

# PROCEEDINGS

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WITH

**Communications**

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

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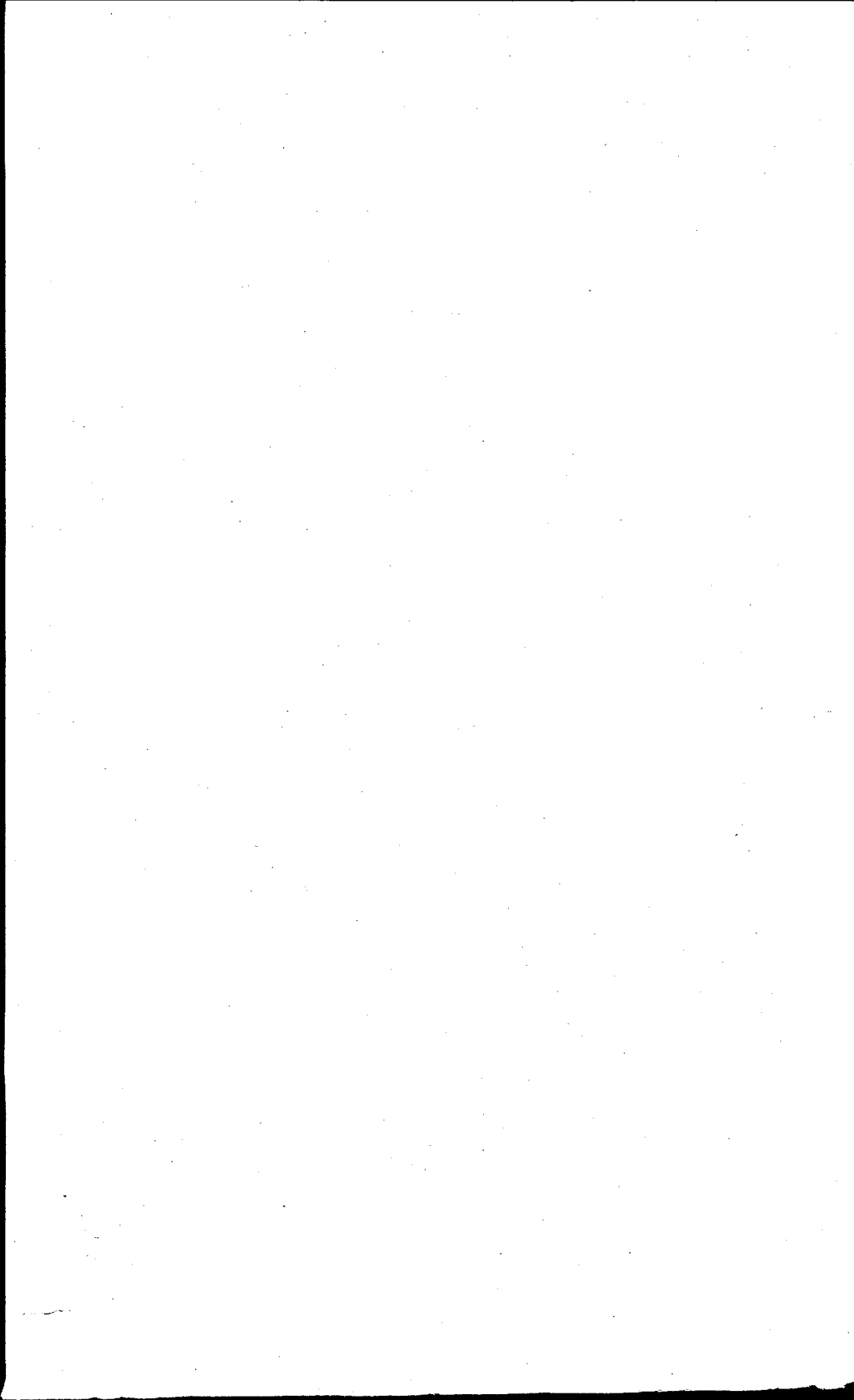
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Dr Clark made a Communication on

BISHOP BATEMAN.

*It was decided by the Council to defer the publication of this paper in order that the documents illustrating the life of Bishop Bateman might be collated with duplicates at Rome.*

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Monday, November 25, 1895, at 8.30 p.m., W. M. FAWCETT, M.A., President, in the Chair.

M. R. JAMES, Litt.D., made the following Communications :

(1) ON THE PAINTINGS FORMERLY IN THE CHOIR AT  
PETERBOROUGH.

Although there is no European country which has kept so many of its mediaeval institutions in working order as England, yet England is poorer than many of its neighbours in respect of the external fittings and accessories of those institutions. Our Cathedrals and Capitular bodies and our Universities exist, and are doing their work on the same lines at least as those which were laid down for them centuries ago ; many of our ancient castles are still inhabited by the descendants of those who built them ; and the country is still full of hospitals, almshouses and small establishments of the kind, some of which can trace their history back five or six hundred years. On the other hand, the Englishman returning from a visit to Amiens, Chartres, or Troyes, is apt to feel very keenly the poverty of his own country in such matters as painted glass, statues and bas-reliefs, ancient vestments and plate.

We all know how and why these splendours departed from us in the first instance, and we can appreciate the necessity of

a general clearance of such things as vestments, church plate, service-books, and images which were objects of popular devotion, at the time of the Reformation. I do not however see any reason why we should in the least degree seek to excuse or forgive the second great spoliation of our Churches and Colleges in the Civil War period, by William Dowsing, Richard Culmer, and the soldiery who were from time to time let loose upon our cities. Their proceedings were merely brutal or merely fanatical from one end to the other. No great evil was averted, no abuse removed, no good gained. An enormous number of important works of art were destroyed, with the result that until quite recently it has not been recognised that England could and did produce painters, sculptors and embroiderers in the mediaeval period who were well able to hold their own with their continental neighbours, nay, who in many cases surpassed them.

