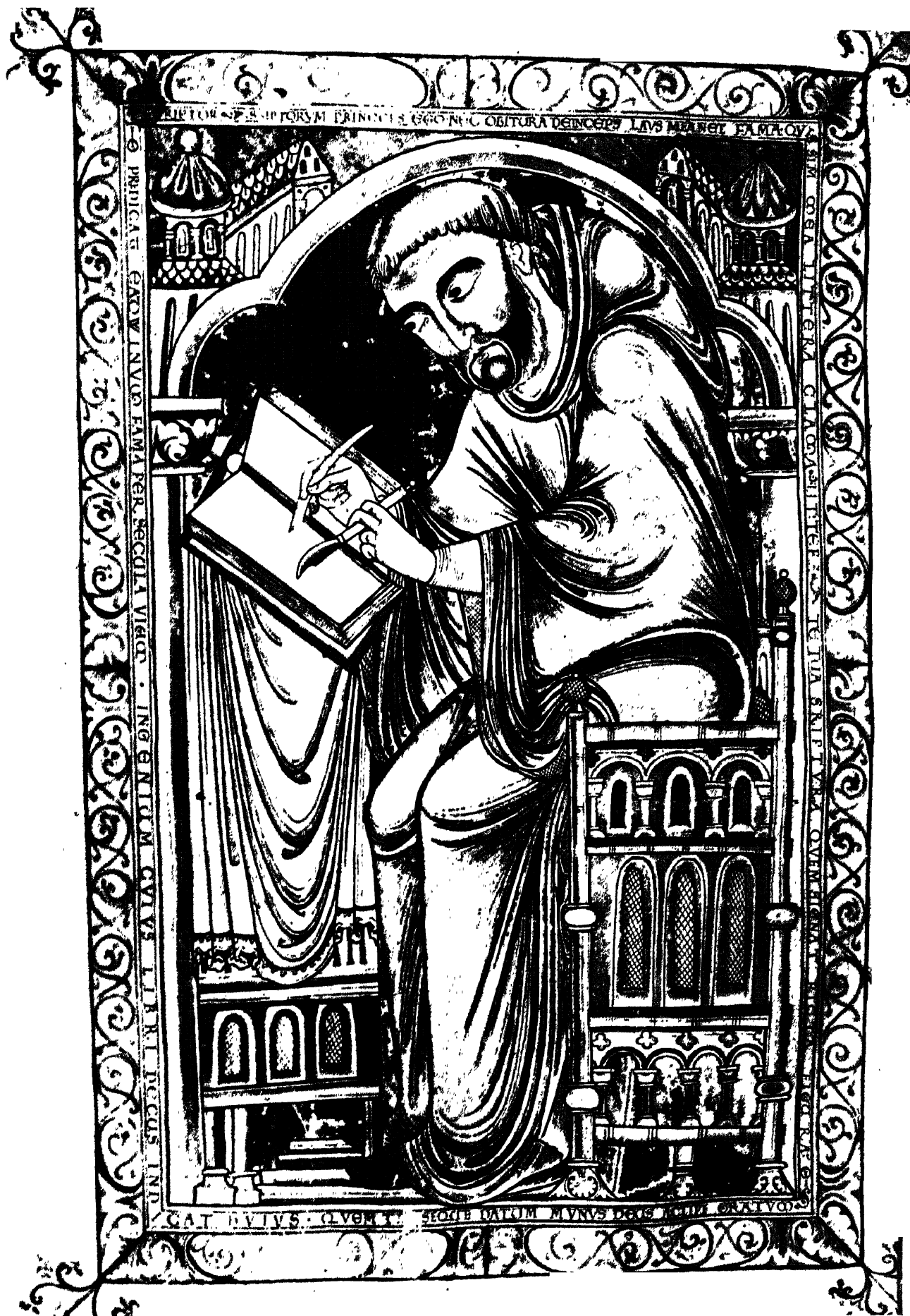
a London, B.M. MS. Add. 37517, f. 128v.

b Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 15 34, f. 1.
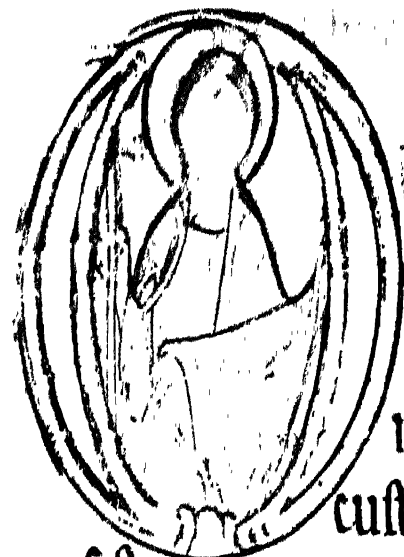
c Maidstone Museum MS. P 5, f. 17.

PLATE 25

a Cambridge, St John's College MS. 8, f. 1v.

b Cambridge, St John's College MS. 8, f. 191.

c Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 15 22, f. 1.

d Head from the wall-paintings of St Gabriel's Chapel,
Canterbury Cathedral (*after* Tristram).

PLATE 26

capiti meo aquá & oculif meif fonté lacrimarum:

a Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 2 36, f. 3.

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b London, B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 47.

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c Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 271, f. 43 v.

