

## THEOPHILUS, THE PENITENT, AS REPRESENTED IN ART

By ALFRED C. FRYER

Emile Mâle reminds us that the story of *Theophilus* was of Eastern origin and is like a rough draft of the legend of Faust. Theophilus,<sup>1</sup> a priest and Vidame<sup>2</sup> to the bishop of Adana, in Cilicia, was a man highly respected, liberal to the poor and beloved of all men. On the death of the bishop the people, with one voice, desired him for their chief pastor. His humility was, however, so great that he refused this high office and as his *nolo episcopari* was emphatic, a stranger was consecrated bishop of Adana.

Theophilus resumed his former duties well satisfied he had done rightly in refusing the mitre. Goodness in some men creates a spirit of detraction in others, and thus it came about that evil-minded folk circulated slanderous tales of this self-denying priest and a revolution in popular feeling was engendered. The new bishop heard of these rumours and without investigating them deprived Theophilus of his ecclesiastical offices. Although humility forced Theophilus to refuse the bishopric, yet these unjust and cruel calumnies were too severe a trial for him. Brooding over these untrue accusations he sought every means in his power to clear his character. This seemed impossible, for calumny is, indeed, a hydra, for when one head is struck off others spring up in its place. Despairing and baffled, with no friend to advise him, he sought the aid of Salatin, a Jew and a necromancer. This magician conjured up Satan, who longed to obtain the soul of this just man. The Prince of Darkness promised Theophilus all he desired—restoration to his

<sup>1</sup> *L'Art religieux du treizieme siecle.*

<sup>2</sup> Vidame (vice-dominus) was a petty noble, who, under the French feudal system, protected the episcopal temporalities, represented the bishop

at the count's court of justice, exercised the bishop's temporal jurisdiction in his name and led the episcopal levies in war. The title continued to the Revolution of 1780.

former position in the diocese, the favour of the bishop, love of the people and the joy and glory of the world, on the one condition that he sold his soul to him. The bond was written on parchment and Theophilus attached his seal, signed it in his blood, delivered it into the hand of the Evil One, swearing fealty to him.

All went well; the populace greeted him with their former affection, the bishop declared he had been misled by false tales and through the gifts showered on the beloved vidame he built a splendid church to the honour of the Blessed Virgin. In the midst of all this joy and gladness, pangs of bitter remorse suddenly seized Theophilus as he remembered his sin and the bond he had made with the Devil. There was now no peace of mind for him and he was plunged into the depths of despair. At length he resolved on a solemn fast,<sup>1</sup> and after kneeling in the church he prayed the Blessed Virgin to recover the bond for him. He fell asleep and in vision he beheld her clad in robes of dazzling light. She rebuked him for his sin and promised her help. When he awoke he found it was no dream for in his hand he held the bond. He confessed his sin to the bishop, received absolution, told his story to the assembled people and was reconciled to the Church. The bond was publicly burnt, he returned to his house smitten down by a terrible illness, dying in three days.

The story is of Eastern origin with a *locale* of Adana, in Cilicia, and the date 538 was assigned to the adventure of Theophilus. It is found at an early period in Europe, while in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was largely made use of as an example for sermons in honour of the Blessed Virgin. The influence of the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun was extensive, and in his work we see the spirit and method of the clergy of the Middle Ages, while his model sermon for the feast of the Assumption<sup>2</sup> was the story of Theophilus. It was in the eleventh century, however, that the story

<sup>1</sup> The length of the fast is variously given. Some writers say it was 'a solemn fast,' others a 'fast of three days and three nights,' while others

exaggerate the time as 'forty days and forty nights.'

<sup>2</sup> Patrol, clxxii, col. 993.

received a place in the Liturgy of the Church and in the office of the Virgin was sung :—

‘ Tu mater es misericordiae  
De lacu faecis et miseriae  
Theophilum reformans gratiae.’<sup>1</sup>

‘ We have here the true reasons,’ says Monsieur Emile Mâle in his *L’Art Religieux du treizième siècle*, ‘ for the presence of the miracle of Theophilus in so many churches, and it is vain to seek for others.’

The earliest representation of this dramatic story is found on a sculptured tympanum in the ancient, domed church of Souillac (Lot) on the Dordogne (Pls. i, ii). This famous legend occupies the place of honour in the series known as the *Miracles of the Virgin* and is here portrayed in three scenes, which at first sight seem like a nightmare full of the hopeless confusion of devils and angels, terrestrial and celestial figures, while a Romanesque church perched on a large circular column leans against a three-story belfry at an angle approaching ninety degrees. This sculpture originally adorned a porch at Souillac which for some reason was removed into the church. The tympanum now occupies a position above the west door, while the reliefs of Isaiah and St. Joseph and the richly sculptured trumeau have been placed against the west wall.

Beneath the three rounded arches of the tympanum clouds are portrayed which appear more like foliage, or a valence with many folds. The story of Theophilus fills the central panel between the two throned figures of St. Peter<sup>2</sup> and St. Stephen<sup>3</sup>—(App. II, nos. i–iv).

<sup>1</sup> Ulysse Chevalier, *Poésies liturgiques traditionnelles de l’Eglise Catholique en Occident*. Tournai, 1893, 12 vo., p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> St. Peter nimbed, seated on a throne, holds two keys in R. hand and a book (Gospels ?) in the L. Knees set wide apart, head covered with curly locks, a beard on chin and long, drooping moustaches. (Pl. i; Pl. ii, A, B.)

<sup>3</sup> St. Stephen, nimbed, vested in apparelled amice, alb, ends of fringed stole

seen under dalmatic apparelled on hem and on sleeves. Crook with knop in R. hand and book (Gospels ?) in L. Face clean shaven, forehead damaged. The two thrones have high backs, and grotesque beasts carved on footstools. Above each figure is an angel with outspread wings, the one over St. Stephen has a scroll, now plain; the other one above St. Peter has incised letters on it, ‘NON, A D,’ and an ‘E’ are still visible. (Pl. i; Pl. ii, A, B.)

The bibliography of the story of Theophilus is so vast that it can only be glanced at in a paper that is intended to study it from the Art point of view. The original account of this famous contract with the Devil is in the Greek of Eutychianus, a disciple of Theophilus, who says that he writes what he has beheld with his own eyes and heard from the lips of Theophilus himself. From the Greek of Eutychianus, two early Latin versions still exist, one by Paulus Diaconus, the other by Gentianus Hervetus. The Bollandists (ii. 253-256) in their great work make use of the former, where we find the date 538 assigned to the death of Theophilus. The manuscript of Gentianus Hervetus asserts to be a translation from Symeon Metaphrates, who lived in the tenth century and embodied the work of Eutychianus in his collection of the Lives of the Saints.<sup>1</sup> The Greek Church commemorated Theophilus on August the fourth.

The legend is told in three scenes (Pl. ii). The first gives the Evil One winged, holding the contract in both hands, while Theophilus, in a voluminous gown and mantle, signs it in his blood. In the second we find Theophilus taking the oath of fealty to Satan, swearing to be his liege-man. His two hands

<sup>1</sup> In the tenth century Hroswitha, the famous nun of Gandersheim, in the Harz Mountains, composed a Latin poem on the story of Theophilus in Leonine hexameters. There is a Latin poem of the eleventh century, *Theophilus* by Marbodius, bishop of Rennes in the eleventh century, and it is treated by Hildebert of Tours (d. 1133), and Rutebeuf a thirteenth-century trouvère wrote a clever dramatic monologue on the *Miracle de Theophile*. The legend is inserted by Jacobus de Voragine (1230-98) in the *Legenda Aurea*, and Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264) places it in his *speculum Historiale* of the same century; while St. Bonaventura (1221-1274) has added it to his *Speculum Beatae Mariae*. Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) included it in his *Biblia Beatae Mariae Virginis*, and M. Dasent has gathered together a number of pieces on *Theophilus* from early French, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-

Norman and Low German. There is also a version of the story in Icelandic of fifteenth-century date and an earlier one in Swedish of 1350 which is in the Royal Library at Stockholm. Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury (d. 1006) refers to *Theophilus* in his 'Homilies,' and St. Bernard in his *Deprecatio ad gloriosam Virginem Mariam*. The charming minnesinger of the early thirteenth century, Hartmann Von der Aue, and Konrad von Würzburg mentions him, while a version may be found in the Chronicle of Segebert of Gembloux, Patrol., clx, col. 102. A poem on Theophilus was composed by Gautier de Coincy in the early part of the thirteenth century and published by M. D. Maillet, Rennes, 1838. There are several old miracle plays on *Theophilus* extant, one in French, published by M. Francisque Michel, in *Le Theatre Français au Moyen Age*, Paris, p. 137. A Flemish *Theophilus*

placed palm to palm are enclosed by those of the Devil. These two scenes occupy the base of the tympanum, and in each, the two figures are standing and are represented in nearly the same position and attitude. Satan is so emaciated that his ribs are visible, and legs and arms are merely bones, covered over with skin. His body is nude except for a unique loin-cloth, which is vandyked and made of beads suspended from a narrow waist-band. To increase 'Frightfulness' the imager portrays Satan in no. ii scene with a claw-foot of a bird (eagle) and a cloven hoof<sup>1</sup> instead of human feet as in no. i, and on both figures the calves for the same reason have cock's spurs. The hideous head has a low forehead, large mouth open and showing teeth, protruding eyes and animal ears. In the first scene there appears only one large horn on the head, while in the second there are two.