It is clear, I say, that for a long time the ancient English art has been ignored, and that we owe this largely to the efforts of Dowsing and *hoc genus omne*. We may not unreasonably hold their memories up to the execration of posterity—indeed, the construction of a List of Malefactors, or of an Antiquarian's Commination Service might well be considered—but we shall on the whole be better employed in preserving and recording the remnants of mediaeval art which we have got, and in tracing out the history of those which are lost to us. In some instances we are able to carry out investigations into that history very completely: and I do not know of a more satisfactory example of this than is afforded by the paintings which once surrounded the Choir of Peterborough Abbey Church, now Peterborough Cathedral.

In Gunton's *History of Peterborough Cathedral*, which was brought out with additions by Symon Patrick, Dean of the Cathedral, in 1686, there is an account of the remains of painting which in the writer's time were still decipherable in the Choir. His words run as follows:

"The Quire presents nothing legible in the pavement.... Only the wooden sides did very lately retain some memorial of

their antient ornaments, both paintings and writings, though their defects be supplied with the gilded ceiling of the Ladies Chappel. It was, (as hath been said) in the time of Abbot *W. of Waterville*, near five hundred years since, ordered as we have lately known it, and the fashion of both Pictures and Letters might plead such antiquity. For the Paintings, they were not to be commended, neither here, nor in other places of the Church, for it hath long since been found fault with, that in *Peterburgh Minster* you may see Saint *Peter* painted, his head very near, or altogether as big as his middle. Their Subject was Scripture stories, and underneath *Latin* Distichs, some whereof (though somewhat different) were written in the windows of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, as the Surveyor thereof hath left Recorded. [The Surveyor referred to is *W. Somner*.] Many of these verses are perished with age, these were lately legible.

Under the Picture of the Prophet *Isaias*.

En pariet, et concipiet, sic fert *Isayas*  
Virgo Deum, semper inviolata manens.

Under *Moses's* Bush.

Non ardens ardere rubus : non tacta videtur  
Virginitas tangi, dum parit absque pari.

Under *Gideon's* Fleece.

Virginitas vellus, Verbum ros, arida tellus  
Est caro virginea : Conca quid ? Ecclesia.

Under the Pictures of *Mary* and *Elizabeth*.

Plaude puerperio, virgo vetulae, quia vero  
Obviat hic pietas, veteri dat lex nova metas.<sup>1</sup>

Another by it. [Righteousness and Peace kissing each other.]

Oscula justitiae dat pax, cognata Mariae,  
Applaudet Regi praecursor, gratia legi.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These four distichs occurred on the Canterbury windows and are given by *Somner*.

Under *Aaron's* rod budding.

Ut contra morem dat amygdalus arida florem  
Sic Virgo puerum verso parit ordine rerum.<sup>1</sup>

Under *Nebuchadnezzar* dreaming.

Ut Regi visus lapis est de monte recisus  
Sic gravis absque viro Virgo parit ordine miro.<sup>1</sup>

These on the South side: on the North side were these to be read.

Under *Boaz*.

Tingere consuluit buccellam Booz in aceto  
Ruth: Thomas Christi palpat et ipse latus.

Under the Prophet *Habakkuk*.

Abaccuc Solem cernit sublime levatum.  
Coelos ascendit Christus, eosque regit.

Under the fire descending upon the Sacrifice.

Ignis de coelo descendens, en holocausta  
Devorat: et sacris Spiritus ecce venit.

Under the Picture of *David*.

Iste propheta David Dominum reverenter adorat.  
Ut confirmentur optima dona Dei."

This is Gunton's account, written in the business-like style of the good archaeologist that he was. I need only add to it a few remarks. First, William de Waterville, the Abbot who is mentioned as having arranged and adorned the Choir, was in office from 1155 to 1175. If then he was responsible for the paintings, we must think of these latter as works of the middle of the twelfth century: and I would remind you that only a little later than 1170 Samson, as subsacrist of Bury Abbey, was engaged in arranging paintings and composing verses for the choir enclosure in his Church. Next, the remains of the paintings themselves. They are plainly the beginning and end of a series, of which the middle has disappeared. Gunton does

<sup>1</sup> See note on preceding page.

not make it quite clear whether they were on the inside or the outside of the choir enclosure. If we may judge from extant works of the kind—e.g. at Carlisle, Chartres, Toledo, and elsewhere, it is almost certain that they must have been on the backs of the stalls. These stall-backs and the rest of the choir woodwork were torn down by the soldiers of Cromwell, as we learn from Standish's account of the proceedings of these persons (printed at the end of Gunton's History), and their places were supplied by the gilded timbers from the roof of the Lady Chapel, when the Church was rehabilitated. So that Gunton's account of the paintings depends upon notes made by him or less probably on his recollections of what he had seen, before the devastation of the Church.

So far, then, we have ascertained that there was a series of paintings of sacred subjects on the backs of the stalls at Peterborough, and that they may have been put there about 1160 A.D. We can further see from an examination of the subjects and the verses that they were a series of types and anti-types. Here, then, is a monument of English art by no means unworthy to be investigated, if we can come upon any material for carrying an investigation further. This, as I just now said, can be done very completely.

The Arundel MS. xxx. in the College of Arms, which added so much to our knowledge of the decorations and furniture of the Abbey Church of Bury, has not yet been exhausted. It contains inscriptions in verse drawn from many other places besides Bury, e.g. York, Lincoln, and Spalding, and also Peterborough. For at the beginning of a set of about 34 distichs of Latin verse is this heading :

“These verses are contained round the choir in the Abbey  
of St Peter of Burgh.”

The verses begin with one referring to the Burning Bush :

Non ardens ardere rubus, non tacta uidetur, etc.

which is identical with one of Gunton's verses, copied by him from the painting itself. And the subjects indicated in the MS. are identical with those noted by Gunton on the South

side of the Choir (save for one omission). The series in the MS. unfortunately stops short of its legitimate end, getting no further than the Cleansing of the Temple by our Lord, and consequently not reaching the subjects which in Gunton's time existed on the North side. Still, the Arundel MS. gives the verses belonging to fifty subjects.

But we have a better source than the Arundel MS. In the Royal Library at Brussels is a beautiful Psalter (MS. 9961) of about the year 1300, written wholly in gold, blue and scarlet. It is described by M. Delisle in his *Mélanges de Paléographie* (pp. 197—205) and identified by him as having belonged to some one connected with the Abbey of Peterborough, while in the fourteenth century it belonged to the kings of France, and was deposited in the Library of the Louvre. The book contains a series of over a hundred pictures, scattered throughout the text of the Psalter, of types and antitypes. They are arranged four on a page, and verses are inscribed beneath them, and these verses and subjects are identical with those in the Arundel MS. and in Gunton's History so far as those authorities go.

