

A TWELFTH-CENTURY CYCLE OF NEW TESTAMENT DRAWINGS FROM BURY ST. EDMUNDS ABBEY

by ELIZABETH PARKER, M.A., PH.D.

In the first half of the twelfth century the scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds, like those of Canterbury and St. Albans, enjoyed a period of intense productivity. It appears to have flourished particularly during the years 1121 and 1148, when its abbot was the Italian Anselm, nephew of St. Anselm of Canterbury. Before coming to England, Anselm of Bury had been abbot of the dual Latin and Greek community of S. Saba on the Aventine Hill in Rome, and after leaving Italy he continued in papal favour.¹ On official business and other pretexts he spent a considerable amount of time away from St. Edmund's abbey, mainly on the continent; indeed, at least once he was rebuked by Henry I for neglecting his charges, and ordered to remain at home.² Although it is not certain that he did much more in a literary way than compile a collection of miracles of the Virgin, Anselm seems to have had in his early years a taste for flamboyant and poetic language for which his uncle on more than one occasion reproved him,³ and he was instrumental in planting in England the formal veneration of the Virgin.⁴ Anselm appears, however, to have been an enthusiastic supporter of the arts at Bury, for it was during his reign that the sacrists Hervey and Ralph, especially the former, initiated an ambitious building programme and Master Hugo, apparently a lay professional engaged by them and certainly an artist of great and very personal genius, produced not only the large Bible of which the one remaining volume is justly the most famous today of Bury manuscripts,⁵ but also a set of bronze doors and a rood for the

¹ For estimates of Anselm of Bury's character and achievements see Williamson 1929, pp. 191f.; Davis 1955, pp. 227-239, esp. 236f.; Southern 1959, pp. 251-253; Idem, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, Cambridge, 1966, pp. 10-11. Prof. Pächt (*Pächt et al.* 1960, pp. 141f.) discusses the implications of the younger Anselm's Italian monastic connections for 'St. Albans' style.

² See a letter copied on f.2 of Morgan MS. 736 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Unpublished but summarised in Williamson 1929, p. 195.

³ *Epp.* 290, 328 (Schmitt 1949-51, iv, pp. 209-10 and v, pp. 259-60; the former is cited in translation in Davis 1955, p. 237).

⁴ See Southern 1959 and Idem, 'The English Origins of the Miracles of the Virgin', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, iv, 1958, pp. 183-200.

⁵ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 2. A full description and bibliography are in Kaufmann 1966, pp. 60-81.

church, both now lost.⁶ It is probable that Anselm brought back to his abbey gifts from abroad; he may even have taken with him as travelling companions monks of St. Edmund, for surviving work of this period from Bury reflects considerable continental influence.

Master Hugo's Bible was not, however, the only important manuscript produced at Bury St. Edmunds during Anselm's reign. A few years earlier, probably shortly before 1135, the 'little book' or *libellus* containing texts and illuminations of the Passion and Miracles of St. Edmund for use on his feast day, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York,⁷ had been copied by a Bury scribe⁸ and furnished with thirty-two full-page miniatures by an artist who, if not the Master himself, was a close follower of the revolutionary creator of the miniature-cycle of the St. Albans Psalter now in Hildesheim, generally called the 'St. Alexis Master'.⁹ The artist of the St. Edmund miniatures may well, like Master Hugo, have been an imported professional, but it seems reasonable to suppose that ambitious draughtsmen among the monks themselves may have attempted to imitate the newly fashionable 'St. Albans' style, just as they later, with varying degrees of artistic success, imitated that of Master Hugo.¹⁰ Particularly interesting in this regard are twelve pages containing the remains of a series of drawings illustrating the Ministry, Passion and Resurrection of Christ, the Death of St. John the Baptist, Pentecost, and the Last Judgment, which now form the pictorial preface to a New Testament manuscript, Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS. 120 (Plates XXXII–XLIII; list of scenes below, pp. 295–296).

Pembroke MS. 120 now comprises 182 folios, all approximately 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ by 10 $\frac{7}{16}$ inches. The text, which begins on f. 7, is decorated with historiated and ornamental initials in rich body-colour, both script and initials suggesting a date in the late first or early second half of the twelfth century. An inscription on the first page of the text records the fact that it was given to the Abbey of St. Edmund by the Sacrist Reginald de Denham, who held office at Bury in the

⁶ For a recent discussion and full bibliography of Master Hugo at Bury see Kaufmann 1966, pp. 63–64 and n. 16–20.

⁷ See Wormald 1952, pp. 259f. It is discussed in Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 167 *et passim*, and a fairly full bibliography is given in Beckwith 1964, p. 249, n. 64.

⁸ The same writing as the main part of Morgan MS. 736 is found also in Pembroke College, Cambridge, MSS. 12, 15, and Bodleian MS. e Mus. 112, all of Bury provenance.

⁹ The St. Albans Psalter is now the property of the Church of St. Godehard, Hildesheim. See Pächt *et al.* 1960, p. 167, where the St. Edmund miniatures are attributed by Pächt to the St. Alexis Master himself, but they are more probably the work of a close follower.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Pembroke College MS. 16 discussed in Boase 1953, pp. 161–162, pl. 49a; a better initial for this comparison is published in Hoving 1964, p. 339, fig. 32. Less competent imitations are found in Pembroke College MSS. 64 and 78.

early fourteenth century.¹¹ It was written by a single scribe whose name, according to an otherwise uninformative colophon, was William.¹² The uniformity and sophistication of its script and ornament, taken with the form of the colophon, suggest once again the hand of a professional; but while the display lettering of Master Hugo's Bible, and the handwriting of the Morgan *libellus* can both definitely be shown to be related to other Bury products, both the handwriting and decoration of Pembroke 120's text are quite unlike those of other Bury works of the period, and it is probable that this part of the manuscript was not made at Bury and did not in fact arrive there until the early fourteenth century.¹³

This text is preceded by a flyleaf, blank except for later scribbles¹⁴ and six folios bearing on both sides a total of thirty-nine outline drawings of New Testament scenes. These are older than the text by a decade or more, and there seems no reason to believe that they are not Bury work, bound with the New Testament text at some point after its acquisition by the abbey. Indeed, at least one motif—the prominent inclusion of a crowned figure carrying a palm among the Blessed in the Last Judgment on f. 6v (Scene 36)—suggests rather strongly that the pictures come from a centre which honoured a martyr-king,¹⁵ while certain other compositional motifs in the Pembroke leaves echo very closely groupings found in the St. Edmund *libellus* but not in the St. Albans Psalter.¹⁶

¹¹ See James 1905, pp. 117f. F.7 is there reproduced facing p. 124. It is significant that the inscription is found only on f.7, the first page of the text, and not on the flyleaf of the manuscript as a whole, which is part of the first gathering of drawings.

¹² F.182v. NOMEN Guillelmi cuius manus hoc scripsit
volumen in libro vite ascribatur.

His request that his name be written in the *Liber Vitae* does not necessarily imply that he was a monk of the abbey where the manuscript was written, for associates in other monasteries, lay friends or benefactors might be included. See Delisle 1909, pp. 2f. No early Bury *Liber Vitae* survives.

¹³ The style of the minor initials and the iconography of some of the historiated ones present a number of interesting problems which do not, therefore, come within the scope of this study, but which I hope to treat in another article.

¹⁴ Including *probationes pennae*, the names from a map of the world in a fourteenth-century hand, and 18 lines of a poem by John Lydgate, in a fifteenth-century hand.

¹⁵ The crown is very similar in form to that which St. Edmund wears in Morgan MS. 736: see, e.g., f. 22v, reproduced in Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 139, and Pächt's remarks, *ibid.*, p. 118, n.2. There is no image so specific in any of the closest prototypes for this scene: see below, pp. 272.

¹⁶ Compare, e.g., the Apotheosis miniature mentioned above (n. 15), with Christ in the Mocking (16) and Last Judgment (36) scenes of Pembroke 120; St. Edmund giving Alms (Morgan MS. 736, f.9, reproduced in Rickert 1954, pl. 65 with the *Paterfamilias* in the first scene of Pembroke 120 (1); St. Edmund dragged from his throne by the Danes (Morgan MS. 736, f.12, reproduced in the *New Palaeographical Society*, 1st ser., London, 1903-12, II, pl. 114d) with the Son seized by the Wicked Husbandmen on f.1 of Pembroke 120 (1) or the Wedding Guest dragged from the feast on f.2v (10).

The drawings have been executed by a single hand in a delicate, fairly dark brown ink outline and have been partially tinted in sketchy, transparent colours by another and much cruder hand, which worked on the whole of ff. 1 to 3 and added touches here and there to the later folios,¹⁷ and while C. M. Kauffmann's recent observation that the colour in the borders at least is later and based on the example of the Bury Bible¹⁸ is borne out by the crudeness of its application and the much darker ink in which the border patterns are drawn as well as in the careless arrangement of their motifs, the similarity of handling to that of the colour in the Kalendar and the St. Alexis and Emmaus sequences of the St. Albans Psalter itself¹⁹ makes it unlikely that the colour was added to Pembroke 120 after the middle of the twelfth century at the latest. It also seems probable that the artist of the Pembroke miniatures intended them to be painted: not only did he leave blank the borders, whose relatively narrow size suggests that they may have been intended to contain designs simpler than those of the St. Albans Psalter and closer to those in the *libellus* of St. Edmund, but the wounds of the traveller on f. 2 (7), of Christ crucified and risen, and the severed head and body of St. John the Baptist (34), show no outlined indications of blood, which has been added, in some cases but not in all, by the colourist. It is, of course, possible that some of the colour, for instance the faint wounds of Christ in the Unbelief of Thomas (26) and the Last Judgment (36), and the rays of divine fire issuing from the mouth of the Dove in the Pentecost scene (35) were indeed added in red ink by the original draughtsman.

But whatever the relationship, intended and actual, between their outline and colour, the Pembroke drawings are clearly derived in style from the Alexis Master's work, with elongated figures shown in full or three-quarters profile except for Christ and the Virgin, for whom the frontal position is reserved. As in the St. Albans Psalter, Christ is also drawn on a larger scale than the other figures and dominates through sheer size. The Alexis Master's influence is seen too in details like the long wavy hair on some figures seen from the back (1), the feet with slightly splayed toes which hang over the edge of the picture space, and the beggar's costume of trews and furry cape.²⁰ Similar too are the man in the tree in the Entry into Jerusalem (11)²¹ and such details in the Entombment

¹⁷ E.g., the angel's face on f.4 (22); the water and fish in the Lake Tiberias scenes on f.5 (Pl. XL); and the beaded rim of the mandorla on f.6 (35), and the hair alone of many figures throughout.

¹⁸ Kauffmann 1966, pp. 65-66, n. 27.

¹⁹ Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 2-13, 35, 38-40.

²⁰ Cf. ff. 1v, 2v of Pembroke 120 (Pl. XXXIII, XXXV); pp. 18, 69, 70 of the St. Albans Psalter (Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 15a, 38, 39).

²¹ Cf. p. 37 of the St. Albans Psalter (*ibid.*, pl. 24b).

(20) as the strigillated sarcophagus and the cross-wrapped shroud.²² Many of these elements could of course have been transmitted, if the drawings were indeed made at Bury, by means of such an intermediary as the *libellus* of St. Edmund,²³ rather than from a St. Albans manuscript, while others, like the blindfolded Christ in the scene of the Crowning with Thorns (16), a motif which apparently originated with the St. Albans Psalter,²⁴ suggests a more direct link between the two Christ-cycles.

In the Bury *libellus* of St. Edmund, the miniatures show a certain slackening and coarsening of the original St. Albans style, some aspects of which are even more apparent in the Pembroke miniatures. The rounded contours of the bodies have become less firm and plastic, even granting the effects of a change from body-colour to outline technique; and there is a tendency to reduce those elements which in the St. Albans miniatures were novel but not overworked, to repetitive clichés: for instance, the half-turned back, introduced in the Alexis Master's Washing of the Feet,²⁵ is multiplied threefold in f. 1 of Pembroke 120 (Pl. XXXII). The broad strip-format of the Bury manuscript's scenes has also encouraged the introduction of many more figures into the compositions, but these remain inanimate clumps, monotonously and repetitively vertical in emphasis, and there is no psychological or emotional interplay within the group.

Hand in hand with repetition and with the stylization of compositional elements on the Pembroke manuscript there goes the increasing reduction of the contours of figures and garments to mere decorative pattern. In the St. Albans Psalter, the Alexis Master broke new ground in England by abandoning the fluttering, Anglo-Saxon draperies in which clothes indeed 'made the man', for no solid body was perceptible behind their agitated exterior, and by substituting elongated but firm, rather wooden figures, given concrete presence by the ridged folds of their close-fitting robes. This effect began to be disturbed in the St. Edmund *libellus* by the return of some of the Anglo-Saxon flutter of drapery-ends and by the use of all-over brocade-like patterning²⁶ or by the application

²² Cf. St. Albans Psalter, p. 48 (*ibid.*, pl. 30a and discussion of its origins, p. 72).

²³ The beggars' trews are found on f.9 of Morgan MS. 736, reproduced in Rickert 1954, pl. 65, while only their furry cape has its counterpart in the St. Albans Psalter; the Entombment of St. Edmund on f.18 of Morgan MS. 736 shows a similar tomb and shroud but an architectural backdrop more like that on f. 18v of the same manuscript, reproduced in Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 159a.

²⁴ See discussion of this motif by Pächt (Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 90-91).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 25a.

²⁶ E.g., f.21v of Morgan MS. 736, reproduced in Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 159b. Such patterns occur only rarely in the St. Albans Psalter, and then as furniture coverings rather than clothing: compare, for instance, the coverlets on pp. 53 and 57 of the Psalter (*ibid.*, pl. 32b, 35).

of white or light-coloured abstract tracery patterns to the solid, smooth areas between folds.²⁷ In Pembroke 120, echoes of such tracery patterns are unfortunately found only in the coloured layer, which on occasion adds little arabesques and eddies to areas which already showed a surprisingly sophisticated mastery of the early, St. Albans version of the wet-fold technique.²⁸ Such coloured arabesques in the Pembroke manuscript therefore are probably, if Kauffmann's hypothesis is correct, imitations of Master Hugo's Bury Bible style. The faces of the Pembroke draughtsman's figures, like the folds of their garments, show a refining of the general St. Albans style by a more sensitive approach. Where the artist follows the St. Albans manner, as in the profile view with low forehead, prominent 'broken' nose and receding chin, the effect is sometimes rather brutal. But in figures like that of Pilate on f. 4 (21), and in some of Christ and the Virgin, this uncouth manner gives way to an element which is capable of endowing the figures with greater delicacy and feeling. In particular, the faces of the Virgin and of the standing Salome on f. 5v (34), and the three-quarter profile of Christ in the top right-hand scene of f. 5r (28), show a felicity of line which almost prefigures the equally refined and rather precious imitator of Master Hugo's vocabulary whose works grace a Bury manuscript of St. Gregory at Pembroke College, Cambridge.²⁹

Stylistically the Pembroke miniatures are related not only to the somewhat earlier St. Albans Psalter, but also to a second and much more extensive cycle of Old and New Testament illustrations, probably closer in date to the middle of the century, which is found on four separate leaves now scattered between London and New York,³⁰ and whose probable Canterbury origin seems now generally accepted.³¹ The three cycles reflect also much the same range of

²⁷ In the St. Edmund *libellus* these patterns are less logically related to the structure of the figures than they are in the St. Albans Psalter, and closer to ornamental patterning.

²⁸ E.g., Pembroke 120, f.2v (10), right leg of the Host in the middle register; f.1v (6), Christ calling Lazarus: the little breaks in the long folds along Christ's right thigh occur in the colour only. Compare, however, the figure of Christ in the last scene of f.5 (32) and other uncoloured figures in the Pembroke miniatures with, e.g., the Lord on p. 46 of the St. Albans Psalter (Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 29a), and other examples. The colour in Morgan MS. 736 is so heavy and crude that comparisons are not very relevant.

²⁹ See above, note 10.

³⁰ New York, Morgan MS. 724; B.M. Add. MS. 37472(1); Morgan MS. 521; V. & A. MS. 661. They are described and reproduced in James 1937, pp. 1f.

³¹ See Dodwell 1954, pp. 99f. Even if they did not originally belong, as Dodwell here suggests, to the Eadwine Psalter, their Canterbury connections are undeniable. Their exact relationship to the Pembroke leaves, in date and in the use of earlier models, remains to be clarified: in style they would seem to be more advanced, but in some iconographic elements, for instance the clarity of their presentation of the Lord's exit in the Emmaus sequence (see Pächt 1962, pp. 39f and figs. 27, 29) and the Ascension (see below, n. 35) they seem earlier or closer to the origin, in treatment of a motif.

iconographic sources, including traditions which may be identified as Early Christian, Byzantine, Ottonian, South Italian, and Anglo-Saxon. From these, however, the artist of each cycle has made a remarkably varied selection of elements, so that representations of the same event or scene may reflect in each case different models, and these differences are great enough to suggest, although perhaps not to prove conclusively, that the cycles were produced in three different centres. St. Albans is represented by the Psalter in Hildesheim; Canterbury by the now-scattered Bible leaves; it is not at all beyond the bounds of possibility that the abbey of St. Edmund, one of the major Benedictine abbeys in England at that period and having, as the *libellus* in New York attests, already embraced the new St. Albans style, should have been the place of origin of the Pembroke cycle.