The third scene shows Theophilus fallen asleep before the church he had built to the honour of the Virgin, after his long vigil and earnest prayers, imploring her to recover the bond from the Devil. The Holy Mother descends from the heavens and lays the bond on the penitent, while the attendant angel poises in the air, placing one hand on the shoulder of

was published by M. Philipp Blommaert from an old MS. of the fourteenth century, in 1836. See also E. F. Sommer, *De Theophili cum Diabole fœdere*, Halle, 1844; Beissel's *Geschichte der verehrung Marias im Mittelalter*; Holweck's *Dictionary of Saints* (1924), see 'Theophilus.' The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine (1230-98) gives Sicily as the locale of this story of 'Theophilus' and Adriana as the town instead of Adana in Cilicia. A slip easy to make. The error is perpetuated, however, in the notice of 'Theophilus' in Bell's *Saints in Christian Art* (1902), ii, 318-19. *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalter*, 111, A. Ebert; *Gesammitabendener*, F. H. Vonder Hagen. *The Revue des traditions populaires*, 1890, p. 1, seq., where many works of art illustrating *The legend of Theophilus* are enumerated. Much learning has been

expended on the subject, such as *Annals Archeol*, xv, 283; xxii, 276; xxiii, 81; *Gazette Archeol*, 1885. See *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, Baring-Gould (second series), 1865, 365-370; *Lives of the Saints*, Baring-Gould (1898), 88-91; *Histoire d'Art*, Andre Michel, i, 2; *L'Art religieux du XII Siecle*, 433-434, and in his *XIII Siecle tome par Emile Mâle*, figs. 134, 135, and also in his *La Fin du Moyen Age*, 209; Chamber's *Encyclopaedia* (1882), 166-167. The legend of Theophilus is the prototype, by a thousand years, of *Doctor Faustus*, 'the scholar-errant with the devil's ban,' and references to it are many in German literature. See *Die Theophilus legends in den Dichterungen des Mittelalters* (1926) Plenzat; *Iconographie de l'art Profane* (published at La Hage, 1932).

<sup>1</sup> 'The cloven-footed fiend is banished from us,' Dryden.

the Virgin and the other on Theophilus. The Virgin is dressed in kirtle, mantle and veil falling to her shoulders, and this twelfth-century imager portrays her much older than Art usually represents her.

There was a great outburst of church-building in the early years of the twelfth century and at that time a new porch was built at the Cluniac priory of Moissac on the Tarn. The trumeau possesses animals and birds athwart each other in an X pattern, which is again reproduced in a still more wonderful trumeau at Souillac (Pl. i). The somewhat cramped relief of Isaiah at Moissac is the first essay of the prophet found at Souillac, where his limbs are seen beneath his thin garments, his hair and beard are fashioned in snake-like coils and his crossed-legs appear to carry him forward in a dancing attitude. Both porches had a relief of St. Joseph and the one at Souillac shows an advance in art over the earlier work at Moissac. There seems no reason to doubt that the same skilled craftsman, or his clever pupil, who made the work at Moissac, also carved all the sculpture for the new porch at Souillac.<sup>1</sup> Beneath this relief of Isaiah and the *Theophilus* sculpture in the tympanum at Souillac the same key pattern is made as a ribbon, thus indicating that both the tympanum and the relief are the work of the same sculptor.

The question of the date of the *Theophilus* sculpture at Souillac is important, and Mr. Arthur Gardner in his splendid volume on *The Medieval Sculpture in France*<sup>1</sup> draws our attention to a fifteenth-century chronicle by Aymerici de Peryaco which attributes the new porch at Moissac as well as the cloister to Abbot

<sup>1</sup> See *Medieval Sculpture in France*, by Arthur Gardner, M.A., F.S.A., where illustrations are given of the *Trumeau* (Moissac), pl. iv. A, compare with (Souillac), fig. 50. Relief of Isaiah (Moissac), fig. 52, compare with (Souillac), fig. 43.

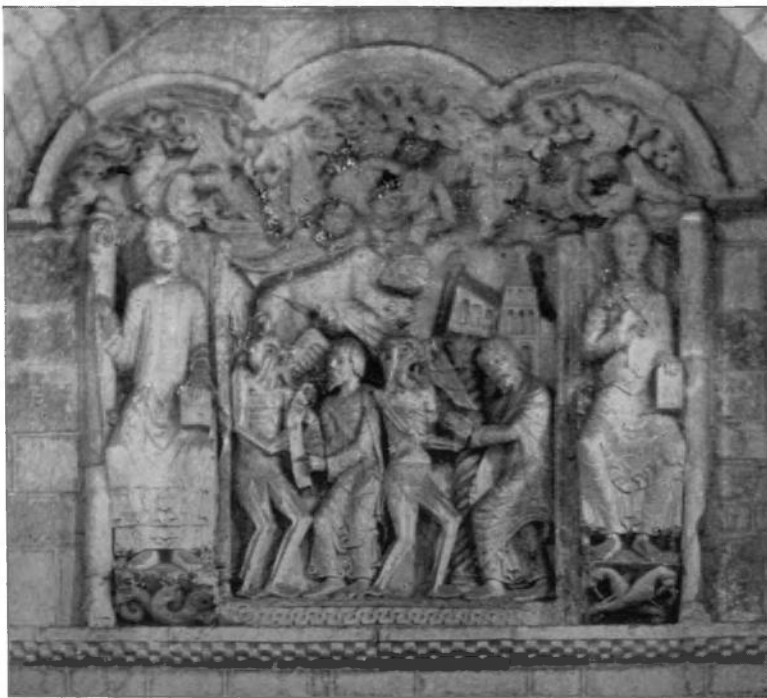
The Cluniac priory of Moissac is an interesting study of the Art of the mother church which spread as far as Santiago-de-Compostella in Spain and also into Italy. Here, too, is found interesting characteristics of the Mudejar art of these Moslem

craftsmen who worked for their Christian rulers. The new Cloister (c. 1115) contains fine Mudejar work on the capitals of foliage and patterns taken from woven fabrics, see figs. 19, 25. Toulouse is only 60 miles south of Moissac and their local school influenced the sculpture at Moissac in one or two directions such as the crossing of birds, beasts and legs of men and women in the X pattern as well as the dancing attitude assumed by some of the figures.



SOUILLAC (LOT) WEST END INTERIOR SHOWING THEOPHILUS TYMPANUM,  
FIGURES OF ISAIAH, S. JOSEPH AND THE FAMOUS TRUMEAU (1110-1120)

*Photo : G. C. Druce, F.S.A.*



A. SOUILLAC (LOT). THE THEOPHILUS STORY IN THREE SCENES

*Photo : G. C. Druce, F.S.A.*



B. SOUILLAC (LOT), 1110-1120. CENTRAL PANEL OF TYMPANUM, THE THEOPHILUS STORY BETWEEN SEATED FIGURES OF S. STEPHEN AND S. PETER. PLASTER CAST IN THE TROCADERO MUSEUM, PARIS

*Photo : Giraudon, Paris*

Ansquital, who died in 1115. Mr. Gardner is satisfied that this date is not an unlikely one and he, therefore, considers the Souillac sculpture could not be earlier than 1110 or later than 1120.

Some eighty or ninety years after the Souillac sculpture the earliest miniatures of the Theophilus legend are found in the magnificent Psalter (App. 20) made for Queen Ingeburge (Pls. vii, viii), daughter of the King of Denmark, and wife of Philippe Auguste, about the year 1200. It remained for long in the possession of the royal family of France, and appears to have been brought to England by King Philip II of Spain as a gift to Queen Mary. It was kept in the library of St. James's Palace until 1649, when the French Ambassador in London secured it and took it back to France. It is now a much treasured possession of the library at Chantilly.

The Souillac sculpture represents the Devil as an emaciated hideous monster (App. 11, no. i, Pls. i, ii), while in this Psalter (App. 20, no. i, Pls. vii, viii) we find him strong and powerfully built, with human feet and hands, high forehead, well-made nose and speaking eyes. The artist gave him a grey colour and depicted him as hairy, painting rows of small hairs in parallel lines all over his body, legs and arms, giving the appearance of a tight-fitting, striped garment. Small horns, large animal ears, a short tail, wide open mouth and thin beard are reminiscent of satyr ancestry. Queen Ingeburge's Psalter does not depict the signing of the bond as we see at Souillac, yet both sculptor and artist give the oath of allegiance and the artist shows the devil placing his left hand over the folded hands of Theophilus, while in his right is the parchment with the significant words '*Ego sum homo tu.*'

The Penitent in the Psalter kneels before a draped altar on which stands a chalice (Pl. vii, A). Before the altar is a lamp suspended by a cord and pulley, while behind, as in a vision, is the Virgin nimbed, a veil on her head, and her hand extended towards Theophilus. This artist portrays no actual contest between the Virgin and Satan when she recovers the bond; her strength lies in her holiness which overcomes the Evil

One, and he hands her the parchment as he flees from her presence (Pl. viii, A). The last scene in this exquisite miniature shows the Virgin placing the bond on the sleeping Theophilus (Pl. viii, B). There is now no chalice on the altar and over it hangs the pyx beneath a richly worked canopy and the sacrament-lamp still hangs before it.

