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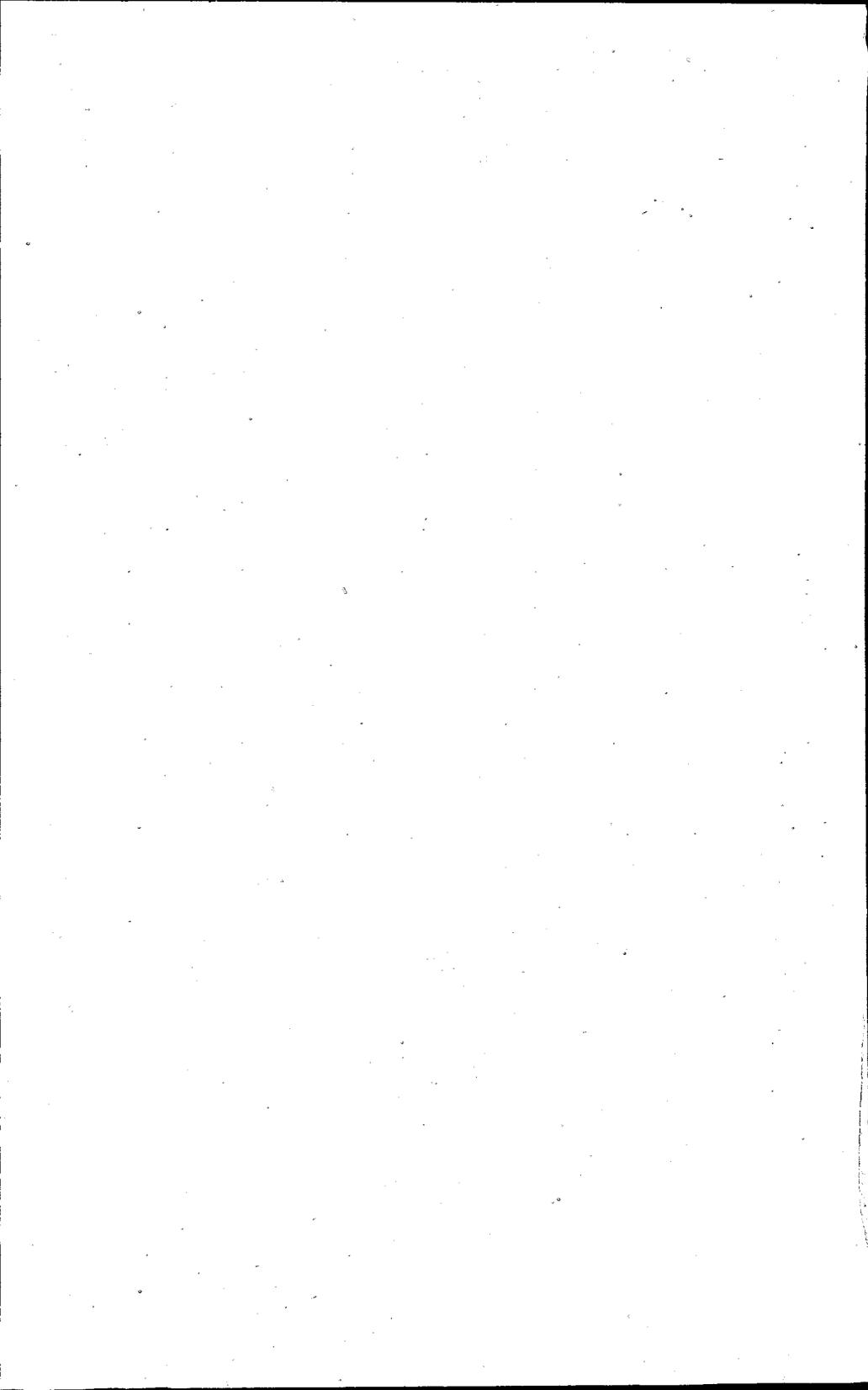
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Mr M. R. JAMES read the first part of the following paper :

ON FINE ART AS APPLIED TO THE ILLUSTRATION
OF THE BIBLE IN THE NINTH AND FIVE FOLLOWING
CENTURIES, EXEMPLIFIED CHIEFLY BY CAMBRIDGE
MSS.

It would be obviously absurd for me to attempt a sketch of the progress and development of Biblical illustration which should be at once comprehensive as regards the subject itself, and exact in respect of the particular monuments to which I am to refer. The subject is so large that it would require a course of lectures to indicate its various ramifications, besides which it is practically an unknown subject from one point of view, that, namely, of selections and cycles of subjects. So I must give up the idea of generalising on the matter in hand, and content myself with touching on a few fragments of the large scheme, and even these I can hardly hope to treat exhaustively.

The title of my paper indicates that the examples I shall cite will be chiefly taken from College Libraries here. Among these, the Library of Corpus Christi stands preeminent, and the energy and liberality of our Secretary, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, has supplied me with some illustrations drawn from the magnificent collection under his charge. I am glad that an opportunity is now afforded me of thanking him most sincerely for his kind exertions in the matter, and the great trouble he has taken to secure accuracy in the reproductions which I hope to bring before you to-night.

The Library of Corpus Christi affords us specimens of nearly all the most interesting cycles of Bible illustrations. Those which I hope to discuss now are six in number :

1. Illustrations of the Bible as a whole.
2. Of the Psalter.

3. Of the Gospels.
4. Of the Apocalypse.
5. Of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.
6. Of the *Biblia Pauperum*.

§ 1. *Bibles.*

Of the Bible, as a complete Book, illustrated with varying cycles of pictures, there are many types. The Library of Corpus Christi supplies us with specimens of two of these.

The first is represented by three large volumes, Nos. ii. iii. and iv. of Nasmith's *Catalogue*. No. ii. is the first of two volumes; the second has disappeared. Nos. iii. and iv. together form a complete whole. In date and style of writing they are very near each other. I feel that my pronouncements on questions of date are very much subject to correction, but I should assign both to a period late in the xiith century. I further conjecture that they were written in England, possibly at St Albans, but I am quite prepared to be told I am wrong on both points.

It would be difficult to find more sumptuous copies of the Vulgate than these. They are written in a noble hand in two columns. In the case of No. ii., the miniatures have been painted on very thin pieces of uterine vellum, and stuck on the blank space left for them in the book. This is seen to be the case when we turn to some of the minor Prophets, where the picture which headed the book has disappeared, and traces of the painted ornament which covered the edges of the patch, are left all round.

Now, what style of illustrating do we find in these Bibles? We get none of the great series portraying the Histories of Joseph and Moses, none of the Passion-scenes, none of the Apocalyptic visions. There is one illustration to each book or group of books, often taking the form of an initial with figures; though full-page and half-page pictures also occur in the first of the two Bibles. In other words, the pictures are not so much *illustrative*, as *decorative*.

When we consider the relation of these Bibles to the Pentateuchs of an earlier time,—that of Vienna, the Cottonian, the Ashburnham,—and to the ordinary Vulgates of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, we find that they occupy a middle place. They are the legitimate descendants of the great Carolingian books: Vivien's Bible, Alcuin's, and the Bible of St Paul's at Rome; a series which was continued in the German Bibles of Arnstein and Worms in the Harleian Collection. The full-page pictures of No. ii. correspond to the larger illustrations of the older group. The figured initials which occur both in this and its companion (Nos. iii. iv.) become, in the French Vulgates of the next century, a fixed and almost unvarying series.

Let me give you a short *conspectus* of the pictures which still remain in the two Corpus Christi Vulgates.

No. ii. has full-page illustrations to

Numbers, Horizontally divided, as most of them are, representing Moses and Aaron (*a*) legislating, (*b*) leading the people.

Deuteronomy, Moses and Aaron (*a*) addressing the people, (*b*) shewing them the land of promise.

Samuel. 1. Elkanah giving garments to his two wives.

2. Eli, vested as a Bishop, listening to Hannah's prayer.

Other remarkable illustrations are of the decorative class:

e.g. that to *Isaiah*, a figured initial which shews him as a prophet with a scroll.

That to *Jeremiah* represents him watching the storming of Jerusalem. In this picture, which occupies half a page, the defenders seem to be throwing fire-balls.

The style of armour is possibly Norman; we see the pointed helmets, the chain-mail, and the kite-shaped shields familiar from the Bayeux tapestry.