PLATE 2
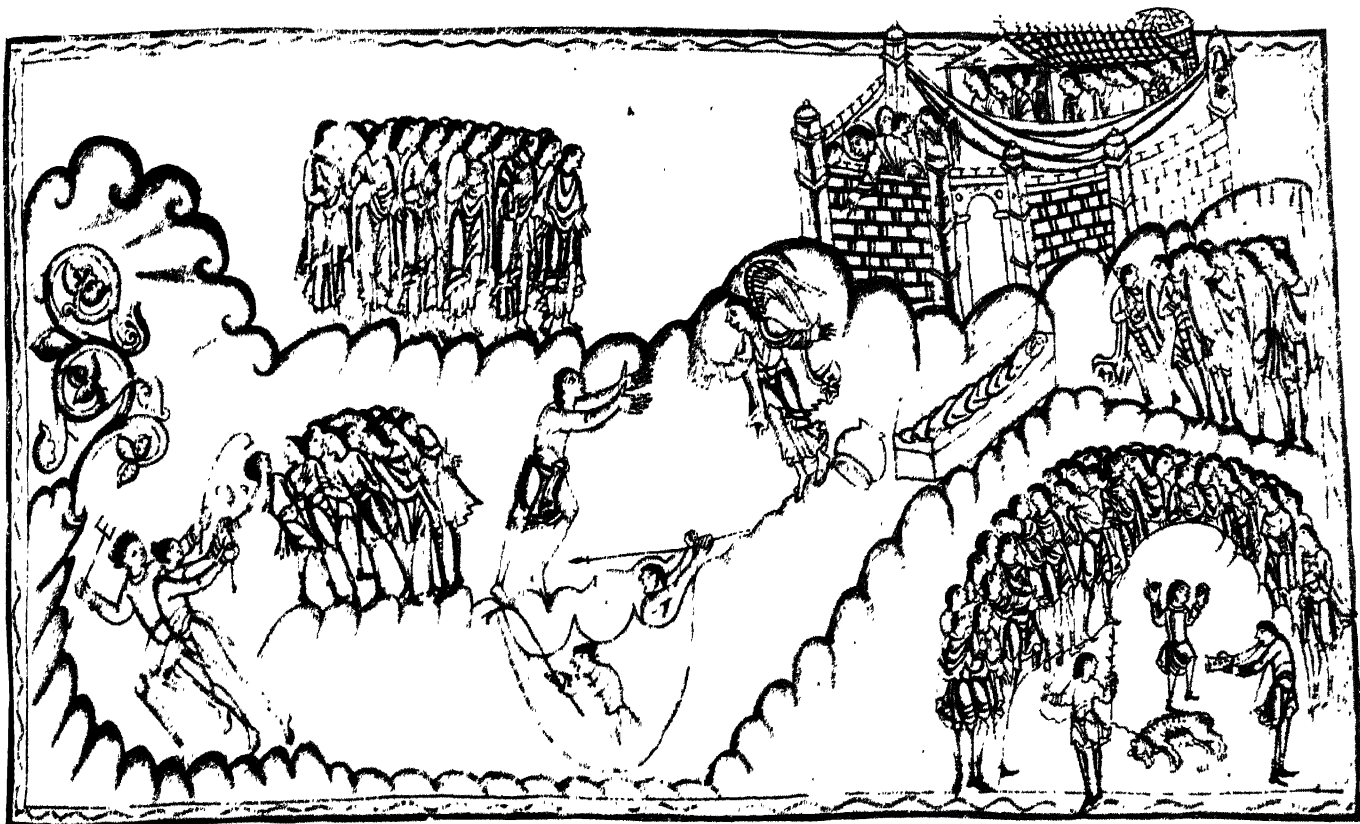
a Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 17 1, f. 50.

b Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 17 1, f. 180.

PLATE 28

a Hildesheim, S. Godehards Bibl.
St Alban's Psalter, f. 417.

b Cambridge, Trinity College
MS. R 17 1, l. 164v.

c Hildesheim, S. Godehards Bibl.
St Alban's Psalter, f. 51.

d Cambridge, Pembroke College
MS. 120, f. 4v.

e Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 17 1, f. 50.

PLATE 29
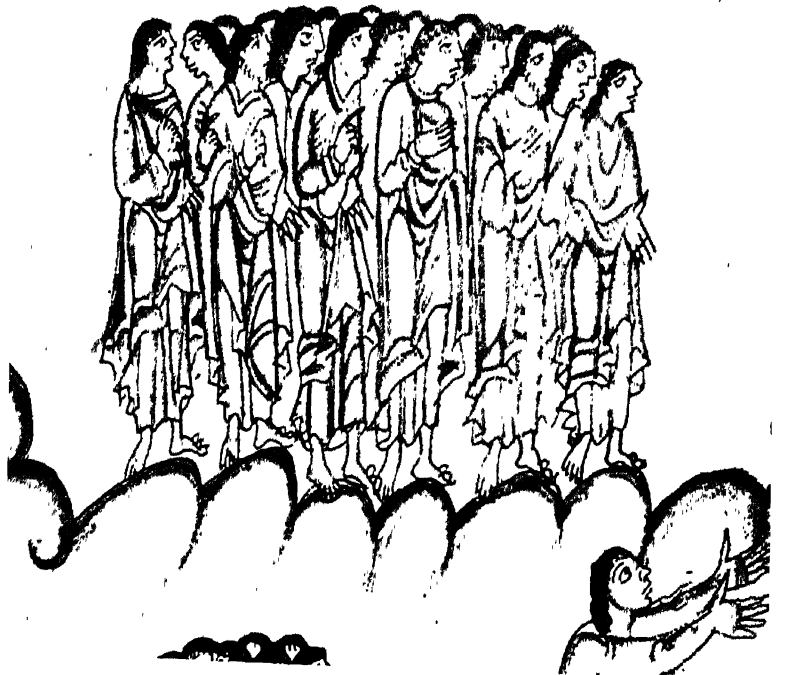
a London, B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 100.

b London, Lambeth Palace Library
MS. 4, f. 62v.

c Maidstone Museum MS. P 5, f. 32v.
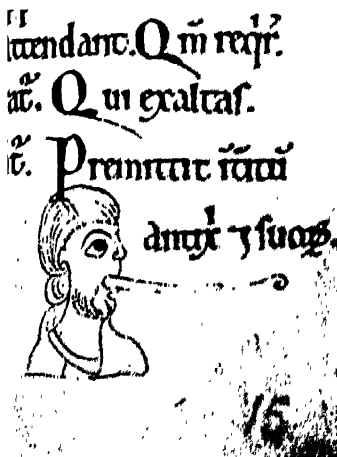
d Cambridge, Trinity College
MS. R 17 1, f. 15.
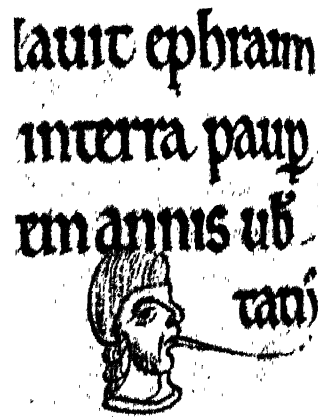
e Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
MS. 3, f. 20.
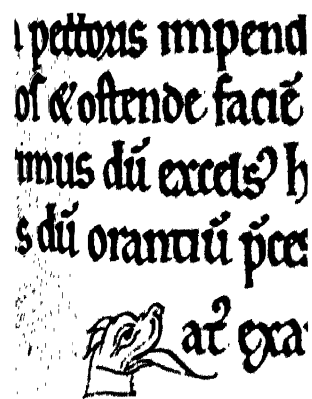
f Cambridge, Trinity College
MS. R 17 1, f. 144.

g Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
MS. 3, f. 106.

h Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 17 1,
f. 199v.

PLATE 30

a Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd. 1 4, f. 220.
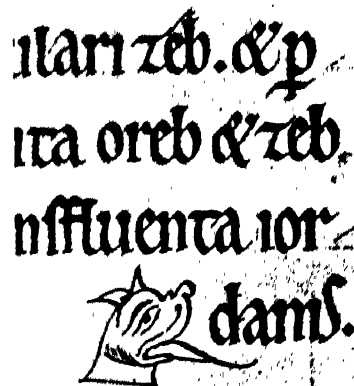
b Leaf in the possession of the Musée d'Avesnes.

PLATE 31

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cum éém inmedio caonuor̃ iu

a London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 258v.

b Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 271, f. 36.

c Figure from the wall-paintings in the crypt of
Aquileia cathedral (*after* Toesca).

a   Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS. II 175, f. 2.

b   Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 512, f. 4v.

c   Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 315, f. 1.

d   Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 4, f. 237.