Several English manuscripts in our public and private libraries still possess interesting miniatures of this strange religious romance and some of these are reproduced in this paper by the kind permission of their custodians. The iconoclasts have destroyed nearly all the sculpture and painted glass<sup>1</sup> that once told this story in our English churches. Mutilated fragments of sculpture, however, still may be seen on the fourteenth-century altar-screen in Beverley Minster (App. 2, nos. i-iii, Pl. v, A, B; Pl. vi), and in Alan de Walsingham's exquisite Lady Chapel (1321-1349) in Ely Cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

Our English painted glass has all perished except a few sections of thirteenth-century medallions which are still found in the east window of the north quire aisle of Lincoln Cathedral (App. 4, nos. i, ii). These represent Theophilus giving the bond to Satan; the Virgin's visit to Hell and receiving it from the Devil.

In the quire of Canterbury Cathedral there were twelve windows filled with painted glass (c. 1250). The tenth window contained the story of Theophilus<sup>2</sup> among other subjects, which, unfortunately, has been

<sup>1</sup> A great mutilation took place probably in 1644 by an ordinance of the 28th August, 1643, of Parliament, directing the general demolition of altars, the removal of candlesticks, and the defacement of pictures and images. The Lady Chapel at Ely Cathedral was dealt with at an earlier date by an injunction of Bishop Goodrich issued in 1541 for the Ely diocese, 'to see that all Images, Relicks, Table Monuments of miracles, shrines, etc., be totally demolished and obliterated.'

<sup>2</sup> Sin was the subject selected for this window and in the second row

of the nine medallions we have (a) Penitence of Solomon, (b) Widow of Nain, her son resurrected, (c) Penitence of Theophilus. See *Twelve windows in the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral*, by Dr. M. R. James, in *The Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo series*, no. xxxviii (1901), pp. 23, 24, 34, 41. It is conjectured that this window and the east window of the north quire aisle of Lincoln Cathedral were, probably, the work of the same artist as both were made about the middle of the thirteenth century and each contained the story of *Theophilus* and *The Jewish glass-maker of Bourges*.



A. CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS. CENTRE PANEL IS THE THEOPHILUS STORY IN FOUR SCENES. NORTH TRANSEPT TYMPANUM (1250-1260)

*Photo : Giraudon, Paris*



B. CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, LYONS. MEDALLION ON WEST FRONT, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

(Theophilus gives bond to Satan)



N.E. EXTERIOR APSIDAL CHAPEL, NOTRE DAME, PARIS.  
THEOPHILUS STORY—THREE SCENES, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

*Photo : Giraudon, Paris*

destroyed. The inscription round it read : ' *Penitencia Theophili* ' with the verse :

' *Dum lacrimando gemit  
Theophilus acta redemit.  
Invenies<sup>1</sup> veniam  
Dulcem rogando<sup>2</sup> Mariam.* ' <sup>3</sup>

Our only early medieval illustrations of the *Nolo episcopari* of Theophilus is found in the ' Horae of Sarum Use ' (c. 1240) belonging to Mr. Dyson Perrins, where Theophilus stands in an attitude of depreciation, while a priest points to the episcopal throne which he refused to occupy (App. 6, no. 1). His degradation from the priesthood and the office of Vidame with his reduction to an absolute state of poverty is seen in no. 2 of the same Horae, while in *The Wheel of Fortune*<sup>4</sup> in the Fitzwilliam Museum, of about the same date, he is depicted actually being pushed out by the man who holds the rejected bishopric and he sits naked except for his drawers, wringing his hands in an attitude of misery (App. 5, no. i).

The first meeting of Theophilus and Salatin (Pl. xiii A), the Jewish necromancer, is rarely portrayed and the fourteenth-century Carew-Ponytz *Horae* in the Fitzwilliam Museum is one of the first to depict this episode in English Art (App. 10, no. i). Here we find Theophilus in a red gown and ermine tippet conversing in a meadow with Salatin in a long gown with a hood partly drawn over his head. The result

<sup>1</sup> *Inveniens.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rogitando.*

<sup>3</sup> It was probably Richard Culmer, a fanatical divine who destroyed this window in 1644. Culmer was one of the ministers appointed by the Parliament in 1643 to 'detect and demolish' the superstitious inscriptions and idolatrous monuments in Canterbury Cathedral, and he distinguished himself by destroying much of the painted glass with his own hands, which so enraged the citizens that it was necessary to send a company of soldiers to escort him from the Cathedral to his lodgings. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xiii, p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> *The Wheel of Fortune*, by W. de Brailes, is the fourth of the six existing leaves of a most beautiful English Psalter. Dame Fortune is seated on a cushioned bench and turns the eight spokes of her golden wheel from left to right. Round the wheel are grouped two series of segmental medallions and the inner series forms the story of *Theophilus*; the outer circle contains subjects, illustrating the rise and fall of man from the cradle to the grave, as Dame Fortune turns her wheel. See Sir Sydney Cocherell's *Monograph, Roxburghs Club*, 1930, pp. 15-18.

of this meeting is shown in no. 2 miniature, where Theophilus is seated on a long wooden bench in an animated discussion with Satan, winged and horned, with two hideous devils behind him (Pl. xiii A). The question of Theophilus selling his soul to Satan came to a climax in scene no. iii when Theophilus, still seated on the bench, having crossed his left leg as a support for the bond, is signing it with a quill pen held in his right hand while the ink-horn is in his left (Pl. xiii C). Satan and his two minions show great satisfaction with the result of this interview.

It is interesting to compare this fourteenth-century *Horae* with thirteenth-century glass in the cathedral of Clermont Ferrand (App. 16, no. ii) which gives us a novel episode. Theophilus, in a green gown and red mantle, is seated, while a devil whose body is red, arms thin and enormous hands, stands, clad only in green drawers. Theophilus, possessing no money, is advised by this devil to visit Salatin, the Jewish necromancer, who would supply him with all he wanted. Thus it came about that he sought the Jew (no. iii), who is portrayed as bare-headed, with long curls and pointed beard. During this interview Theophilus appears anxious and leaning his head on his left hand he bargains with Salatin, and having agreed at last to given amounts, Salatin hands Theophilus (no. iv) a bag-shaped purse full of coins. Theophilus raises his hand in an attitude of gratitude, and then it was that Satan kept his promise and caused the Jew to give Theophilus a fortune.

The same devil who suggested a fortune for Theophilus also arranged for the signing of the bond (no. v). This painted glass shows Theophilus, and this devil, disguised as an agreeable friend, has written out the bond. The hesitation of Theophilus to sign the document is overcome by the insinuating, wily friend, and Theophilus signs the parchment and affixes his seal, thereby denying Christ and selling his soul to the Prince of Darkness.

In scene vi we see this devil, proud of the work he has done for his master, descends into Hell, where Satan in the midst of his court is seated on a throne



A. THEOPHILUS GIVING THE BOND TO SATAN

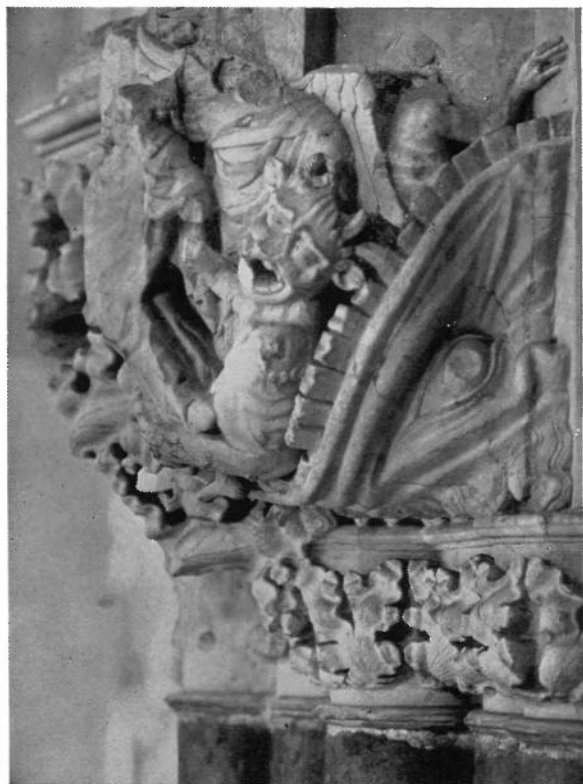
*Photo : F. H. Crossley, F.S.A.*



B. THEOPHILUS REPENTANT

*Photo : F. H. Crossley, F.S.A.*

ALTAR-SCREEN, BEVERLEY MINSTER. C. 1334



ALTAR-SCREEN, BEVERLEY : RECOVERY OF THE  
BOND

*Photo : F. H. Crossley, F.S.A.*

made of two reprobates, a man and a woman, on all fours, one looking to the right and the other to the left. Satan, tall and strong, a yellow hairy breast, head bare with sharp horns and a pointed beard, has his feet and hands bound with a great cord (Rev. xx. 1, 2, 3).<sup>1</sup> On the one side of the throne is the devil who beguiled Theophilus with the bond in his hand, signed and sealed, while on the other side is a brown devil dancing for joy.