Ezekiel. I have selected the illustration to this book for reproduction (Plate VIII., fig. 1), partly because it is of a more

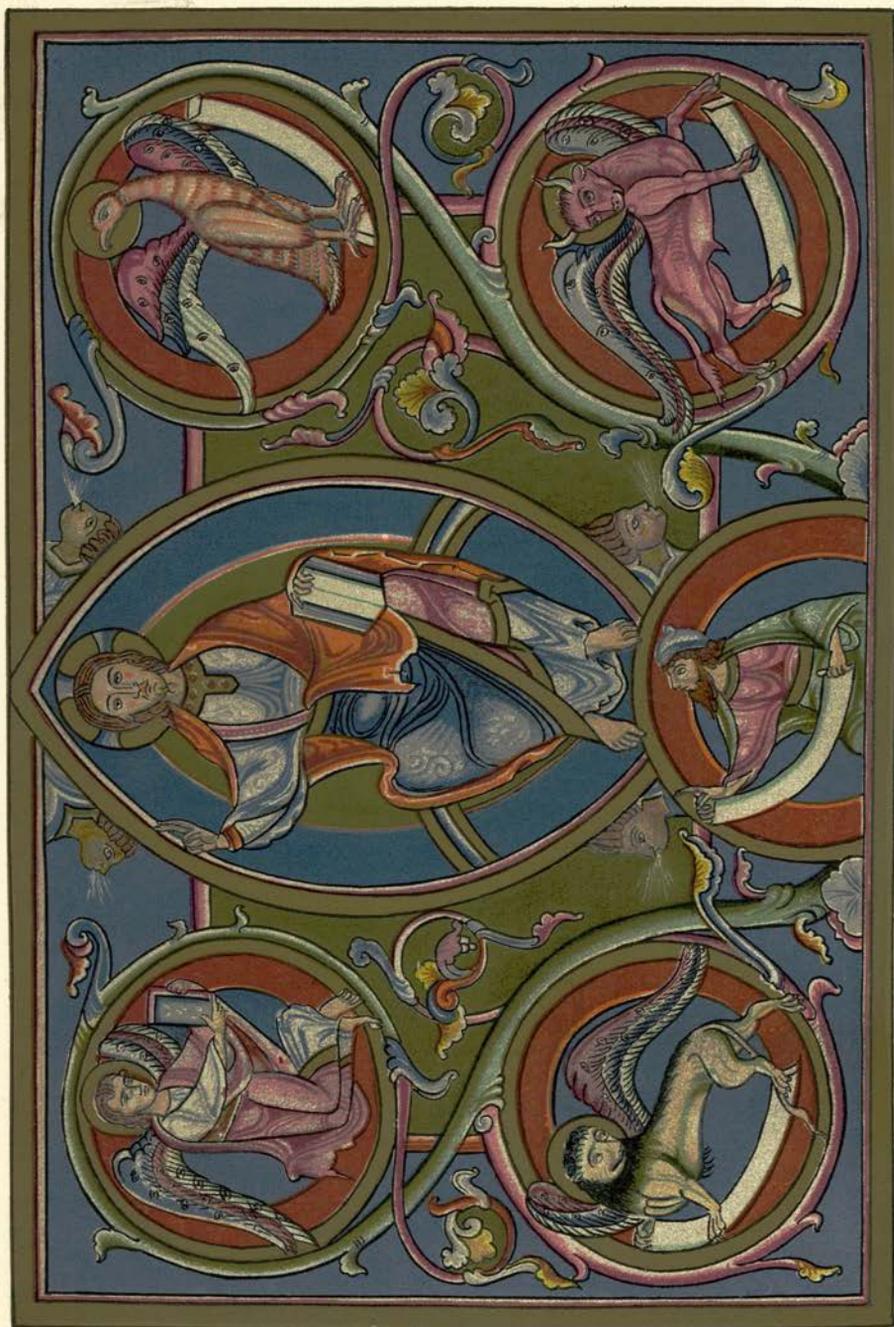


FIG. 1. VISION OF EZEKIEL: from Bible in Corpus Christi College Library (MSS. 11).



FIG. 2. A TRIAL: initial letter to the Wisdom of Solomon: from Bible in Corpus Christi College Library (MSS. III).

manageable size than the rest, partly because it is a fine decorative design, and possesses a good many points of interest. The first thing we notice in it is that it does not by any means represent what it ought to represent. The artist, seeking to portray the opening vision of the Book of Ezekiel, has shewn us not what Ezekiel saw, but what the meaning attributable to the vision was. We do not see in this picture the four cherubims, each with four faces, moving upon the mysterious wheels full of eyes, but we are shewn what these cherubims were believed to foreshadow—the four Evangelists, each with his scroll. Such an inaccuracy as this is common, but not universal, in mediæval art. A more literally faithful representation, not far from this in date, will be found in the illustration to St John's Gospel in the Bible of Floreffe (MSS. Add. Mus. Brit. 17, 738).

There are, furthermore, two possible relics of classical tradition in this picture; one, the representation of the four winds—which needs only a passing allusion—the other, the manner in which the prophet Ezekiel is represented. Christ's feet rest on a semicircle, below which is a half-figure of Ezekiel with a blank scroll. It may occur to your memory that in a good many of the Christian sarcophagus-reliefs, we see Christ standing on an arch of cloud, supported by a half-figure with outstretched arms, who may represent either Uranus or Atlas. This figure, as a rule, intimately resembles that of Ezekiel in our picture; and this fact, coupled with the generally decorative and symbolic character of the whole design, suggests the possibility that the picture may be an adaptation from one which represented, not the Vision of Ezekiel, but our Lord in glory surrounded by the four Evangelists, and resting his feet upon the arch of the sky; the figure of Ezekiel having been here substituted for that of Atlas.

The only other surviving pictures in the book are those to Amos and Micah (initials shewing the prophets simply), and to Job. This is a large picture in which (1) he prays for his

children, in the time of his prosperity, (2) he sits on the ground in his adversity, and his wife urges him to curse God and die. This second scene, be it noted, has a point of connection with the Gregorian Gospels—the earliest illustrated Book in the same Library. It is divided from the larger scene above by a cusped or wavy line; and such a line divides, more or less horizontally, each of the small scenes in the gospels referred to, from those next to it.

Now in the second of these Corpus Bibles, which, if not much later in date, belongs decidedly to a later family of books, we find only figured initials. But these initials are not the stereotyped series of later centuries. Some of them are distinguished for representing subjects certainly rare, some possibly unique. In this Bible the initials to several books are purely decorative, and some extremely magnificent, in particular those to the Psalms, *Quid gloriaris* and *Domine exaudi*, and that to the 2nd Book of Maccabees. Those to Genesis, Leviticus, Ezekiel, and Job are missing. For the rest, each of the prophets bears a scroll containing some characteristic utterance, not necessarily a prophecy referring to Christ. Isaiah has *Vae genti peccatrici* (i. 3); Jonah, *adhuc quadraginta dies et Niniue subuertetur*. Here is a difference from later usage. In the Bibles of the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, either an event in the life of the prophet is shewn, or a Messianic prophecy quoted, or a plain single figure represented. As remarkable a picture as any, is that prefixed to the Wisdom of Solomon, here reproduced (Plate VIII., fig. 2). It forms an illustration of the opening words of the book, inscribed on the scroll held by Christ in the upper part of the picture: *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram*. A criminal trial is going on, and one judge on each side seems to be holding a stone ready to cast at the bound culprit in the middle. The later picture for the Book of Wisdom is almost always that of a judge kneeling to receive a sword from a throned king, or a king receiving one from Christ. The idea is

in both cases the same, the Divine origin of Law and Justice, but the treatment of it before us is rare, if not unique.

It should be noted that the letters on each side of the half-length figure of our Lord (R·R· and D·D·) stand for Rex Regum and Dominus Dominantium; and I should like to call your attention to the scroll He holds, and its peculiar form: it is constructed on the principle of the ordinary yard measure of today—being made to wind up inside a wooden cylinder by means of a revolving peg whose ends project. The same arrangement is seen in the picture to Canticles in this MS.

I pass on to the pictures of the Evangelists in this same volume. Only two of them, St Matthew and St Luke, are given as full figures, and the picture of St Matthew, who is not writing, but in the act of benediction, gives the impression that it is copied from an older original. In shape and size it differs from the rest, and the treatment is very stiff and archaic. It may be that the extreme frequency with which the Evangelists were represented from the VIIIth to the XIIth century, fixed and stereotyped their forms at an earlier date than most. Curiously enough, the picture of St Luke in this Bible presents us with a departure from the early tradition. He is vested as a priest, and engaged, not in writing or painting, but in slaughtering a bullock (his symbol). He stoops, holds back the head of the beast with his left hand, and with his right plunges a knife into its throat. The design of such a picture is, of course, to emphasize as much as possible the sacrificial character attributed to the third Gospel.

In the picture to the Acts, a more ordinary representation of St Luke writing is given.

The First Epistle of St Peter has a fine study of an archbishop of the time, on his dragon-headed throne, with curtains hanging on a rod behind him.

The Second Epistle gives the secular side of the artist; the initial S shews in the upper half the fox lying in wait for the

crowing cock, and in the lower, the wolf with the stork pulling the bone out of his throat. It is hardly necessary to say that such subjects formed, if not a province of sacréd art at one time, especially in the xith and xiith centuries, at any rate a very common adjunct to it. They are to be considered on a par with the signs of the zodiac, occupations of the months, illustrations of the *Physiologus* or Bestiary, and so on. I can point to the Bayeux tapestry as affording a large selection of Aesop subjects, to a Visigothic Apocalypse of the xiith cent. in the British Museum, and to the portal of St Ursin at Bourges, as shewing the occurrence of these stories in the Holy Pláce. Later on I shall have to tell of a reaction against these representations.

Lastly, I will mention the illustration to the Third Epistle of St John, which gives us the picture of a painter and a blacksmith at work.

As to the bearing of such pictures on the text, it may conceivably be held that the fox and wolf in the Second Epistle of Peter refer to the false teachers against whom the writer inveighs, but I do not believe that the painter and blacksmith have any connection at all with the Third Epistle of St John. The artist thought it was time to have another picture, and he drew on his immediate surroundings or his fancy.

I must now leave the description of these three magnificent volumes, and pass to the consideration of a much more common sort of Bible, represented in Corpus Christi Library by No. xlix, and by almost numberless specimens in public and private collections.

During the xiiiith and xivth centuries, vast numbers of copies of the Vulgate were turned out of every scriptorium, and it seems that the most active producers of such books were to be found in the monasteries of Northern France.