Some of the Pembroke cycle's pictures illustrate subjects from the Passion that were extremely common in Christian art of the twelfth century and earlier, and in such an orthodox fashion that little if anything need be said about them here; a few others reflect such a mosaic of different sources that it is pointless to search at length for exact or even partial parallels, although a particularly illuminating detail here and there may serve to strengthen the assumption of relationships more clearly reflected in other miniatures. Most of the drawings, however, show definite bias toward one or another earlier tradition, and the sum of their evidence sheds considerable light on the variety and nature of models which must have been available to English artists in the first half of the twelfth century. In particular, as we shall see, the juxtaposition of Byzantine and of Ottonian German elements is remarkably frequent, and these are often more directly reflected than in the St. Albans Psalter. This is, at least in part, a reflection of the difference in calibre between the Alexis Master and the compiler of our New Testament drawings: where the former was an artist of rare creative genius, capable of transforming borrowed elements into an entirely new amalgam, the latter was primarily an efficient and resourceful copyist.

Closely derived as their style may be from that of the St. Albans Psalter, the Pembroke drawings show surprisingly little direct dependence on its iconography, and indeed the divergences are more striking than the similarities. Some scenes, for instance the Entry into Jerusalem (11), the Flagellation (15), the Emmaus sequence (25) and the blindfold motif in the Mocking of Christ (16)³² suggest acquaintance on the Pembroke artist's part with the St. Albans Psalter or at least with a similar model. In other cases,

³² See below, p. 290.

the artist of the Pembroke leaves appears to have repeated and even to have elaborated motifs from the St. Albans Psalter more because they appealed to his taste for ornamental patterning than from any true understanding of their iconographic significance. This would seem to be the case, for instance, in his varied treatment of the cross in the Passion scenes: where the Alexis Master has used the 'lopped' cross with apparent understanding of its symbolism,³³ in that the cross carried by Christ to Golgotha is of simple, roughly carpentered beams, while that from which His dead body is removed shows lifeless but undeniable twig-projections, reflecting the legend that it flowered while Christ hung on it alive, but died again with Him.³⁴ In the Pembroke miniatures, however, Christ hangs alive on a 'lopped' cross with dead projections (18) like those of the St. Albans Psalter's Deposition while in the next scene (19) He is taken down from a cross whose form is further elaborated into a fantastic St. Brigid's cross with the lopped branches reduced to a sort of decorative border design.

Anglo-Saxon iconographic traditions, no doubt among the most commonly accessible to the twelfth-century English artist, are reflected in the three related English cycles in a number of characteristic scenes, several of them found in Pembroke 120. Best known is probably the motif of the Disappearing Christ in the Ascension miniature (33), treated in essentially similar fashion in all three cycles and in the first half of the twelfth century still relatively rare on the continent.³⁵ The presentation of Christ kneeling not on one, but on both knees to wash Peter's feet, as He does on f. 3 of the Pembroke manuscript (13) is, strangely enough, a rare motif but one which occurs also in the well-known eleventh-century English Psalter in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Tiberius C.VI³⁶ as

³³ See Hildburgh 1932, for a discussion of the motif which has most relevance to the St. Albans and Bury examples. R. L. Füglistler, *Das Lebende Kreuz*, Einsiedeln, 1964, offers a recent and full survey of the motif.

³⁴ See p. 47 of the St. Albans Psalter (Pächt, *et al.* 1960, pl. 29b).

³⁵ Compare p. 54 of the St. Albans Psalter (*ibid.*, pl. 33a) and scene 23 of the Bible leaf, V. & A. MS. 661 verso (James 1937, pl. VIII). On the English origins of the motif itself, see Schapiro 1943, pp. 135f. Pembroke 120 is the only example of the three to show the Lord's feet frontal and passively dangling, a later development of the theme, but none of these later versions shows the dynamism of the scene in the eleventh-century Bury Psalter, Vatican Reg. lat. 12, remarked upon by Schapiro (*ibid.*, pp. 149-150 and fig. 3).

³⁶ See Wormald 1960-62, pl. 11; Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 25a. This motif was first pointed out in Schapiro 1943, p. 150 as another instance of the Anglo-Saxon taste for concrete and direct expression of spiritual realities. Another motif common to the Pembroke leaves and to the Cotton Tiberius Psalter is the way in which the Lord's arms are pulled out laterally in the Betrayal (14; Wormald 1960, pl. 12) as though He were already being fitted to the cross.

well as in the St. Albans Psalter. The Pembroke miniature of the Harrowing of Hell (23) is also very reminiscent of the Cotton Tiberius Psalter: where the Alexis Master has combined such Anglo-Saxon motifs as the cross-pennon and the profile Hell-mouth with other, Italian features,³⁷ our artist has kept closer to the Insular model, and indeed has endowed the scene of Christ rescuing the souls from Limbo with an animation worthy of its Anglo-Saxon predecessor: the little outline figures, hands outstretched, seem almost to flicker in their anxiety to escape, like the flames that would devour them.

In the Pembroke drawings' Pentecost scene (35), several unusual iconographic elements recall the spirit, if not the letter of earlier Anglo-Saxon miniatures, in that the tendency in early English representations toward singularly concrete, even idiosyncratic, versions of both the Trinity and the Hand of God, separately or in combination, is well known and documented.³⁸ Inclusion of the entire Trinity in a Pentecost composition is rare in the extreme, and there is no surviving exact prototype, either for the Dove of the Holy Spirit held head-down between two Divine Hands rather in the manner of a bellows, or for the remarkable image of Father and Son above, in which the two torsos, identical but for the Son's cross-nimbus and for their gestures, overlapping and swathed in the enveloping folds of a common cloak, share a single lower body. Controversy over the insertion of *filiouque* in the Creed in the West was primarily of Carolingian date,³⁹ but in the Pembroke 120 Pentecost the eye is led from the outer two hands above, along the frame of the mandorla to the Dove and doubled hands below, in such a way that the whole composition appears to underline the double procession of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son, all Three distinct but unified, in a vivid and literal pictorial

³⁷ See Pächt *et al.* 1960, p. 93 and pl. 30b.

³⁸ See, e.g., Kantorowicz 1947, pp. 73-85 and Wormald 1963, pp. 19-26, as well as Schapiro's general remarks on the 'concreteness' of Anglo-Saxon religious iconography (Schapiro 1943, pp. 143f). Unusual Anglo-Saxon treatments of the Divine Hand and the Dove include that on f.15v of the Cotton Tiberius Psalter (Wormald 1960-62, pl. 19) and in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, Rouen Bib. Pub. MS. Y.6, f.84v, reproduced in Wilson 1896, pl. X. An adaptation of the same dual-torso motif of the first Two Persons of the Trinity, this time with the Dove between the two heads which are there both shown with the cross-nimbus, is found in the Lothian Bible, Morgan MS. 791 in New York, of c. 1200 (Rickert 1954, pl. 92).

³⁹ See F. L. Cross, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, London, etc., 1957, p. 504 for a brief history and bibliography; the doctrine was proclaimed in England already at the Synod of Hatfield in A.D. 680 (see J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, New York, 1950, p. 360).

translation of the revised Creed.⁴⁰ Certain elements of English iconography are discernible also in the Last Judgment, which follows the Pentecost miniature on the final page of the drawings (36). The profile Hell-mouth in the bottom right is again unequivocally Anglo-Saxon.⁴¹ And although the Instruments of the Passion, including a monumental Cross, figure prominently in the Last Judgment tympanum at Beaulieu, which is of about the same date as the Pembroke leaves and shares with them the rare early appearance of Christ's exposed torso,⁴² Professor Wormald has pointed out that in the veneration of Christ's Wounds and the Instruments of His Passion, Anglo-Saxon imagery was again precocious, and that the emphasis given to them in the twelfth-century English miniature, which shows angels presenting cross, spear, and crown of thorns as if in tribute to the risen Conqueror, may well link it to the same tradition as that reflected in the Second Coming in the tenth-century Athelstan Psalter⁴³ where they are grouped closely around His throne, and in the Choir of Saints and Virgins in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, where Christ in a mandorla is accompanied by a flock of angels who float above Him, again carrying the Instruments of the Passion.⁴⁴

As a whole, however, the Last Judgment in Pembroke 120 is unlike that in earlier miniatures, or in the 'Dooms' so popular in English church-painting of the twelfth century and later.⁴⁵ At first sight it appears predominantly Byzantine in iconography, sharing with such works as the eleventh-century MS. Grec 74 in

⁴⁰ I am indebted to Robert M. Harris for pointing this out, and for reminding me that Meyer Schapiro has made the same suggestion in connection with the double phial in the Dove's beak in the Baptism miniature of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, a Winchester manuscript of c. A.D. 980. (Cf. Schapiro 1964, p. 43 and n. 169. A reasonably clear detail of the Baptism on f.25 of the Benedictional, B.M. Add. MS. 49598, is found in Swarzenski 1967, pl. 55, fig. 124). The doctrine appears to have been illustrated in connection with the Pentecost as early as the Carolingian period: witness f.78 of the Drogo Sacramentary, Paris B.N. MS. lat. 9428 (reproduced in Koehler 1960, pl. 89a) in which a half-length Christ reaches out to touch the Divine Hand from which the Holy Ghost emanates.

⁴¹ Prof. Harris has also called my attention to an early ivory from a pair in the V. & A. Museum (cat. 253-1867; Goldschmidt 1914, I, p. 178). originally considered as a Tours product but now thought by him and others to be English. Here again is an early, and probably Insular, profile Hell-mouth in a Last Judgment.

⁴² This parallel was drawn in Schapiro 1939, II, p. 387.

⁴³ B.M. MS. Cotton Galba A.XVIII, f.21, reproduced in Millar 1926, pl. 2b.

⁴⁴ See Wormald 1959, pl. 3.

⁴⁵ Compare, e.g., Baker 1942-43, pp. 2-44 and pl. I-VIII, in which the Pembroke Last Judgement is compared with monumental English versions; a recent list of surviving English wall-paintings and their subjects is in A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 129f.

Paris or an ivory plaque in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Cat. A.24-1926),⁴⁶ a strictly ordered composition with Christ in Majesty flanked by twelve apostles in superimposed rows, and below them the souls of the Blessed entering Paradise on the left and the damned being cast into Hell on the right. Several of the usual Byzantine features, however, are lacking in the Pembroke version: there are no Mary and John flanking Christ, there is no Adoration of the Book and the Throne, and there are no representations of the Dead rising from their graves, or given back by Earth and Sea personified as monsters. These are also lacking in the otherwise Byzantinizing Last Judgment in the eleventh-century frescoes of S. Angelo in Formis⁴⁷ with which the St. Albans Psalter cycle in particular exhibits a significant parallel.⁴⁸ In this connection it is most interesting to note that an elaborate Last Judgment appears also to have been one of the subjects of the twelfth-century portal frieze of the abbey church at Bury St. Edmunds, of which a single badly-damaged section in the Moyses's Hall Museum, Bury, showing part of the torments of Hell, has been identified by Professor Zarnecki who suggests that the Bury frieze probably rivalled that of Lincoln Cathedral and may have contained similar elements.⁴⁹ In general however, the Romanesque tendency in Western Europe is toward precisely the ordered ranking of elements, in Last Judgments and in other, comparable themes, that one finds in the Pembroke and S. Angelo compositions;⁵⁰ while in two English drawings from before the Norman Conquest, apocalyptic action is polarized in

⁴⁶ Grec 74, f.93v., reproduced in Omont 1908, pl. 81. The ivory is reproduced in Jónsdóttir 1960, pl. 4, in company with other comparable examples.

⁴⁷ See Jónsdóttir 1960, pl. 8 and Wettstein 1960, p. 50. The Sant' Angelo fresco also appears, in the rather poor photographs available to me, to show Christ with hands outstretched in the same unusual way as the Christ in Pembroke 120, with the right palm outwards and the left turned away: in Pembroke 120, where the wounds are clearly marked, the gesture might be interpreted either as a demonstration that the nail wounds go all the way through, or as a double gesture of welcome to the Blessed on the right and denial to the Damned on the left.

⁴⁸ See Pächt *et al.* 1960, p. 72. There is no Last Judgment in either the St. Albans Psalter or the Canterbury Bible leaves.

⁴⁹ *Romanesque Sculpture at Lincoln Cathedral*, Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, 2nd series, No. 2, Lincoln, 1963, pl. 16b and p. 12.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., the tympana with Last Judgments and similar topics at Conques, Beaulieu, Carennac, Autun, etc. The one at Conques (reproduced in Focillon 1963, pl. 98) shares with Pembroke 120 the Lord's varied gesture and the Mansions of the Blessed, while that at Beaulieu (see E. de Solms, transl., *Tympanes Romains*, 1, (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1964) pl. 47, 48 for particularly good recent reproductions) while offering a less rigid schematization, offers parallels to Pembroke 120 on other points (see above, n. 42).

zones between Heaven at the top of the page and Hell at the bottom.⁵¹

South Italian or Italo-Byzantine influence has been shown by Professor Pächt to be significant in the St. Albans Psalter,⁵² where it may be seen in the symmetrical Deposition arranged as a devotional tableau, and in such features of the Entombment as the Ciborium vault and the strigillated sarcophagus. Although the St. Albans Psalter's Italianate Entombment iconography was adapted by the artist of the St. Edmund *libellus*,⁵³ typically enough the Pembroke drawings show the use of quite other models for both Entombment and Deposition, while reflecting in certain other scenes the influence of basically Byzantine iconography probably transmitted *via* southern Italy. Again, it is useful to remember Bury's link with Italy through its abbot Anselm, who had not only spent much of his early life there, but continued to travel abroad frequently even after becoming abbot of Bury.⁵⁴

The Raising of Lazarus on f. lv of Pembroke 120 (6), with Lazarus emerging from a vertical rock-cut tomb⁵⁵ conforms more closely to middle-Byzantine, narrative iconography of the type of the feast-cycles⁵⁶ than to the somewhat more austere Early Christian type known in England as early as the eighth century through the Gospels of St. Augustine.⁵⁷ While the suppliant Mary and Martha are already found in that and other early versions, the two men flanking the tomb, one holding an end of the bandage-shroud and another the door slab, and the presence in addition to Mary and Martha of a crowd of onlookers and mourners, are all part of the eastern anecdotal additions to the scene. The motif of a man holding his nose against the grave-smell, in literal illustration of Martha's words, 'by this time he stinketh, for he is now of four days'⁵⁸ appeared relatively early⁵⁹ but the version of this in which they cover

⁵¹ See the Fall of the Rebel Angels in the Caedmon manuscript, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, of c. A.D. 1000, and the Last Judgement of perhaps twenty years later in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, B.M. Stowe MS. 944, ff. 1v and 2 (D. Talbot Rice, *English Art 871-1100*, Oxford, 1952, pl. 68, 84); the Blessed entering Heaven on the verso facing the latter include some bearing palms, but no crowned martyrs like the one in Pembroke 120.

⁵² Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 49f. and esp. 70f.

⁵³ See above, p. 7 and n. 22.

⁵⁴ See above, p. 7 and n. 1f.

⁵⁵ John xi, 38: '... Now it was a cave, and a stone was laid over it.'

⁵⁶ See Millet 1916, pp. 232f. and Darmstädter 1955, esp. pp. 18f.

⁵⁷ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 284, probably sixth century. See Wormald 1954, pl. III, IVd. This was already more elaborate than the treatment in early sarcophagi with simply a youthful Christ and Lazarus at the tomb-door.

⁵⁸ John xi, 39.

⁵⁹ See Darmstädter 1955, p. 22.

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their noses with a sleeve or other part of their garments seems to come through Italy: the over-long tunic sleeve is itself found in Byzantine illustrations⁶⁰ but rarely, if ever, in this context; on the ciborium of S. Marco in Venice the men pull the necks of their tunics over their noses with one hand, while holding with the other the sleeve-like projections of Lazarus' shroud.⁶¹ In the mosaics of Palermo (Pl. XLV,c) and Monreale, however,⁶² and on the ivory paliotto of Salerno,⁶³ the men opening Lazarus' tomb cover their noses with the tubular, pulled-down sleeves of their tunics exactly as in the Bury drawing.