PLATE 33

a Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 4, f. 261.

b Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 4, f. 65v.

c Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 19, f. 10v.

d Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 108, f. 58v.

PLATE 34

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PLATE 35

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d   Capital from the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.

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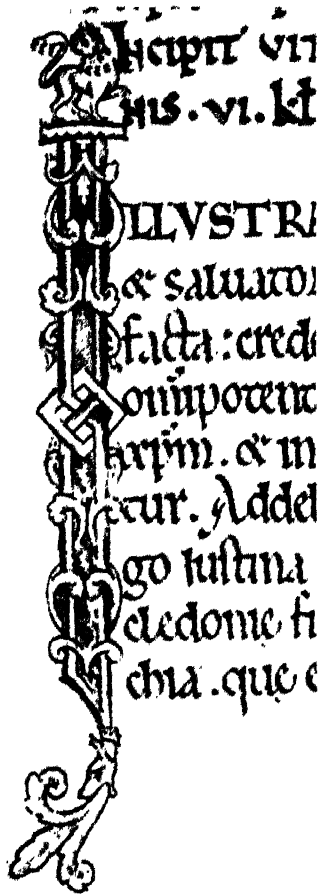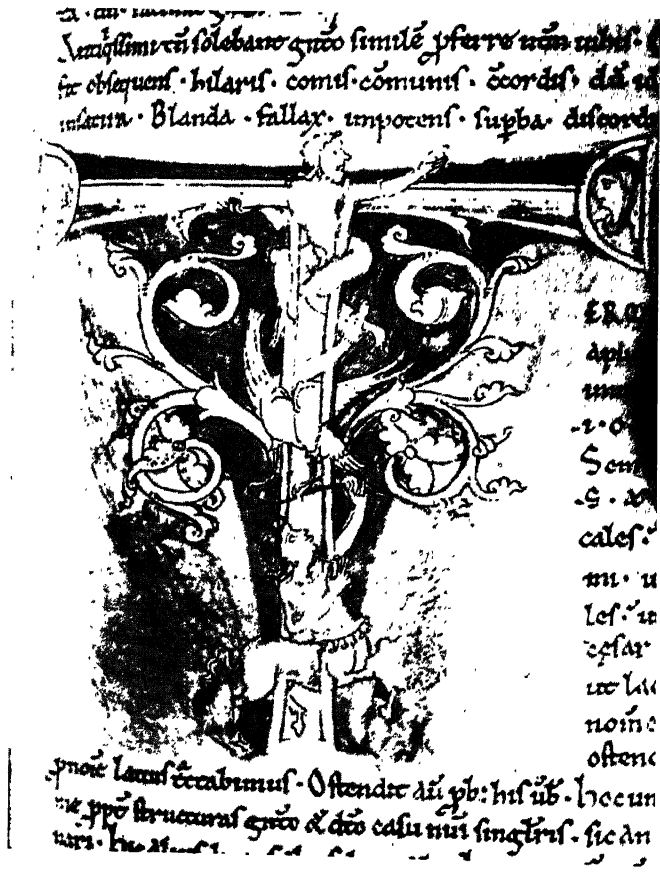
e

a Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd 1 4, f. 121.

b Aquila from an astronomical manuscript.

c Leo from an astronomical manuscript.

d Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O 2 51, f. 46.

e Sagittarius from an astronomical manuscript.
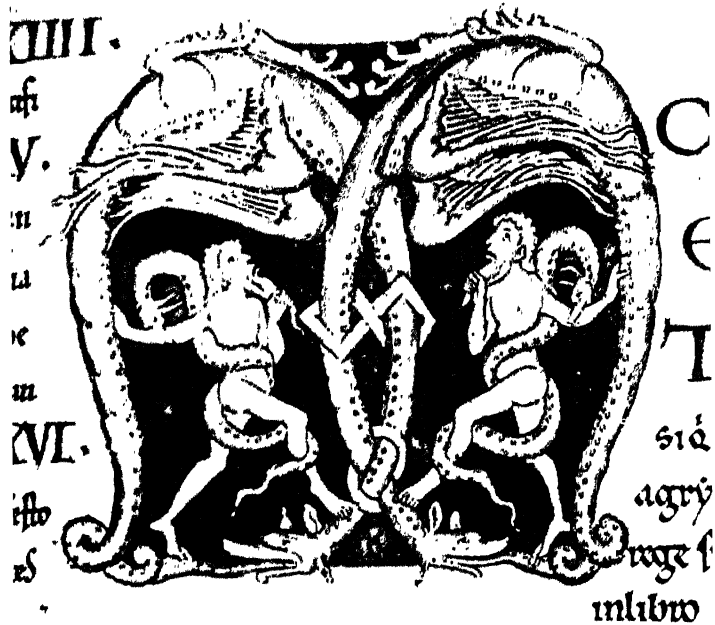
PLATE 37

a Cambridge, St John's College MS. 8, f. 91.

b Serpentarius from an astronomical
manuscript.
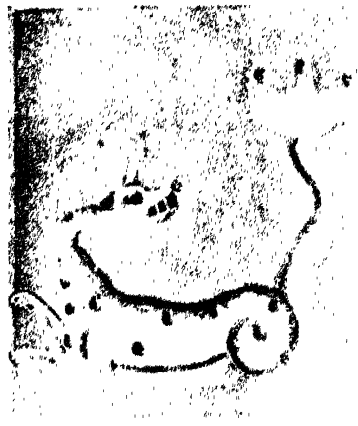
c Cetus from an astronomical
manuscript.

e Janus, from a Roman coin.

f Hildesheim, S. Godehards Bibl.
St Alban's Psalter, f. 3. (Copyright,
Warburg Institute. *Photo*, O. Fein.)

d Cambridge, St John's College MS. 8, f. 219.

g Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS. 10. 18, f. 146.

h London, B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 141 v.

a   Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii 3 12, f. 93v.

b   Anticanis from an astronomical manuscript.

c   Capricornis from an astronomical manuscript.
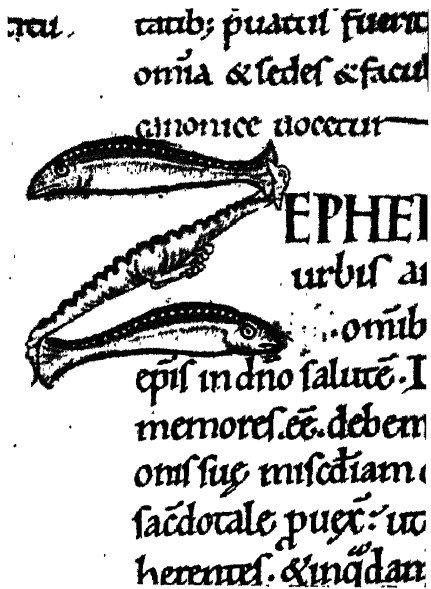
London, B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 45.