The pictorial decorations of these volumes—which is all that we are concerned with at present—are usually confined to a historiated initial at the beginning of each book; and these

initials usually represent a fixed series of subjects. In the typical French Vulgate, for instance, the first picture will be one of St Jerome at his desk, forming the initial to his epistle beginning *Frater Ambrosius*. That to the Book of Genesis is in most cases an I, extending all down the page, and containing medallions of the six days of creation, the rest on the seventh day, and sometimes also the Fall and the Crucifixion. Exodus will have—as in the MS. just mentioned—the Burning Bush; Leviticus, a sacrificial scene; Numbers, the picture of God bidding Moses number the people; Deuteronomy, Moses addressing Israel.

Some of the subjects are rarely seen outside this particular series, e.g. those which illustrate Isaiah and Jeremiah. The subjects selected are, usually, the martyrdoms of the two Prophets—Isaiah sawn asunder and Jeremiah stoned. The first of these belongs also to the *Speculum* series. It is first seen on an early Christian glass figured by Garrucci¹, and it is found also in the xith century roof painting of the refectory at Brauweiler, illustrating Heb. xi., of which copies are to be seen at the Cologne Museum. The second is not of so frequent occurrence even as this. In the particular instance before me, by an odd-mistake, Jeremiah is contemplating the Four Cherubims of Ezekiel's vision, while Ezekiel is simply a seated figure with a scroll.

I should like to say a few words on a somewhat similarly illustrated book, the French *Bible Historial*, which is Guyart des Moulins' version of Pierre le Mangeur's² work. This occurs very commonly. We have a good typical copy at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and there must be others in the University and College Libraries. This series of pictures is of commonest occurrence in the xivth and xvth centuries, and appears also in the early printed editions. Here the

¹ *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*. 6 vols, fol. Prato, 1881.

² Petrus Comestor, *Scolastica historia*: fol. Utrecht, 1473, was translated by Guyart des Moulins in 1291.

pictures are most commonly square ones inserted in the text, not initials, and are not always confined to the beginnings of the books. The Books of Genesis, Daniel, and Revelation, have usually several each, and there is quite often a large half-page composition at the beginning of Genesis and at the beginning of Proverbs. One form of the series is familiarly known to us. It is that commonly called 'Holbein's Bible Cuts.' There are some extra subjects inserted in this and some legendary ones omitted, but the general resemblance to the series in the MS. and printed *Bible Historial* is too strong to be accidental.

§ 2. *Psalters.*

The second group of MSS. which come under consideration are the illustrated Psalters, of which Corpus Christi Library has three remarkable specimens, two early and one late.

The finest and latest is No. LIII., a folio of the XIVth century, which belonged to Hugo de Stiuecle, prior of Peterborough. Bound up with it are a *Peterborough Chronicle*, and an illustrated Bestiary in prose, of Norman origin, which I cannot notice further.

Before we approach the description of this Psalter, the history of the genus to which it belongs must be dealt with as shortly as possible. Dr Springer's dissertation on Early Psalters in the *Abhandlungen d. Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft*, vol. VIII. is most admirable and instructive in this connection; and I shall take leave to summarise his conclusions. The gist of his treatise is as follows.

The Psalter was one of the earliest books of the Bible to be illustrated with pictures. Of these pictures only a few can be definitely traced back to Roman traditions; *imprimis*, the picture prefixed to most early Psalters, David surrounded by his choir of minstrels and dancers, playing on the harp. We have good examples of this picture at Cambridge; an English one in the University Library, Ff. i. 24; and one from

the Diocese of Rheims, an outline drawing of cent. XII. in St John's College (B. 18) which shews the Devil and his choir below David and *his*.

In the early middle ages we find two great independent families of illustrated Psalters, Eastern and Western.

The leading instance of Eastern Psalters is one called the Chludoff Psalter at Moscow, of the IXth century. The numerous illustrations of this MS. shew a *theological* tendency; that is, the inner meaning of the Psalms is brought out by pictures of the New Testament events to which they were thought to refer.

Among Western Psalters, the first place is taken by the Utrecht Psalter of VIIIth—IXth century. The drawings in this are thought by Dr Springer to be of English, not French origin, and to be the invention of the artist himself, not copied, save in details, from classical models. It will be remembered that the illustrations in the Eadwine or Canterbury Psalter at Trinity College (as well as those in the MS. Harley 603) are for the most part copied straight from the Utrecht Psalter. The Western system consists in simply taking the words of the Psalm, and illustrating them in the most literal and straightforward manner possible; only in quite a few obvious cases are New Testament events represented.

Dr Springer does not deal with Psalters of a later date, and I cannot pretend to supply his place. But it is a matter of common experience that in the XII. XIII. XIV. cent. we meet with illustrated Psalters of various kinds; and the differences are sufficiently well marked for me to venture on a rough classification.

1. We have a number of books in which only a few Psalms are marked by ornament.

(a) e. g. the Psalms *Beatus Vir, Quid gloriaris*, and *Exaudi Dñe* or *Dixit Dominus*. Of this class an example is the Irish Psalter, at St John's College, which has three extraordinary pictures. David killing the lion and bear, to *Beatus*

Vir; the Crucifixion at *Quid gloriaris*; David and Goliath at *Dñe exaudi*.

(β) the beginnings of the seven nocturnes are illustrated. *Beatus Vir. Dñs illuminatio. Dixi custodiam (Quid gloriaris). Dixit insipiens. Salvum me fac. Exultate. Cantate. (Dñe exaudi). Dixit Dñs. (Ad dñm cum tribularer)*. The titles in brackets are those of additional Psalms not uncommonly illustrated.

This is by far the commonest type. It has a fixed or nearly fixed series of pictures. It occurs both separately and in the complete copies of the Bible. The Peterborough Psalter, which formed the text of this discussion, is an instance in point here, and there are several in Trinity College Library: in fact, hardly any collection of MSS. is without one.

2. We find Psalters with a number of pictures prefixed to the text, representing in most cases Bible events (most commonly from the New Testament) and the Patron Saints of the owner.

The object of representing events of the Old Testament History is probably to make the book as complete a manual of religious knowledge as possible. The New Testament subjects owe their place to the desire of bringing out the inner meaning of the Psalms. The earliest MS. known to me as containing Bible pictures, is of the xith century, the Cottonian (*Tiberius c. vi.*) This has nineteen pictures prefixed to it; *one* of the Creation, *five* of David's life, *eleven* of the Life of Christ from the Temptation to Pentecost, one of St Michael and the Dragon (a frequent illustration to *Quid gloriaris* in early MSS.), and lastly, one of David playing the harp.

The most splendid specimen I have examined is that known as Queen Mary's Prayer-Book (Royal MS. 2 B. vii) of the xivth century, which, besides hundreds of illustrations in and about the text, begins with a History of the Bible from the Creation to the Death of Solomon—told in no less than 228 beautiful outline drawings.

In Cambridge we have a number of fine examples. I will instance four in the Fitzwilliam Museum, three in Trinity, one at St John's, and the Peterborough Psalter.

Of the Psalters in the Fitzwilliam Museum, the first is Italian, and of late date, containing only one picture, David playing on the harp, so that it need not detain us.

The next was till lately the oldest MS. belonging to the Museum, and is an English Psalter of about 1260. The decorative work in this is exceedingly fine, but limited in amount. It must have been done for an abbot, for in the initial to *Dñe exaudi* (= Ps. ci) an abbot and another Benedictine are shewn adoring Christ. This Psalm seems the ordinary place for the portraits of owners. It is the one selected in a fine Trinity Psalter (B. ii. 4) for the portrait of the abbess whose book it was.

Our Fitzwilliam Psalter has in the matter of preliminary pictures only one, the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St John, whence I judge that it may mark a transition, or that it is simply a cheaper form of book than those which have a whole series of such pictures, though there is not the least trace of careless or scamped work anywhere in it. Besides this one picture of the Crucifixion, it has the usual eight historiated or decorative initials. -As to its provenance, the most characteristic touch I find in it is the commemoration of SS. Kyneburga, Kyneswitha, and Tibba, who also occur in the Peterborough Psalter. Their shrine was at the magnificent church of Caster, within a few miles of Peterborough, so that the possessor of this book probably lived somewhere in East Anglia.

The third Fitzwilliam Psalter belongs to North-East France, and possibly to Rheims Diocese, and has eight rather bad miniatures.

The last is a xvth century English book without pictures, of whose provenance I cannot speak with certainty; but it seems to me to come from a Southern English diocese.

That at St John's (K. 26) is exceptional in some respects. The text of the book was written a year or two before 1400. The pictures, 46 in number, which are prefixed to it, are of the finest Norman French work of the XIIIth century. They have been removed from some other sumptuous copy. First they give us Old Testament events (Creation of the Beasts to the Judgment of Solomon), next, New Testament history (Annunciation to Pentecost), thirdly, at some length, the Death and Glorification of the Virgin. Last of all, the traditional picture of David playing on the harp—a beautiful specimen. It is here entitled '*de David zitharizante cum cythara sua et cane suo.*' The dog is a small white and very fat one, seated on the throne beside his master; a most humorously conceived being.

Of the three Trinity Psalters, the first (B. 11. 4) is Norman work of early XIIIth century. In the Kalendar, the dedication of a basilica of St Michael is mentioned. The other peculiar saints are South English.

The book was given by Ida de Ralegh to Walter Houe, abbot of Neweham, to be given under certain conditions to a nun of St Mary's, Winchester.

The Kalendar is followed by five leaves of pictures containing altogether 50 Biblical subjects; and these by a page representing an Inferno in 12 compartments. This properly should go with the page preceding it, which has the Last Judgment.

The order of the leaves is wrong as it stands. The earliest subject is Abraham and Melchisedech. The last Old Testament one is Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh. The New Testament series begins with the angel warning the Magi to return another way, and extends to Pentecost, which is followed by the Last Judgment.

The illustrations in the body of the book do not quite conform to the ordinary series.