One odd feature of the Pembroke Lazarus scene is the low brick sill or wall which seems to project from the vertical cave-tomb, hiding Lazarus' swathed feet and the end of the tomb-slab. This represents surely a misunderstanding of some earlier model, but there are several possibilities as to its exact nature. It might be a transformation of the podium wall and steps found below the aedicula-tomb in some Early Christian examples⁶⁴ but is more probably a misunderstanding of Lazarus' sarcophagus, which is shown first inside his vaulted tomb, for instance in the mosaic panel in San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna.⁶⁵ In the Palermo mosaics the sarcophagus appears, undersized and totally inadequate as a container for the body of Lazarus who still stands with his feet in it, in front of the actual aedicula tomb.⁶⁶ All this is a long way from the brick sill of Lazarus' tomb in the Pembroke miniature, but it

⁶⁰ E.g., Florence, Laurenziana MS. VI.23, f.58. I am indebted to Miss Cecilia Meredith for the loan of her photographs of this MS.

⁶¹ Reproduced in Wilpert 1917, pp. 800f. and text figures 366-369. On f.1 of the Rossano *Codex Purpureus* in the Cathedral at Calabro, from the late sixth or early seventh century (see Haseloff 1898), one of the men has a kerchief pulled over his mouth and nose, but is not holding on to it.

⁶² Kitzinger 1960, figs. 44, 45, or O. Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London, 1949, pl. 20a, 67b.

⁶³ Reproduced in Goldschmidt 1914, iv, pl. xlvi (No. 126), scene 35.

⁶⁴ There are many instances in early Christian art; three examples, two from ivory carvings and one from a sarcophagus, will serve to illustrate. The first, on a fourth-century ivory box in Brescia (Volbach 1952, Nr. 107, pl. 31), shows a doll-like Lazarus standing at the top of a flight of steps which project forward with some suggestion of diagonal perspective, revealing part of a masonry wall beside them at the right. The second, on a sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale in Ravenna (O.M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, fig. 80, p. 140), shows the steps in a profile position at the left of the tomb, while the tomb itself—reduced to a simple arch—and Lazarus are presented frontally, with the masonry wall on the same plane below Lazarus' feet. The third, a sixth-century ivory from Murano also in Ravenna (Volbach 1952, No. 125, pl. 39) shows Lazarus frontal under the arch of his tomb, posed at the end of a masonry wall, no steps in sight. In no case, however, are Lazarus' feet hidden behind part of the steps or wall as they seem to be in the English miniature.

⁶⁵ See Deichmann 1958, fig. 167.

⁶⁶ Kitzinger 1960, fig. 45.

appears that the artist in that case either copied or perpetrated some similar misunderstanding, and that he did not connect the horizontal element in his model either with the brick lower storey of an aedicula tomb⁶⁷ or with the horizontal sarcophagus which does appear on its own, without the vertical structure, in other continental and English examples, one of which includes the long-sleeved nose-holders as well.⁶⁸

Another odd motif based on a multiple misunderstanding of earlier models is found in the Pembroke artist's presentation of the Washing of the Disciples' Feet (13) in which the Apostles, shown barefoot throughout the cycle in the Western manner, gesture vaguely toward their feet. In his discussion of the same scene in the St. Albans Psalter, Professor Pächt has identified the action as the removal of nonexistent sandals, pointing out its essential similarity to a more complete version in the mosaics of Monreale Cathedral in which the disciples are represented in the normal Byzantine fashion as shod.⁶⁹ In the Pembroke miniature, several of the apostles reveal below their robes a sort of legging in a contrasting colour with a strap passing under the instep in the manner of modern ski-pants, an original touch which suggests that the artist was bothered by the meaningless gestures in a model in which the sandals were already missing: perhaps, indeed, the St. Albans miniature itself, although there are some differences between the two versions. The second apostle from the right in Pembroke 120, who has no exact parallel in the St. Albans miniature or at Monreale, recalls a cognate development in Ottonian miniatures in which one man, frontal and somewhat apart, props a foot upon a stool in order to untie a sandal which is sometimes included and sometimes not.⁷⁰

Purer Middle-Byzantine influence is present to some extent in the St. Albans Psalter,⁷¹ but is more immediately apparent in the compositions of the Bury cycle, in such miniatures as the Carrying

⁶⁷ E.g., the miniature in the Gospels of St. Augustine (n. 57 above), and the Palermo mosaic (n. 62 above).

⁶⁸ Brussels, Musée Cinquantenaire. See Swarzenski 1963, pp. 71–80 and fig. 4: probably English, and somewhat later than the Pembroke drawings. The horizontal sarcophagus is also found in such English examples as the Chichester relief of about 1140 (see Stoll 1967, pl. 44, 45) and the Canterbury Bible leaf (James 1937, pl. VI).

⁶⁹ See Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 88–89, pl. 25a, 127e. The relationship of Pembroke 120's Footwashing scene to Byzantine liturgical tradition is discussed in Kantorowicz 1955–56, p. 22.

⁷⁰ The sandal is included in the Gospels of Otto III, Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm. 4453, f.237 (Leidinger *s. d.*, pl. 47); but not in the Codex Egberti, Trier, Stadtbibliothek MS. 24, f.78 (Schiel 1960, Facsimile f.78), or in the Bremen Pericope-book, MS. b.21, f.57v. The Hellenistic origins of this motif and their implications for a reconstruction of prototypes for the Reichenau iconography are discussed in Giess 1961, pp. 55f., and in Buchthal 1966, 56–57.

⁷¹ See Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 60–63.

of the Cross (17), the Crucifixion (18) and the Deposition (19) in which a narrative rather than a devotional tone is stressed and the stage is filled with numerous figures, a feature of post-iconoclastic Byzantine development. The various actors in the Pembroke Carrying of the Cross, too, have their prototypes in Byzantine representations.⁷² By far the strongest influence, however, appears to come in both the Pembroke and the Canterbury Bible-leaf cycles from German traditions of the Ottonian period⁷³ which themselves had Byzantine prototypes, probably both pre- and post-iconoclastic.⁷⁴ Various Ottonian 'schools' are represented, but particularly those of 'Reichenau'⁷⁵ and of Echternach. Interestingly enough, in this the two younger cycles contrast strikingly with the St. Albans Psalter. In his choice and use of colours, the Alexis Master echoes the imperial Reichenau and Echternach schemes,⁷⁶ but in the realm of iconography he seems to owe less to Ottonian than to directly transmitted Byzantine sources.⁷⁷ In the Bury *libellus* of St. Edmund on the other hand, the use of colour shows a less profound reflection of its rôle in Ottonian miniatures,⁷⁸ but the

⁷² See Millet 1916, pp. 41f. *et passim*.

⁷³ See Buchthal 1966. Volbach 1966, p. 101, maintains that a Byzantine artist worked on the Gospels of Henry III in Madrid, a manuscript important for our study of Pembroke 120 (see below, pp. 278 f.).

⁷⁴ James 1937, p. 23, hints rather ambiguously at Germanic connections for the Canterbury and Pembroke leaves; since then attention has concentrated primarily on the Canterbury connections of the four scattered leaves and on the stylistic characteristics of the Pembroke drawings. Prof. Pächt, in weighing the rôle of Ottonian prototypes in the St. Albans Psalter miniatures (see below, n. 77), does not emphasize the fact that the two later, stylistically related cycles show much more direct Ottonian iconographic influence. This was brought out, again in a reference primarily to the Canterbury leaves, by H. Swarzenski in his review of the St. Albans Psalter monograph (*Kunstchronik*, xvi, 1963, p. 83). The unfinished condition of the Pembroke miniatures, and the fact that they have not before been published in full, as well as the fact that in many cases they reflect different iconographic roots and even different Ottonian traditions from those in the Canterbury leaves, have all contributed to a tendency to ignore what Professor Wormald has called the 'Ottonian skull grinning through' in the Pembroke or Bury drawings. Schiller, for instance, in the first two volumes of a recent and very fully illustrated survey (Schiller 1966) seems unacquainted with them.

⁷⁵ In spite of current doubts as to whether this noble group of manuscripts actually originated on the island of Reichenau, its name remains the convenient term by which to refer to them, and as such is used here. See Dodwell and Turner 1966, and Mütterich 1963, I, pp. 27f. for a summary of the state of research on this question.

⁷⁶ See Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 115f. and Roosen-Runge 1967, I, pp. 81-94.

⁷⁷ Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 57f.

⁷⁸ The range of colours in Morgan MS. 736 is cruder and brighter, with more reds and oranges, fewer purples. The hues are less carefully balanced within the composition, and there is a tendency to cut up the background into sectors of distracting shape, while spreading over background and figures alike a network of small-figured patterning. There are no satisfactory colour reproductions of miniatures from this manuscript which one might cite.

final full-page picture, showing the Apotheosis of St. Edmund, appears to be directly copied from a miniature of the crowning of the Emperor Henry II by Christ, or from a very similar model.⁷⁹

Of the many interrelated Ottonian pictorial traditions, the one most clearly reflected in the Pembroke miniatures and perhaps also in the Canterbury leaves, is that from the scriptorium of Echternach near Trier, which flourished in the eleventh century and is today best represented by two luxuriously-illustrated Gospel-books, the *Codex Aureus* of c. A.D. 1040, formerly in Gotha and now in Nürnberg,⁸⁰ and the Golden Gospels of Henry III in Madrid, produced c. A.D. 1045.⁸¹ A book of Pericopes in Bremen, also dating from the reign of Henry III⁸² furnishes additional close comparisons with rare scenes in the Pembroke cycle. Ottonian art was, of course, one of the most extensive early sources of New Testament iconography, especially of the Ministry of Christ. This was not often systematically illustrated in early medieval programmes, which tended to concentrate on the major events of Christ's Infancy and Passion, or on subjects closely tied to liturgical ritual or the major feasts of the Church.⁸³ Not surprisingly, therefore, many of the close parallels between the Pembroke miniatures and Ottonian, especially Echternach examples, occur in relatively rare scenes from Christ's parables and miracles. Precisely the rarity of some of these, however, points up the phenomenon of the Pembroke artist's choice and the correspondence of his treatment with that of Ottonian forerunners. This correspondence, indeed, goes in some cases well beyond mere iconographic similarity and includes elements of style and format which also suggest, very strongly, a direct link between the English cycle and Germanic prototypes.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Morgan MS. 736, f.22v. The correspondence between this miniature and that on f.11 of the Sacramentary of Henry II in Munich (Clm. 4456) has frequently been pointed out, most recently in Beckwith 1964, pp. 194 and 269, n. 64, where earlier references are listed. The Morgan miniature is given in colour in Beckwith 1964, fig. 184, while both it and the Regensburg example are reproduced in Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 139a, 139.

⁸⁰ German National Museum. See Metz 1956. ⁸³ See Millet 1916, pp. 15f.

⁸¹ Escorial, Codex Vitrinus 17, published in Boeckler 1933.

⁸² Bremen, Stadtbibliothek HS. b.21, dated c. 1049 in Boeckler 1933, pp. 44, 88. No facsimile of this manuscript has been published but the miniatures are described in Beissel 1886. I am indebted to the Princeton Index of Christian Art for access to a full set of study-photographs and for bibliographical information. A recent bibliography is in Schramm & Mutherich 1962, Cat. 153, p. 173.

⁸⁴ See, e.g., the knots of bandages in the Pembroke and Ottonian versions of the Good Samaritan, discussed below. Another example of Ottonian stylistic influence may, I think, be found in the uniform child-figures of the souls liberated by Christ in the Harrowing of Hell on f.4v of Pembroke 120 (23). In Anglo-Saxon prototypes like the Cotton Tiberius Psalter, the Blessed are adult, differentiated as to age, and sometimes clothed; in Byzantine examples they are generally adult. On the other hand, on f.61v of Bremen b.21, the only example of the scene in our three Echternach cycles (Pl. XLVI, b), the souls have the same appearance of well-nourished children as in the Pembroke miniature.

In the Nürnberg *Codex Aureus*, some seventy-five scenes are arranged on eight pairs of facing pages, two pairs preceding the author-portrait at the beginning of each Gospel. The miniatures are arranged in three broad registers to a page, a system already used in the Carolingian period⁸⁵ and found again in the Pembroke cycle, while the St. Albans Psalter and the St. Edmund *libellus* have for the most part only one vertical miniature to the page, or occasionally a two-part division. The Gospels of Henry III in Madrid have a slightly different selection of nearly seventy scenes and these are scattered, framed, throughout the whole manuscript as in the earlier 'Reichenau' Codex Egberti, often sharing the page with several lines of text, although subjects illustrated by several scenes may occupy a field of two or three registers filling all or most of a page. The very close relationship between these two manuscripts—the *Codex Aureus* in Nürnberg and the Gospels of Henry III in Madrid—is obvious in those scenes which appear in both.⁸⁶ The Bremen Pericope-book is apparently closely related both to them and to the Codex Egberti, and contains in forty-two miniatures some seventy-two Gospel scenes, many of which are not found in either of the other two.⁸⁷ In these eleventh-century cycles, interior scenes are often set under buildings shown in a type of lengthwise section⁸⁸ which is more coherent than the decorative aedicula-like structures with columns and arches surmounted by little turrets, found in most of the St. Albans Psalter's miniatures. This was also a feature of the Carolingian Tours school⁸⁹ and may be seen, although in somewhat less concrete form, in Pembroke 120.⁹⁰ It is of course partly a function of the shallow, broader shape of the individual picture space which Pembroke 120 shares with the Tours and Echternach manuscripts, but again that is a feature which is unique in the Pembroke manuscript, among the three English cycles.⁹¹

Such stylistic parallels are, however, somewhat tenuous at best.

⁸⁵ E.g. the Vivian Bible, Paris, B.N. MS. lat. 1, f.3v, scenes from the Life of St. Jerome (Boinet 1913, pl. XLVII).

⁸⁶ E.g., the parables of the Wicked Husbandmen and of Dives and Lazarus, ff. 78, 79 in the *Codex Aureus* in Nürnberg (Metz 1956, pl. 68, 70) and ff.46 and 117v in the Madrid Gospels (Boeckler 1933, pl. 57, 123).

⁸⁷ See Boeckler 1933, p. 88 for a concordance of scenes in the Echternach cycles. A fourth related Echternach manuscript, in Brussels, lacks the extensive Gospel cycles of the other three.

⁸⁸ E.g., Dives and Lazarus, cited above, n. 86.

⁸⁹ See above, n. 85.

⁹⁰ Ff. 2v, 4v, Pl. XXXV, XXXIX. Some other scenes, e.g. the Cleansing of the Temple on f.1 (2), reflect, in their scheme of arcades with little turrets in the spandrels, the more fantastic influence of the St. Albans Psalter's *aediculae*.

⁹¹ It is interesting to note that such a scheme occurs occasionally in the Canterbury leaves, but only in scenes where the square frame has been subdivided into horizontally oriented fields.

Much firmer correspondences are offered by iconographic parallels between the Pembroke and Echternach cycles. The first register of f. 1, for instance, of the Pembroke fragment as it now exists (1) shows only the final sequence of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen,⁹² in which the King's Son is sent and murdered; but this corresponds remarkably closely to the last of three registers in both of the Echternach versions.⁹³ In each case one finds the 'Pater-familias' at the left sending the Son to the vineyard; the vineyard itself, with its tower and woven fence, the latter reduced from a large enclosure in the Echternach versions to a simple section in the Pembroke drawing, and the wicked husbandmen slaying the Son and throwing His body out of the vineyard (Pl. XLIV). Another parallel may be found in miniatures of the Woman Taken in Adultery, a scene which became popular relatively late in the development of Christological cycles,⁹⁴ but which is illustrated in a number of Byzantine, Italian, Carolingian and Ottonian works. With the exception, however, of Pembroke 120 (5) and later English or English-inspired works⁹⁵ the only other examples in which the Jews are shown with hands raised, about to stone the woman, are the Golden Gospels of Henry III (Pl. XLVII,*b*) and the Nürnberg *Codex Aureus*.⁹⁶

The motif of stoning, indeed, seems to be a popular one in the Echternach repertoire: another Pembroke scene, rarely illustrated in the West before this time, is based on John VIII, 59, in which the Jews, annoyed by Christ's preaching, take up stones to cast at Him, but He, hiding Himself, goes out of the temple. A miniature from the Bremen Pericope-book⁹⁷ (Pl. XLVI,*a*) shows Christ emerging from the front door of the Temple while behind Him, still apparently under its roof, a group of Jews, holding reserves of ammunition apron-wise in their cloaks, raise their arms to cast stones at Him. There are some differences between the two: Christ in the Bremen miniature is definitely outside the door, while in the Pembroke manuscript He is under a separate little arch which might well be a confusion of the Echternach facade motif; in the German example, He makes a standard gesture of benediction with His right hand, the right elbow held close to the body by the

⁹² Matthew XXI, 33-41; Mark XII, 1-9; Luke XX, 9-16.