e   Pisces from a twelfth-century calendar.
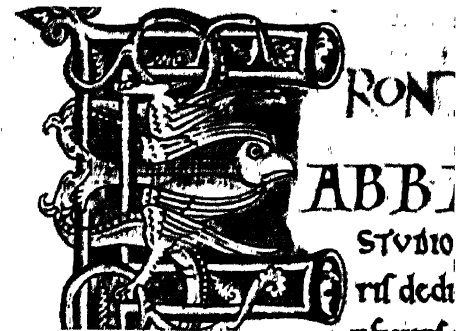
f   London, B.M. MS. Cotton Nero C vii, f. 42v.
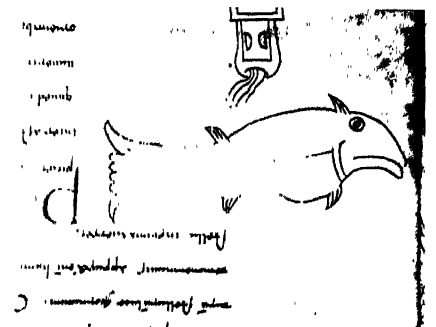
g   Magnus Piscis from an astronomical manuscript.

h   Canis from an astronomical manuscript.
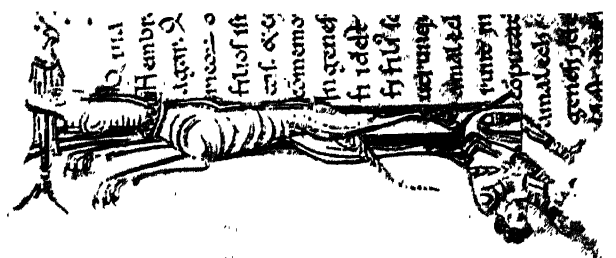
i   Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 2 34, f. 137v.

a Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 4, f. 1.

b Hawking scene from a twelfth-century calendar.

c Vintage scene from a calendar.

d London, B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 49.

e London, B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 28.

f Vintage scene from an illustrated encyclopaedia.

PLATE 40

a Pan and goat, from Herculaneum
(*after* Reinach).

b Maidstone Museum MS. P 5, f. 22v.

c Gorgon's head, from a Greek coin.

d London, B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 106v.

e Gorgon's head, from a Greek coin.

f London, B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 141v.

a Hercules and the lion, from a
Roman carving (*after* Reinach).

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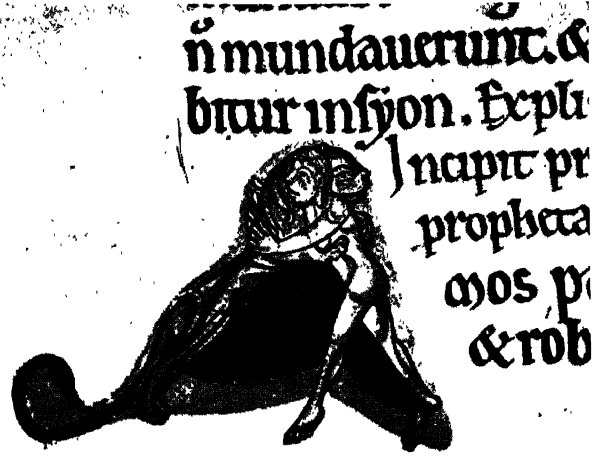
b London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 301 v.

c Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd 1 4, f. 157.

d Genii and bust of dead man, from a Roman sarcophagus.

e Angels and bust of Christ, from an early Christian ivory.

f Angels and bust of Christ, from a Carolingian ivory.

g Stuttgart, Wuerttembergische Landesbibliothek MS. Bibliafolio 23, f
(*after* DeWald).

PLATE 42

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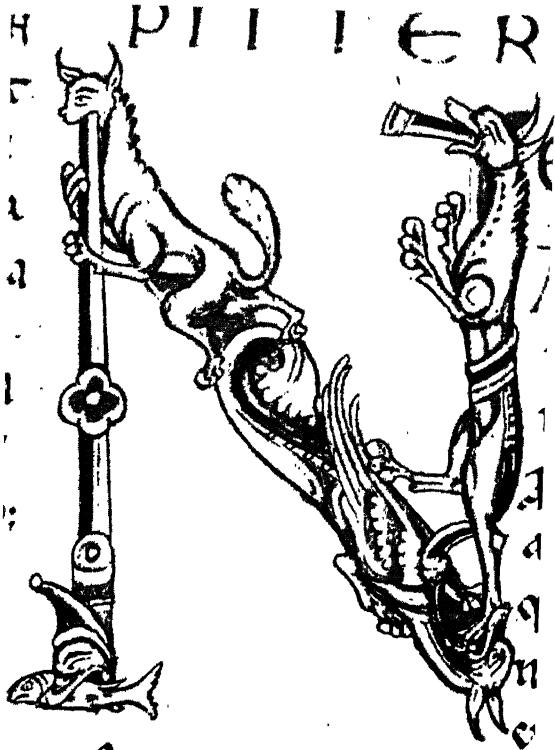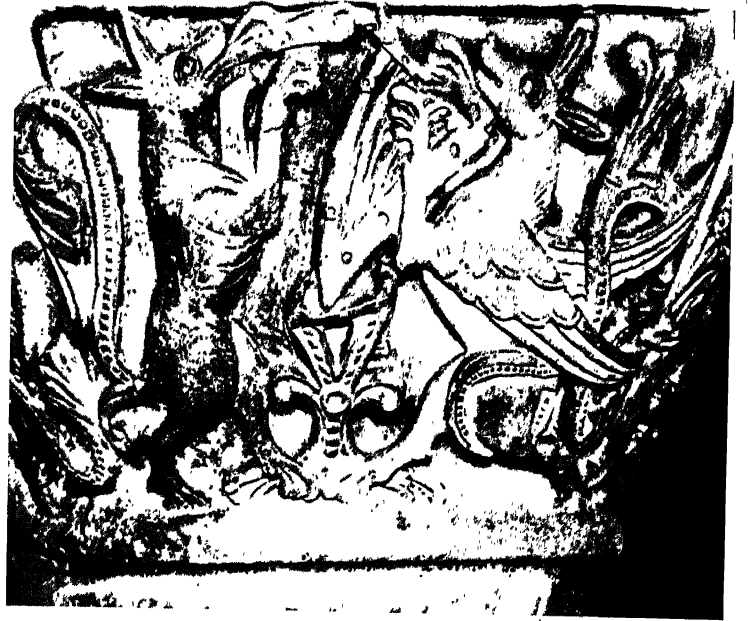
a   Cambridge, St John's College MS. 8, f. 164.

b   Capital from the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.

c   Capital from the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.

d   Canterbury Cathedral Library MS. E 42, f. 36v.