Inserted in the Carew, Poyntz *Horae* we find another story of how the Devil endowed Theophilus with wealth at the expense of someone else. Here we see a miniature (App. 10, no. iv) of the new Bishop of Adana asleep on a wooden bed with his mitred head resting on a large pillow. Satan stands, having drawn aside the bed-curtains, and the cunning face of the Evil One indicates that he has instructed the bishop how to treat Theophilus when he calls on him (Pl. xiv A). In the next miniature (no. v) we see the interview between the ex-Vidame and the Bishop (Pl. xiv B). The Bishop has opened a large coffer full of coins and he offers them to the astonished Theophilus. Three men-servants pack the money into three sacks under the supervision of Theophilus (no. vi). Two of the men are carrying the sacks, bending under the weight, while the third is on the point of lifting his sack from the ground. A fine circular gold cup with a cover remains unpacked (Pl. xiv c). The next miniature (no. vii) shows Theophilus and a friend seated on a stone bench, and a man-servant kneeling on one knee is handing the gold cup with a cover to Theophilus (Pl. xv A).

One of our beautiful English manuscripts is the Lambell, no. 209, *Apocalypse*, in the Lambeth Palace Library, and here we find a striking miniature showing Salatin introducing Theophilus to Satan (App. 7, no. i). The Jew and his two comrades in gowns and

<sup>1</sup> 'I saw an angel coming down out of heaven having the key of the abyss, with a great chain in his hand, and he had hold of the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand

years and cast him into the abyss, and shut it and sealed it over him, until the thousand years should be finished; after this he must be loosed for a little time.' *New Version*, 1885.

conical hats, with expressive faces and exaggerated Hebrew noses, stand on either side of Satan and Theophilus. Satan, nude except for a deep loin-cloth tied in front, a red face with a turned-down nose, spiral horns and many eyes in his body, stands between two of the Jews. Theophilus in short mantle fastened on his left shoulder, holds a tall walking-staff in his left hand, while he rests his cheek on his right hand in a meditative attitude. He listens attentively to Salatin's discourse, who holds a money-bag in his left hand and has raised his right, so that the two first fingers punctuate his special pleading for Satan, who is able and willing to help Theophilus to regain his former state on the one condition that he sells his soul to him (Pl. x A).

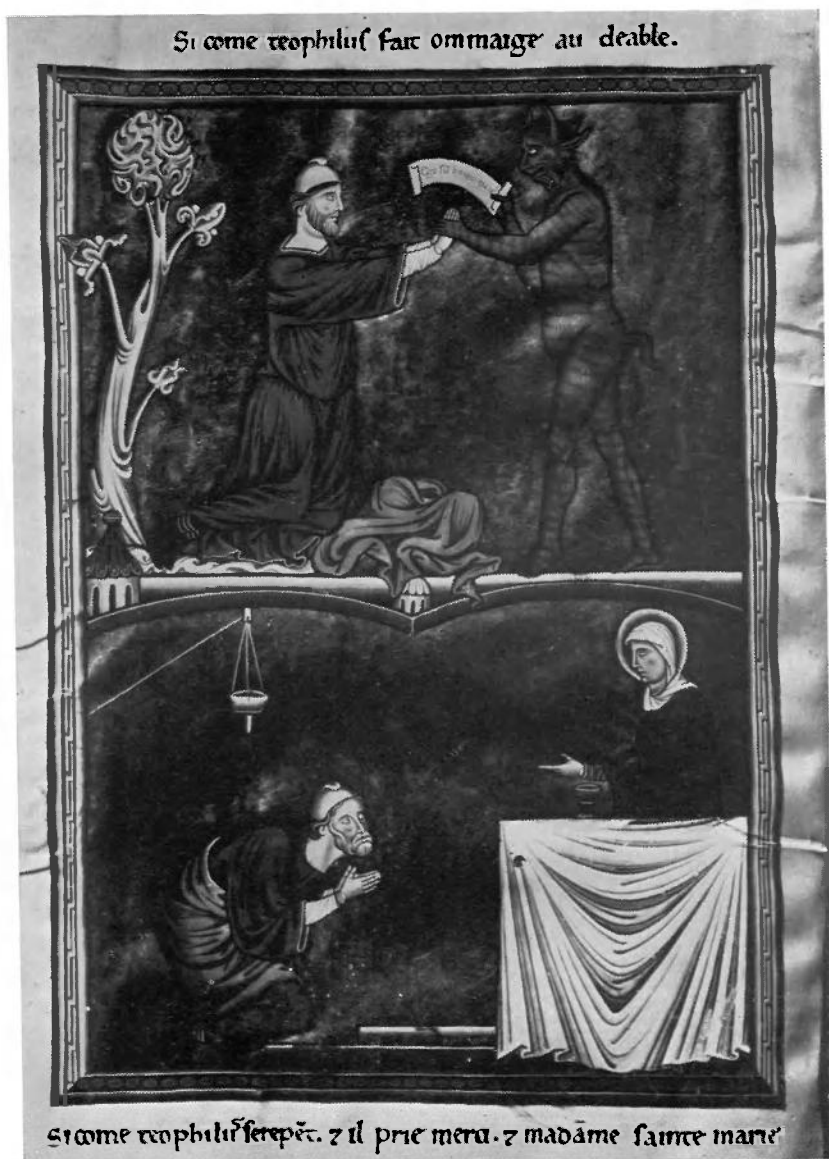
In the earliest sculpture at Souillac (App. 11, no. ii, Pls. i, ii), and in the first miniature in Queen Ingeburge's Psalter (App. 20, no. i), we find Theophilus taking the oath of allegiance to Satan (Pl. vii A). Our third example is found in the thirteenth-century tympanum of the north transept portal of Notre Dame, Paris (App. 12, no. i). Here the devil, a strong nude figure, with claw-feet and spiral horns, stands with his hands enfolding those of the kneeling Theophilus, who is represented tonsured and possessing a beautiful chiselled face. Salatin with long hair, beard and round cap, places one hand on the shoulder of Theophilus, while the other clasps the bond on his breast (Pl. iii A).

Theophilus giving the bond to Satan is frequently portrayed, although the oath of allegiance is so rarely met with.<sup>1</sup> The following examples are from fourteenth-century sculpture. At Beverley Minster (App. 2, no. i) the devil, naked with bat-like wings, is seated cross-legged on a tree-trunk and the bond is held in the hand

<sup>1</sup> *ENGLISH Sculpture*: Beverley Minster, App. 2, no. i; Ely Cathedral, App. 3, no. i; *Painted glass*, Lincoln Cathedral, App. 4, no. i. *Miniature 'Wheel of Fortune'* (W. de Brailes), Fitzwilliam Museum, App. 5, no. iii; Horae (Mr. Dyson Perrin's MS.), App. 6, no. iii; Lambell *Apocalypse* App. 7, no. ii;

Carew - Poyntz Horae, App. 10, no. iii.

*FRENCH Sculpture*: Souillac, App. 11, no. i; Paris (Notre Dame), App. 13, no. i; Lyons (Cathedral), App. 14. *Painted Glass*: Clermont Ferrand Cathedral, App. 16, nos. v, vi. *French Miniature*: Queen Ingeburge's Psalter, App. 20, no. i.