⁹³ Cf. *Codex Aureus*, Nürnberg, f.78 (Metz 1956, pl. 68) and Gospels of Henry III, f.46 (Boeckler 1933, pl. 57).

⁹⁴ See Kraus 1897, p. 66; Tschan 1951, II, pp. 310f. and Wilpert 1917, text p. 788.

⁹⁵ The Canterbury leaf, New York, Morgan MS. 551 recto (James 1937, pl. V) and the title-page to the Gospel of St. John in the Liessies Gospels, formerly Metz, Bib. Mun. MS. 1151, now destroyed (see Swarzenski 1967, pl. 132, fig. 299).

⁹⁶ Nürnberg *Codex Aureus*, f. 54v. (Metz 1956, pl. 51); Golden Gospels of Henry III, f. 145 (Boeckler 1933, pl. 146).

⁹⁷ HS. b.21, f.40.

left hand, while in the English one the words of the Gospel are illustrated more literally by a Christ who picks up His cloak in both hands to hide His face like that stock figure of later literature, a woman covering her face with her apron. For all that, however, the Bury miniature shows more immediate kinship to the Echternach miniature than to any middle-Byzantine example, although Laurenziana VI.23, the Byzantine Gospel-cycle in Florence, shows the preliminary scene of Christ preaching in the temple.⁹⁸

Pembroke 120's parallelism with Echternach examples is most complete, however, in three scenes illustrating the Parable of the Good Samaritan (7), a story illustrated earlier in a number of Early Christian, Byzantine, and Ottonian manuscripts as well as in the frescoes of S. Angelo in Formis.⁹⁹ Although the representations possibly all derive ultimately from a common Early Christian source, they present varied combinations of the several events in the parable. But again, the closest parallel to the Pembroke iconography appears in a miniature from the Golden Gospels of Henry III (Pl. XLVII, a).¹⁰⁰ Inevitably there are differences in detail, but both show the traveller attacked, stripped of his clothing, ignored by both priest and Levite, tended by the Samaritan and set on his beast. In both, the traveller, otherwise nude, is bandaged about the head and waist and supported on the beast, and in the Pembroke miniature there are even faint reflections, in the elaborately knotted bandages and in the attitudes of traveller and Samaritan, of the style of an Echternach model. A miniature of the same subject in the Bremen Pericope-book,¹⁰¹ although somewhat more condensed than the Madrid version, contains most of the same elements along with others found also in the Gospels of Otto III, a

⁹⁸ Although it is mentioned as one of the ten 'Passion' scenes for which Walafrid Strabo wrote *tituli* in *De Evangelio ad Picturam* (see Steinmann 1892, pp. 105f.), this subject is rare in Western art. It is found in both profusely-illustrated eleventh-century Greek Gospel-books, but there the action takes place outside and in a series of disconnected scenes. The verso of the English canon-table fragment in Brussels (above, n. 68) bears the same scene but with differences: the Jews cluster in the doorway of the temple at the left, hands raised to throw stones at Christ Who disappears toward a tree at the right, His head and shoulders already hidden by a cloud.

⁹⁹ See Wettstein 1960, p. 45. Photo Anderson. The scene is also illustrated in the sixth-century Greek Codex Rossanensis in Calabro Cathedral (f. 7v., see Haseloff 1898, pl. X); in Paris, B.N., MS. Grec 510, a ninth-century Greek recension of Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies, f. 143v. (Omont 1929, pl. xxxiii); in Florence, Laurenziana VI, 23 (f. 128v.) and in B. N. Grec 74, ff. 131v.-132 (Omont 1908, pl. 116).

¹⁰⁰ F. 109 (Boeckler 1933, pl. 119).

¹⁰¹ F. 88. Princeton Index photograph.

'Reichenau' manuscript.¹⁰² Conclusive evidence of the connection between our English miniature and the Ottonian miniatures is provided by the fact that they are the only cases in which the traveller is shown wearing bandages as he rides toward the inn. The Early Christian practice of equating the Samaritan with Christ by the addition of a cross-nimbus, found also in S. Angelo in Formis, is adopted neither by the Ottonian versions nor by Pembroke 120.

The Golden Gospels of Henry III provide the best parallel also for the Dance of Salome and Death of John the Baptist (34), inserted somewhat puzzlingly in the Pembroke cycle between the Ascension and Pentecost.¹⁰³ Herod, Herodias and the guests, and the body of the Baptist occupy the same relative positions in both miniatures, although in the Echternach version the swordsman hands up the head to the table and Salome appears only once, dancing in an upright position at the right-hand end of the table. Other Ottonian works present a tradition more accurately following the Scripture account, in which Salome herself takes the head to her mother.¹⁰⁴ The tradition represented by the Gospels of Henry III and in part at least by Pembroke 120 seems, however, to be the older one, for it occurs in a simpler form in the sixth-century Sinope fragment in Paris.¹⁰⁵ In the actual beheading of John the Baptist, on the right-hand edge of the Pembroke drawing, Germanic models are perhaps more closely reflected than it would appear merely from a comparison with Henry III's Gospels, in which St. John's headless corpse slumps behind the door of an odd trellised cage, while the headsman, sword jauntily presented over one shoulder, hands up the head to a dismayed Herod. In a 'Reichenau' Pericope-book in

¹⁰² Clm. 4453, f.167v (Leidinger *s. d.*, pl. 39). This and the Bremen miniature contain the extra scene of the traveller setting out, found otherwise only in B.N. Grec 510; the priest and Levite are omitted, and the traveller is clothed and propped within a frame as he rides toward the town where the Samaritan pays the innkeeper, a motif omitted in Pembroke 120 but found both in the Gospels of Henry III and the Bremen Pericope-book.

¹⁰³ This does not fit either the Biblical narrative or the liturgical calendar: both feasts of St. John the Baptist fall outside the period between Ascension and Whitsun. It has been suggested (James 1937, p. 21, and more recently in conversation by Dr. Nordenfalk) that this emphasis on the Baptist may reflect a connection with some institution where the saint was particularly honoured, but so far no convincing link has been found, either for the inclusion of the scene or for its out-of-sequence position. It should be noted, however, that the miniature with two scenes from the life of St. Martin is inserted in almost the same place in the Christological cycle of the St. Albans Psalter (see Pächt *et al.* 1960, pl. 32b), a phenomenon which has not yet been satisfactorily explained either.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew xiv, 1-12; Mark vi, 14-29.

¹⁰⁵ B.N. MS. Suppl. Grec 1286, f. 10v. See A. Grabar, *Les Peintures de l'Évangélique de Sinope*, Paris, 1948, pl. I.

Augsburg,¹⁰⁶ St. John's headless body, crouched facing left with hands extended like the paws of an animal, is displayed within a miniature walled and turreted city-complex, here bearing much the same relationship to the body as the elaborate tower-prison in the Pembroke miniature,¹⁰⁷ while at the left, the executioner returns his sword to its sheath with essentially the same gesture as his English counterpart.

Salome's acrobatic dance in the English drawing occurs in a number of versions in France, Italy and England,¹⁰⁸ few so early or so complete as the Pembroke drawing; but in at least one case, an early panel of the bronze doors of S. Zeno in Verona, comparable in that she is performing in front of, or almost underneath, the table,¹⁰⁹ while a slightly later initial in an English manuscript of the Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm, belonging to the same stylistic tradition as the Pembroke cycle, shows Salome dancing with not two, but four swords.¹¹⁰ W. Deonna has traced Salome's acrobatics, and her swords, back to ancient funerary practices¹¹¹ but the tumbler or acrobatic dancer was in any case a very popular Romanesque motif, well suited to the style of a period when symbolic images were often treated in a decorative manner. The motif of the somersaulter, for example, becomes that of the man falling headlong in the murder of Abel on Abbot Bernward's bronze doors in Ottonian Hildesheim¹¹² and in the figure of the sinner 'like a wheel, and as stubble before a wind', illustrating Psalm LXXXI

¹⁰⁶ Ordinariatsbibliothek, MS.15a, f.104v, illustrated in *Altbayerisch Monatsheft*, VII, 1907, pl. VIII, p. 79.

¹⁰⁷ Such enclosures seem in Ottonian imagery to have served double duty for towns and for single buildings: compare the house or upper room of f.70 of Bremen HS. b.21 (Pl. XLVI,c).

¹⁰⁸ E.g., the Portail St. Jean of Rouen Cathedral (Mâle 1902, fig. 146). This relief is later than the Pembroke drawing but similar except in that Salome gives the head to Herodias. See also a wall-painting at Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, reproduced by E. W. Tristram in *Apollo*, IX, 1929, p. 280.

¹⁰⁹ See Boeckler 1931, pl. 35a. Salome's dance is here, as in Pembroke 120, accompanied by the beheading of the Baptist, in a neighbouring panel; but at Verona Salome herself appears to hand the head up to the table.

¹¹⁰ Bodleian, MS. Auct. D.2.6, f.166v: initial S to *Oratio* LXIII. See Pächt 1956, pp. 68-83, where the illustration is reproduced as pl. 19e. In this article, Professor Pächt suggests that the illustrations of surviving copies of this text may go back to a recension of the first decade of the twelfth century, but it is interesting that the illustrations to the same prayer in a continental manuscript which he traces to the same recension (*Ibid.*, pl. 19f *et passim*) shows the entirely different scene of St. John preaching as pendant to his martyrdom. Salome and her swords, therefore, may well be in this case an English intrusion stemming from St. Albans workshop traditions.

¹¹¹ *Le Symbolisme de l'Acrobatie Antique*, Collection Latomus, IX, Berchem-Brussels, 1953, pp. 84f; he cites many examples of the somersaulting Salome, but none from English manuscripts.

¹¹² See Tschan 1951-52, II, pp. 141f., III, pl. 123.

(83), 14 in a marginal drawing in the eleventh-century Bury Psalter now in Rome.¹¹³ A closer parallel in actual physical pose is found, however, in a roundel of the Prior's Doorway at Ely Cathedral, dating from the 1140's,¹¹⁴ with which the decoration of some Bury manuscripts shows stylistic connections:¹¹⁵ this ornamental acrobat, if rotated clockwise by about forty-five degrees, would be in almost exactly the position of the Pembroke Salome.

One interesting detail suggests also that the composition of the Healing of the Man Born Blind¹¹⁶ in Pembroke 120 (4) was inspired by Ottonian rather than directly by Byzantine or Italian models, and probably by Echternach iconography in particular. The miracle is presented in two scenes in the English manuscript: in the first, Christ, followed by a group of disciples, smears mud on the blind man's closed eyes and instructs him to wash them in the pool of Siloam; in the second, the blind man is shown reaching up to his eyes by waters which flow from a circular outlet slightly above his head: an awkward arrangement, suggesting some model not fully understood or included.¹¹⁷ In Byzantine versions of the scene the man generally stoops to a reservoir-basin, often cross- or quartrefoil-shaped like some Eastern baptismal fonts.¹¹⁸ In Italian works, the water is always flowing and generally comes from a fountain above the blind man's head, although it is then caught in a basin below, to which he stoops. The source is often a lion-mask of the sort popular in ancient fountains¹¹⁹ and reflected in manuscripts based on antique sources, for instance the Utrecht

¹¹³ Recently cited by Dr. A. Heimann in a relevant context: *JWCI*, xxviii, 1965, p. 102, pl. 17g.

¹¹⁴ See Zarnecki 1958, pl. 92 and p. 50.

¹¹⁵ E.g., Bodleian MS. e Mus. 112, a manuscript related by its handwriting to Morgan MS. 736.

¹¹⁶ Described in John ix, 1-14. For discussion of the theme see Jaeger 1960; Jantzen 1961, pp. 20f.; O. K. Werkmeister, *Der Deckel des Codex Aureus von St. Emmeram*, Baden-Baden, etc., 1963, p. 33; and Schiller 1966, I, pp. 179-82.

¹¹⁷ The blind man's attitude and his position here, in the corner of the strip, remind one strongly of a scene common at the corner of several Early Christian sarcophagi: with Moses striking the rock and the Israelites reaching or stooping to drink from a stream of falling water: see Wilpert 1929-36, I, tav. C.sqq., for a number of examples. There is a certain resemblance to these also in the Nürnberg *Codex Aureus* (see Plate XLV, a) especially in the ropey stream of water, but its position there in the centre of a strip makes the comparison less evident.

¹¹⁸ E.g., Paris, B.N. MS. Gr. 510, (Omont 1929, pl. xlvi); B.N. MS. Gr. 74, ff. 186-187v (Omont 1908, pl. 159-161).

¹¹⁹ E.g., the Ciborium of San Marco in Venice; the Salerno Paliotto (Goldschmidt 1914, iv, pl. xlvi, No. 126, scene 38); the bronze doors of Benevento Cathedral (Jaeger 1960, pl. 23) and the fresco at S. Angelo in Formis (Schiller 1966, I, fig. 516). For lion-masks used in this manner see H. V. Morton, *The Waters of Rome*, London, 1966, pp. 23, 24 *et passim*.

Psalter and its copies.¹²⁰ In Ottonian works, the beast's-head spout is sometimes replaced by a cock or peacock: one example of the latter, in the Codex Egberti, is labelled *Aqueductus Siloe*.¹²¹ Boeckler attributes the Ottonian iconography to Eastern sources¹²² but recognizes the 'Wasserspeier' motif as apparently a Western addition. It is notable that the Echternach version of the Healing of the Man Born Blind in the Nürnberg *Codex Aureus* is one of the rare examples in which the water falls free to the ground and not to a basin, from a point above eye-level as in Pembroke 120, and the blind man does not stoop (Pl. XLV, a). Thus, the iconography of the Healing of the Blind Man in Pembroke 120 appears to come ultimately from the East, but *via* western Europe and most probably through Ottonian rather than Italian channels.

It is not only the Pembroke artist's discursive treatment of such sequences as the Good Samaritan parable (7), the appearance of Christ on the road to Emmaus (25) and His breakfast with the Apostles by the Lake of Tiberias (30) that suggests the availability to him of at least one very full New Testament model: this hypothesis is supported also by the presence of several scenes very rare in Western art, and again almost unknown at that period outside Ottonian examples. One such is the appearance of Christ described in Mark xvi, 14-18, in which He appears to the Eleven as they sit at table in Jerusalem and chides them for their unbelief. In the Pembroke miniature (32) He is shown standing at the left under a sketchily indicated arcade, pointing reprovingly with His right hand at the eleven Apostles who sit crowded behind a straight table draped and laid with cross-marked loaves, dishes and a knife. Looking up at him, they make various slight, appealing gestures. In the Bremen Pericope-book, a miniature on f. 70 (Pl. XLVI, c) shows Christ at the left within a turreted, walled and crenellated enclosure addressing seven Apostles, with Peter at the left. There is no table, but a light cloth is spread across their knees, a motif found also in the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes in a Canterbury picture-leaf in New York.¹²³ In the Bremen miniature Christ seems to be blessing the Apostles, but the inscription on the background above the tower, *EXPROBAT HIC DURUM IHESUS COR DISCIPULORUM*, leaves no doubt as to the identity of the scene, and in these two rare representations the elements and their arrangement are essentially the same.

In a lecture given several years ago in London and Athens, Professor Hugo Buchthal outlined part of the evidence on which he

¹²⁰ See, e.g., f.14v. of the Utrecht Psalter, reproduced in E. T. DeWald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter*, Princeton, 1932, pl. xxiii.

¹²¹ Schiel 1900, f.50.

¹²² Jantzen 1961, p. 21.

¹²³ Morgan MS. 521 (James 1937, pl. V).

bases the hypothetical existence, and even much of the contents, of at least one post-iconoclastic Byzantine model with New Testament scenes available to the tenth-century Ottonian 'Reichenau' scriptorium,¹²⁴ which in turn apparently provided models for Echternach at a somewhat later date.¹²⁵ In our discussion so far, elements of Middle-Byzantine and Ottonian iconography, particularly the latter, have played a major role; in one scene on f. 2v (10) of Pembroke 120, showing the latter part of Christ's parable of the Marriage of the King's Son, the incident of the Unprepared Wedding Guest,¹²⁶ the multiple link is made especially clear. In the English manuscript the parable is illustrated in three stages, crowded into two frames. In the first the host, standing at left and clad in short tunic, cloak and pointed hat, addresses the Wedding Guest who sits, his torso naked under a cloak, to the left of four other fully-clothed guests behind a richly laden table. The host's words, 'Amice, quomodo huc intrasti . . .' are written between them on the parchment ground, the only time such a device is used in the Pembroke leaves. In the second division, as the guest is dragged out toward the right by two servants, his shaggy beggar's dress of cloak, trews and bare feet is revealed;¹²⁷ at the extreme right he is shown under an arched enclosure, his hair standing on end, wrists and feet bound and his feet on green ground, while a man to the left lays both hands on his shoulders as if pushing him into a sitting position.