PLATE 43

Explicit argumentum.

impleatur incognition(

a Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 4, f. 239.

mandata eius observanda.

b Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 4, f. 52 v.

c Siren, from the Pompeii frescoes
after Reinach.

formica est tornicis autem in

d Siren from a twelfth-century bestiary.

eos debeant diligere

e London, B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E. v, f. 54.

f London, B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E. v, f. 31.

a Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 9, f. 15.

b London, B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 4 v.

c Cambridge, University Library MS. Ii 3 12, f. 106v.
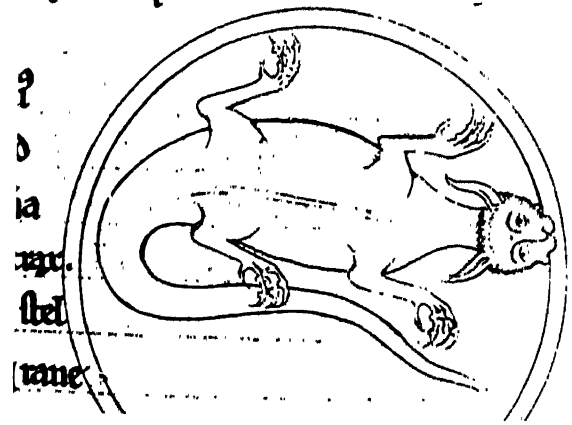
d Lizard from a twelfth-century bestiary.

e Hydrus and Hydra from a twelfth-century bestiary.

f London, B.M. MS. Cotton Claud. E v, f. 36v.

PLATE 45

a London, B.M. MS. Harley 624, f. 93v.

b Detail from a Regensburg silk (*after* von Falke).
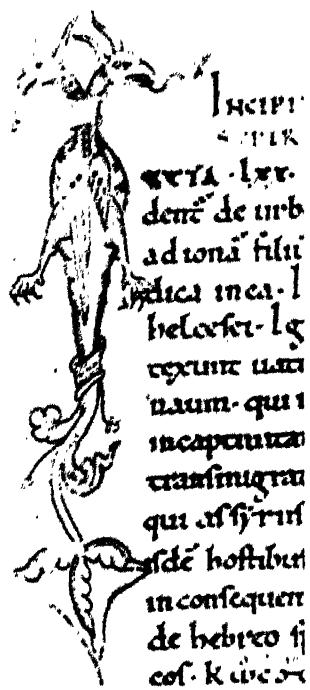
c Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 16, f. 3.

d Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 14, f. 1.

e A French seal.
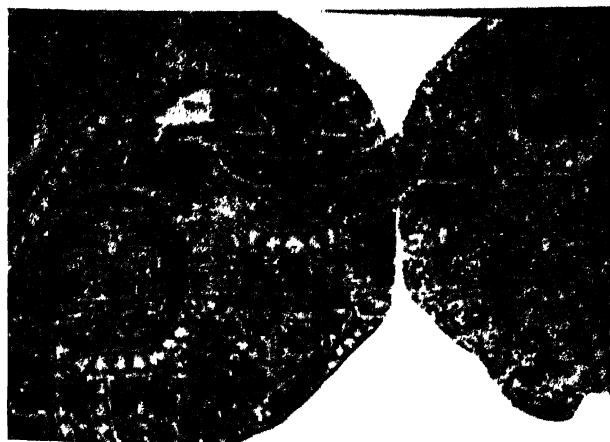
f Detail from a seal-bag in Canterbury Cathedral (*after* Robinson and Urquhart).

g Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 2 34, f. 47v.

a

b

c

d
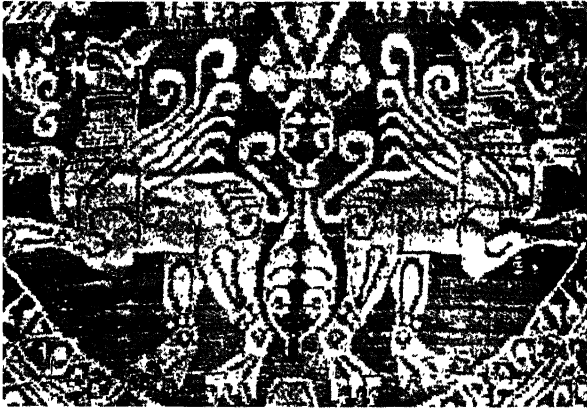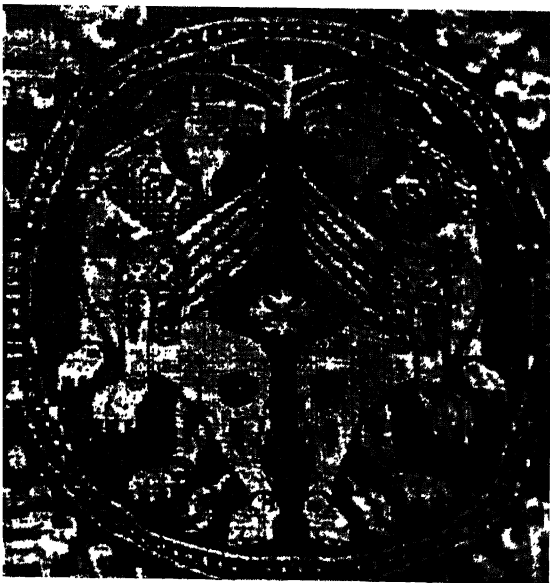
a Detail from a Sicilian silk (*after* von Falke).

b Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd 1 4, f. 184v.

c London, B.M. MS. Royal 5 B xv, f. 1.

d Detail from a Byzantine silk (*after* von Falke).

e London, B.M. MS. Royal 6 B vi, f. 23.

PLATE 47

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a Detail from a seal-bag in Canterbury Cathedral (*after* Robinson and Urquhart).

b Cambridge, St John's College MS. 8, f. 200v.

c London, B.M. MS. Cotton Nero C vii, f. 46.

d Detail from a Byzantine silk (*after* von Falke).

e Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 17 1, f. 182.

f Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R 17 1, f. 229.

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a   London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 6. (Copyright Warburg Institute. *Photo*, O. Fein.)

b   Abraham and the angels, from the mosaics of Palermo, Palatina. (*Photo*, Alinari.)

PLATE 49

a Jacob's dream, from the *[illegible]* Palatina, *[illegible]*

b London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 6.

c Berlin Staatlichen Museen, Kupferstichkabinett MS. *[illegible]*

d The sacrifice of Isaac, from an early Christian sarcophagus (*after* Wilpert).

a London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 6v.

b The Creation of Adam, from the mosaics of St Mark's, Venice.
(*Photo*, Alinari.)

lamacam diamus.

c London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 52.

d Berlin, Institute of Christian Archaeology
MS. 3807, f. 118v.

PLATE 51

a Landon, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 130.

b Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS. 5211, f. 364v.

c Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 261v.

d A prophet, from the mosaics of Palermo, Martorana.
(*Photo* Anderson.)

23-2

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& ezechie/ rcōum iuda. Audite. celi

a London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 198 v.

b Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 1151, f. 133 v.

c Rome, Vatican Library MS. Cod. gr. 755, f. 225.