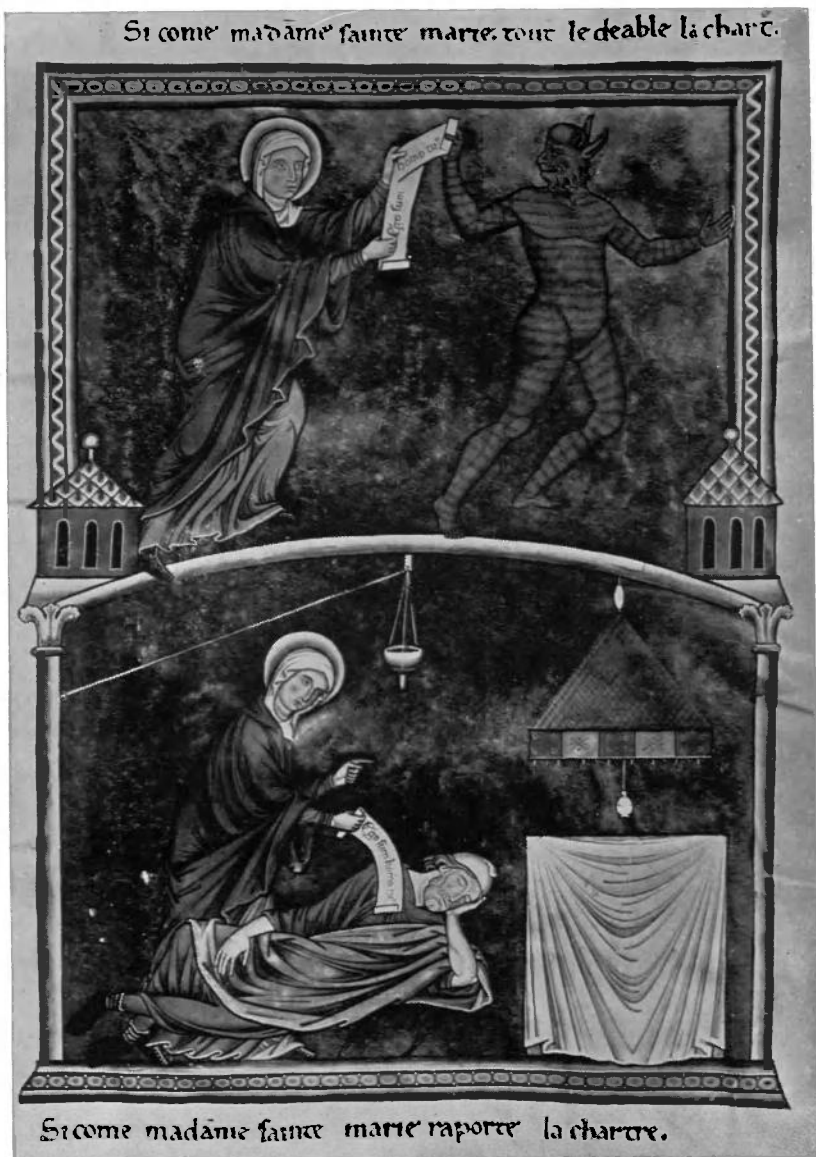


PSALTER OF QUEEN INGEBURGE OF DENMARK, CHANTILLY, C. 1200.

(A) THEOPHILUS TAKING THE OATH OF FEALTY TO SATAN

(B) THEOPHILUS REPENTANT

Photo : Giraudon, Paris



PSALTER OF QUEEN INGEBURGE OF DENMARK, CHANTILLY. c. 1200.

(A) THE RECOVERY OF THE BOND.

(B) THE VIRGIN LAYS IT ON THE SLEEPING THEOPHILUS

of Theophilus (Pl. v A); while at Ely Cathedral Theophilus stands in a long blue gown with the parchment in his hand and the devil apparently rests his left hand on the head of his convert (App. 3, no. i). On the exterior wall of an apsidal chapel at Notre Dame, Paris, is a large relief sculptured by Jean de Chelles<sup>1</sup> (App. 13, no. i, Pl. iv). Satan, very hairy, with gaping mouth and deep-set eyes, is seated, holding the bond in one hand and the other placed affectionately on the shoulder of his convert. The right hand of Theophilus can be seen on the shoulder of his master in the same friendly attitude. On a medallion on the west front of the Cathedral at Lyons (Pl. iii B) the Devil is seated cross-legged on a low wooden stool with a peaked cap on his head, and Theophilus, kneeling, gives him the bond (App. 14). In these examples the Jew stands behind and is sculptured with long hair, beard and conical cap, except at Ely Cathedral, where he is seated and has a cowl-like head-dress, and in the medallion at Lyons where Salatin has a pointed beard and a turban, and is facing a most terrifying, hideous demon.

The Lambell *Apocalypse* depicts the scene graphically. Satan throned on the roof of his hexagonal castle with a circular crown or hat on his head and a sceptre in his hand, welcomes Theophilus with a friendly hand-grip. Theophilus holds the bond in his left hand and Salatin stands behind him with an extended hand to prevent his retreat. For the same reason a tall hairy devil holds a two-prong fork at the back of Theophilus so that one prong grips him on each side. Behind Satan, a wicked old devil with curled horns and a strange conical hat, keeps watch and ward over the castle; while seated on the ground at the foot of the castle-wall is a small tonsured demon who records the event on a parchment-roll (App. 7, no. ii (Pl. x B)).

*The Wheel of Fortune* depicts a very different scene.

<sup>1</sup> Pierre de Chelles was responsible for the building of the chapels of the Chevet of Notre Dame, and he was, probably, the son of Jean de Chelles, who executed the work on the front of the north transept. Pierre was not

only an architect, but also a sculptor, as we know he designed the tomb for Philippe III, in St. Denis. See *Medieval Sculpture in France*, by Arthur Gardner, F.S.A., p. 364.

Theophilus quite naked sells his soul to Satan, gives him the bond and is reinstated to his former honour and wealth (App. 5, no. iii, Pl. ix c).

It is interesting to note how the imagers and artists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represented Theophilus after Satan had restored him to opulence and power.<sup>1</sup> In *the Wheel of Fortune* (c. 1240), by W. de Brailes, he is depicted in splendid apparel seated on a bench with arms akimbo, and a devil, with wings, horns and bushy tail, is dancing for joy on either side of him (App. 5, no. iv, Pl. ix d). The Horae of Sarum use (1250-1260), belonging to Mr. Dyson Perrins, of about the same date, represents Theophilus as richly clad in tunic and mantle. This miniature, however, introduces no worshipping devils into this scene (App. 6, no. iv).

The thirteenth-century imager who carved the relief in the tympanum over the north transept door of Notre Dame, Paris, gives us a beautiful group. Theophilus seated with a friend on a stone bench receives from a small horned devil on his right, hands full of coins which he bestows as gifts on his friend (App. 12, no. ii, Pl. iii A).

All goes well with Theophilus in the period he is restored to power, wealth, and dignity, and the Clermont Ferrand thirteenth-century glass gives us some interesting details of the building of the church which Theophilus erected to the honour of the Blessed Virgin (App. 16, no. vii-ix).

In scene vii Theophilus, who has discarded his old faded mantle for one made of rich yellow silk, lined with fur, is consulting his master-mason who explains to his client the plan which is probably the roll of parchment he holds in his hand. In front of him is a mason in a green smock, which he has raised in order more easily to use his plumb-line and thereby exposes his white hose. At his feet is a column already com-

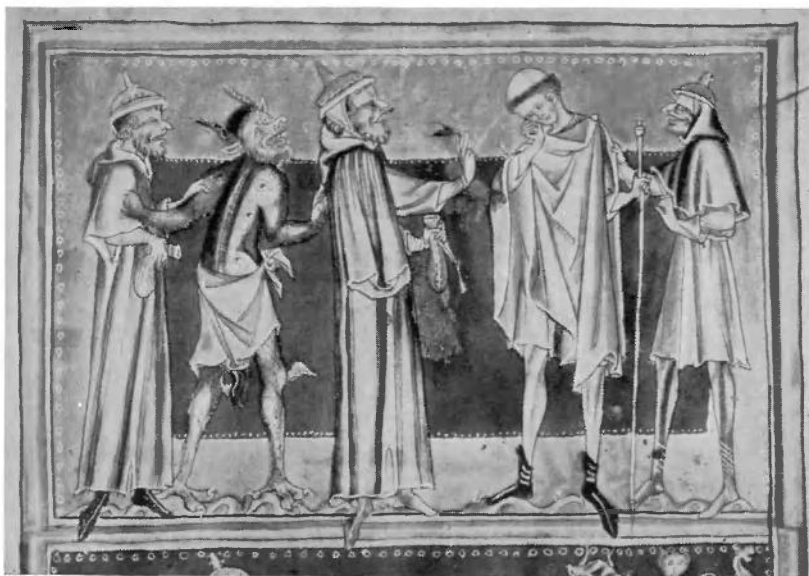
<sup>1</sup> *Theophilus restored to power and Wealth. Miniatures* (English), *Wheel of Fortune* (Fitzwilliam Museum), App. 5, no. iv; *Horae of Sarum use*, Mr. Perrin's MS., App. 6, nos. iv-v; *Carew-Poyntz Hoare*, App. 10, no.

iv-vii. *Sculpture* (French), Paris, Notre Dame, tympanum, App. 12, no. ii. *Painted Glass* (French), Clermont Ferrand (Cathedral), App. 16, no. vii-ix.