In other words, the Psalter now at Brussels has preserved a complete record of the paintings formerly existing round the Choir of Peterborough Abbey. The MS., it is true, is of about 1300, while the paintings, we have seen reason to suppose, were of the twelfth century. Still, I cannot but feel that it is almost certain that the artist of the Psalter drew from the paintings which he saw every day of his life. A plain indication that the pictures in the MS. were copied from some already existing series is to be seen in their arrangement. There are, as I said, four compartments on a page: and we find sometimes that three types and an antitype, and sometimes that two pairs of types and antitypes fill a page. But in other places we see that two types are found on one page, while the antitype is separated from them, and occurs at a distance of several leaves. Thus, the Washing of Feet is seen on f. 33, and the type of it, Abraham washing the Angels' feet on f. 40. Such an arrangement would never have been made by the original designer of



the series, while it would very likely arise from a somewhat servile process of copying.

I have been able, through the good offices of the Librarian of the *Bibliothèque Royale*, to procure photographs of four pages of the Psalter. The shields which appear at the bottom of each page were added, according to M. Delisle, at a period later than that of the execution of the paintings. They have no reference to Peterborough, but to the French owners of the MS.

It will be found quite worth while to examine the series a little more in detail, and to notice some of the peculiar subjects which occur in it. Attention should be called to the want of symmetry in the arrangement. The normal number of types to each antitype is two: but in a few instances one only is given in the Brussels MS., probably from want of space, and there is sometimes an extra type which is difficult to fit in. There may be either thirty-seven or thirty-eight scenes from the New Testament: but in one case it is not clear whether two scenes were not included in one picture, namely, in the representation of the Resurrection, and the Angel and the Women. There are not enough types for both scenes.

I am inclined to believe that the subjects were arranged in two rows, one above the other, and that in each compartment the antitype occupied the centre, and had a type on either side of it. I am led to this conclusion by the fact that the order in which types and antitypes are given in the Arundel and Brussels MSS. is often confused, and varies. This could hardly be the case if the copyist had had a single continuous row of pictures before him: but it could be well accounted for by the supposition of two rows.

Gunton has noted in his account of these paintings that some of the verse inscriptions beneath them coincide with the verses in the windows of Canterbury Cathedral, as given by Somner: and sure enough, four out of the first seven do so coincide. But the coincidence in subjects extends much further than this. The windows described by Somner are twelve in number: the extant remains of them now filling three windows

in the north choir aisle. Their normal arrangement is that of two types to one antitype, as in the Peterborough paintings: and it is exceedingly interesting to find that the first forty-eight subjects in the Peterborough series agree very closely with the first three windows at Canterbury. There are some omissions on the part of the latter cycle, but there is no divergence at all. So far as I can gather—for I have not a complete copy of the Brussels verses—the verses are identical for these 48 subjects with those at Canterbury.

After this point the Canterbury series does diverge, but at the close of it (it was unfortunately imperfect when our description of it was written) it again returns into an agreement, less marked, but yet noticeable, with Peterborough.

Do I now suppose any connexion between the artists of the two Churches? Without denying it, I have at present no evidence to confirm such an idea. What I do suppose is that both cycles of subjects go back to a literary authority of some kind. It is plain enough that in later times buildings were often decorated with cycles of pictures drawn from the *Biblia Pauperum* or the *Speculum Salvationis*. The windows in St Martin's at Stamford and in King's College Chapel are evidence of that. And it can also be shewn that books of types, illustrated or not illustrated, were drawn up for the use of artists. One leading instance of these is the work (of which I have before now given a description to the Society) called *Pictor in Carmine*, written I imagine in the thirteenth century by an English monk whose object it was to substitute Bible pictures for the allegorical beasts and monstrous grotesques of which the artists of the twelfth century had become so fond. This manual, of which I know four MSS.—all of English origin—has a good deal in common with the Canterbury windows, coinciding with them in some of their strangest types. One instance of these I will give—though it is not intimately connected with the Peterborough paintings. Alike at Canterbury and in the book *Pictor in Carmine* we find the Last Supper typified by a subject called "David carrying himself in his hands." The application is plain enough, as a type of our

Lord bearing His own Body in His hands at the institution of the Eucharist. But when did David carry himself in his hands? The reference, I discover, is to 1 Sam. xxi. 13, where David feigned himself mad at the court of king Achish. The Septuagint translates the Hebrew of the clause, "feigned himself mad in their hands" by *παρεφέρετο ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ*: the Old Latin rendering this literally by *ferebatur*, "he was borne in his hands." St Augustine, commenting on Ps. xxxiii., cites this phrase and interprets it as a type of our Lord at the Last Supper. But the author of *Pictor in Carmine* has another explanation to offer. He thinks it possible, he says, that David in dancing before the ark may have gone so far as to elevate his legs in the air and walk on his hands, and thus may have been literally supported or carried in his hands. I think this must be put down as one of the curiosities of mediaeval typology.

There are no such startling types in the Peterborough series: one of the least familiar is the death of Doeg the Edomite, a type of the death of Herod. The authority for this is the author of the Hebrew Questions on the Book of Kings, (which have been attributed to St Jerome) who says that Doeg was Saul's armour-bearer and that he killed himself from fear of David's vengeance<sup>1</sup>.

Later on we encounter as a type of the Incredulity of Thomas the strange scene of Boaz telling Ruth to dip her bread in the vinegar along with the reapers. The only superficial resemblance to the antitype is such as exists between the words of Boaz to Ruth, and those of Christ to Thomas, "Reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side." The other type of the same incident is, "Men showing to Elephants the blood of the grape and mulberry, to excite them to battle." The resemblance lies in this, that as the Elephant is excited to war

<sup>1</sup> *Quaest. Hebr. in Libros Regum.*

(1 Reg. xxxi. 5.) *Quod quum uidisset armiger eius, uidelicet quod mortuus esset Saul, irruit etiam ipse super gladium suum et mortuus est cum eo.* Armigerum istum Hebraei Doeck Idumaeum dicunt fuisse, qui cernens Saul mortuum seipsum ob metum David interemit.

by seeing the blood of the grape, so Thomas was inflamed with affection and zeal by the sight of the wounds of Christ, the True Vine. The type is drawn from the first book of Maccabees (vi. 13).