A second Psalter in the same library (O. 4. 16) of possibly

the XIVth cent., has a series of 12 subjects from the Betrayal to Pentecost; a third (B. 11. 6) has 16 pictures, from the Annunciation to the Last Judgment, and 11 more of the legend of St Eustace, and of the Virgin and Child.

One in the British Museum, a St Alban's Psalter (Royal MS. 2 B. vi) of English work, and of the XIVth century, has nine scenes (Annunciation to Ascension). These are succeeded by the martyrdoms of SS. Edmund, Alban, and Amphibalus, and nine single figures of saints.

Lastly, the Peterborough Psalter comes under consideration.

Here we have two kinds of pictures. Two pairs of Prophets and Apostles alternate with two New Testament series. The Prophets and Apostles are represented under architectural canopies: each Apostle has his clause of the Creed, each Prophet his corresponding prophetic utterance. For a similar series we need go no further than King's College Chapel. In the side chapels there, the remains of a XVth century series exist in the glass. There is a complete series at Fairford, and countless others, less familiar, in MSS., windows, and sculpture. In our MS. these drawings are only slightly coloured; they correspond to the paintings on the outside of the shutters of a folding picture. The prophets and sibyls on the shutters of Van Eyck's 'Adoration of the Immaculate Lamb,' will occur to many as an obvious parallel to this arrangement.

The New Testament scenes, on the other hand, are elaborately and richly coloured on gold backgrounds, and retain, in several cases, their guards of coloured silk. They extend from the Annunciation to the Coronation of the Virgin, and are followed by a picture of Christ in glory. They are, further, associated, not with Old Testament scenes, such as we noticed in the earlier books of this kind, but with single figures of saints, two on a page, under canopies: in this case the saints are the Virgin and Child, SS. Christopher, James the Great, and John the Baptist. This substitution of favourite saints for

Bible pictures seems to correspond well with the development of the popular theology in the later XIVth, and the XVth centuries.

The succession seems to run thus :

1. Scenes from David's life were prefixed to the Psalter.
2. The same, together with New Testament scenes pointed at in the Psalms, or typified by David's experiences.
3. Any Old Testament scenes, or a series from the Creation to the Death of Solomon, together with New Testament scenes.
4. New Testament scenes together with figures or lives of Patron Saints.

At last, the Horae take the place of the Psalter as the book of private devotion for the generality.

Nothing has been said in this brief sketch of other families of Psalters, e.g. those which contain a Bible History in the initials to the Psalms (as one at Boulogne, and one at Exeter College, Oxford) or those which are copiously illustrated with drawings on the lower margin of their pages (as 'Queen Mary's Prayer-book' and the Luttrell Psalter). The omission is due to want of space. It may be that at some future time I shall be able to fill some of the numerous gaps, and to point out the connection between the later Psalters and the early Horae.

§ 3. *Gospel Pictures.*

Here I am forced to confine myself to the merest sketch. Indeed it is with some reluctance that I touch the subject at all; but I cannot help myself. A paper mainly concerned with the illustrated MSS. at Corpus which contained no allusion to the two famous MSS. 197 and 286, especially the latter, would be an anomaly. But MS. 197 has little to do with my subject. It contains nothing that can be called a Bible picture. With 286—the celebrated Gregorian or 'Augustine' Gospels—the case is different. There we have two pages of paintings, the only ones in any Cambridge library which are genuine productions of Roman-Christian art. As you know, they have been often copied: by Mr J. Goodwin

in the publications of this Society¹, by Prof. Westwood in his *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*, by Garrucci in his 3rd volume, and by the Palaeographical Society, and now the kindness of our secretary enables me to present you with a reproduction of the portrait of St Luke (Plate IX.). They comprise a portrait of St Luke, and twenty-four scenes from the Gospel-history. Twelve of these illustrate the Passion (from the Entry to the Bearing of the Cross); twelve the Ministry, as recorded by St Luke (from the Vision of Zacharias to Zacchaeus in the tree). Parallels to the treatment of these scenes must be sought on Christian sarcophagi, mosaics, and catacomb-frescoes, a different sphere of art from that with which we have hitherto been concerned, and into which I have not the time or space to enter, even in the most cursory manner.

There are only two points to which I dare request your attention now. One is the absence of the later scenes, especially the Crucifixion, in the sequence which deals with the Passion of our Lord; the second is, that in mediaeval art proper, scenes illustrating the ministry of Christ are comparatively rare. In the windows of King's College Chapel nothing is represented between the Temptation, which closes our Lord's Infancy, and the Raising of Lazarus, which inaugurates his Passion. The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* omits all the events between the Temptation and the Supper at Bethany. The *Biblia Pauperum* goes straight from the Temptation to the Raising of Lazarus, but after that inserts the Transfiguration.

The matter is not one which calls for much proof; it is very obvious to any student of the subject. The conclusion which one inevitably draws from it, is important: namely, that here, as in the case of the Psalters, we have a sign of the change which had taken place in the popular theology of the day. The Infancy and Passion of Christ, and those scenes in which the

¹ Quarto Series, Vol. ii., 1862, pp. 1—42.



No. 286 (A B P. PARKER'S MSS.) AUGUSTINIAN GOSPELS :
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

SAINT LUKE : from the Gregorian Gospels in Corpus Christi Library (MSS. cclxxxvi).

Virgin could be introduced, engaged the sympathies of the people at large, and the incidents of our Lord's ministry gave place to them, and to the representation of the most conspicuous Saints. A sound theological reason can also be given. It may be said that this tendency in art merely follows the steps of the Church's confessions of faith. Nothing is said of the Ministry in any of our Creeds, and Christian art is merely exponent of these. It is true, but not the whole truth.

The next most important series of Gospel pictures in Cambridge is to be found in the Gospels which Richard de Denham, sacrist of St Edmund's Abbey at Bury, presented to his monastery; they are at Pembroke College. The preliminary pictures, which also illustrate the Ministry and Passion, are very interesting English works of the xith century, and have not received as yet the attention they deserve.

§ 4. *Apocalypses.*

Two illustrated Apocalypses are among the Corpus MSS., nos. 394 and 20. No. 394 is a small 4to of late xiiiith century date, French text and comment, and 69 very rude pictures: the worst copy I have met with. No. 20, on the other hand, is a very fine book, a folio of perhaps the early xivth century, and of Norman work. There are several interesting points about it. In the first place, the fly-leaves are, as we so often find, waste leaves from another MS. What is odd about these in particular is that they are taken from a precisely similar copy of the Apocalypse, written by the same hand, ending the page with the same words, and having spaces of corresponding size left for pictures, which were never filled in. Now we find precisely the same phenomenon in a xiiiith century Apocalypse at Trinity. We gather that there must have been an extensive manufacture of illustrated Apocalypses about that time, as indeed we should have guessed from the number of extant specimens, and further, that they were made as nearly uniform as possible, the pictures agreeing in number, size, position, and,

no doubt; design. A further examination of Apocalypses would lead to the discovery of other copies illustrated with the same pictures that occur in the Trinity and Corpus specimens.

We know more about the history of the Corpus copy, however. It was given by Lady Juliana de Leybourne, Countess of Huntingdon, to the Monastery of St Augustine at Canterbury, and it stood in the 1st class in the library there—which was no doubt devoted to theology—and on the 3rd shelf (*Distinctione I^{ma} Gradu III^o*). The pictures in this copy number 106, and they are for the most part of very fine work, though not the finest in Cambridge. The text is in Latin and French. I have not selected any pictures for reproduction, because I hope some day to collect more facts bearing on the subject, and draw more certain conclusions about all these books. Meanwhile I should like to mention one point which distinguishes this MS. from all others that I have seen at present. Following the Apocalypse of St John is the apocryphal Vision of St Paul (first in French verse, then in Latin prose), and this too is illustrated with pictures, 14 in number. Now this Vision of St Paul is a document of some age, and of more importance, as regards the influence it has exercised over greater books. It goes back to a Greek original of the ivth century, and I hope to shew in another place that that original is largely modelled on a still earlier book now lost, the Apocalypse of Peter. However that may be, the Apocalypse of Paul exists in Syriac, and in two or three Latin recensions—the oldest and fullest I have recently (1890) found in an viiith century MS. at Paris—from which the mediæval translations into French, English, German, Icelandic, and so forth, are all taken. There can be little doubt that it served as a model for many Visions that were popular in the middle ages: e.g. the Apocalypse of the Virgin, the Vision of Tungdal, St Patrick's Purgatory, and the like, and, above all, that either directly or mediately, it influenced Dante's conception of the Inferno. For it is largely concerned with a

description of the torments of various classes of sinners after death; and in the MS. under consideration, these torments are represented with as much vividness as any one could wish who cared for such degenerate forms of art; for degenerate we must call them, especially when they stand side by side with the magnificent imagery of the Apocalypse of St John. Still, the occurrence of the book in an illustrated form is well worth noticing. I know of but one other illustrated copy, in the Cottonian collection (*Vespasian*, A. 7), and in that the pictures are, I believe, both worse and later than here.

Following the Vision of St Paul in our MS. is the order for the Coronation of a King, illustrated by a fine painting of the ceremony. So that the whole book contains something over 120 pictures.

In the other sections of my paper I have made some few remarks on the history of the cycles I have been treating. In the case of the Apocalypse, the task of putting the matter shortly is perhaps more difficult. The earliest illustrations drawn from this wonderful book are to be sought in the mosaic decorations of the tribunes or façades of churches, especially Roman churches. These are chiefly confined to the Vision of the Eternal and of the Lamb, described in ch. iv. of the Apocalypse. On the Western front of the old Basilica of St Peter's for instance, the Adoration of the Lamb by the beasts and elders was represented. But I believe the first *consecutive* illustrations are to be sought in the frescoes of early churches. Such a series is described as having existed at Ingelheim in the ixth century. Part of one remains at St Savin near Poitiers (xiith century), and in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral, and fragments, possibly of the xiiith century, on the vault of a crypt at Auxerre.