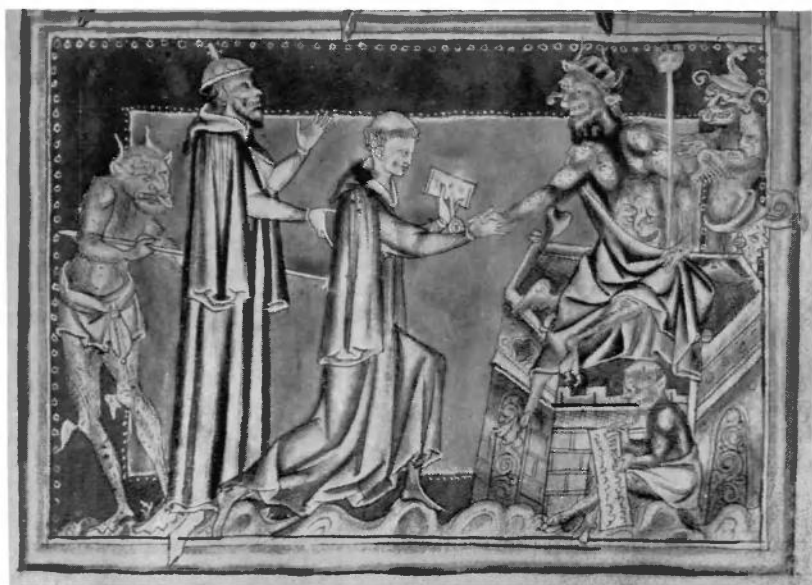
THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE (c. 1240). PSALTER BY W. DE BRAILES,  
FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

(Inner series of miniatures is the Theophilus story)



A. SALATIN AND THREE JEWS INTRODUCE THEOPHILUS TO SATAN

*Photo : R. B. Fleming & Co.*



B. THEOPHILUS GIVES THE BOND TO SATAN

*Photo : R. B. Fleming & Co.*

LAMBETH MS. NO. 209. APOCALYPSE, 1240. LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY

pleted. Number viii shows us the church in a further stage towards completion. One mason is busy at work on the unfinished tower, using his plumb-line, while his assistant stands on a ladder with a hod<sup>1</sup> of mortar on his back. In number ix we see Theophilus, in gorgeous apparel, visiting the completed church and forgetful of his vow to Satan, he makes the sign of the cross on entering the building. The church shows a nave with two tiers of windows, a porch and a tower.

We have seen the penitence of Theophilus expressed in sculpture at Souillac (App. 11, no. iii), where his contrition is so great that he prostrates himself outside the church he had built to the honour of the Virgin (Pl. ii); we have mentioned the early miniature in Queen Ingeburge's Psalter (App. 20, no. ii) where Theophilus kneels in penitence before an altar upon which is placed a chalice as if it were indeed, the Holy Grail (Pl. vii B).

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries we find a regular type adopted for this subject of a kneeling Theophilus before an altar, with a statue of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Child<sup>2</sup> (Pl. iii c). For such an example (1250-1260) we have an exquisite relief on a tympanum in the cathedral church of Notre Dame, Paris (App. 12, no. iii), made at the time when sculpture in France had attained its highest point of excellence. Another beautiful example may be seen in *Queen Mary's Psalter*<sup>3</sup> (App. 8, no. i), a most

<sup>1</sup> The same form of 'hod' is still in use and may also be seen in Trajan's column in Rome, A.D. 97-117. The building of the Church is found in the Theophilus glass in Laon Cathedral as well as in other painted glass in France.

<sup>2</sup> *Theophilus repentant. Sculpture* (English), Beverley Minster, App. 2, no. ii; Ely Cathedral, App. 3, no. iii. (French), Souillac, App. 2, no. iii; Notre Dame, Paris, (a) North transept tympanum, App. 12, no. iii; (b) Exterior relief, App. 13, no. ii. *Miniatures* (English), Wheel of Fortune (Fitzwilliam Museum), App. 5, no. v. Horae of Sarum use, Mr. Dyson Perrins' MS., App. 6, no. v. Lambell (*Apocalypse*), no.

209, App. 7, no. iii; Queen Mary's Psalter, B.M., App. 8, no. i. Carew-Poyntz Horae, App. 10, no. viii. (French) Queen Ingeburg's Psalter (Chantilly), App. 20, no. (a); *Painted Glass* (French), Cathedral of Le Mans, App. 15 (a), Clermont Ferrand Cathedral, App. 16, no. x.

<sup>3</sup> This superb and profusely decorated English MS. of early fourteenth-century date was on the point of being shipped abroad in 1553 when a custom's officer, named Baldwin Smith, stopped it and presented it to Queen Mary Tudor. The name of the original owner is not known, and it is now called 'Queen Mary's Psalter.' See App. 8 and notes.

profusely illustrated Manuscript of the early years of the fourteenth century and one of the most valued treasures of the British Museum. There is such a thirteenth-century medallion in a window in Clermont Ferrand Cathedral and the Blessed Virgin holds the Holy Child on her right arm and an apple in her left hand, the emblem of her sin and the Fall of Man.<sup>1</sup>

In the Lambell *Apocalypse* (c.1260) Theophilus is prostrated before an altar covered with a cloth powdered with fleur-de-lis and other devices on which is a statue of the Blessed Virgin seated and holding the Holy Child. On one side is a crucifix; above a hanging lamp. In the background is the church Theophilus had built and at the half-open west door stands a draped saint with a nimbus. Satan with bat-like wings was on the point of clutching Theophilus had not the saint caught hold of a two-prong fork and thrust it against the left leg of the Evil One, preventing his further progress (App. 7, no. iii, Pl. xi A).

After the restoration of Theophilus to power and wealth we find in a sculptured relief in the Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral two horsemen (App. 3, no. ii). The nearer one is in a long gown and holds a riding switch, and the other the reins. It is surmised that they represent Theophilus and Salatin on their way to Adana. Then follows the repentance of Theophilus (no. iii), while in number iv a second pair of horsemen appear and drawing near to Satan, seated under a tree, one raises his hand in surprise. This is intended, probably, for Theophilus, and the episode is anterior to his prayer being answered by the Virgin.

In the Carew-Poyntz Horae (1350-1360) between the above two scenes there is a charming miniature of the interior of a church (Pl. xv c). A chalice stands on the altar covered with the corporal, and a priest, vested in amice, alb and chasuble saying Mass, has partly turned from the altar in the attitude of blessing with his right hand and the left holding the Host. In

<sup>1</sup> In classical art it is the emblem of victory. In the Lambell Manuscript, Lambeth Palace Library, the statue of the Virgin holds a uterus in

her right hand (App. 7, no. iii), and a similar emblem of the Incarnation is displayed in App. 7, no. iv.



A. THEOPHILUS REPENTANT

Photo : R. B. Fleming & Co.



B. THE VIRGIN INTERCEDES FOR THEOPHILUS

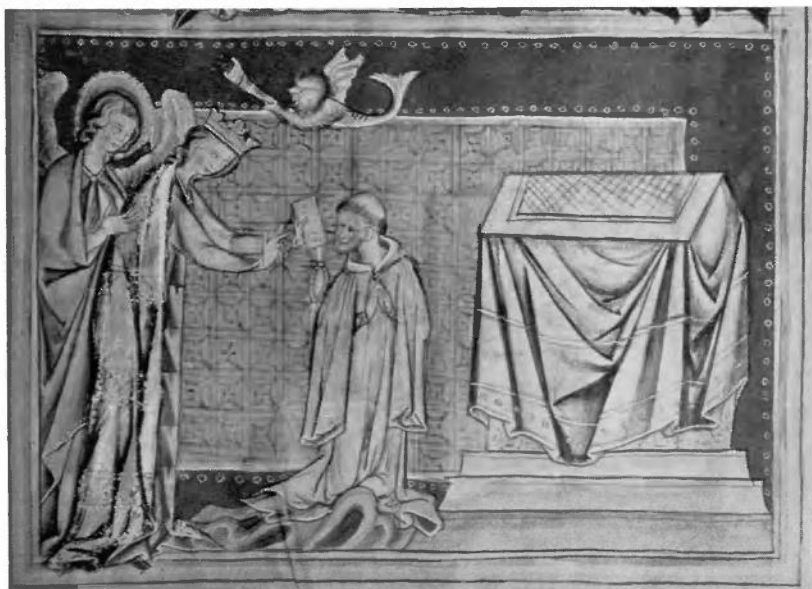
Photo : R. B. Fleming & Co.

LAMBETH MS. NO. 209



A. THE VIRGIN RECOVERS THE BOND

*Photo : R. B. Fleming & Co.*



B. THE VIRGIN RETURNS THE BOND TO THEOPHILUS

*Photo : R. B. Fleming & Co.*

LAMBETH MS. NO. 209

front of the altar are five choristers in surplices grouped round a lectern, and one points to the words they are singing from the open book. The insertion of this miniature seems no part of the story of Theophilus. However, Sir Sydney Cockerell has pointed out that, occasionally medieval artists decorated their volumes with some pleasing miniature, either to make them more attractive to their clients or to gratify their purchasers. This beautiful miniature is most likely inserted for one of these reasons (App. 10, no. ix, Pl. xv c).

In a medallion of thirteenth-century glass in Lincoln Cathedral the Virgin in a yellow robe receives the bond from the Devil, a greenish-yellow hairy figure, with a red-streaked face, beaked and horned head, human hands and claw-feet with green winglets on his ankles (App. 4, no. ii).

The earliest sculpture at Souillac (1110-1120) does not portray the Virgin's visit to Satan, as it only gives her triumphant return with the bond. We have already referred to the earliest miniatures at Chantilly (c. 1200), where the holiness of the Blessed Virgin forces Satan to surrender the bond (App. 21, no. iii, Pl. viii A).