These are enormities: it would be cheap and easy to make fun of them, but I have not the least desire to do that. It is far more pleasant and far more reasonable also, I think, to admire the ingenuity and the imaginative beauty of these types. Righteousness and Peace, the Old Law and the New, meeting with a kiss in the person of the Virgin and St Elizabeth: the Queen of Sheba coming to Solomon, typifying the Visit of the Magi to Christ: Lot forbidden to look back at Sodom—the Magi forbidden to go back to Herod: Moses taught by Jethro—Christ hearing the Doctors as well as asking them questions. These and many others shone in the windows and on the walls of our churches for centuries: and it is not well for us to feel otherwise than kindly and reverently towards them, even if we are unable in the majority of cases to see anything beyond a poetical merit in them.

We have, then,—to return for a moment to my proper subject,—recovered the complete description, nay, a complete set of copies, of the most considerable decorative work that adorned the choir of Peterborough Cathedral. It would be interesting to procure photographs of all the paintings in the Brussels Psalter: but that cannot at present be done.

Before I leave Peterborough I should like to add one note on a piece of iconography connected with the great West Front. It may perhaps be remembered that the base of the central shaft of the door by which one enters the Church is sculptured with a scene of two demons who have between them a man with wildly disordered hair falling head downwards: and it may also be remembered that the guide book describes this as representing a Benedictine monk tortured by devils: and perhaps they add that it was put there as a warning to the other monks. However, there is nothing to show that the person is a Benedictine monk, either in respect of dress, tonsure, or general appearance. No: this is not the right

interpretation of the sculpture: but that which I am about to offer, is, I feel sure, the right one. Remember that the sculpture is the central lowest point of the façade and carry your eye to the central topmost point. There, enthroned in the middle gable, you will see St Peter. And having realised that, I think you will not doubt that the person who is below his feet is his great rival, Simon Magus. For it may or may not be known to you that Simon Magus, after having suffered many galling reverses at the hands of St Peter, finally announced that whatever the result of previous experiments might have been, he was going to make a success of the final one, and that on a certain day he would fly up to Heaven from the Campus Martius. Fly he did for some little distance: and then St Peter, who was praying below, rose and ordered the demons who were holding Simon to let him fall. They did not hesitate to do so, and Simon broke both his legs. It is, then, the disgrace of Simon Magus, who is shown at the moment when the devils left hold of him, that is represented on the base of the central shaft of Peterborough West Front.

#### TABLE OF THE SUBJECTS OF THE PETERBOROUGH PAINTINGS.

##### I.

GUNTON'S HISTORY.	BRUSSELS PSALTER.	ARUNDEL MS.	CANTERBURY WINDOWS.
Isaiah.	Isaiah. Ecce virgo	Gideon's Fleece.	Burning Bush.
Burning Bush.	concipiet.	Burning Bush.	<i>Annunciation.</i>
Gideon's Fleece.	Jeremiah. Femi-	<i>Annunciation.</i>	Gideon's Fleece.
[ <i>Annunciation.</i> ] <sup>1</sup>	na circumdabit		
	uirum.		
	Gideon's Fleece.		
	Burning Bush:		
	<i>Annunciation.</i>		

<sup>1</sup> The New Testament scene is not often mentioned separately in the verses attached to the paintings, as being familiarly known, so that where we have only the verses and not the pictures to judge from, there are apparent omissions. The same remark applies to the single figures of prophets with scrolls, who sometimes do duty for types, and have no verses put to them.

II.

GUNTON'S HISTORY.	BRUSSELS PSALTER.	ARUNDEL MS.	CANTERBURY WINDOWS.
Righteousness and Peace.	Righteousness and Peace.	Righteousness and Peace.	Mercy and Truth.
[Mercy and Truth.] <i>Visitation.</i>	Mercy and Truth. <i>Visitation.</i>	Mercy and Truth. <i>Visitation.</i>	<i>Visitation.</i> Righteousness and Peace.

III.

Aaron's Rod.	Aaron's Rod.	Aaron's Rod.	Nebuchadnezzar's Vision.
Nebuchadnezzar's Vision of the stone cut out without hands.	Nebuchadnezzar's Vision. <i>Nativity.</i>	Nebuchadnezzar's Vision. <i>Nativity.</i>	<i>Nativity.</i> Aaron's Rod.

IV.

BRUSSELS PSALTER.	ARUNDEL MS.	CANTERBURY WINDOWS.
David. Gaudebant campi et omnia que in eis sunt.		David.
Habakkuk. Operuit celos gloria eius.		<i>Angel and Shepherds.</i>
<i>Angel and Shepherds.</i>		Habakkuk.

V.

Balaam and the star. Isaiah.	Balaam and the star <sup>1</sup> .	Balaam.
<i>The Magi journeying.</i>		<i>The Magi journeying.</i>
		Isaiah.
		Jeremiah.

VI.

The Exodus.	The Exodus.	Christ and Gentiles.
The Gentiles flee from Satan to Christ.	<i>Herod and the Magi.</i>	<i>Herod and Magi.</i>
<i>Herod and the Magi.</i>	The Gentiles and Christ.	Exodus.

VII.

Joseph and his brethren.	Joseph and brethren.	Joseph and brethren.
The Queen of Sheba.	Queen of Sheba.	<i>Adoration of the Magi.</i>
<i>Adoration of the Magi.</i>	<i>Adoration of the Magi.</i>	Queen of Sheba.

<sup>1</sup> See note on preceding page.

## VIII.

## BRUSSELS PSALTER.

Lot forbidden to look  
back.

The Prophet of 1 K. xiii.  
forbidden to return the  
way he came.

*The Magi forbidden to  
return to Herod.*

## ARUNDEL MS.

Lot.

The Prophet of 1 K. xiii.