But it is with the Apocalypse as illustrated in MSS. that we ought chiefly to concern ourselves, and the first occurrence of such a series in books is, I believe, in Spain. Several so-

called Visigothic Apocalypses are known to us. One, perhaps the earliest, belongs to Lord Ashburnham, one is at Paris (on this see Delisle's article in *Mélanges paléographiques*), one was lately in Mr Quaritch's possession, and one was bought in 1840 from Joseph Bonaparte for the British Museum, Add. 11,695. This last I have examined: it was written at the Abbey of Silos near Burgos, and took 20 years to execute. It was finished in 1109. Besides the Apocalypse, which is illustrated with something like 100 pictures, it contains St Jerome's Commentary on Daniel, also illustrated. A facsimile may be found in Westwood's *Pal. Sacr. Pict.* It seems that all these Visigothic copies have practically the same pictures. There is always a *Mappa Mundi* near the beginning, for instance, and the type most probably originated in the xith century. I seemed to myself to detect traces of a familiarity with their rude and early drawings in the later French copies, but I cannot speak positively of this, though I should not be surprised if the custom, at any rate, of illustrating this book had come up through South France into Normandy. However this may be, the number of extant North French and Norman Apocalypses of the xiiith and xivth centuries is astonishing. Italian and German specimens are far less frequent, though no doubt they occur; but I have never yet seen a copy of undoubtedly English origin. Among the finest French Apocalypses in England, I would name one at Lambeth, one in the Bodleian which has been facsimiled in full for the Roxburghe Club, and, finer than all, one presented to Trinity College Library by Lady Sadleir. I cannot conceive of a more magnificent specimen of the Norman school of illumination than this book; colouring, gilding, and drawing, are all remarkable, and the leaves at the beginning and end of the volume, which illustrate the Legend of St John's life and death, are particularly so. The last scenes, be it noted, have never been finished; the lettering and gold work have never been added. This copy must belong to the

late XIIIth century; it is possibly the finest illuminated book in Cambridge.

Between the XIVth century and the age of Block-books, not so many illustrated Apocalypses were produced. I may point to the Angers tapestries as the finest XVth century series. Still, in the *Bible Historial*, this book has a larger average of pictures than the rest, and later on several series were engraved on wood and copper, and either used for Bibles or published separately. Among these, Albert Durer's compositions are the best known. They are modelled on the traditional types, and have in turn furnished models to contemporary and later artists. A XVth century window in the south transept of St Martin-ès-Vignes, at Troyes, contains copies of several of these wood-cuts.

§ 5. The *Psychomachia* of Prudentius.

Here we leave for a time the field which the title of my paper prescribed. We can hardly say that the poems of Prudentius are Biblical. Still, I really cannot bring myself to pass over the second most important illustrated book in Cambridge, especially when that book contains a certain number of Biblical illustrations, some of which will be produced, I hope, for your inspection. The Corpus MS. no. 23 is of large 4to shape, and belongs to the XIth century. It was the property of the Abbey of Malmesbury, given by Athelward to Aedhelm, as certain verses on the second page, written in capitals of silver, red, and brown, testify. It may be a production of the great Winchester school of Anglo-Saxon art. It contains a good many of the poems of Prudentius (cir. 348), but the first one in the volume, which extends from fol. 3 verso to 42 recto, is the only one that has any pictures. This work is called the *Psychomachia*, or Battle of the Soul, and describes a series of engagements between the Virtues and Vices (who are all personified as females), and the final triumph of the former. There are seven pairs who enter the lists—Faith and Idolatry, Chastity and

Lust, Patience and Anger, Humility (with Hope) against Pride, Temperance against Luxury with her train, Largitas and Avaritia, Concord and Discord, while others are introduced casually. The Poem is prefaced by a Prologue in which the story of Abraham and Isaac, and the episodes of Lot, Melchisedek, and the three angels, are allegorised; and the whole work has been decorated by the Anglo-Saxon artist with no less than 89 fine drawings in outline, and tinted with colour. The subject of each is indicated on the margin in Latin in 'rustic' capitals, and in the case of some 50 of the pictures, an Anglo-Saxon title is added. The hand which drew the pictures before us was unmistakably that of an Anglo-Saxon. The tinted outlines and the zigzag draperies would shew that, even if we left out of sight the treatment of the human form, as well as the known history of the book. But what of the designs of these pictures? are they too Anglo-Saxon? I have no doubt in my mind that they were copied from a series done in Rome. It is my theory, and very likely it has been the theory of many before me,—for it lies on the surface,—that one of the early missionaries from Rome to our shores brought with him a sumptuous Roman copy of Prudentius, from which either directly or mediately the MS. was copied. For, first, the pictures are full of classical details. On fol. 10 *a*, where Castitas is washing her sword, stained with the blood of the slaughtered Libido, in the river Jordan, we have a representation of a river-god, recumbent, leaning on his jar, and holding what may be meant for reeds in his right hand. On fol. 14 *a*, where Superbia is riding at speed on her horse, her drapery is arched over her head, as Moschus and Ovid describe the drapery of Europa on the bull, and as we see it on many monuments. Buildings, again, of which several occur, are all of the Roman type. The churches are basilicas with nave and aisles and classical columns forming a portico in front. But I need not multiply details. I believe that no one looking at these pictures could reject the con-

clusion that they are copies of originals inspired by classical traditions.

But there is other evidence which points in the same direction. The British Museum possesses three illustrated copies of the *Psychomachia* of English origin. The first is Add. MSS. 21,499, a copy once in Archbishop Tenison's Library, and acquired by the Museum in 1861 for 260 guineas. This is a smaller book than the Corpus copy, and, I should judge, slightly later in date; certainly of less skilful execution. There is neither the same light touch in the outlines, nor the same employment of colour. I cannot do more than conjecture what monastery it came from; but an old press-mark on the fly-leaf (P. 123) resembles those found in the Bury St Edmunds MSS. The chief interest of the MS. is that, though unfinished, it was designed to contain exactly the same series of illustrations as the Corpus copy. That has 89; this has space for 91, and two are introduced which are not found at Corpus. The subjects, composition, and details, all coincide. Facsimiles of some of the pictures may be found in Westwood's *Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*

The two other copies are both in the Cottonian collection (*Cleopatra C. viii.* and *Titus D. xvi.*). The first-named (*Cleopatra C. viii.*) comes next to the Corpus copy in merit of illustration, and also in date. It must be of the xith century, and it originally contained exactly the same series of pictures. The titles are expressed in the same words—often rather unusual ones. The compositions are in many cases absolutely identical, and always resemble the Corpus ones enough to shew that the same archetype has been followed. The volume has a gap, which reduces the actual number of pictures from 89 to 82. With this exception the cycles are the same.

With *Titus D. xvi.* the case is rather different. This is much the smallest and latest copy of the four I have examined. It must belong to the xiiith century. More colour is employed,

there are fewer pictures in the book, and these do differ in many cases from those at Corpus. However, there is here a point of correspondence sufficient to shew the dependence of this copy on the earlier traditions. It lies in the fact that the *titles* of the pictures are often the same as in the three old copies.

The book belonged to St Albans, and was an isolated copy of the *Psychomachia*, now bound up with other tracts.

The *Psychomachiae* in the Tenison MS. and the Cottonian (*Cleop. C. viii.*) were also originally isolated copies of the poem, bound up later with other matter. The Corpus book is the only one which contains other works of Prudentius in the same hand as the *Psychomachia*. This name, *Psychomachia*, by the way, caused an infinity of trouble to the later scribes. They contented themselves with *Filosophia* as an equivalent, with the exception of the writers of Corpus 23 and *Cleop. C. viii.* The latter, with a courage deserving all praise, has attempted a colophon in Greek letters, which is worth transcribing—not that the phenomenon is a very rare one—

ΗΕΠΑΙΚΙΘ ΛΙΒΗΡ ΠΣΥΚΗΜΑΚΗΙΑΗ

The Municipal Library of Lyons possesses an illustrated *Psychomachia*, which, from the little I have ascertained of it, seems to present an entirely different system of pictures.