PLATE 53

a

b

d

a London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 286.

b Admont, Stiftsbibliothek. MS. 1, f. 228. *after* Swarzenski.

c Detail from an Egyptian pyxis in the British Museum.

d Mount Athos MS. 49, f. 76. *after* Weitzmann.

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a   Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 161v.

b   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. grec 510, f. 264v.

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c   Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 161v.

d   Rome, Vatican Library MS. Vat. gr. 333, f. 109v.

PLATE 55

a Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 117v.

b Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 117v.

c Venice, Marciana Library MS. gr. 17, f. 1v.

d Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. grec 139, f. 4v.

a   Rome, Vatican Library MS. Chigi R VIII 54, f. 25v.

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b   Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 265.

c   Two saints, from the mosaics of Palermo, Martorana. (*Photo*, Anderson.)

PLATE 57

a Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 4, f. 139v.

b Uppsala, University Library Gospel Book, f. 3v.

c Rome, Vatican Library MS. Urb. gr. 2, f. 19v.

d A twelfth-century ivory from Cologne (after Goldschmidt).

24

a

b
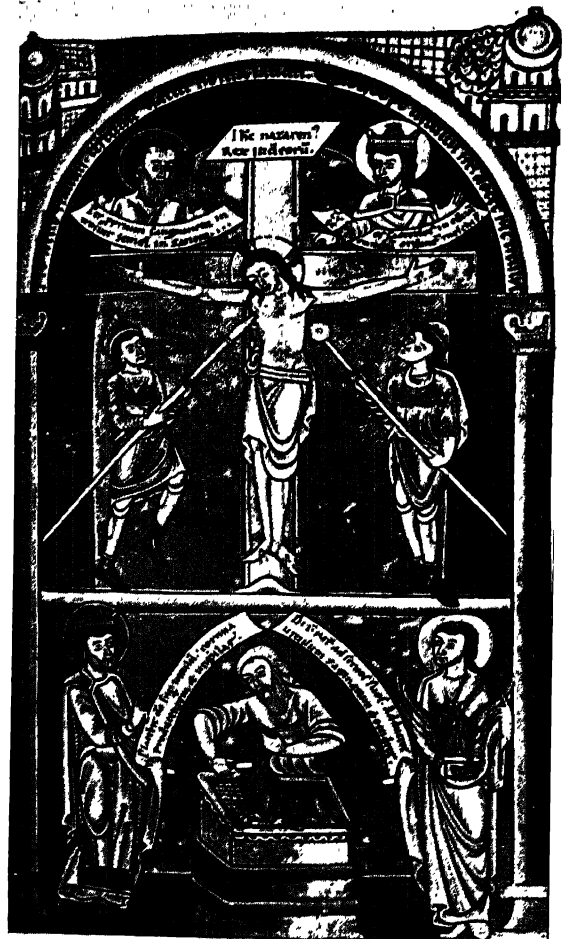
a Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 4, f. 191 v.
b Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 344, f. 2 v.
c London, B.M. MS. Add. 17738, f. 187.

PLATE 59
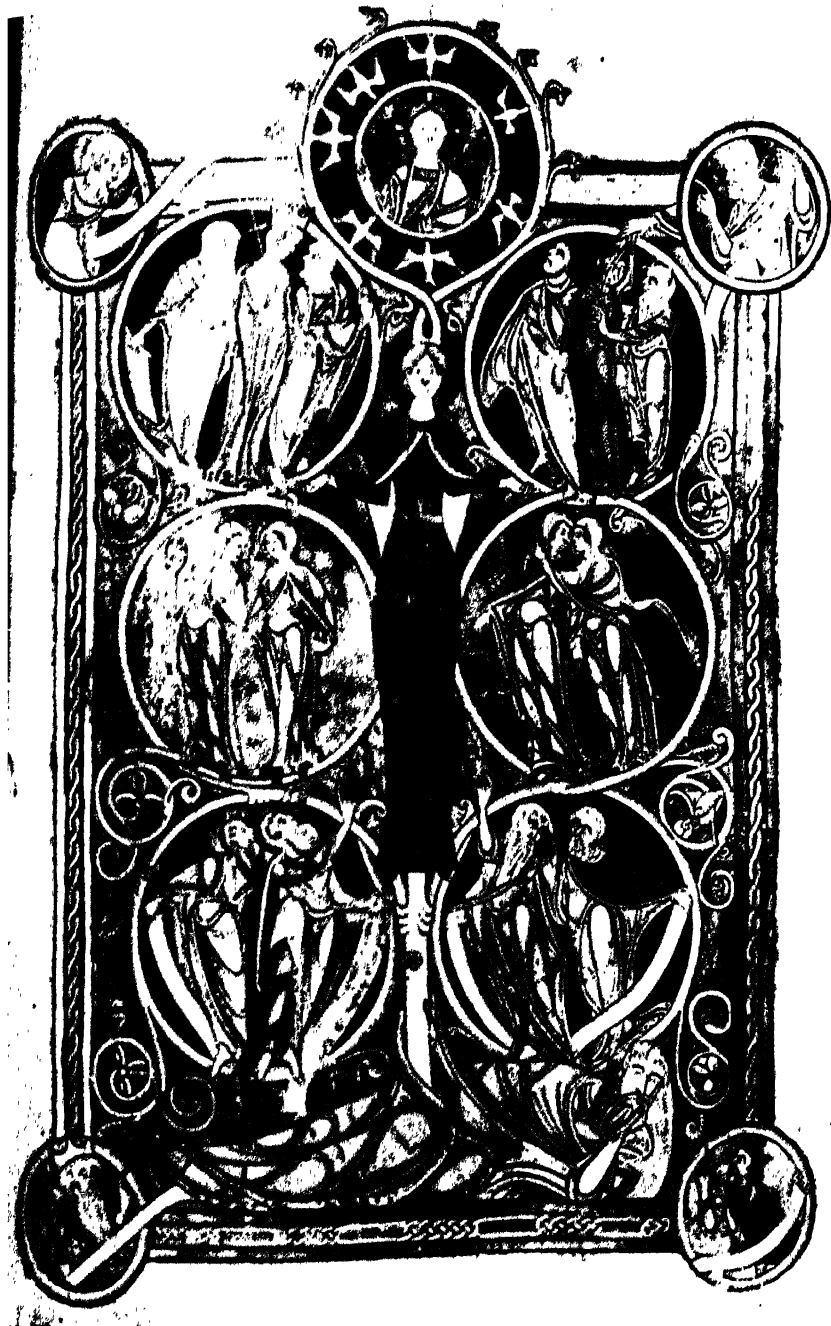
a   London, Lambeth Palace Library
     MS. 3, f. 198.

b   Tree of Virtues from a Salzburg
     manuscript.

c   Rome, Vatican Library MS. Reg.
     Lat. 12, f. 92.

d   London, Inner Temple Library
     MS. no. 511, vol. 10, f. 21.