*The Magi warned.*

## CANTERBURY WINDOWS.

The Prophet warned.

*The Magi warned.*

Lot.

## IX.

Presentation of Samuel.

*Presentation of Christ.*

Melchizedek offers bread  
and wine for Abraham.

Presentation of Samuel.

*Presentation of Christ.*

Melchizedek's offering.

Melchizedek's offering.

*Presentation of Christ.*

Presentation of Samuel.

## X.

David escapes from the  
slaughter of the  
priests.

Elijah flees from Ahab.

*Flight into Egypt.*

Elijah flees.

David flees.

*Flight into Egypt.*

Flight of David.

*Flight into Egypt.*

Flight of Elijah.

## XI.

Slaughter of Priests.

*Massacre of the Inno-  
cents.*

Slaughter of Priests.

*Massacre of Innocents.*

Slaughter of Benjamites.

Slaughter of Priests.

*Massacre of Innocents.*

Slaughter of Benjamites.

## XII.

Death of Saul.

Death of Doeg.

*Death of Herod.*

Death of Saul.

*Death of Herod.*

Death of Doeg.

## XIII.

Moses taught by Jethro.

*Christ and the Doctors.*

Daniel and the Elders.

Moses and Jethro.

Daniel.

*Christ and the Doctors.*

Moses and Jethro.

*Christ and the Doctors.*

Daniel and the Elders.

## XIV.

Noah in the ark.

The Red Sea crossed.

*Baptism of Christ.*

Noah's Ark.

*Baptism of Christ.*

Red Sea crossed.

Noah.

*Baptism of Christ.*

Red Sea crossed.

XV.

BRUSSELS PSALTER.

Fall of Eve.  
Death of Absalom.  
*First Temptation of  
Christ (Stones and  
Bread).*

ARUNDEL MS.

Fall of Eve.  
*First Temptation.*  
Death of Absalom.

CANTERBURY WINDOWS.

Eve takes the fruit.  
*First and Second Tempta-  
tions.*  
Eve eats the fruit.

XVI.

Fall of Adam.  
Esau tempted.  
*Second Temptation (Pin-  
nacle of Temple).*

Fall of Adam.  
Esau tempted.  
*Second Temptation.*

Adam and Eve eat the  
fruit.  
*Third Temptation.*  
David and Goliath.

XVII.

Conviction and expulsion  
of Adam and Eve.  
Goliath slain.  
*Third Temptation.*  
Daniel kills the dragon.

Conviction of Adam and  
Eve.  
Goliath slain.  
*Third Temptation.*  
Daniel and the dragon.

[Here Canterbury di-  
verges.  
The next subject is:  
Adam and Eve gather  
fig-leaves.  
*Nathanael under the fig-  
tree.*  
The Jewish People under  
the Law.]

XVIII.

Prophet (Zechariah).  
Ecce rex tuus ueniet.  
Melchizedek meets Abra-  
ham.  
Triumph of David.  
*Entry into Jerusalem.*

Melchizedek and Abra-  
ham.  
*Entry into Jerusalem.*  
Triumph of David.

XIX.

Elisha sends Gehazi  
away leprous.  
Prophet (Jeremiah).  
*Christ cleanses the  
Temple.*

Elisha and Gehazi.  
*Christ cleanses the  
Temple.*  
[Here the verses end in  
Arun del xxx.)



## XX.

## BRUSSELS PSALTER.

## CANTERBURY WINDOWS.

David. Homo pacis mee, in quo speravi. (Mine own familiar friend whom I trusted.)

*Last Supper. Judas and the sop.*

Prophet. In ore suo pacem.

Prophet. Est amicus socius mense.

## XXI.

*Christ washes the Apostles' feet.*

(Window xi.)

Abraham washes the feet of the Angels. *Christ washes the Apostles' feet.*  
Abraham, the Angels' feet.

Laban washes the camels' feet.

Laban, the camels' feet.

An Abbot washes the feet of the poor.

## XXII.

*The Agony: Judas taking the money.*

Daniel praying.

Isaiah interceding for sinners.

Tobit blinded.

## XXIII.

*The Betrayal.*

*The Betrayal.*

Joab kills Amasa.

Joseph sold.

Joseph sold.

Joab kills Abner (or Amasa).

## XXIV.

*The Mocking.*

Isaiah. Corpus meum dedi percussentibus.

Micah. In uirga percucietur maxilla iudicis Israel.

## XXV.

*The Scourging.*

*Christ scourged.*

Elisha and the children.

Job plagued.

Job tormented.

Elisha mocked.

## XXVI.

Isaac bearing the wood.

(Window xii.)

The widow of Zarephath gathers sticks.

Isaac bears wood.

*Christ bearing the Cross.*

*Christ bears the Cross.*

The Widow and the sticks.

## XXVII.

## BRUSSELS PSALTER.

The Red Heifer burnt.  
 The Brazen Serpent.  
 The Death of Abel.  
 The Paschal Lamb slain : the blood  
 on the Lintel.  
*The Crucifixion.*

## CANTERBURY WINDOWS.

*The Crucifixion.*  
 The Red Heifer.  
 The Brazen Serpent.

## XXVIII.

Elisha and the Shunammite's Son.  
 Ezekiel's vision of a man writing Tau  
 on the foreheads of the righteous.  
*The Deposition.*

*The Deposition.*  
 The Death of Abel.  
 Elisha and the Shunammite's Son.  
 The Blood on the Lintel.  
 (Moses writing Tau on the Doorpost.)

## XXIX.

*The Entombment.*  
 David kills a lion.  
 [? Samson sleeps in Gaza.]

*Christ in the tomb.*  
 Samson in Gaza.  
 Jonah in the fish.

## XXX.

*Harrowing of Hell.*  
 David let down by Michael.  
 Daniel comes out of the den.

*Harrowing of Hell.*  
 David and the lion.  
 Samson and the gates.

## XXXI.

*The Resurrection* [and the Angel and  
 the Women].  
 Jonah cast up.  
 Samson and the gates.

*The Resurrection.*  
 Jonah cast up.  
 David let down by Michal.