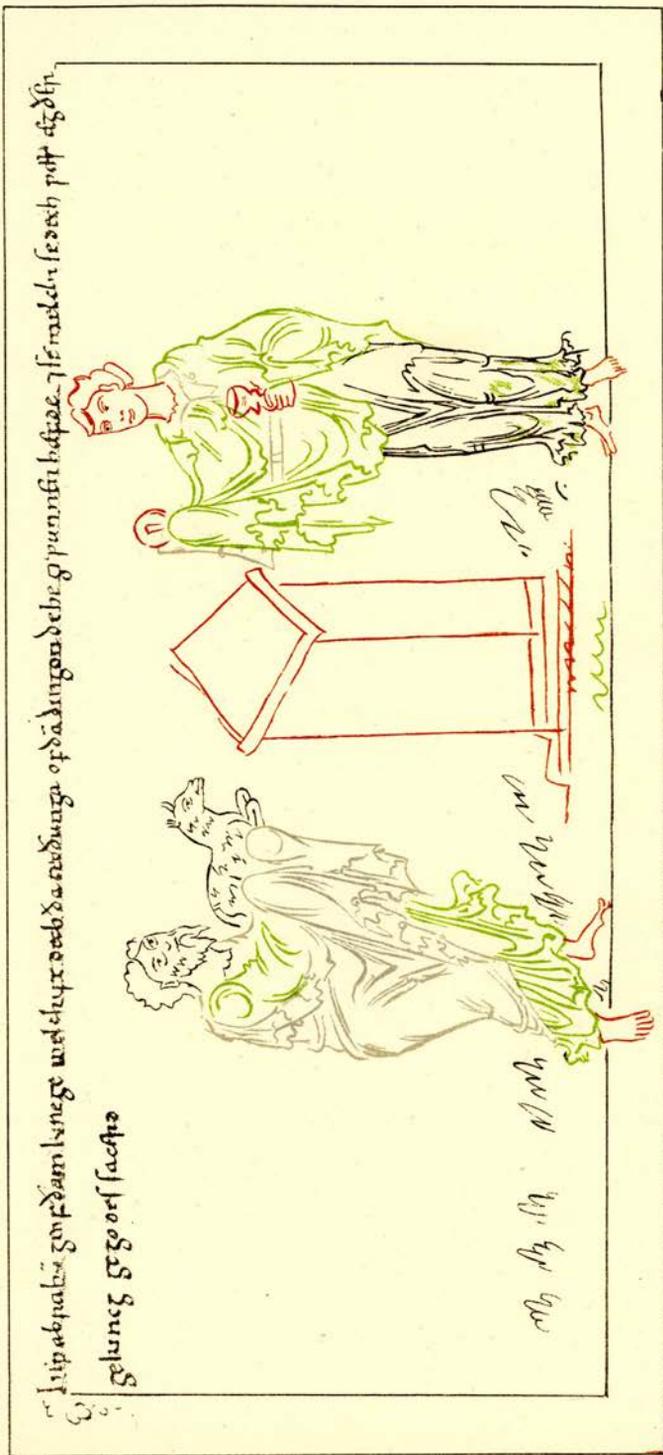
The conception which inspires the poem of Prudentius, the personification of moral qualities and emotions under human forms, is one which is familiar to all classical literature, mythology, and art. Eris, Deimos, Phobos, in Homer, the multitude of female genii of battle which we encounter on the Shield of Herakles, are instances that occur to the mind at once, and the idea reappears in the earliest Christian books. The Shepherd of Hermas is a striking example of this, and Prudentius has only used, with some skill, a line of thought already familiar to those among whom he lived. No wonder

that his poem was popular—that we find garbled versions of his imagery on a porch at Laon, in a window at Nôtre-Dame, in another at Strasburg, on the Crozier of Regenfredus of Chartres (xiiith century), and over the chapter-house door at Salisbury, or again in the Frescoes of the Painted Chamber at Westminster, and the fonts at Southrop and Stanton Fitzwarren in Gloucestershire. Out of this circle of ideas grew the schemes of Virtues and Vices that we find on the S. Porch of Chartres, and the west fronts of Amiens and Nôtre-Dame at Paris (though these are not for the most part Prudentian in their attributes); and again (though this, alas! no longer exists save in copies) in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Abbess Herrade of St Odilo, compiled *cir.* 1180, and burnt with the rest of Strasburg Library in 1870. The imagery descends through such channels to Guillaume de Deguileville, monk of Chartres, in the xivth century, who wrote the *Romaunt des Trois Pèlerinages*, and Mr Bradshaw's investigations had led him to regard it as almost certain that this author exercised an influence on John Bunyan through the medium of that curious sect of mystics—the Family of Love.

I must add a short explanation of the pictures selected for reproduction. They are all taken from the Prologue.

i. *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (Plate X., fig. 1).

This was one of the very earliest Old Testament subjects represented, the reason for which is obvious. The universal acceptance of the story as affording a type of our Lord's death, needs only to be mentioned. As all the manuals tell us, St Gregory Nyssen in the fourth century mentions a picture or pictures of the subject: from his language they would seem to have been common. And again we find it on the great sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, to which the date 359 is assigned. An engraving is to be seen in Jameson and Eastlake's *History*



Abraham pater gentium et Melchisedek rex deorum et sacerdos altaris dei

Gelung Gregor factus

Abraham

Melchisedek

FIG. 2. ABRAHAM and MELCHISEDEK : from the same MS.

of our Lord, vol. i. p. 13. The subject is in the left-hand upper corner, and it will be seen that here already, as in almost all mediaeval pictures, the Divine hand is actually catching hold of the sword raised in Abraham's hand, whereas in our Prudentius picture this somewhat too realistic *motif* is omitted. Unfortunately the subject is not represented in any of the three great copies of Genesis—Vienna, Cottonian, or Ashburnham. I believe this in our Prudentius is as early a picture as can be found in any *book*, more especially if my theory hold good, that it is a copy of a Roman design.

ii. *Lot carried into Captivity* (Plate XI., fig. 1).

I have little to remark on this: it is one of the crowded war-scenes which occur so very frequently in early series of pictures in all countries, e.g. Trajan's column, the Vienna Genesis, the Vatican Joshua, the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore.

iii. *Abraham and Melchisedek* (Plate X., fig. 2).

This striking episode in Abraham's life was taken to prefigure the Eucharist almost as soon as the sacrifice of Isaac was thought to typify the Passion. But the subject does not occur in the earliest art. The first instance I know is to be found in the mosaics of S. Vitale at Ravenna, and this is well worth looking at in connection with our picture. In it, as here, there are two figures standing on opposite sides of an altar, on which is a chalice and two loaves. But at Ravenna the left-hand figure is called, not Abraham, but Abel. In our picture, Abraham is, curiously enough, offering a lamb. He is not armed, nor are any of his train with him: the picture is entirely symbolic. Is it not possible that we have here a case of mistaken adaptation on the part of the Italian artist, of a picture really meant for Melchisedek and Abel, to the story of Melchisedek and Abraham?

Another early picture, one of the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore, shews a much more realistic treatment. In fact the only hint of the religious importance of the scene is the representation of God appearing in the sky. In the Vienna Genesis (Garrucci, pl. cxiii.) the figure of Abraham resembles that in our picture, but the lamb is wanting. Abraham holds out his hands, covered with a cloth, to receive the bread and wine from Melchisedek, who wears a sort of helmet, and robe reaching only to the knee, and stands in front of a baldacchino, under which is an altar.

The Cottonian Genesis and the Ashburnham Pentateuch do not help us here.

In later art the Eucharistic meaning of the scene is more strongly brought out, and we see a knight, attended by his suite, being houselled by a bishop, e.g. in the statues on the inside of the west wall at Rheims, and a picture by Bouts at Munich.

iv. *Abraham and the Three Angels* (Plate XI., fig. 2).

This is a common subject in Greek Christian Art. It occurs in the Vienna Genesis, and we have a record—a coloured sketch made by Peiresc, now at Paris, figured in Garrucci—of the picture in the Cottonian Genesis whose loss we still deplore so acutely, whether we think of its text, or of the 250 paintings which adorned it.

One of the strangest presentments of the subject known to me, is in the St John's Psalter alluded to before (K. 26). This has two pictures of very fine execution, shewing Abraham first adoring, and then offering bread and wine to a three-headed figure of superhuman proportions seated on a cushioned throne. This figure, in spite of the repellent realism which inspires the conception, is really drawn with a great feeling of dignity, and made, to a certain extent, impressive.

No one has painted the story better than Benozzo Gozzoli did in the Campo Santo at Pisa. A fair but uninteresting example of later treatment is to be seen on the facsimiled page of a *Biblia Pauperum* (Plate XII.), which forms the last of my pictures.

§ 6. The *Biblia Pauperum*.

Typology, of one kind or another, runs through the whole of Christian art, and we may take as read a good many of the more obvious assertions and examples that might be brought to bear on the point. My business now is to call attention to two books in Corpus Christi Library which illustrate mediaeval typology, one in words, the other in pictures.

The first is a treatise never yet published, contained in two MSS., nos. 217 and 300. The former MS. came from Worcester Abbey, and is imperfect; the latter is a complete copy. It is of the XIIIth century, and occupies the whole volume, a small 4to of some 80 leaves. The treatise goes by the name of *Pictor in fenestra*, or *Pictor in carmine*. I think that it is of English origin, and that it probably was written early in the XIIIth century. Another copy is to be found in MSS. Rawlinson, A 425 (imperfect), and M. Delisle has published the preface to this work from a Middlehill MS. in his *Mélanges Paléographiques*, p. 206. It consists of a collection of rhyming verses intended to be written under representations of Bible subjects in church windows or frescoes. It is arranged on the typological principle, the New Testament event being taken as the main subject, and Old Testament, or natural, or legendary, types being grouped round it. In this respect it resembles the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. But it is much fuller than the *Speculum*, being divided into 138 instead of 58 heads, and comprising not less than 440 subjects. It has a double importance, first as marking an epoch in religious art in this country, and next, as presenting us with as full a key to the typology of the XIIIth century as we could wish for. How does it mark a revival in religious art? That question I can best answer by reading you

a translation of the author's preface, which, along with the catalogue of subjects, I have transcribed from the two MSS. mentioned above.