Although this part of the parable is not illustrated in surviving Echternach manuscripts, which show instead the earlier search in 'highways and byways',¹²⁸ the Bury drawings resemble, in composition and individual motifs, many similar banquet-scenes in the Nürnberg *Codex Aureus* and its relatives: in particular, the parable of Dives and Lazarus in both Nürnberg (Pl. XLV, *b*) and Bremen,¹²⁹ with the long table to the left and Lazarus crouching naked outside an arched doorway. And although no Echternach parallels to the Wedding Guest survive, two at least exist in manuscripts of the 'Reichenau' school.¹³⁰ In these the favoured vertical format has led to a division of the scene into two registers, but many of the same

¹²⁴ Buchthal 1966.

¹²⁵ See Boeckler 1933, pp. 44-45.

¹²⁶ Matthew xxii, 1-14, esp. 11-14. The scene appears unknown in Western art to this time except for the examples mentioned here.

¹²⁷ Compare the blind beggar on f. 1v of Pembroke 120 (4) and the beggars in the St. Edmund *libellus* (n. 20 above).

¹²⁸ *Codex Aureus* in Nürnberg, f. 78v (Metz 1956, pl. 69); Bremen MS. b.21, f. 76v (Princeton Index photograph).

¹²⁹ See above, p. 279 and n. 86.

¹³⁰ Munich, Clm. 23,338, an early eleventh-century Gospel lectionary, f. 154v; Augsburg, Ordinariatsbibl. MS. 15a, a Pericope-book, f. 104v (illustrated in *Altbayer. Monatsheft* vii, 1907, pl. VIII, p. 79). For recent references to both manuscripts, see H. Schnitzler, in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, xix, 1957, pp. 88f.

basic elements are included, along with some different details: the occasion is more fully characterized in the Munich manuscript by the presence at the round table of the king's son (the host here is shown crowned) and his bride. The guest is seated in an isolated position at the front of the table—a feature perhaps suggested by the isolation of Judas in miniatures of the Last Supper—and the king prods him with a long pole while two men enter from the right to seize him. In the final scene the guest is thrust by the two waiters, one with a pole, into a cave-like pit at the bottom left, while a youthful beardless man with tau-staff (the king's son?) looks on from the right and gestures in typical command.

If we allow for the division and partial reversal of direction in the lower panel of this 'Reichenau' example, all the Western illustrations of the sequence may be likened, in part at least, to three post-iconoclastic Byzantine examples. In the eleventh-century Greek Gospels in Florence, Laurenziana VI.23,¹³¹ the iconography is essentially similar to that of the 'Reichenau' example: in a single strip, it commences from the left with two small groups illustrating the first part of the parable; then, with a group of five at a round table, the illustration of the second part begins. To the right of that, the king speaks to a man at the right of the table, while again further to the right a man is led by another toward a sort of hilly cave with heads or skulls in it: the outer darkness with 'weeping and gnashing of teeth'.

Two other Byzantine miniatures of later date continue the tradition and offer other points of comparison with both the 'Reichenau' and Pembroke examples. Iconographic links between the miniatures of Iviron MS. 5 on Mt. Athos and the tenth-century 'Reichenau' Evangelary of the Emperor Otto in Aachen have already been established.¹³² In the Byzantine manuscript, a miniature of deep rectangular shape on f. 94v¹³³ shows at bottom left five men seated around a table on which are three symmetrically arranged vessels. Above and behind them, apparently as a separate scene, a figure which appears to have a cross-nimbus approaches from the left and seems to be giving instructions to an angel who looks back at him but moves gently toward the right. The same angel appears again in the dining-scene, seizing the hair of the figure second from the right-hand end of the table and lifting him from his seat. At the extreme right, in front of some rather schematic stage-set door frames, the angel kneels on the shadowy uncouth figure whom he seems to hold overpowered in a wrestling grip. A thirteenth-century Greek and Latin Gospel-book also connected

¹³¹ F. 45.

¹³² See Millet 1916, p. 9. Weitzmann 1944, pp. 193f. dates Iviron 5 to the thirteenth century and discusses earlier references to it.

¹³³ Reproduced in A. Xyngopoulos, *Gospels Mon. Iviron*, 1932, pl. 21.

with this recension¹³⁴ shows essentially the same scene: again the five men sit at a table to the left, in front of an architectural *skene*; but here the fourth man, wearing a hairy cloak like those of the beggars in Pembroke 120, is hauled by the hair out of his seat and behind the fifth man who looks up, as if surprised. The angel who again, as in Iviron 5, performs the task is directed this time by a cross-nimbed figure who stands on the same level, in the centre right of the picture. Again, in the bottom right-hand corner, the angel has wrestled the unworthy guest to the ground and kneels on him. It is interesting and typical that the Ottonian and English manuscripts illustrate the Gospel narrative more literally, providing, instead of the angel, two waiters as in the Gospel narrative, and—in the ‘Reichenau’ examples at least—a king in place of the Eastern cross-nimbed Christ. The same symbolic presentation of Christ as the Good Samaritan, apparent in the Early Christian and Byzantine versions, was dropped in the Ottonian and subsequent English versions for a more literal presentation. The separate occurrence of the two halves of this rather complex parable in various manuscripts—both parts in Laurenziana VI.23, the first half only in the Madrid and Nürnberg manuscripts, the second half in the ‘Reichenau’ and English manuscripts and apparently in the later Byzantine ones—leads to the conclusion that probably both ‘Reichenau’ and Echternach schools, at least, had a model or models in which illustrations to the whole parable were to be found, as they were in the eleventh-century illustrated Greek Gospels.

A more direct parallel with ‘Reichenau’ iconography is found in the Pembroke scenes of Christ and the Apostles on the shores of Lake Tiberias after the Resurrection (28–30),¹³⁵ described in John XXI, 4–14. In the first of three miniatures, Peter leaps from the boat and walks across the water to the Lord, who stands on the shore to the right: a mistaken confusion, of course, with the earlier incident in Christ’s Ministry described in Matthew xiv.¹³⁵ In the second, the Apostles drag to shore a miraculous haul of fish, and in the third they face the Lord who, pointing with one hand to a loaf and fish roasting on coals at His feet, invites them with a gesture to join Him in an impromptu meal. In the Codex Egberti (Pl. XLVII, c) all of these elements, including the confusion of Peter walking with Peter swimming, are combined in one scene, with Peter himself dragging the net, and the loaf seeming to float above the roasting fish.¹³⁶ It is unlikely that the Pembroke draughtsman copied directly from the Codex Egberti, but both versions probably go back

¹³⁴ Paris, B.N., MS. Grec 54, See Millet 1916, p. 9 and Weitzmann 1944, p. 193.

¹³⁵ Compare Byzantine versions of both scenes, e.g. B.N. MS. Grec 74, ff.29v, 77, 178v, 211v (Omont 1908, pl. 26, 70, 154, 185), which show Peter actually swimming.

¹³⁶ See Schiel 1960, f.90.

ultimately to a common, fully illustrated recension; two later English versions seem to share with the Pembroke manuscript a fairly explicit model from which each artist has selected different elements.¹³⁷

A few other details offer less substantial but possibly useful hints of Ottonian relationships. Unlike the Entombment scene in the St. Albans Psalter, which in its domed architectural setting recalls the Byzantino-Italian frescoes of S. Angelo in Formis,¹³⁸ the Pembroke version (20) seems to have come from German models in which the Lord is laid to rest in a garden with trees,¹³⁹ although in these there are usually only the two men, Joseph and Nicodemus, while the Pembroke Entombment is as populous as are the Crucifixion and Deposition that precede it. The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes in our manuscript (3), based probably on the account in John XI, 3-14, where it follows the Cleansing of the Temple, appears to reflect the narrative Byzantine tradition in which the two main scenes are shown side by side: at left, the Lord blesses the food held out to him by two Apostles, while at the right they in turn hand out the food to the waiting crowds. In *Laurenziana* VI.23 and in the Salerno Paliotto¹⁴⁰ the two sections are crowded together until they appear simultaneous, and the same mingling is found in a Catalan Gospel-book in Perpignan.¹⁴¹ Echternach tradition appears to have favoured the more hieratic, symmetrical composition with its implied Eucharistic symbolism¹⁴² but on the Easter column of Abbot Bernward in Hildesheim,¹⁴³ the artist, like the Pembroke draughtsman, has omitted the Apostles who give out the food. One might conclude, therefore, either that the English artist copied a complete model like that of *Laurenziana* VI.23, dropping out the duplicated Apostles, or else that he used a model which, like Abbot Bernward's column, had already reached the condensed stage.

¹³⁷ Compare the Canterbury leaf, V. & A. MS. 661 verso (James 1937, pl. VIII), which shows the Apostles dragging the fish ashore and a more elaborate grouping of figures around a grill with the fish; see also a thirteenth-century miniature by W. de Brailes in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland (see Swarzenski 1938, pp. 55-60). This lacks the coals and fish but otherwise resembles the first two Pembroke scenes.

¹³⁸ See Pächt *et al.* 1960, p. 71f.

¹³⁹ Cf., e.g., the *Codex Egberti* (Schiel 1960, f.85v) and the *Codex Aureus* in Nürnberg (f.112; Metz 1956, pl. 84).

¹⁴⁰ See Goldschmidt 1914, iv, pl. xlvi, No. 126, scene 36.

¹⁴¹ Perpignan, MS. 1 (41), twelfth century. See A. Boinet, 'Notice sur un évangélaire de la Bibliothèque de Perpignan', *Congrès Archéologique*, LXXIII, 1906, description p. 541, plate facing p. 542.

¹⁴² See Jantzen 1961, 17f.

¹⁴³ See Tschan 1952, pl. 184.

A tenth-century Sacramentary from Cologne, now in Paris,¹⁴⁴ offers about the closest, although still not totally consistent, parallel with another scene in the Pembroke cycle: the extremely rare subject of the Jews requesting, and Pilate setting, an armed guard for the tomb in Gethsemane (21).¹⁴⁵ Some elements of the Pembroke Mocking of Christ (16), like the symmetry and the blindfold might, as mentioned earlier, have been derived from the St. Albans Psalter;¹⁴⁶ but in two respects the contrast is significant: the Pembroke Christ is seated, not standing; and the mockers are in the very act of placing the plaited crown on (or rather, by an odd confusion, *behind*) His head. Both of these features are found in the golden Antependium of Aachen Cathedral, dating from about A.D. 1020,¹⁴⁷ in a somewhat simpler composition, as well as in the Gospels from St. Peter's in Salzburg, now in New York.¹⁴⁸ The combination of kneeling and standing figures in the Pembroke version, however, and the symmetrical presentation of Christ enthroned with robe, crown and sceptre, in a savage parody of the courtly ritual of obeisance or *Huldigung*, recalls not only the circumstances of the original event but also the Bury miniature mentioned above, in which St. Edmund is surrounded by adoring angels, while two kneeling monks kiss his feet.¹⁴⁹ Within the Pembroke leaves themselves, the scene of final triumph in the Last Judgment (36) offers a similar grouping, effectively contrasting earthly humiliation with heavenly glory.

A final interesting feature of the Pembroke cycle deserves some mention. At some stage in the existence of the manuscript, whether at the time most of the colour was added or earlier, the face of the angel at the tomb on f. 4 (22) was gilded, over the original outlines. This may simply reflect the English taste for concrete images of Biblical narrative, which describes the angel as having a face 'like lightning'; but there was on the continent a tradition of long duration in which the angel's face was painted red. It occurs thus in a number of Ottonian manuscripts, contrasting with the paler flesh-tones of the Holy Women and even with angels in other

¹⁴⁴ B.N. MS. lat, 817, f.59v. See P. Bloch and H. Schnitzler, *Die Ottonische Kölner Malschule*, 1, Düsseldorf, 1967, pl. 100 and pp. 37f. A somewhat similar arrangement occurs in the slightly later Gospels from St. Peter in Salzburg, now in the Morgan Library in New York as MS. 781. See Swarzenski 1908-13, II, pl. xviii, No. 57.

¹⁴⁵ Matthew xxvii, 62-66.

¹⁴⁶ See above, p. 267, n. 24.

¹⁴⁷ See Jantzen 1947, pl. 130.

¹⁴⁸ F.82v (Swarzenski 1908-13, pl. xvi, No. 49).

¹⁴⁹ See K. Berg, 'A Contribution to the Early Iconography of the Crowning with Thorns', *MBH*, 1961, pp. 37-44, for a discussion of the Ottonian iconography of this scene and its source in the ritual and art of the Roman Empire; also Schiller 1966, II, pp. 79f.

miniatures in the same manuscript.¹⁵⁰ In England it crops up slightly later in the Canterbury picture-leaves¹⁵¹ and, while the Pembroke artist was no doubt carrying the idea a step further in using gold, the source of his inspiration may well have come from a continental, and particularly Germanic, source.¹⁵²

This preponderance of Ottonian, and particularly Echternach influence in the Pembroke drawings from Bury is probably their most interesting and significant feature. Surprisingly little recognition has been given to the large debt owed by English illuminators of the first half of the twelfth century to Germanic prototypes; less directly apparent in the St. Albans Psalter, it is however overwhelmingly apparent both in the Pembroke cycle and in the later leaves from Canterbury. The extent to which the New Testament tradition of Echternach was used by a rather provincial artist at Bury St. Edmunds or a similar centre, and the even greater use of Echternach, Reichenau and other Ottonian formulae by the artist or artists of the Canterbury leaves, imply the presence and availability in England in the twelfth century of several profusely illustrated Ottonian prototypes, or of one or more model-books containing numerous examples from the various schools.

Several factors suggest that the artist of the Pembroke leaves used, among other models, an actual Gospel-book or lectionary rather than a collection of 'patterns', even one including primarily Echternach elements. He tends, for the most part, to take over whole scenes rather than isolated motifs from earlier traditions, whereas most model books of earlier date which have survived, having been compiled by individual artists with a selective eye for new and useful motifs, lack both the coherence and the immensely broad scope hinted at by the Pembroke artist's selection of scenes

¹⁵⁰ Matthew xxviii, 3. See, e.g., two tenth-century MSS, St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek HSS. 340 and 341 (A. Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen*, Leipzig, 1912, pl. LXXVIII), and f.84 of the Gospels of Henry III in Madrid (Boeckler 1933, pl. 93). In the last example the angel's face is more lavender, but there are several other examples in Ottonian manuscripts in which he is shown with a pink or red countenance.

¹⁵¹ V. & A. MS.661 verso (James 1937, pl. VIII).

¹⁵² It is interesting to note the occurrence of this motif in the Mystery play tradition, albeit rather late; the prompt-book of a production in Mons in 1501 (see Cohen 1925, p. 411, and *idem* 1943, pp. 327-342) includes in its stage directions a reminder that the angel must have his face painted red; earlier in the play, Christ in the Transfiguration has both face and hands gilded (Cohen 1925, p. 177). The whole question of the influence of religious drama on English medieval art is too complex for examination here, but its importance in the St. Albans Psalter and in the Emmaus scenes of our own cycle has already been discussed by Pächt (Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 73f; Pächt 1962, pp. 33f) and it is perhaps relevant to note that as early as the 970's, a form of dramatised Easter liturgy apparently derived from North European sources was outlined in the *Regularis Concordia*. (See Dom T. Symons, ed. and transl., *Regularis Concordia*, London etc. 1953, pp. 3, 49-50 and xlix-xx.)

and by their complements in Echternach manuscripts.¹⁵³ There were of course dynastic connections between England and Germany in the early twelfth century and before:¹⁵⁴ in 1114, for example, the twelve-year-old Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England, was married with great pomp to Henry V of Germany, and after his death in 1125 married the young Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. She appears to have taken with her to France a rich treasure of relics, liturgical objects and vestments, and other valuable items,¹⁵⁵ among those left at her death to the monastery at Bec are listed 'libri capellae imperatricis'.¹⁵⁶ More specific information is not given, and no Echternach books are today traceable to her ownership, but Matilda's treasure-list reflects the very common use in that period of books, precious textiles, and church ornaments as gifts to and from heads of state or the church hierarchy.¹⁵⁷ In this connection it is perhaps also worth noting that the Morgan Golden Gospels in New York, a Trier or Echternach manuscript of the late tenth century, belonged at one time to the English royal family, probably to Henry VIII. Its earlier history is unknown, and it is now rebound and contains no illustrations. It may not, however, have been the first, or the most sumptuous, Echternach product to find its way to England.¹⁵⁸

It could also be that the Pembroke drawings were themselves intended as a pattern-book or model for manuscript or wall paintings: I am inclined also to reject this thesis, although the possibility cannot be entirely denied. Most models which show whole or even partial scenes have written labels or instructions added to the picture with little or no consideration for artistic effect.¹⁵⁹ With the

¹⁵³ See Scheller 1963 for a summary of the main characteristics of pattern-books and a selection of examples for comparison.

¹⁵⁴ See Leyser 1960, pp. 61f.