The sculpture in the Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral shows Theophilus kneeling on a stone step before the Virgin, while the Devil has sprung on his back in a last desperate attempt to prevent him receiving the bond (App. 3, no. vi).

On the thirteenth-century sculptured tympanum at Notre Dame, Paris, Theophilus kneels before the statue of the Virgin, in kirtle, mantle, veil and crown (Pl. iii A). She threatens Satan with the cross-staff held in her hand and crouching down before her he gives up the parchment (App. 12, no. iv). In a *Horae* owned by Mr. Dyson Perrins (App. 6, no. vii) she strikes the Evil One on his forehead and recovers the bond.

In Queen Mary's Psalter the Virgin, a stately, graceful figure with right hand extended, demands the return of the bond, while the nude Devil with claw-feet, horns and tail presses forward and gives it to her with out-stretched hand (App. 8, no. ii).

An initial in the early thirteenth-century Egerton Manuscript 2871, in the British Museum, is a little

coarse and the colour scheme is not altogether satisfactory, yet this artist is no slavish copyist and some of his work is interesting. In this scene the Virgin, in a red kirtle, blue mantle and gold crown, holds a scourge in her right hand in a threatening attitude, while the Devil cringes before her, like an animal on all fours with bushy tail erect, holding the bond between his teeth (App. 9, no. i).

In the Carew-Poyntz Horae (App. 10, no. xi, Pl. xvi B), the Virgin holds Satan's head downwards with her left hand and threatens him with a scourge held in her right. She is attended by a nimbed angel with beautiful long wings vested in an alb. Behind Satan stands one of his devils, erect, with arms raised, looking at the heavenly intruders in furious anger.

In the thirteenth-century glass at Clermont Ferrand are two scenes (App. 16, nos. xi, xii). The first shows Theophilus praying before an altar and falling asleep he hears a voice say in his dream '*qui est tu, va, qui vas par ici,*' and lo! the Virgin in a splendid green kirtle, a rich red mantle lined with cloth of gold, a white veil and gold crown, stands before him. He clasps his hand in prayer and implores her help. She points to the door, but Theophilus prays fervently to her and at last she promises to recover the bond from Satan. In the second scene we see the Virgin dressed simply in a brown kirtle with a girdle, a green mantle fastened with cords, descends into Satan's kingdom, advancing without fear or dread she is met by an enormous yellow monster, with red arms, green head, red hosen and a great mouth out of which issues tongues of fire. Her only weapon is a slender staff with a small cross at the end. With this she strikes Satan, who falls backward, vanquished and defeated.

One of the most dramatic miniatures is in the Lambell *Apocalypse* (App. 7, no. v). Hell is represented as the mouth of Leviathan<sup>1</sup> (Isa. xxi. 1) breath-

<sup>1</sup> Another representation of Hell-mouth is found in the mutilated sculpture of the Theophilus story on the medieval altar-screen in Beverley

Minster, where Satan lies in Hell-mouth and the Virgin is snatching the bond from his right hand (App. 2, no. iii).



A. THEOPHILUS CONVERSING WITH SALATIN



B. THEOPHILUS MEETING SATAN AND HIS DEVILS



C. THEOPHILUS SIGNING THE BOND

CAREW-POINTZ HORAE (1350-1360). FITZ-WILLIAM MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE



A. SATAN AND THE SLEEPING BISHOP OF ADANA



B. THE BISHOP OF ADANA ENDOWING THEOPHILUS WITH WEALTH



C. THEOPHILUS HAVING HIS WEALTH PACKED IN SACKS

CAREW-POINTZ HORAE

ing out smoke and flames wherein are seen the lost in agony of body and terror of soul (Pl. xii A). Satan, seated at the lower end of Hell-mouth has a woolly demon behind him, with face distorted with anger and right hand extended in fury at the sight of Satan, his master, giving the bond to the Blessed Virgin, who threatens him with a scourge. The position at that moment of the Prince of Darkness is far from a happy one. The Virgin is accompanied to the Nether World by two beautiful angels, and the nearer one has thrust his spear through the mouth of Satan and the head of it protrudes from the back of his neck. On the apex of Hell-mouth sits a little green woolly demon blowing a horn, out of which fire and smoke issue. In the foreground is a monster holding a serpent in his mouth, while a dragon-like reptile with a wolf's head and a snake-like body is ready for the attack. Above Hellmouth hover several moths and one has settled on the head of Leviathan between the two pairs of eyes.

The return of the bond to Theophilus<sup>1</sup> by the Virgin (App. 11, no. iii, Pl. ii A), as represented in the early sculpture at Souillac (1110-1120)<sup>2</sup> and in Queen Ingeburge's Psalter (Pl. viii B), at Chantilly (c. 1200),<sup>3</sup> is the usual type found in miniatures and initials for many years. The artist in an initial in the Liege Psalter<sup>4</sup> permits his imagination some play, and he depicts Satan crouching in the background, dejected and clasping his hands in rage and vexation, while one of his devils, with long set face and pointed horns, protrudes his head from a curtain above the altar.

<sup>1</sup> *Recovery of the Bond. Sculpture* (English), Beverley Minster, App. 2, no. iii; Ely Cathedral (Lady Chapel), App. 3, no. vi. (French) Souillac, App. 2, no. iii; Paris Notre Dame, (a) tympanum, N. transept porch, App. 12, no. iv, (b) Relief in exterior wall, App. 13, no. iii. *Painted Glass* (English), Lincoln Cathedral, App. 4, no. ii (French). Clermont Ferrand Cathedral, App. 16, no. xii; Laon Cathedral, App. 17, no. xiii. *Miniatures* (English), Wheel of Fortune, Fitzwilliam Museum, App. 5, no. vii. Horae of Sarum use (Mr. Dyson

Perrin's MS.), App. 6, no. viii. Lambell, *Apocalypse*, 209 MS., Lambeth Palace Library, App. 7, no. v. Queen Mary's Psalter, B.M., App. 8, no. ii. Carew-Poyntz Horae, App. 10, no. xii. Egerton, 2781, B.M., Horae. Initial, App. 9, no. ii. (French) Psalter of Queen Ingeburg of Denmark (Chantilly), App. 20, no. iv.

<sup>2</sup> App. 11, no. iii.

<sup>3</sup> App. 20, no. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, c. 1280, App. 21 (Initial).

The Virgin lays the bond on the back of the sleeping Theophilus (App. 21, no. v). Towards the middle of the fourteenth century we find the Virgin is giving the bond to a kneeling Theophilus (App. 10, no. xii, Pl. xvi c), and in *The Wheel of Fortune*<sup>1</sup> he is clad only in shirt and drawers. In the Carew-Poyntz Horae<sup>2</sup> he has fallen asleep on a meadow with his left hand under his cheek (App. 10, no. xi). The Virgin in a white kirtle, blue mantle, veil and gold crown, appears to him in a vision. He rests on a grassy bank, a dove is perched on each of the two trees and a hare looks out of his hole (Pl. xvi A). In scene xii (Pl. xvi c), Theophilus after discarding his travelling dress of hose, jerkins with leather belt and tippet, is again vested in his ecclesiastical habit. He kneels in adoration and the Holy Mother gives him back the bond. In the Lambell *Apocalypse*<sup>3</sup> Theophilus kneels near a draped altar placed on two steps. The Blessed Virgin is accompanied by a beautiful attendant angel, while Theophilus is a kneeling, sad, pathetic figure, with a face wan and pale, unkempt, and hair on face and chin unshaven (Pl. xii B). The little imp we saw seated on Hell-mouth (App. 7, no. v) blowing a horn, emitting flame and sparks, is seen flying above, still endeavouring to blow his horn now choked with black cinders.

One of the most beautiful miniatures in the Lambell *Apocalypse*<sup>4</sup> is the one where Christ is depicted as throned on a rainbow (Rev. iv. 2, 3) in a *vesica piscis*, his right hand extended in blessing and his left holding the sealed Book of Life, and the cruciferous nimbus encircles his solemn face (Pl. xi B). This splendid mandorla is supported at the corners with the emblems of the four Evangelists and is represented as floating in the heavens. Beneath kneels the Holy Mother in a grey kirtle, a blue mantle lined with cloth of gold, powdered with the letter V and fastened with a circular gold brooch. On her head is a gold crown. She clasps in her hands a uterus, emblem of the Incarnation.

<sup>1</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, c. 1240, App. 5, no. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, 1350-1360, App. 10, no. x and xii.

<sup>3</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, *Apocalypse* no. 209, App. 7, no. vi.

<sup>4</sup> In Lambeth Palace Library. See App. 7, no. iv.



A. THEOPHILUS RECEIVING THE GOLD CUP



B. THEOPHILUS REPENTANT



C. A PICTURE INSERTED TO PLEASE THE OWNER OF THE  
MANUSCRIPT

CAREW-POINTZ HORAE



A. THE VIRGIN APPEARING TO THEOPHILUS IN A DREAM



B. THE VIRGIN FORCING SATAN TO GIVE HER THE BOND



C. THE RETURN OF THE BOND

CAREW-POINTZ HORAE

Behind her is a nimbed supplicating angel with glorious upraised wings. On the far side of the Virgin kneels a bearded man, with folded hands and conical cap. He is probably intended for St. Peter, who, like Theophilus had denied his Lord. Behind these three, kneels Theophilus with face upraised and eyes fixed on Christ.