"Inasmuch as I was grieved that in the sanctuary of God foolish pictures, and things which are rather mis-shapen monstrosities than decorations, should be represented, I wished, if I could, to fill the minds and eyes of the faithful with fairer and more profitable objects of contemplation. For since the eyes of our contemporaries are apt to be caught by a pleasure which is not only vain, but often profane, and since I did not think it would be easy to do away altogether with the meaningless paintings in Churches, especially those in Cathedrals and Baptisteries, where people congregate in large numbers, I have thought it an excusable indulgence that they should be attracted by that class of pictures which, as being the books of the laity, might suggest divine things to the unlearned, and stir up the learned to the love of the Scriptures. For instance, to touch on a few points among many, which is at once becoming or more profitable to behold about the altar of God,—centaurs, two-headed eagles, four lions joined into one with the same head, centaurs with quivers, headless savages dancing (*frementes acephalos*), the chimera—as logicians call it, the fabled tricks of the fox and the cock, monkeys playing the pipe, and Boethius's ass with the lyre,—or to contemplate the lives of the Patriarchs, the ceremonies of the Law, the exploits of the Judges, the figurative acts of the Kings, the conflicts of the Prophets, the triumphs of the Maccabees, the works of the Lord and Saviour, and the revealed mysteries of the Gospel in its first splendour? Is the scope of the Old and New Testaments so narrow that we must needs set aside what is beautiful and profitable, and, as the proverb says, make ducks and drakes of our money to satisfy our ignoble fancies? (*nummos,—Delisle has numeros—ut aiunt iocosos effundamus* is the Latin. I do not know what it really means). Nay, but it is the criminal presumption of painters

that has gradually introduced these flights of fancy, which in any case the authority of the Church should never have countenanced; for it has certainly appeared to countenance that which it has never ceased to tolerate with such culpable indulgence. Therefore it is, that in order to curb the licence of painters, or rather to influence their work in churches where paintings are permitted, my pen has drawn up certain applications of events in the Old and New Testaments, with the addition in each case of a distich which shortly explains the Old Testament subject, and suitably applies the New Testament one. And these, at the request of certain persons, I have arranged in chapters herewith, in correct order; but in each chapter several couplets are given, that what the shortness of one couplet did not fully explain under any subject, the repetition in different words may supply under the same heading, giving a choice to those who may read.

Now these distichs are to be written about the Old Testament subject, or about any other which is mystically or typically applied. For about the New Testament event, since that is of more usual occurrence, and better known, it suffices merely to write the names of the persons represented. However, for those who look to such matters it was not my business to arrange all that should be painted; let them see to that, as the fancy takes them, or as each is endowed with understanding—provided only they seek Christ's glory, not their own. So that not only out of the mouths of babes and sucklings shall He perfect praise, but, even if these hold their peace, the stones may cry out, and a painted wall declare the wonderful works of God after a fashion. It has been my purpose to supplement the materials for the comely decoration already begun in many churches, and to curb the faults of overweening levity by providing it with a supply of what is better."

Surely a very praiseworthy aim on the part of the author, who was not impossibly a Cistercian. He lets it be seen that

he was not a very great friend to pictorial art; but, whether this was so or not, I expect his book exercised no inconsiderable influence in its day.

Among great schemes of typology, which were carried out in English Churches at the time of this reaction in favour of Biblical art properly so called, in opposition to decorative grotesque, none are more conspicuous than the choir windows of Canterbury, and the cloisters of St Albans. The choir windows of Canterbury deserved a better fate than they met with. In 1672—after the Civil War troubles—there still survived twelve of them, and fortunately Somner, the historian of the Cathedral, took the pains to make a list of all the subjects, and to transcribe all the verses, which they contained. It will hardly be believed that only three of these windows exist now, and these are a patchwork made out of four of those described by Somner. They shew many coincidences in subjects (and probably some in the matter of inscriptions) with the work *Pictor in carmine*, the preface to which you have just heard.

The cloisters of St Albans, which belong to the xvth century, seem rather independent of this book. They had 32 windows of three lights each, the central one being, to judge from extant remains, taller than the other two. In each window were two types and an antitype. The series does not coincide with any other known to me. Not a vestige of the glass remains, of course, but the inscriptions in rhyming verses are preserved in a Bodleian MS. (Laud. Misc. 797) of the xvith century, and printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. I have made a fresh transcription from the MS., and have included my text in an appendix to this paper.

Of all typological books, the two which attained the greatest popularity were the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the *Biblia Pauperum*. Most writers on these books,—and they have been many—have concerned themselves with the earliest forms in which they appeared in print. But it is questionable if

any one has traced them to their birth-place. Perhaps the oldest copies of the *Speculum* are Italian—e.g. one in the Arsenal Library at Paris, the other in the possession of Lord Coleridge—of the XIVth century, while the windows of the Abbey Church of Hirschau in the Black Forest used to be quoted as furnishing the prototype of the *Biblia Pauperum*. We shall, I believe, not be far wrong if we look upon the *Speculum* as having originated in North Italy, and the *Biblia Pauperum* in Flanders, both in the XIVth century; but I am not prepared to prove this to demonstration. It will be more useful to state shortly the difference between the two books. The *Speculum* is a long poem in irregular rhymed versé. It illustrates each New Testament event by *three* types drawn from the Old Testament, from legend, or from profane history.

The *Biblia Pauperum* has *two* Old Testament types (and none outside the Bible) to each New Testament event; and illustrates each set by texts from the Bible, *three* leonine verses, and *four* prophecies. There are 116 subjects in a *Speculum* (exclusive of some at the end which treat of the Seven Joys of the Virgin, etc.), and the *Biblia Pauperum* has 120. The designer of King's Chapel windows has employed both books in his scheme of illustration, and has also diverged from both under Reformation influences.

Now, MS. no. 167 at Corpus has, among other things, an important though imperfect copy of the *Biblia Pauperum*, from which my last illustration is drawn (Plate XII.). The pictures are mostly in outline—yellow and a coarse red are here and there employed. The date may be late XIVth century, the provenance Flemish. What is interesting about it is the fact that it is closely connected with a much finer copy in the British Museum (King's MSS.—not Royal—no. 5) which is fully coloured and gilt throughout. I had hoped to procure an illustration of a leaf of this book, but I have been so far disappointed. I am convinced that the two are the work of the same hand, and if

any one will compare this illustration with a leaf of that MS. I believe they will be forced to the same conclusion. The London copy shews traces of a curious, if not unique, arrangement. It is an oblong book—the top and bottom sides being the longest, and each leaf was originally meant to fold up like a triptych, the types covering in the central subject.

I may add that some of the glass in St Martin's Church at Stamford, which is said to have been brought from Tattershall Priory, has subjects and verses taken from the *Biblia Pauperum*.

With this I must bring my paper to an end. It will be readily understood that in almost every part of it I have studied brevity, and that the instances which I have selected by way of illustration have been for the most part selected because they are to be found in Cambridge libraries. That I have in any single section exhausted the Cambridge examples, it would be quite wrong to infer. Though perhaps not so rich in illuminated books as Oxford, Cambridge yet possesses many hundreds of volumes which illustrate the development of this branch of Christian Art at every stage of its growth. It is my hope that at some time I may be able to examine the whole number of illuminated MSS. in Cambridge. The work is not of impossible dimensions, and it is worth doing. It brings us into contact with numberless quaint and beautiful creations, and shews us perhaps more clearly than any other study, how people conceived of the things which they held highest—whence those conceptions were drawn, and how deeply they entered into the daily life and thought of a time which is perhaps more obscure to us than the remoter age of Pericles or of Augustus.

APPENDIX.

VERSES FROM THE CLOISTER WINDOWS OF
ST ALBAN'S ABBEY.

FROM Laud MSS. 697 (in the Bodleian), cent. xv., xvi., *chart.* in vellum wrapper, of miscellaneous contents. This item has been printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ii. 246. I have expanded the contractions, but preserved the spelling. Words or letters in square brackets are left out in the MS. f. 26.

hic subscribuntur metra illa omnia que ponuntur in claustro monasterii sancti Albani in fenestris pro clariori historiarum intelligencia possidenda.

I.

Sara licet vetula pregnans hic stat patriarcha.	}	Conception of Isaac.
pregnans virgo pia stat et hic cum prole Maria.		Conception of Christ.
Anna diu hic sterilis potitur ¹ fendo Samuelis.		Conception of Samuel.

¹ fe fit MS. se fit *Mon.*

II.

hic muri Jericho flatu cecidere sonoro.	}	Fall of Jericho.
hic parit ut virgo templum pacis ruit ultro.		Fall of the temple of Peace at Rome.
hic tamen ¹ Egipto simulacra ruunt quasi toto.		Fall of the Egyptian idols.

¹ tm MS. omni *Mon.*

III.

hic aqua de silice, bibat ut plebs, defluit ecce.	}	The rock struck.
fons olei Rome, cibit ut populum, fluit hicque.		Spring of oil flows at Rome at Christ's birth.
hic stat vas et aque quod potum prestat Helie.		Elijah fed by an angel.

IV.

hic Elyzeus aquas in dulces vertit amaras.	}	Waters of Jericho sweetened.
hic Ihesus in vinum metretas vertit aquarum.		Miracle of Cana.
hic Moises et aquas gustanti reddidit aptas.		Waters of Marah sweetened.

V.

hic fons Nicopolis cunctis bene subuenit egris.	}	Fountain of Nicopolis.
fons sacer hic et aque bene mundat crimina queque.		Fountain of Bethesda (John v.).
morbos quoscunque piscina lauat Syloesque.		Fountain of Siloam (John ix.).

VI.

hic per contractum cadit Osa leuita retrorsum.	}	Death of Uzzah.
egra Ihesum tetigit mulier: mox sana recessit.		The woman with the issue healed.
tangere dum voluit regi manus hicque stupescit.		Jeroboam's hand withered.

VII.

hic modo per Moysen mare diuiditur rubicundum.	}	The Red Sea divided.
imperat hic Christus; sistit mare ventus et eius.		The storm stilled by Christ.
Jordanis flumen hic diuiditur per Heliam.		Elijah divides Jordan.