a   London, Lambeth Palace Library MS. 3, f. 66 v.
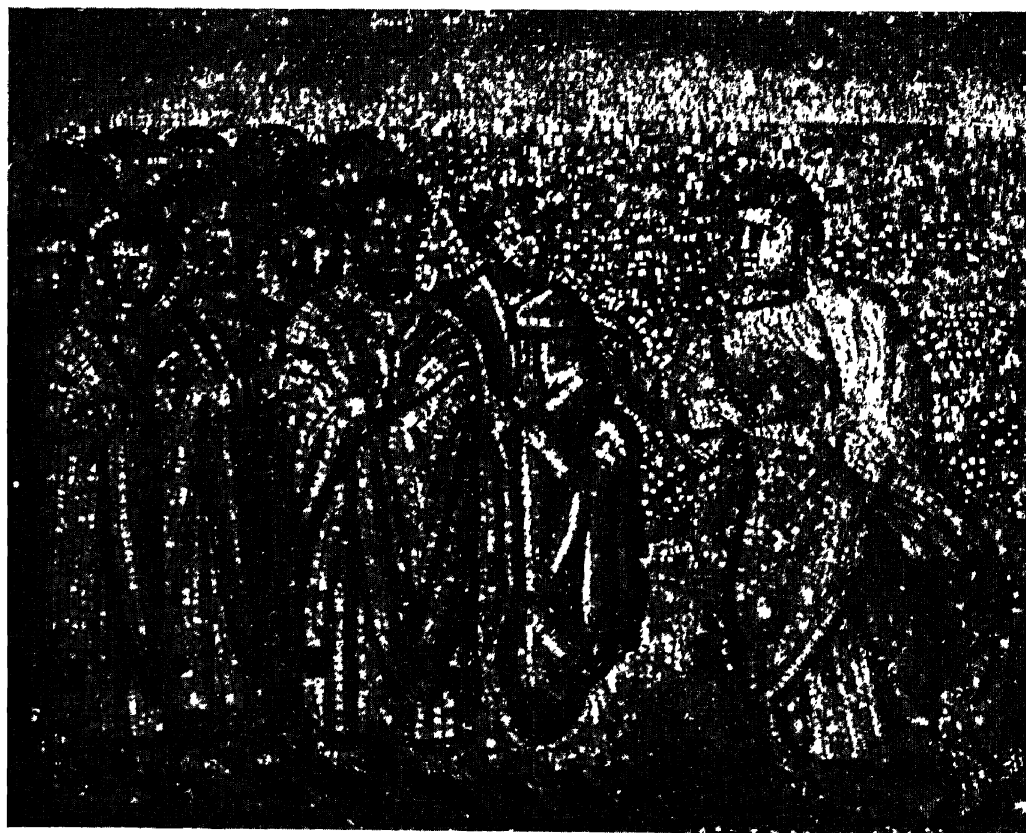
b   Moses and the Israelites, from the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.   (*Photo*, Alinari.)

PLATE 61

a London, B.M. MS. Add. 10146, f. 45v.

b London, Lambeth Palace MS. 3, f. 285.

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c Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 262.

d Detail from a wall-painting of the convent of Nerez, Macedonia (after Muratoff).

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a Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 245 v.

b Detail from the mosaics of Monreale. (*Photo*, Anderson.)

PLATE 63

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a Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 196.

b Detail from the mosaics of Palermo, Palatina.
(*Photo*, Anderson.)

c Detail from the mosaics of Monreale.
(*Photo*, Anderson.)
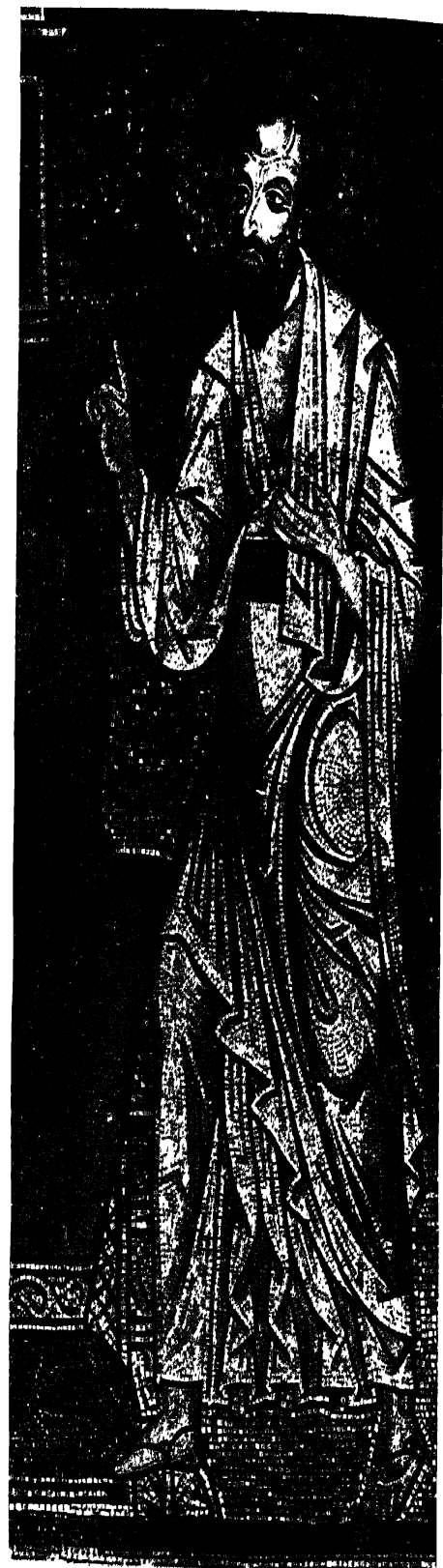
INCIPIT LIBER Sophonie p

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a   Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 3, f. 266v.

b   Detail from the mosaics of Palermo,
     Palatina. (*Photo*, Anderson.)

PLATE 65

a Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 3 11, f. 2v.

b Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 2, f. 34.

c Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B. 3 12, f. 91v.

d Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 2, f. 240v.

D I

London B.M. MS. Add. 37472 (1) v.