¹⁵⁵ See Robert of Torigny, *Chronica*, in Howlett 1884-90, iv, p. 124.

¹⁵⁶ See *Draco Normannicus* in Howlett 1884-90, ii, p. 760.

¹⁵⁷ On the nature and rôle of such gifts see Schramm & Mutherich 1962, pp. 77f. Certainly English influence was obvious in German art from a fairly early date: see Schapiro 1943, p. 144 and notes; Pächt *et al.* 1960, p. 63, n. 2; Swarzenski 1932, pp. 241-397. ¹⁵⁸ See Lowe 1954, pp. 266-79, figs. 191-230.

¹⁵⁹ E.g., a thirteenth-century manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, Bib. Augusta, cod.ma. Aug.oct. 61/62, described in Scheller 1963, pp. 78f, fig. 30-32. The closest work in appearance to Pembroke 120 is Kupferstichkabinett MS. 78 A.6 in Berlin, an unfinished manuscript from Liège made in the last quarter of the twelfth century (*Ibid.*, pp. 69 f., fig. 22-24). In this, the scenes and separate characters are identified in a minuscule hand which also appears on the scroll held by one of the figures. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this manuscript was originally intended as a model-book, and it has even been suggested (*loc. cit.*) that the pictures are the remains of a cycle reflecting Ottonian prototypes and originally belonging to a Psalter. There may, of course, have been more 'finished' models or sample-books by the twelfth century, compiled more as prospectuses or project specifications: not enough is known yet in this highly speculative area.

exception of the host's words to the Wedding Guest in f. 2v (10), there are no such identifications or additional hints to the copyist on the Pembroke leaves, even for such rare or ambiguous scenes as Christ's appearances at meals after the Resurrection, or the Mission to the Apostles on f. 5 (31), or Pilate setting the guard. Except for the Beheading of St. John the Baptist on f. 5v, the scenes are in logical order, also a feature not characteristic of most model-books, and but for the addition of colour they were carried out with a meticulous completeness that argues an intent to use them for some fairly grandiose purpose.

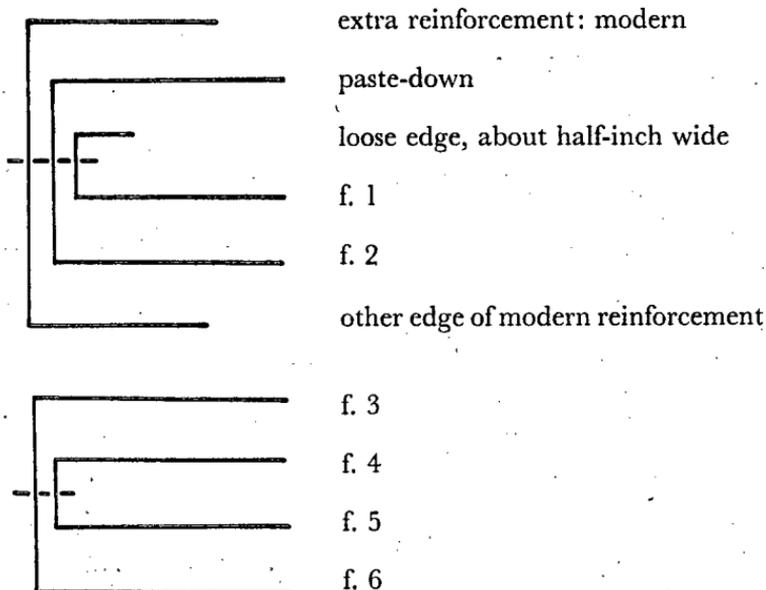
There remains, then, the question of their intended destination: the New Testament with which they are now bound was not their original partner. For what sort of manuscript were they first planned? The two other stylistically related English cycles were made for Psalters: indeed, already in the eleventh century the Cotton Tiberius Psalter was prefaced by a series of miniatures forming a narrative cycle, and Professor Wormald has already suggested¹⁶⁰ that the Pembroke New Testament leaves may have been intended for a similar function. On the other hand, since the eighth century there had been in England one copiously-illustrated Gospel Book, the 'Gospels of St. Augustine' at Canterbury, in which the miniatures were distributed somewhat in the manner of the Nürnberg *Codex Aureus*, on leaves between the four Gospels. Moreover, this early cycle bears some relation to at least one of the three English twelfth-century cycles, that on the four leaves from Canterbury which offer so many comparisons with the Pembroke drawings. Another factor to be considered is that, even allowing for some trimming, the size and shape of the Bury miniature pages correspond well with the dimensions of the New Testament of about twenty years later, now bound with them, or with the shape of the great Bury Bible, while the Psalters with miniature-pages tend to be somewhat squarer or smaller.¹⁶¹

The most significant fact, however, is that the Bury miniatures, unlike the Psalter-cycles of earlier and more or less contemporary date—for example the Cotton Tiberius Psalter, the St. Albans Psalter, the Odbert and the Eadwine Psalters—apparently had no Old Testament scenes. From an examination of the two initial gatherings of Pembroke 120, the first of which includes a flyleaf which was blank in the twelfth century, it may be inferred that only

¹⁶⁰ See Conseil de l'Europe 1961, p. 114, No. 177.

¹⁶¹ St. Albans Psalter: c. 12 by 9 inches; B.M. Cotton MS. Tib.C.VI, size not known exactly, since the MS. shrank when damaged by fire; written space now $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches; Eadwine Psalter: 18 by 13 inches; Pembroke MS. 120: $16\frac{3}{10}$ by $10\frac{1}{10}$ inches. The St. Augustine's Gospels, however, are also different, being far less vertical in format than the Pembroke leaves.

one possibly-illustrated leaf is now missing from the series. The first pages of Pembroke MS. 120 are now sewn together thus:

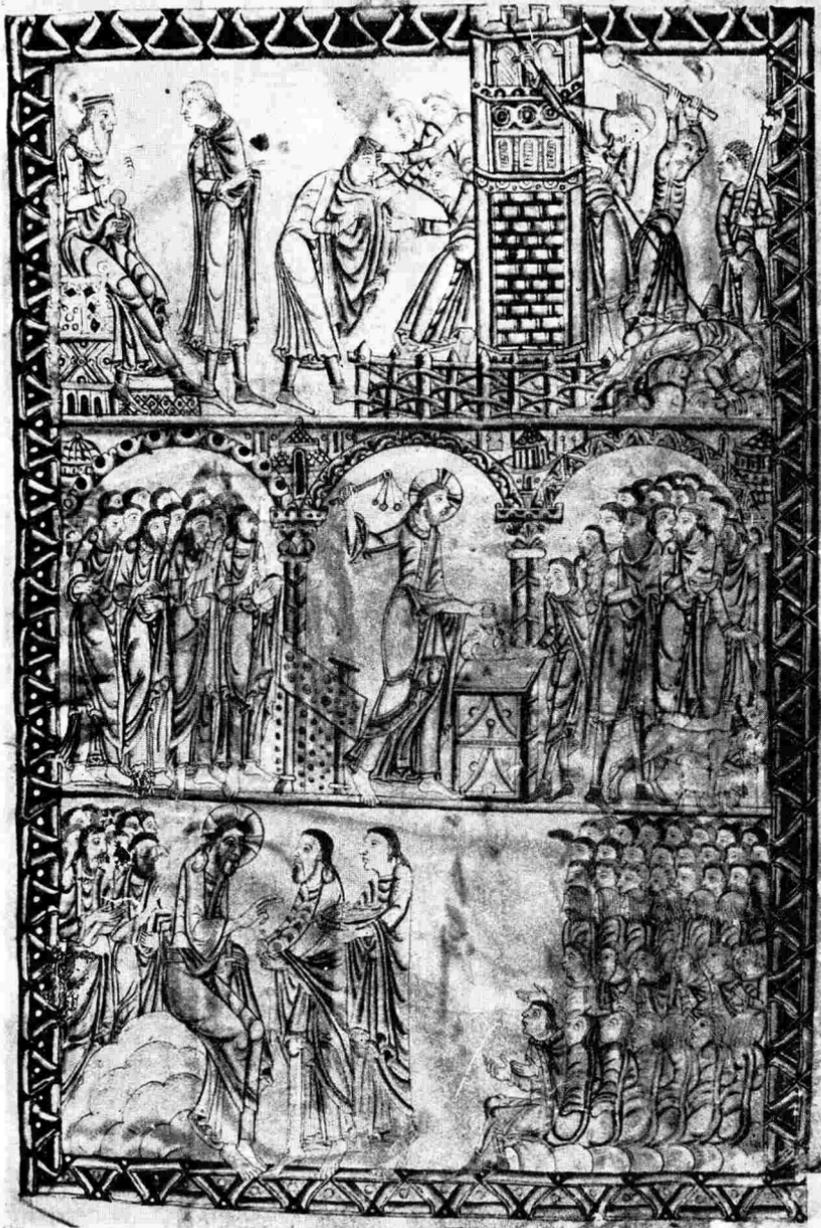


The text pages are sewn in gatherings of eight in the normal fashion. Since the paste-down contains only scraps of fourteenth-century and later writing, the implication is that only one picture-page is now missing, represented by the loose edge between the pastedown and f. 1. There are no signs of rubbed-off colour on the verso of the pastedown that might offer hints, as in the St. Augustine's Gospels, of vanished treasure.¹⁶²

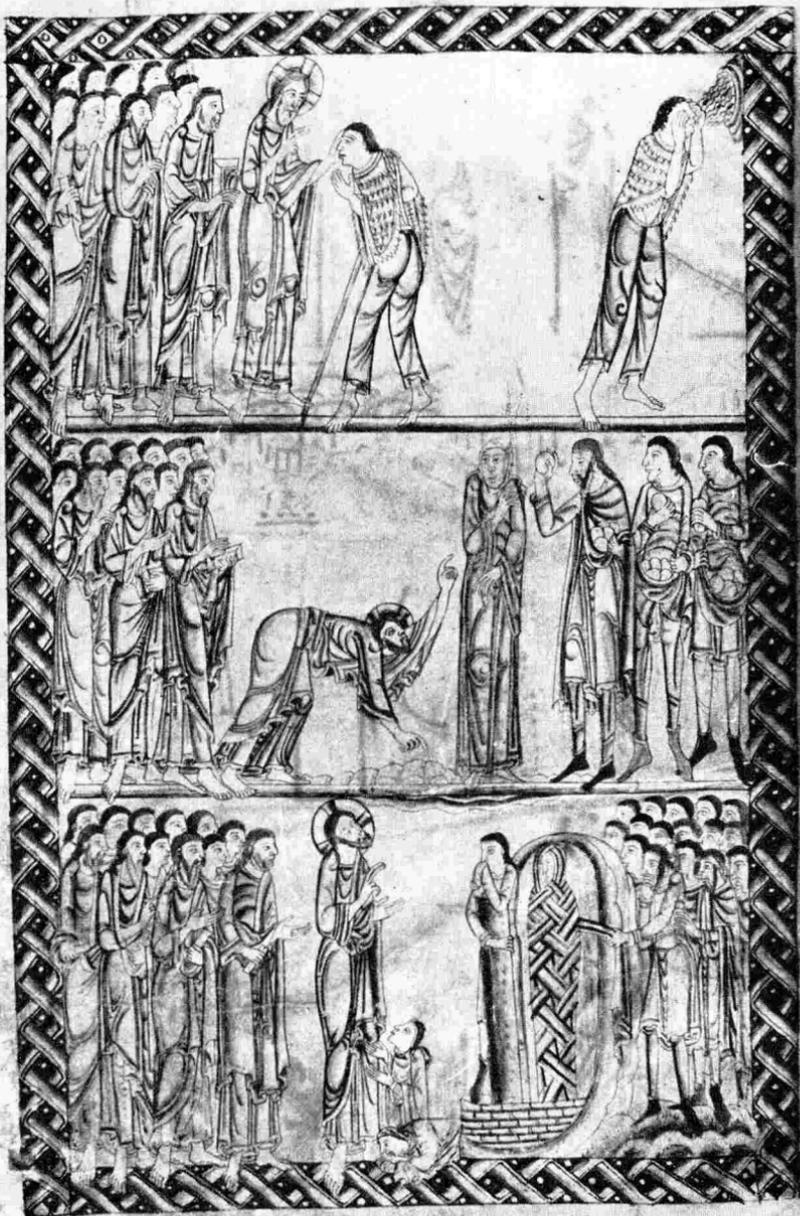
The two sides of a single missing leaf, if divided in the same manner as the others, would have held altogether between six and twelve scenes, and probably nearer the minimum number, for the earlier pages are on the whole more generously laid out. This would hardly provide adequate room for the essentials of the Infancy narrative as well as the early scenes of the Ministry—Baptism, Temptation, and the Marriage at Cana—let alone any from the Old Testament. It is very possible even that there were no Infancy scenes on the missing page, but that the cycle was a Ministry and Passion cycle, beginning with the Baptism and intended, like its Ottonian forebears, for the adornment of a Gospel-book or lectionary.

Many questions remain unanswered about the Pembroke drawings and their relationship to other manuscripts. Were they

¹⁶² See Wormald 1954, pp. 3f.

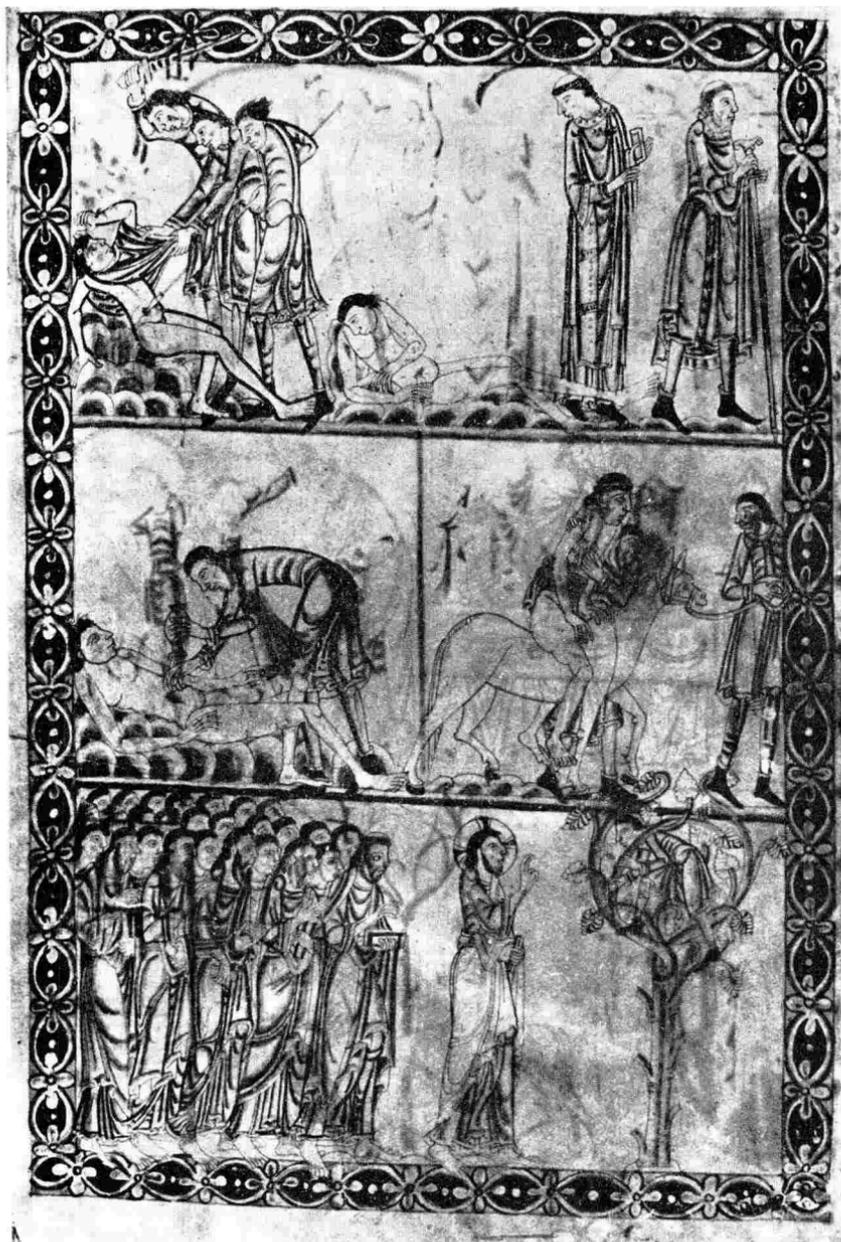


Pembroke College MS. 120, f. 1r., Scenes 1-3.