## XXXII.

[*The Angel and the Women and* Noli  
*me tangere* (?).  
 The People forbidden to touch the  
 Mount.  
 Uzzah dies for touching the Ark.

*The Angel and the Women.*  
 Joseph drawn out of the pit.  
 The Lion raises its Whelp.  
 (The series ends here.)

## XXXIII.

*The Journey to Emmaus.*  
 Lot takes in the Angels.  
 The man takes in the Levite, woman  
 and ass.

## XXXIV.

## BRUSSELS PSALTER.

*The Supper at Emmaus.*

(Christ crosses His arms in distributing  
the bread.)

Jacob and the Angel.

Jacob blesses Ephraim and Manasseh  
(with crossed hands).

## XXXV.

## BRUSSELS PSALTER.

## GUNTON'S HISTORY.

*The Incredulity of Thomas.*

(North Side.)

Boaz and Ruth.

Boaz and Ruth.

Blood of grapes shown to Elephants.

## XXXVI.

Jacob's vision.

Habakkuk.

*The Ascension.*

Habakkuk secundum LXX. Eleuatus  
est sol.

Another Prophet. Oritur sol et occidit  
et ad locum suum reuertitur.

## XXXVII.

The fire descends on Elijah's sacrifice.

The fire descends on the sacrifice.

A Prophet. De excelso misit ignem.

David.

*The Descent of the Holy Ghost.*

David. Confirma hoc, Deus.

Zechariah. Effundam super domum

Dauid.

## (2) LEGENDS OF ST ANNE AND ST ANASTASIA.

In my recently published Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum I have devoted considerable space to the description of one volume (No. 20) which was purchased in 1889 at the sale of the Hamilton MSS. which had been sold to the German Government and were shortly afterwards resold in London. It is a remarkable and beautiful volume, of French workmanship, and is especially notable from the fact that it is dated by the colophon to the year 1323.

When I wrote the description of it, I was unable to discover whether the texts it contained were all known. I have since ascertained that the principal one has been published: and, more recently, I have been led by the kind help of one who has reviewed my book<sup>1</sup> to identify our MS. with one which was known to have existed in the last century but had since then disappeared. It will be sufficient to say at present that the volume belonged in the last century to Dom Carpentier, who has quoted largely from it in his supplement to Ducange's *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, which appeared in 1766<sup>2</sup>.

The first item which the volume contains is a Life of St Anne, of the Virgin and of our Lord, in French verse. It is probably a fusion of several poems. The author is so far unidentified: but he must have lived in the thirteenth century. The stories which he has to tell us of St Anne's ancestors and of herself are quite unique, and to some extent so extraordinary as to defy reproduction. The genealogy, shortly put, is this: Anne is the daughter of Phanuel who is the son of the daughter of Abraham, so that Anne is Abraham's great grand-daughter. We see at once that in making Anne the daughter of Phanuel the writer has been guilty of a not uncommon blunder. He has recollected the passage in St Luke (ii. 36) which tells of Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel of the tribe of Asher, and he has confused this Anna with the supposed mother of the Virgin.

But our author has stranger things to tell us than this. His story of the birth of king Phanuel, the father of Anne, is strange enough: and it will be found sufficiently described in my Catalogue. St Anne's origin is likewise extremely bizarre.

<sup>1</sup> My friend M. Samuel Berger, whose article will be found in the *Bulletin Critique*, 1895, p. 601.

<sup>2</sup> See the text of the poem, printed by Professor C. Chabaneau of Montpellier in the *Revue des Langues Romanes*, 1889, and separately, under the title *Le Romanz de Saint Faniel*, he adds a reprint of the passages quoted by Dom Carpentier from his MS. These quotations amply suffice to identify it with the Fitzwilliam MS. M. Paul Meyer has described several other MSS. of the same poem in *Romania*, xv. 469, xvi. 44, etc.

She sprang, like Dionysus in the Greek story, out of the thigh of Phanuel: and thereupon the king commanded a trusty knight to take the infant and kill it in the forest. The knight was accordingly about to cut the child's head off, when a white dove came and perched on his shoulder and told him that this must not be, for that of that child a maid would be born who should be the Mother of our Lord. Therefore the knight put the child in an oak tree, and returned to his master; to whom he reported that his mission was fulfilled.

The child grew up in the oak tree, and was suckled by a beautiful stag, which came and fed her every day until she was ten years old. And then it fell out that king Phanuel and his seneschal Joachim went out hunting, and chased this stag which was the foster-mother of St Anne, and it led them to the oak tree. Just as Joachim was about to pierce it, some one called out to him not to touch it. He looked up, and saw in the tree a fair maid who was braiding her hair with two gold cords (which Jesus Christ had sent her by an angel from Paradise). They inquired her name and race: and when it was clear who she was, they took her home, and Joachim married her.

Such is the outline of a part of this extraordinary dream-like story, which reads like a conglomeration of Greek and Teutonic myths: and which assuredly has no connexion with any Apocryphal Gospel or Church legend, still less with any canonical writing. What is its origin? I fancy that I can throw some light on one side of this at least.

During the month of September 1895 I visited Ratisbon. The Cathedral there is rather a favourable specimen of German Gothic: but alas! the architect Deñzinger was allowed to put two open-work spires on it some forty years ago. The West Front has an interesting portal of the fifteenth century, with a large number of statues in and about it. The arch of the door has three rows of canopied groups above it. The *second* scene of the series is that of the Rejection of Joachim's offering, and the story runs on regularly from that point to the representation of Christ among the Doctors. Those who are familiar with

these cycles will be aware that the Rejection of Joachim's offering is almost always the starting-point in them. There is, in fact, nothing which could precede it in the sources which artists ordinarily employed. Yet at Ratisbon it occupies only the second place. What precedes it?

It is a strange group, representing an old man lying on the ground. From out of his bosom springs a tree which he supports with his hand: and in this tree is a half-length figure of a young woman, unclad, and with long flowing hair, her hands joined before her.

Now it is quite clear that this represents St Anne, and Abraham, her first ancestor: and it is also clear enough that the Ratisbon artist had access to some form of the legend which I have told you. This in itself is interesting and important. But the sculpture has the additional interest of suggesting an explanation of the origin of the legend.