PLATE 67
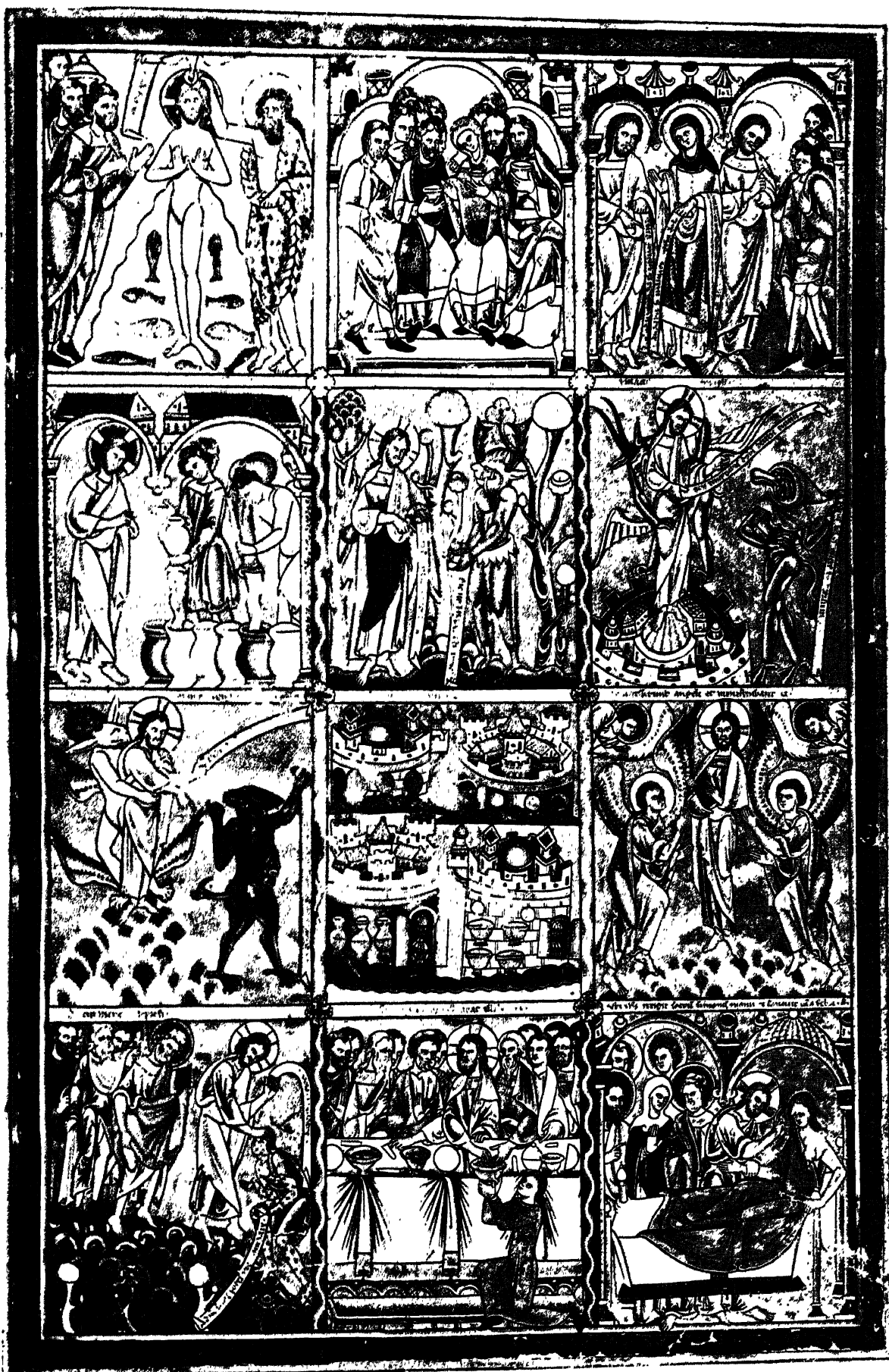
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 8846, f. 3.

a London, B.M. MS. Royal 10 A xiii, f. 2v.

b Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 200, f. 1.

c Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 286, f. 129v.

PLATE 6

a Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat.
8846, f. 62v.

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mino ihu xpo. Grame.

b Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B 5 7,
f. 92v.

c Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat.
8846, f. 11v.

d London, B.M. MS. Add. 11870, f. 242v.

e Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 717, f. 1.

f Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 1408, f. 32.

PLATE 71
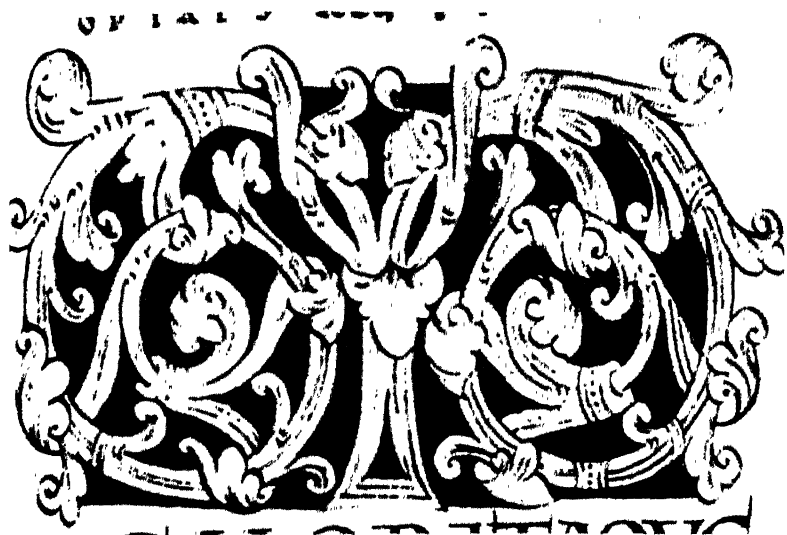
a Durham Cathedral Library MS. B III 16, f. 2.
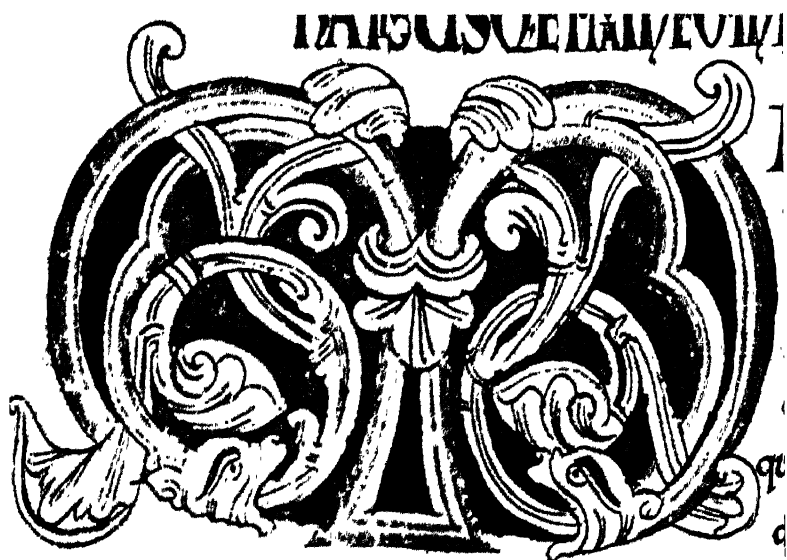
c Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 467, f. 140v.

b Durham Cathedral Library MS. A II 4, f. 87v.

d Durham Cathedral Library MS. A II 4, f. 165.

e Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale
MS. 467, f. 176v.

f Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 467, f. 118.

a   Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 301, f. 4.

b   Bayeux Chapter Library MS. 58, f. 145 v.

c   Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. fonds Lescalopier 2,
    f. 11 ter v.

d   Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 467, f. 94 v.

e   Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 273, f. 36 v.

f   London, B.M. MS. Arundel 60, f. 52 v.

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