VIII.

hic mare diuisum Moyses intrat gradiendum.	}	Moses enters the Red Sea.
hic supraque mare Christus Petrus ambulat atque.		Christ and Peter walk on the sea.
hic intrat Pharao, rediit mare, tingitur ¹ ergo.		Pharaoh drowned.

¹ tangitur MS.

IX.

hic dum Susanna fert, casta probatur ¹ , Osanna.	}	Susanna acquitted. <i>The verse is corrupt.</i>
hic accusata stat adultera saluificata.		The Woman taken in adultery.
hic mandatque dari prolem Salomon meretrici.		Judgment of Solomon.

¹ or ? paratur in MS.

X.

hic per collirium Raphael sanat ecce Tobiam.	}	Tobit's blindness healed.
per sputumque lutum curat Ihesus hic quoque ¹ cecum.		The man born blind healed.
perque oleumque merum [curat] Samarita plagatum.		The Samaritan tends the traveller.

¹ et MS.

XI.

fol. 26 verso.

dum parat ipse patri Jacob escas complacet illi,	}	Jacob blessed by Isaac.
dum lux fit veluti placuit Ihesus ac bene patri,		The Transfiguration.
dumque Josep refecit ¹ patrem pater ac benedixit.		Joseph blessed by Jacob.

¹ refecit MS.

XII.

filii hic vidue prece rursus viuunt Helie.	}	Raising of the widow's son by Elijah.
alter et hic obiit, Christo danteque reuixit.		Raising of the widow's son at Nain.
tercius hic stratus Eliseo statque leuatus.		Raising of the Shunammite's son.

XIII.

terret per tonitrum populum deus hic inimicum.	}	Plague of hail (?).
terret et hic homines Ihesus hunc captare uolentes.		The soldiers fall backwards (John xviii.).
terret et hic plebem regem deus ac Pharaonem.		Plague of darkness (?).

XIV.

dum rogat ¹ Iosue, stat pausans solque sororque.	}	Sun and moon stand still.
dumque Ihesus patitur soror obstat, sol tenebratur.		Eclipse at the crucifixion.
dum rex fert signum se trahit solque retrorsum.		Sun goes back on the dial of Ahaz.

¹ cogitat MS.

XV.

factores Josue fuerant hic Gabaonite.	}	Gibeonites and Joshua.
hic Christus Cleophe se finxit longius ire.		Journey to Emmaus.
hic et Achis regi fictu placuit Dauit uti.		David feigns madness.

XVI.

Ydola consuluit Occosias rexque recessit.	}	Ahaziah consults Baalzebub (2 K. i.).
Christum percoluit Abagarus rexque reuixit.		Abgarus sends a letter to Christ.
vitam dum fleuit Ezechias rexque redemit.		Hezekiah's life prolonged.

XVII.

stirpibus esca datur celi que manna uocatur.	}	The Manna.
hic sedet in cena cum Christo plebs duodena.		The Last Supper.
Melchisedec Abrahe panem uinum dedit ecce.		Melchizedek and Abraham.

XVIII.

dum cetheraque Dauit [canit], ictu pene peremit.	}	Saul throws a javelin at David.
per pactum signum studet hic fraus perdere Christum.		The kiss of Judas.
basia perque doli fert Amasa vulnera fati.		Joab kisses Amasa.

XIX.

Samson cecatus stat et hic male ludificatus.	} Samson mocked. Christ mocked. Hur spat upon by the Jews.
hic illudebat Christo plebs ac feriebat.	
hic subsannatum tulit Vr plebisque [sc]reatum.	

XX.

jurgia sponsarum fert Lamech, verber et harum.	} Lamech mocked by his wives. Scourging of Christ. Achior bound & beaten by Holofernes (Judith vi. 13).
ecce flagellatur, orbs per quem saluificatur.	
hic Achior vinclis male mulcatur ¹ que flagellis.	

¹ multatur MS.

XXI.

hic probroque graui redeunt a principe missi.	} David's messengers mock- ed by Hanun. Ecce Homo (?). David mocked by Shimei.
hic a plebe Ihesus illuditur, est quoque laesus.	
hic exprobratur Dauit a Semeyque grauatur.	

XXII.

fol. 27.	} The spies bring grapes from Eshcol, <i>or</i> , Barzillai brings food to David. Christ bears the Cross. Isaac carrying the wood for the sacrifice.
hicque ferunt alii quo vita solet recreari.	
hic Christusque crucem, daret ut vitamque salutem.	
hic Ysaac ligna fert, fiat ut hostia digna.	

XXIII.

hicque per insidias lapidatus erat Jeremias.	} Jeremiah stoned. Christ nailed to the Cross. Isaiah sawn in sunder.
hic clauisque Ihesus jacet in ligno crucifixus.	
hic serra ¹ cecidit Isaias ac requieuit.	

¹ sarra MS.

XXIV.

dirutus ac elephas, agat ut bene prelia Judas.	} Eleazar kills the elephant (1 Macc. vi. 46). Christ's side pierced. Absalom pierced with darts.
confossus que [deus] ut homo sit viuificatus.	
Absolon est stratus, Davit ut sit saluificatus.	

XXV.

hieque Josep cesum credens Jacob ingemit ipsum.	}	Jacob bewails Joseph.
hieque sinu natum planxit virgo cruciatum.		The Virgin bewails Christ.
occisum flentes Abel stant ecce parentes.		Adam and Eve bewail Abel.

XXVI.

sic in cisterna Josep, ast fuit hec mora parua.	}	Joseph in the pit.
Christus sic gelide fuit intra viscera terre.		The Entombment.
piscis erat Jonas trinis seu ventre diebus.		Jonah swallowed up by the fish.

XXVII.

sicque Jonas cœti rediit de ventre marini.	}	Jonah cast up.
clauso sic saxo prodit Ihesus è monumento.		The Resurrection.
urbe velud clausa Sampson perfregit ad extra.		Samson and the gates of Gaza.

XXVIII.

saluus et a morsu Daniel rapidoque voratu.	}	Daniel in the lions' den.
sic Stigis a facula stat Adam bene saluus et Eva.		The Harrowing of Hell.
a flamma pueri seu ¹ sunt hic saluificati.		The three children in the furnace.

¹ bis in MS.

XXIX.

hieque rubo dominus focus apparet velut ardens.	}	Moses at the burning bush.
apparetque pie Ihesus hic surgendo Marie.		Christ appears to the Virgin.
hie Abrahe trinus apparet sed deus vnus.		Abraham and the three angels.

XXX.

hie et translatus est Ennoc et veneratus.	}	Translation of Enoch.
hie scandensque polum Ihesus accipit a patre regnum.		The Ascension of Christ.
hie curru clausum petit Helias paradisum.		Translation of Elijah.

XXXI.

ars noua scribendi datur hic, noua lex regerendi.	}	Giving of the Law.
ad fandum varijs datur hic noua gracia linguis.		Descent of the Holy Ghost.
linguarum prima fuit hic diuisio facta.		Confusion of Tongues.

XXXII.

hic unum saluat, hic alterum Pharao dampnat.	} Pharaoh decrees the massacre of the male children (?).	
dat Ihesus hic dignis plaudenda, dolenda malignis.		} The Last Judgment.
hic Nabugodonosor intus sedet agmina censor.		

This series of verses is followed in the MS. by another, from the Library windows of the same monastery. These I reserve for a future occasion.

Few of the subjects enumerated in the Cloister-verses call for special remark. It has been already said that the series differs from both the *Speculum* and the *Biblia Pauperum*. I append some short explanations of the more obscure subjects.

ii. 2. *Fall of the Temple of Peace at Rome*. This prodigy is said to have attended the Birth of our Lord; in the *Legenda Aurea (de Nativ. Domini)*, for instance, we are told that the Temple was built after a 12 years' peace at Rome, and that Apollo prophesied that it would last until a Virgin bore a son: The Romans accordingly inscribed over the door of it 'Templum Pacis eternum,' but it fell down on the night when Christ was born.

v. 1. *The Fountain of Nicopolis*. Matt. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* ii. 94 (Rolls Series), gives the clue to this. The spring alluded to is at Emmaus, otherwise called Nicopolis. Christ is said to have passed this fountain with His disciples and to have washed His feet there; whence the healing properties are derived. The account comes from William of Tyre, vii. 24. It is likely enough that the monks of St Albans owed the selection of this type to the work of their own chronicler.

xvi. 2. *Abgarus*. The point of resemblance is that in most versions of the Abgarus-story, the object of the celebrated letter of the Edessene king to our Lord is that he may be healed of a disease in his feet. Our Lord in His answer promises to send a disciple to effect the cure. Thaddaeus is the one eventually commissioned.

xix. 3. *Hur*. The legend in the *Bible Historial*, most likely our writer's source, is that Hur opposed the making of the golden calf. The Jews surrounded him and spat upon him till he died. This is no doubt a Jewish tradition, but I have not happened upon it in Jewish books. It is a type used in the *Speculum*. In St Mary's, Shrewsbury (N. aisle, near the west end), is a bit of xvith cent. German glass bearing the title of this subject "Hur sputis Hebreorum suffocatus, Mag(ister) hist(oriarum)"; but the picture is not there.

Note to p. 49.

Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of examining an apocalypse earlier than any known to me before. It is in the Stadtbibliothek at Treves (No. 31) and, as I have lately discovered, has been fully described by Dr Frimmel in a pamphlet, *Die Apokalypse in den Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1885. This MS., itself of cent. viii.—ix., is copied from a Roman book of cent. v. or vi., and proves the Italian origin of the whole cycle. There is another early copy at Bamberg.

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