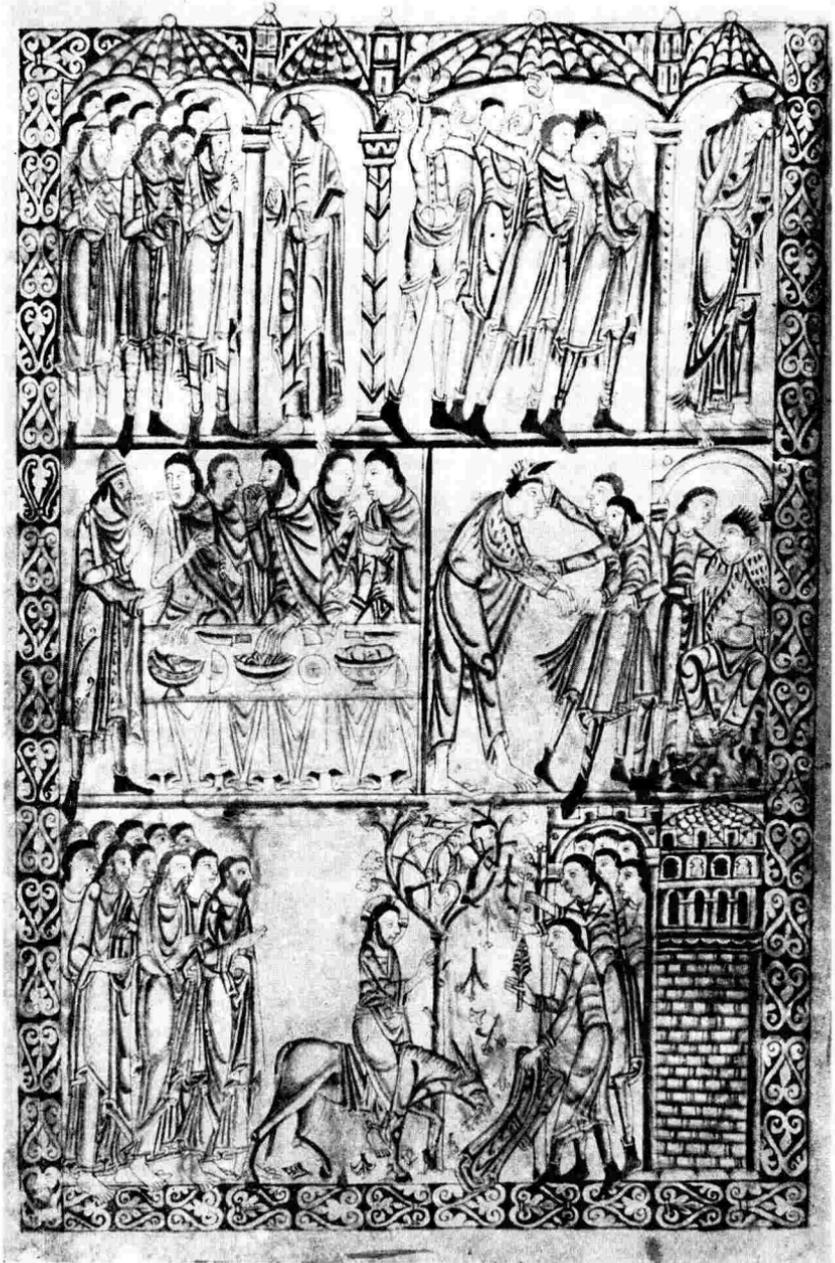
Pembroke College MS. 120, f.1v., Scenes 4-6.

PLATE XXXIV



Pembroke College MS. 120, f.2r., Scenes 7-8.

PLATE XXXV



Pembroke College MS. 120, f.2v., Scenes 9-11.

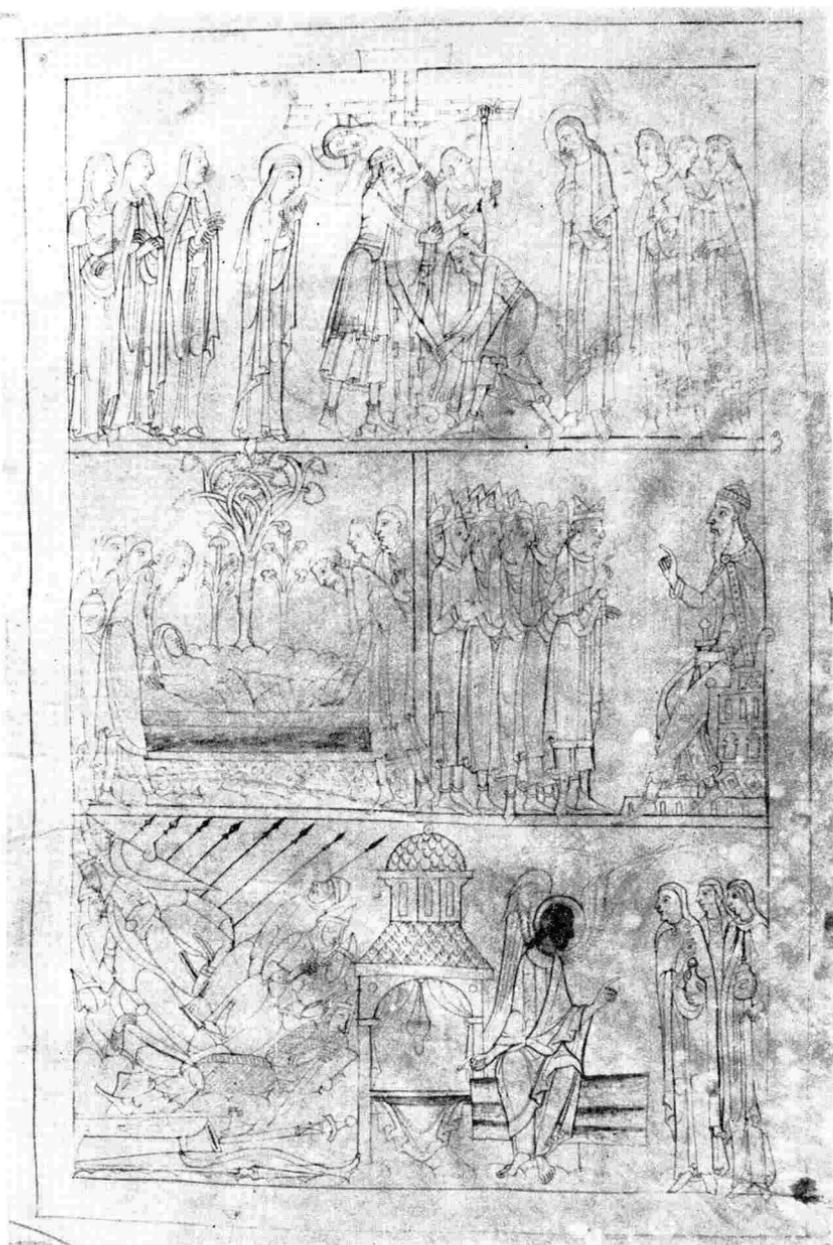


PLATE XXXVII



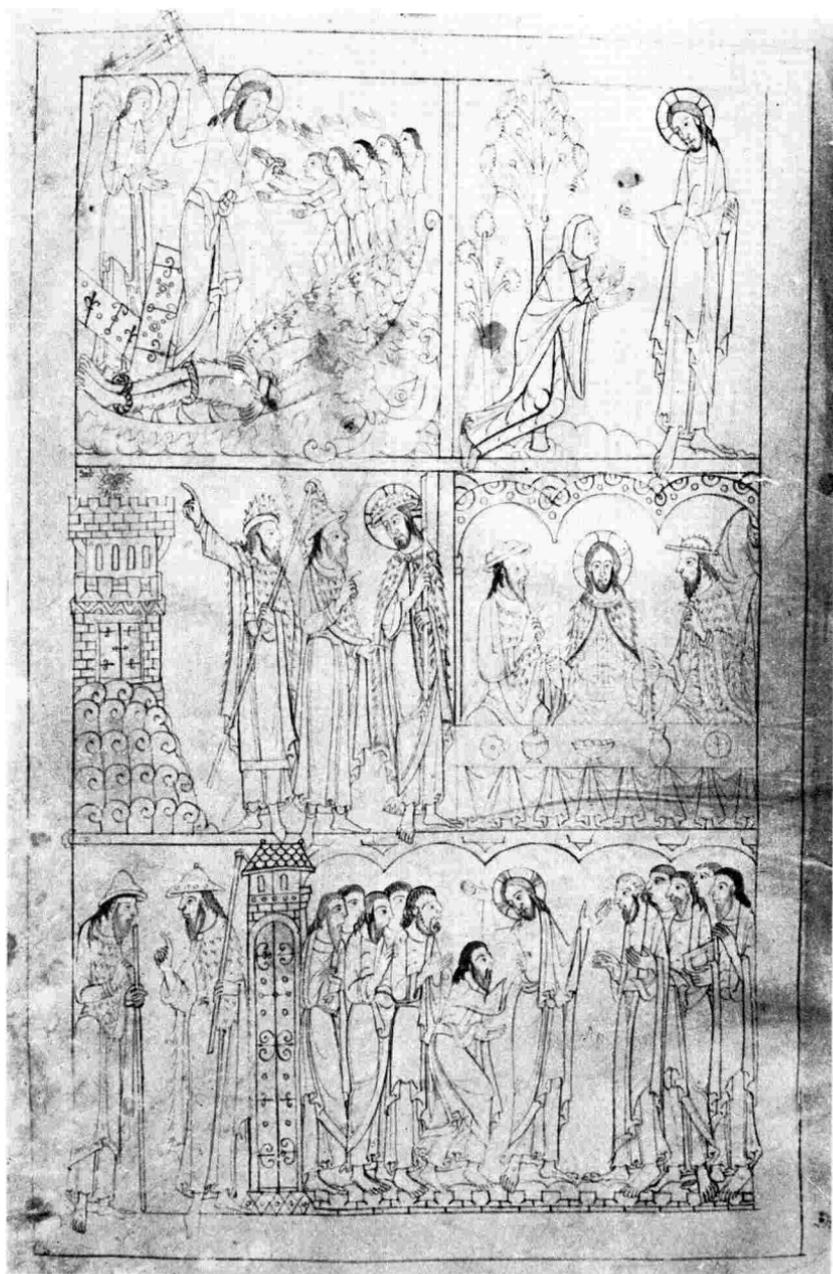
Pembroke College MS. 120, f.3v., Scenes 15-18.

PLATE XXXVIII



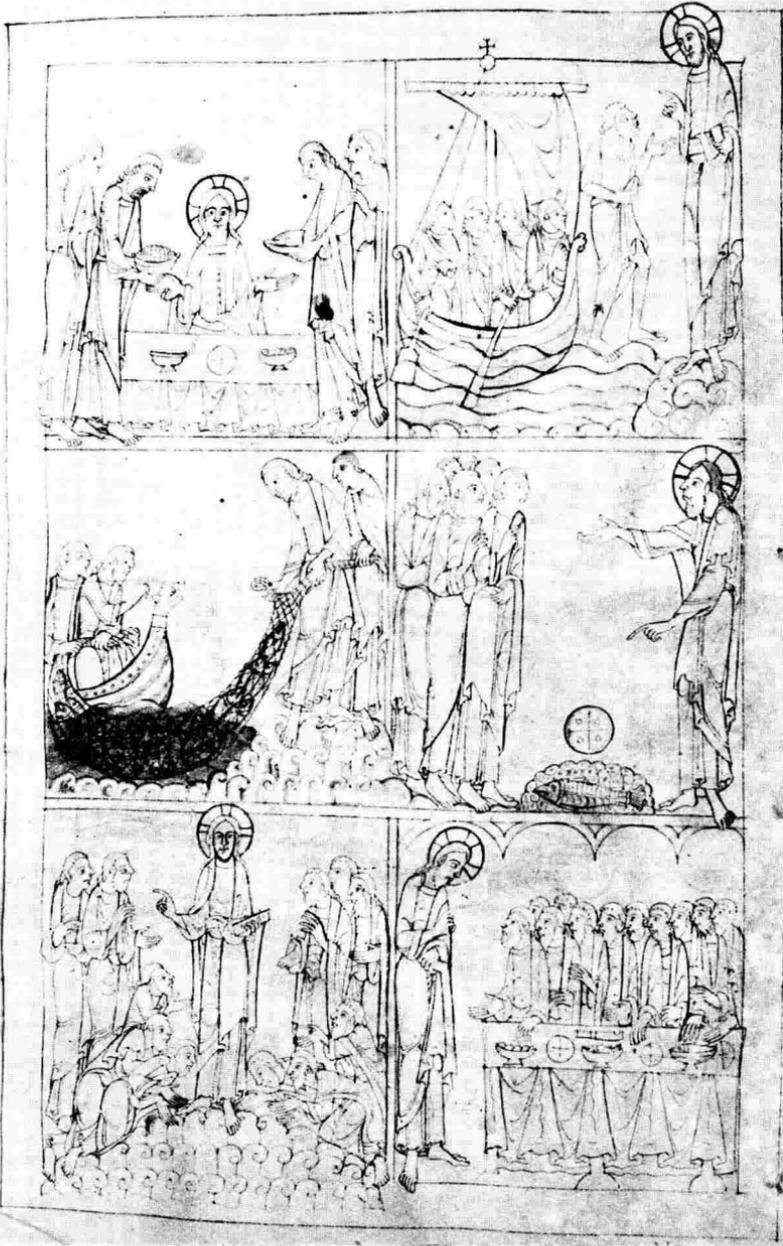
Pembroke College MS. 120, f.4r., Scenes 19-22.

PLATE XXXIX



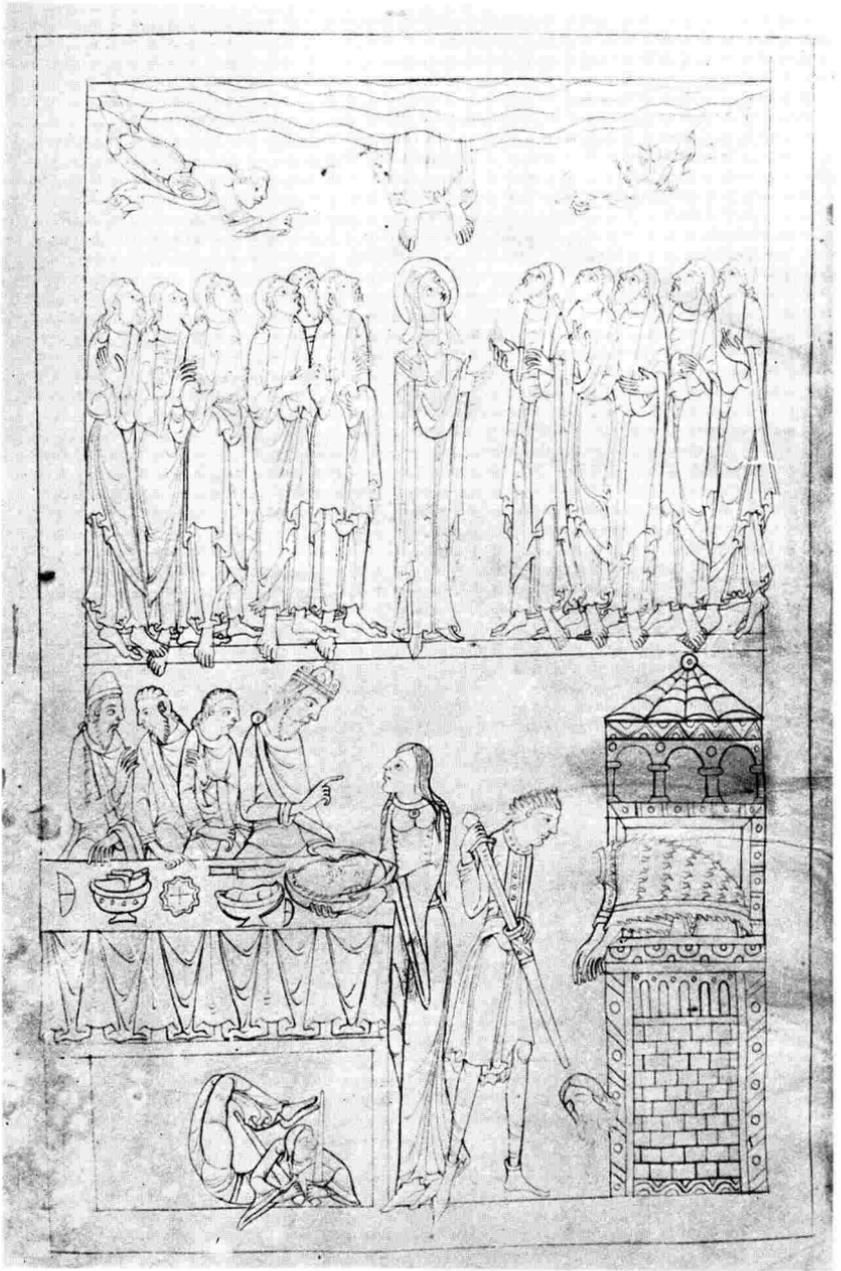
Pembroke College MS. 120, f.4v., Scenes 23-26.