To put the matter in two words, the familiar Jesse-tree is at the bottom of the story. The reclining figure and the tree at Ratisbon inevitably recall at the first sight a Jesse-tree.

But it is clearly not the intention of the artist to give us this well-known subject. The figure in the tree is not one which suits with that in any way.

Take, however, an ordinary miniature of a Jesse-tree, such as we find prefixed in so many XIIIth century Vulgates to the Gospel of St Matthew. We see there an old man reclining, and above him a tree with two or three mysterious figures in it. One is almost always a king (David) and another the Virgin. It is my belief that the literal and at the same time fanciful mediaeval mind took hold of this picture, and asked itself whether there ever was such a tree as this, in which the ancestors of the Virgin seemed to have grown, and that the legend you have heard was in the nature of an affirmative answer to that question.

The episode of the hunting is also susceptible of explanation as a misunderstood picture. Nothing is commoner in MSS. of the thirteenth (and fourteenth) century than a hunting-scene drawn across the lower margin of a page—usually the opening

page of the book. And the concurrence of such a scene with a Jesse-tree—a concurrence which is especially likely to happen in a Psalter—would, I think, be enough to suggest to the author of our romance the practicability of weaving into his work a patch from popular mythology. For the discovery of a beautiful girl in a tree by a king out hunting is quite undoubtedly a very familiar feature in popular tales. Witness the story of the Eleven Wild Swans as told both by Grimm and Andersen.

But it will be asked, do we ever find pictures thus misunderstood and stories made to suit them? Yes: just as in the ancient Greek world the origin of religious rites was often forgotten, and what are called aetiological myths were invented to account for them, so was it in mediaeval times. One or two instances of the process which have come under my notice may be put on record here.

There is a story in the *Golden Legend* of St Nicholas raising to life three boys who had been cut up and pickled in a tub as salt pork by a wicked innkeeper. It has long been recognised that this incident is a misinterpretation of the common pictures of St Nicholas who was painted with three small figures standing in a tub beside him. These pictures really illustrated another legend which told how the Bishop rescued certain criminals from being executed, and baptized them: and the scene of their baptism was the one which later legend writers had misunderstood.

Again, there is a mysterious and fantastic female saint, whose very name appears in three or four different shapes. She is called St Wilgefortis, St Liberata, St Uncumber or St Ontkommer. Her effigy is that of a bearded lady crowned, holding, or else nailed to, a large cross. Her story is that she was the daughter of a king of Portugal, and that when her father was desirous of giving her in marriage to a neighbouring prince, while she on the other hand had devoted herself to a religious life, she prayed that she might be made so repulsive that no suitor would dream of coming forward for her hand. Accordingly in one night an enormous beard grew on her face; and her royal father was so annoyed at the whole affair that he

crucified her. All this, it has occurred to me, is an aetiological myth. In the Church of St Étienne at Beauvais you may see an image which is called that of St Wilgefortis. What should it be in reality but a crucifix of the twelfth century, representing our Lord as a king, crowned, and bearded, in a long garment, reaching to the feet? Just such another crucifix is that known as the crucifix of St Salvius at Amiens. These images were misunderstood in the fifteenth century: the long robe gave the notion that the figure was a woman; the crown that she was a princess: and thus the wonderful story I have told you took shape, and you will see the image of St Wilgefortis in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, and her picture on the screen at Worstead in Norfolk.

A third instance, that of the legend of the martyrdom of St Erasmus, is perhaps too full of gore to be pleasant, and may be reserved for print. The legend as we find it in the fifteenth century asserts that, after many torments, St Erasmus had his entrails wound out in a windlass. A similar fate is attributed to St Amphibalus, St Ernest, and St Thiemo, and there is no good reason to doubt that it was actually inflicted on the apostate Brodir after the battle of Clontarf. St Erasmus is represented holding a staff of wood or a windlass with his entrails wound round it: and I have thought it probable that as the story seems to appear put first in pictures and only later in writing, it may have started from a picture. In the window of the Brassie Chantry in King's College Chapel is a fifteenth century figure of a Bishop with a crosier: and round this crosier from top to bottom is wound a very long *mappa* or *uexillum*. Such a representation of a crosier and *mappa*, misunderstood, may have given rise to the story of the dreadful martyrdom, which forms no part of the older acts of St Erasmus.

An analogous proceeding is that which has made the name of a saint the starting-point of his legend. A leading example of this is seen in the well-known story of St Christopher carrying our Lord across the river. This romance, of which we find no trace whatever in the ancient Greek acts of the martyr, has no doubt arisen from the name *Χριστοφόρος*.



These examples will perhaps suffice to show the possibility of a picture being so misinterpreted as to give rise to a wholly new and original legend. A misconception of a rather different kind is connected with the name of St Anastasia, of whom I have now to speak.

There are several saints of the name. First in the year, on the 10th of March, is St Anastasia the Patrician, who in the time of Justinian fled from the jealousy of Theodora and took refuge, disguised as a monk, in Egypt, where until her death she passed for a man and was called Anastasius.

Then on the 29th of July we have a martyr Anastasia who suffered with Philip, Saturninus, Caelestius, Patricia and Pelagia. But date and place are unknown; and there are no Acts.

On the 28th of October, a virgin Anastasia suffered before Probus, the præfect in the days of Diocletian. After the usual tortures, she was beheaded: with her one Cyril suffered, for encouraging her to bear the torments.

On the 25th of December is commemorated St Anastasia the widow, who is the most famous of all who bear the name. Married to a heathen in early life, she was left a widow, and devoted her days to consoling Christian prisoners and caring for the martyred dead. Her spiritual father, St Chrysogonus, was arrested by Diocletian's orders and taken to Severianus at Aquileia to be tried and executed. Anastasia followed him thither; and being detected to be a Christian, was arrested herself, and after many vicissitudes was burnt alive on the "Insulae Palmariae."

It is this saint to whom the Basilica at Rome, the great Church at Verona, and the Cathedral at Zara, are dedicated. Yet I should say that regarding the Roman Basilica a doubt has been expressed as to whether it has not really, like some others at Rome, taken its name from a former possessor of the site, whose private house was converted into a church. In any case it must be kept in mind that Anastasia the widow, the pupil of Chrysogonus, is the great Saint Anastasia: and that since the fifth century the names of both Anastasia and

Chrysogonus have had a place in the Canon of the Roman Mass.