PLATE XL



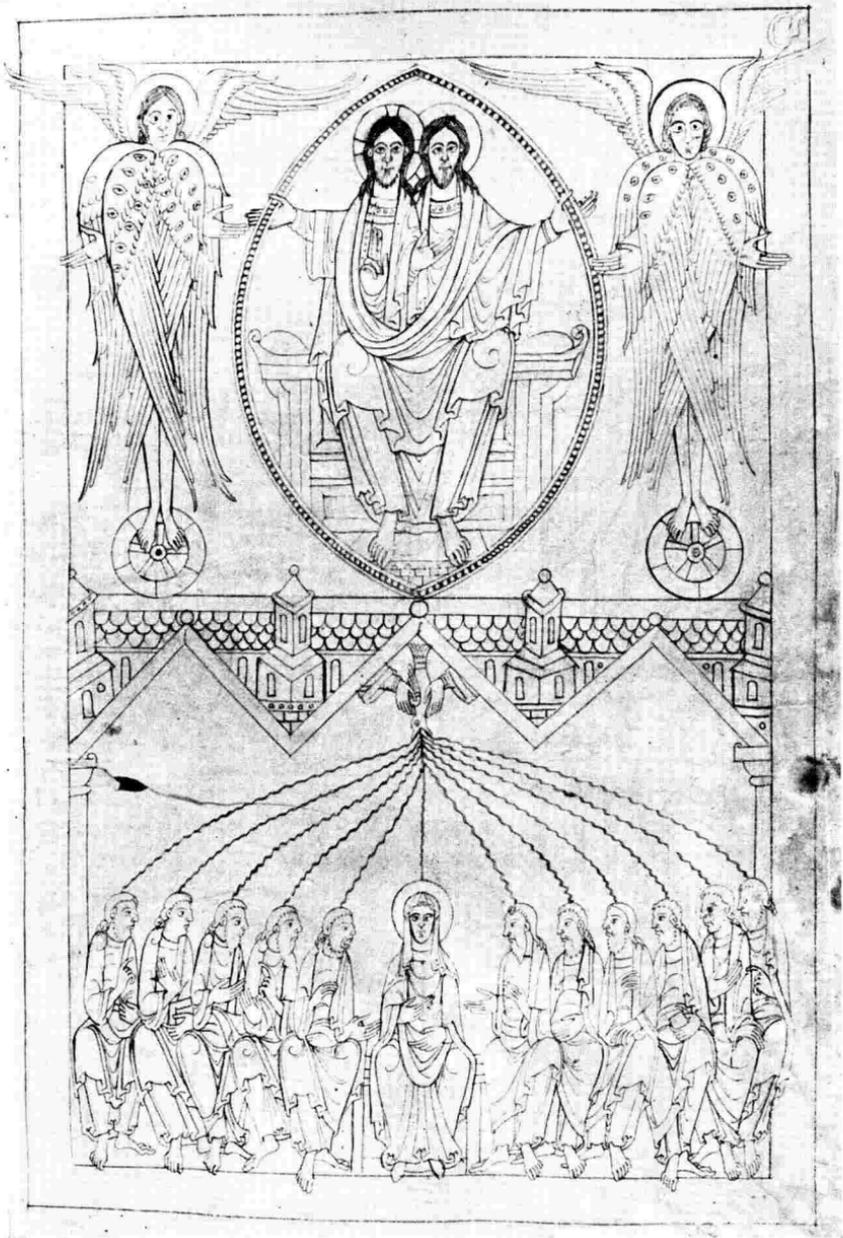
Pembroke College MS. 120, f.5r., Scenes 27-32.

PLATE XLI



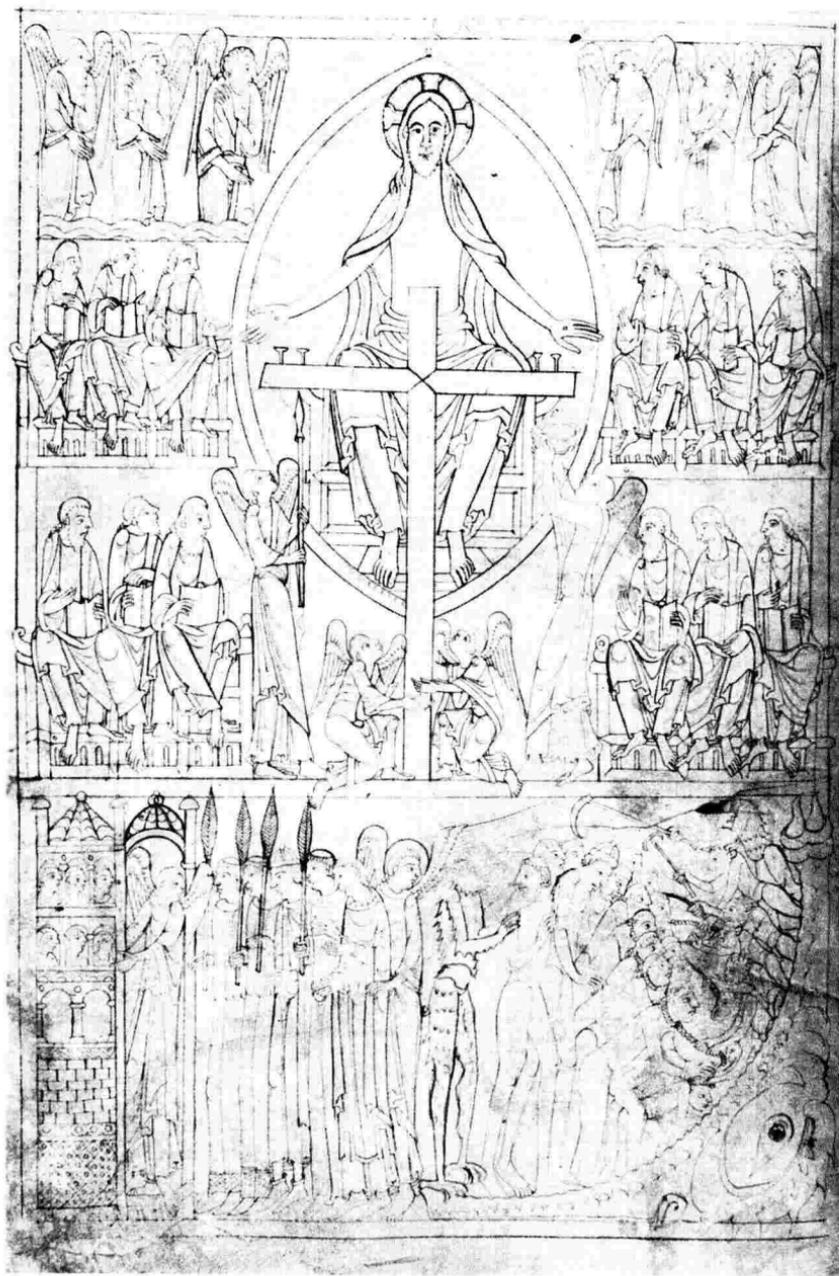
Pembroke College MS. 120, f.5v., Scenes 33-34.

PLATE XLII



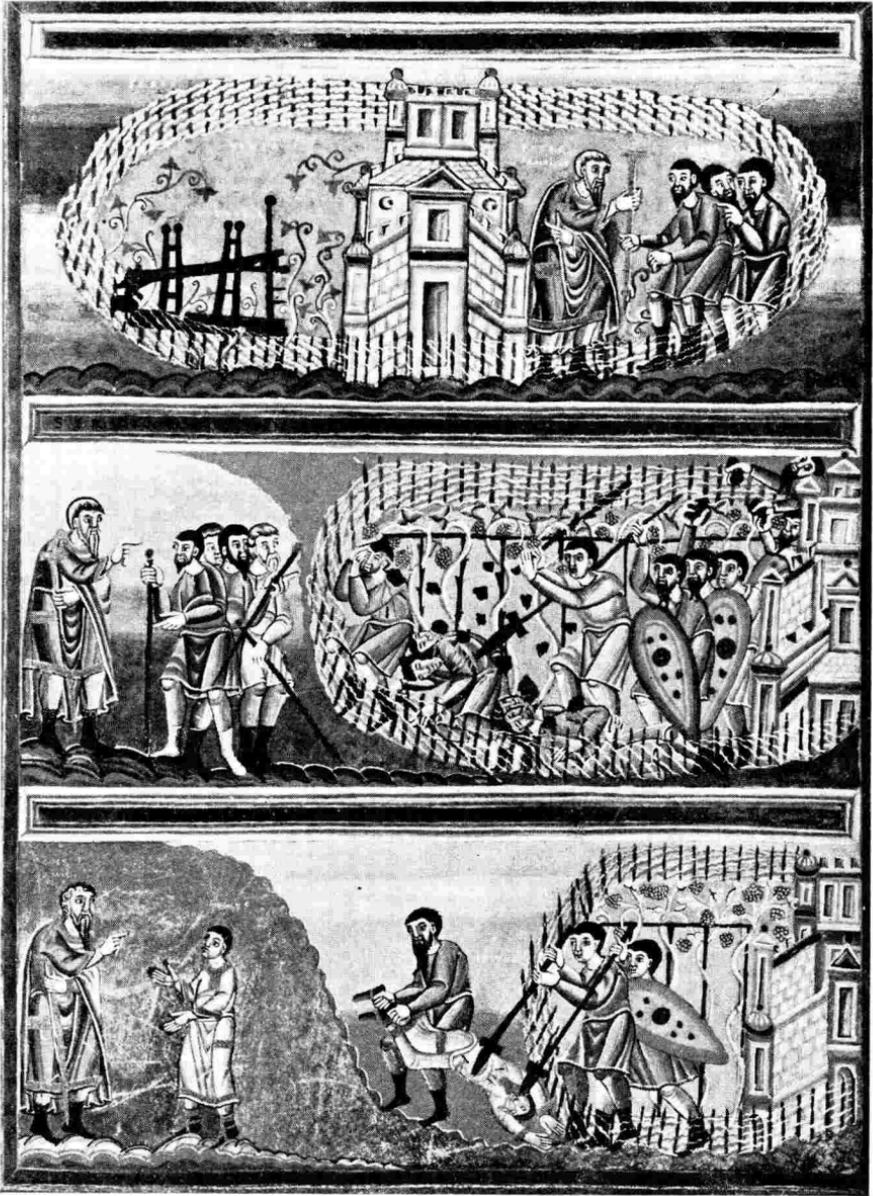
Pembroke College MS. 120, f.6r., Scene 35.

PLATE XLIII



Pembroke College MS. 120, f.6v., Scene 36.

PLATE XLIV



Nürnberg, *Codex Aureus*, f. 78. Wicked Husbandmen

PLATE XLV



a. f. 54v, *det.*
Healing of the Man Born Blind.

Nürnberg, *Codex Aureus*.



b. f. 79, *det.*
Dives and Lazarus.



c.
Palermo, Capella
Palatina.
Mosaic, Raising
of Lazarus.

PLATE XLVI



a. f. 40,
The stoning of Christ.



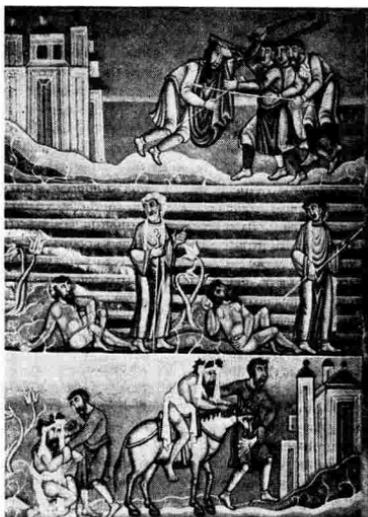
Bremen, Stadtbibliothek HS. b. 21.

b. f. 61v,
Christ in Limbo.



c. f. 70,
Christ appears to the Eleven.

PLATE XLVII



a. f.109.
Parable of the
Good Samaritan.

Madrid,
Golden Gospels
of Henry III.

b. f.145.
The Woman Taken
in Adultery.



c.
Trier,
Codex Egberti.
HS. 24, f.90.
Christ by the
Lake of Tiberias.

actually made at Bury? It seems probable, but may never be conclusively proven. For what were they intended? Again, no certain answer. Why, from what must have been a wide choice of subjects, did the artist select so many obscure events, especially so many connected with eating,¹⁶³ and so many from the period after the Resurrection? The rather sermonizing tendency shown in the inclusion of so many parables, as a kind of direct dialogue inserted into the narrative flow of the Christological cycle, is also puzzling. What reason, too, lay behind the inclusion, and the placing, of the Death of St. John the Baptist? These questions, and more, remain and may one day be answered. In the meantime, the connections and sources here discussed may help in the clarification of other problems in the complex field of English twelfth-century iconography.

LIST OF THE SCENES
IN PEMBROKE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS. 120

<i>Plate</i>		
XXXII	f. 1 recto:	1. The Wicked Husbandmen 2. Cleansing of the Temple 3. Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes
XXXIII	f. 1 verso:	4. Healing of the Man Born Blind 5. The Woman Taken in Adultery 6. The Raising of Lazarus
XXXIV	f. 2 recto:	7. The Good Samaritan 8. Zacchaeus in the Tree
XXXV	f. 2 verso:	9. The Jews try to stone Christ 10. Parable of the Guest without a Wedding Garment 11. The Entry into Jerusalem
XXXVI	f. 3 recto:	12. The Last Supper 13. Christ Washes the Disciples' Feet 14. The Betrayal
XXXVII	f. 3 verso:	15. The Flagellation 16. The Mocking 17. The Carrying of the Cross by Simon 18. The Crucifixion
XXXVIII	f. 4 recto:	19. The Deposition 20. The Entombment 21. The Jews ask Pilate for a Guard 22. The Women at the Empty Tomb

¹⁶³ Not only the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes (3), the Last Supper (12) and Emmaus (25), but also the Parable of the Wedding Guest (10), and three other appearances at meals after the Resurrection (27, 30, 32).

Plate

XXXIX	f. 4 verso:	23. The Harrowing of Hell 24. Noli me Tangere 25. Emmaus (3 scenes) 26. Unbelief of Thomas
XL	f. 5 recto:	27. Christ appears and eats (Luke xxiv, 36-43) 28. Christ and St. Peter on Lake Tiberias 29. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes 30. Breakfast on the shore of Lake Tiberias 31. The Mission to the Apostles 32. Christ appears to the Eleven at table (Mark xvi, 14-18)
XLI	f. 5 verso:	33. The Ascension 34. The Dance of Salome and Beheading of St. John the Baptist
XLII	f. 6 recto:	35. Pentecost
XLIII	f. 6 verso:	36. The Last Judgment

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

XLIV	Nürnberg, <i>Codex Aureus</i> , f.78	Wicked Husbandmen
XLV, ^a	Nürnberg, <i>Codex Aureus</i> , f.54	Blind Man at Pool of Siloam (detail)
^b	Nürnberg, <i>Codex Aureus</i> , f.79	Dives and Lazarus (detail)
^c	Palermo, Cappella Palatina, mosaic	Raising of Lazarus
XLVI, ^a	Bremen, Stadtbibl. HS.b.21, f.40	Jews try to stone Christ
^b	Bremen, Stadtbibl. HS.b.21, f.61v.	Christ in Limbo
^c	Bremen, Stadtbibl. HS.b.21, f.70	Christ appears to the Apostles
XLVII, ^a	Madrid, Golden Gospels of Henry III, f.109	Good Samaritan
^b	Madrid, Golden Gospels of Henry III, f.145	Woman taken in Adultery
^c	Trier, <i>Codex Egberti</i> , f.90	Christ by Lake Tiberias

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Baker 1942–43, pp. 8f., 22 n.4 and pl. VI (e); Boase 1953, pp. 111–112, pl. 39a; Cleveland & Kaufmann 1959, No. 13, pp. 12–13; Conseil de l'Europe 1961, No. 177, p. 114 and pl. XII; Dodwell 1954, p. 46; Giess 1962, No. 116, pp. 125–126; James 1937, pp. 2–3 and 15f.; Kantorowicz 1955–56, p. 222, fig. 24; Kantorowicz 1947, p. 74, n. 7; Kaufmann 1966, pp. 61, 65f. and n. 27; E. H. Minns, 'J.L.M.', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, xxxvii, 1936–37, pl. 25 (reproduces 6 text initials); E. G. Millar 1926, pp. 29–30, pl. 35; Pächt 1962, pp. 36, 39–40, pl. VIII, fig. 27; Pächt *et al.* 1960, pp. 75, 76, 142 n. 1, 166, 169; Rickert 1954, pp. 81, 96 pl. 64; Schapiro 1939, II, p. 387; Swarzenski 1967, No. 282, pl. 123, p. 60; Swarzenski 1938, p. 65, n. 20; F. Wormald, 'The Development of English Illumination in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., viii, 1943, p. 37.

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