The French Romance on the Life of St Anne, of which I have been treating, is continued by a narrative of the Life of the Virgin and of our Lord: and into this St Anastasia is introduced in a very curious way. At the time of the Nativity, it is said, Joseph went out to look for some one to wait upon the Virgin: and he met a girl, fair of feature, who was carrying two buckets of water on a yoke. She had no hands. Joseph persuaded her to come with him to the stable, and she tried to do what she could to tend the new-born Child. The moment she touched Him, she received a pair of hands as beautiful as could be seen any day. When she returned to her father, who was a Jewish high-priest, and told how she had got her hands, he was extremely angry and would have liked to cut off the hands: but it would seem that he was struck blind, and so prevented from carrying out his design. The girl's name, which is mentioned several times, is Anastasia.

This is a very odd story. When we turn to the received apocryphal stories of the Nativity—if I may be allowed the expression—it becomes clear that the French tale is an exaggeration of a miracle wrought upon one Salome, who was brought in to see the Child and was incredulous. Her hand was accordingly withered, and was restored by touching the swaddling-clothes of the Child. Then it is said (Pseudo-Matt. xiii) that she went forth and proclaimed the wonderful things she had seen, and many believed because of her preaching. A full series of pictures of this occurrence, including the preaching of Salome, is to be seen in the Ambrosian MS, edited in facsimile by Ceriani for Mr Gibson-Craig<sup>1</sup>.

This preaching of Salome was the connecting link, I take it, with the story of St Anastasia. From the preaching of Christ to the idea of martyrdom is but a short step.

In another Fitzwilliam MS. we find the step actually taken. The Carew-Poyntz *Horae* (no. 48 in my Catalogue) is an

<sup>1</sup> *Canonical Histories and Apocryphal Legends*, 1873.

English MS. of about 1360, very full of pictures. In that part of the series which relates to the Nativity, we find on one page two pictures which help us. The first represents Salome with the withered hand. The second shows us an executioner about to behead a woman. Clearly this is the martyrdom of Salome, who had gone about proclaiming the wonderful birth of the Messiah.

I am also inclined to think that the subject is represented in the sculptures of the Lady Chapel at Ely. Certain it is that in the niche immediately below the sculpture of the Nativity there is a representation of a man who seems to be about to behead a woman<sup>1</sup>.

What is the *rationale* of all this? We have the following *data*:

(1) Salome, the attendant, at the Nativity, whose hand is withered and restored: she preaches and converts many.

(2) Anastasia, the maid without hands, who receives a pair of hands: she proclaims her cure and is persecuted by her father.

(3) The martyrdom of a female represented in immediate connexion with the healing of Salome.

The fact which brings these *data* together is this: that the feast of St Anastasia falls on the 25th of December or Christmas Day.

One of the three Christmas Masses—the second—was said at the *Basilica Anastasiae*—a fact which may or may not be the origin of the whole tissue of romance. But the growth of the legend, as I conceive it to have been, was this. The question was asked, why was St Anastasia the martyr commemorated on Christmas Day? Was there any woman who was likely to have suffered death in connexion with the Nativity? There was at any rate one woman whose hand was withered and cured, and who went forth and preached Christ to the Jews. But surely the Jews were likely to have resented such a pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Sculptures in the Lady Chapel at Ely*, by M. R. James, pl. xix.

ceeding. No doubt, then, they did kill her, and though her name is given in the books as Salome, it was really Anastasia. Thus the legend took shape, and though in our French romance the martyrdom of Anastasia is not introduced, persecution is indicated, and it must be regarded as certain that the writer thought of Anastasia as having been eventually a martyr.

But did anything like this supposed process ever take place in fact? Yes, it did.

There is an old Carol of St Stephen, which may be found e.g. in the collection of Joshua Sylvester. It begins

St Stephen was a clerk  
In King Herodes hall  
And served him of bread and cloth  
As ever king befalle.

Stephen sees the Star, and tells Herod

"There is a child in Bethlem born  
Is better than we all."

Herod says :

"That is all so sooth, Stephen,  
All so sooth, I wiss,  
As this capon crow shall  
That lyeth here in my dish."  
That word was not so soon said,  
That word in that hall :  
The capon crew *Christus natus est*  
Among the lordes all.

Herod *log.* :

"Riseth up my tormentors  
By two and all by one  
And leadeth Stephen out of town  
And stoneth him with stone."  
Token they Stephen  
And stoned him in the way  
And therefore is his even  
On Christes owen day.

Here is a mediaeval explanation of the date of St Stephen's festival: it is as good an illustration of what I suppose to have been the growth of the Anastasia story as could be produced..

The only other hint of a knowledge of the legend which I have come across is this: that on a relief of the year 1367 over the North door of the Church of Sta Maria Maggiore at Bergamo, certain female saints are shown, with their names attached, as assisting at the birth of the Virgin. They are St Elizabeth, St Susanna, St Lucy, St Simo (not otherwise known to me) and St Anastasia<sup>1</sup>.

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At a General Meeting, Wednesday, Jan. 29, 1896, at 4.30 p.m., W. M. FAWCETT, M.A., President, in the Chair:

The following members were announced as having been elected:

Mrs A. M. BABINGTON, 5, Brookside, and Mr A. W. BISHOP, Chaucer Road.

J. W. CLARK, M.A., exhibited a small object, perhaps part of a seal, found and forwarded by the Rev. G. F. Pigott.

The Rev. C. H. EVELYN WHITE made a Communication:

#### ON WILLIAM DOWSING'S ICONOCLASTIC VISITATION OF THE COUNTY OF CAMBRIDGE 1643—4.

The Journal of William Dowsing, parliamentary visitor appointed under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester for demolishing the superstitious pictures and ornaments of Churches, was printed by Dr Zachary Grey in a tract entitled "Schismatics delineated from authentic vouchers."

<sup>1</sup> X. Barbier de Montault on the Paliotto of Monza. *Bull. Monumental*, 1883, pp. 225 sqq.

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