Art has not frequently portrayed the Death of Theophilus. In *The Wheel of Fortune* (c. 1240) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, it is the final miniature of this story and his body is shrouded for burial (Pl. ix H), while his soul is carried to heaven in a napkin by two angels (App. 5, no. viii). In the beautiful *Horae of Sarum use* (c. 1240) belonging to Mr. Dyson Perrins, his body lies in a tomb; but it is the Virgin who lifts his soul to heaven, whence a Hand<sup>1</sup> stretches down to receive it (App. 6, no. x). It is also found in the 'Theophilus' window of thirteenth-century date in the Cathedral of Laon (App. 17, no. xviii).

We have traced the Legend of Theophilus from the tympanum in the ancient church of Souillac (1110-1120, App. no. 11, Pl. i, ii) to the sculptured story found in the Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral (1321-1349, App. no. 3), on the altar-screen of Beverley Minister (c. 1334, App. no. 2, Pls. v, vi), and in the miniatures found in the Carew-Poyntz *Horae* (1350-1360, App. no. 10, Pls. xiii-xvi), and now we come to a gap of a hundred years or more before we again meet with it.

The terrible plague, called the Black Death, spread over Europe more than once during the years between 1347 and 1369. It has been estimated that at least a quarter of the population of the mainland of Europe died, while in England it was much higher, amounting to a third, or even a half of the people.<sup>2</sup> Some towns

<sup>1</sup> For many years the hand, arm and eye of God emerging from clouds that veiled the brightness of His Divine Majesty were the symbols of the Almighty. These symbols are frequently used in the Old Testament. At a later date, the head, the half figure or even the whole person are shown and the impressive effect of

the early symbolic treatment is lost, for God is not only omnipotent, but omniscient.

<sup>2</sup> In London it is thought the deaths amounted to 100,000, in Norwich to 60,000, while in Oxford it is said that two-thirds of those connected with the educational institutions perished.

lost nearly all their inhabitants and the death-rate of the clergy and the inmates of the religious houses was still higher on account of their pious efforts on behalf of their poorer and suffering brethren. This fearful, devastating epidemic paralysed the arts and the crafts, and it was long before they recovered, as three more serious inroads of pestilence took place in England during the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Such Art as may have depicted the story of Theophilus in English churches during the sixteenth century no longer exists, as iconoclasts, acting under a decree of the Long Parliament, destroyed it and many other works of Art. We are, therefore, forced to seek for examples how this story was treated in French churches during the Renaissance.

A good example exists in a church at Montangon (App. 18, nos. i-ix), in the department of Aube, where there is an interesting window of nine scenes made between 1530 and 1540. No examples, as far as we know, are found in early Art of the first five scenes, and in the last four the only two frequently met with in the earlier ages are no. vi, *The Penitence of Theophilus*, and no. vii, *The Recovery of the Bond*, while no. viii, *The burning of the Bond*, is very rarely depicted.<sup>2</sup>

We will take these first five scenes in order. Number i gives us the induction of Theophilus to the important office of Vidame. The old bishop of Adana, vested in rochet, cope and mitre, and holding his pastoral staff in his left hand stands before Theophilus in cassock, surplice and maniple on his left arm. The candidate kneels and holds a book (Gospels?) on both hands, on which is laid the deed the bishop is sealing with his episcopal seal. After the death of the bishop we find in the second scene the archbishop of this province in Cilicia has placed his primatial cross against his right shoulder and vested in full pontificals stands, holding a mitre in his left hand and a pastoral staff in his right, which

<sup>1</sup> England again suffered severely from plague early in the fifteenth century, again in 1428 and a serious return is recorded in 1472.

<sup>2</sup> In Mr. Dyson Perrin's *Horæ of Sarum use* (c. 1240) an example is found where Theophilus burns the bond in a large fire (App. 6, no. ix).

he offers to Theophilus, who, vested as in no. i, has raised both hands and refuses the vacant see of Adana with the words '*Nolo episcopari.*'

The third scene is a graphic picture of the excommunication of Theophilus. The bishop in pontificals holds what is, probably, intended for a circular bell in his right hand and the ritual in his left ! His face is stern and sad as he pronounces the anathema on Theophilus who, terrified and affrighted, leaves the church.

Number iv shows Theophilus who, in a fit of despair, has thrown himself on the ground outside the church door. Satan and the Jew, disguised in fine garments, stand above him. The former in a long gown, ermine tippet and velvet cap through which his horns protrude ; while Salatin, the Jew, in riding costume, feet armed with long spurs and a fine turban on his head, points to the bond held by the Devil in his right hand. The Jew, being a great sorcerer, has, through a spell, persuaded the new bishop of Adana to re-induct Theophilus into the office of Vidame. This is seen in no. v, which is nearly a replica of the ceremony in no. i, only in this case Satan and the Jew are the only witnesses to the restoration of Theophilus to power and wealth. This is indeed a crafty device of the Evil One. Number vi is the Penitence of Theophilus, who, bound to Satan by a rope, kneels before an altar on which is a statue of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Child. The answer to the prayer of the penitent is the beautiful vision seen beyond the altar of the Holy Mother holding the bond in her hand. The recovery of the bond is in no. vii, where Theophilus, still held by the Devil with the rope, kneels and receives the bond from the hand of the Virgin.

Theophilus, having confessed his sin is once again reconciled to the Church, gives the bond to the bishop, who in no. viii burns it on the pavement of the church. The final scene depicts Theophilus kneeling and the bishop is communicating him with the Blessed Sacrament.

There are several painted windows in France of

this period of the reign of Francis the first, in which we find the legend of Theophilus.<sup>1</sup>

We have considered the one at Montangon and now we will briefly examine the very beautiful one dedicated to the Blessed Virgin in the church at Le Grand Andelys (App. 20), on the banks of the Seine. The Recovery of the Bond is here depicted most realistically in a window with the date '1540' painted on the glass. The Virgin stands, a stately figure in a blue mantle with no nimbus round her head, for in this sixteenth-century Art it has disappeared, neither is she represented with a jewelled crown for her golden hair is her only glory. She holds the Holy Child on her left arm, while her right hand is extended to receive the bond from the Devil. Theophilus kneels before her on one knee, naked except for a voluminous loin-cloth, unkempt hair, red beard and pleading eyes upraised to the Virgin. Behind him is the tawny form of the hideous Devil with a snout-like nose, horns like those of a bull, blazing eyes and in his right hand he holds the bond.

Both in this window and in the one at Montangon the Evil One holds Theophilus bound by a rope to his person. Here, at Le Grand Andelys, the cords are passed twice round the wrists of the kneeling Penitent and twice round the bulky form of Satan, who holds the two ends firmly grasped in his left hand.

This window gives us a realistic picture of Theophilus as the prey of Hell. Emile Male reminds us, however, that this Faust-like legend was acted by itinerant players and Satan would, probably, be represented as holding Theophilus by a leash. This drama acted in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was revived in the sixteenth. One such play was acted at Limoges in 1533, another six years later at Le Mans, and these travelling companies would, doubtless, carry it all over France. The two windows at Montangon and Le Grand Andelys are quite different in style, and they were each made in an independent

<sup>1</sup> As well as those at Montangon and Le Grand Andelys there is one in the church of St. Nizier at Troyes

and another at Beaumont-le-Roger (Eure). See *La Fin du Moyen âge* par Emile Mâle, p. 209.

atelier and by a different artist. In fact they are no stock pattern of some School of Art, but were inspired by the acted drama of 'Theophilus' by artists who had themselves seen the play.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest source of such a story as Theophilus is very remote and it may be sought in those struggles between Christianity and magic which are described in the *Acts of the Apostles*. The idea that a man could sell his soul to Satan during his lifetime can be traced as far back as the sixth century to this story of Theophilus. In dramatic literature it is first found in *Le Miracle de Théophile*, by Rutebeuf, a French trouvère of the thirteenth century, and a Low-German dramatic version appeared in the fourteenth.<sup>2</sup> No wonder that this drama, played on the border-land of two worlds, appealed strongly to the men and women of the Middle Ages, and no wonder that the Church selected this out of many legends as a witness to the power and compassion of 'The Virgin of Virgins.'<sup>3</sup>

This story of Theophilus inspired the imagination and popular devotion of the people of the twelfth century and continued to do so to a still greater extent in the thirteenth, so that it occupied a large place in the work of the imager, the miniaturist and the painter on glass. This ancient legend represented the struggle of good and evil, symbolised by the Blessed Virgin and by Satan; a subject intimately connected with the genius of the Middle Ages.

Our warm thanks are given to the following friends for their own photographs—assisting in illustrating

<sup>1</sup> There are several 'Theophilus' windows not mentioned in the Text or Appendix still existing in France. For example, one at St. Julien du Sault (Yonne) of thirty medallions, Satan embracing Theophilus on arrival, Satan giving him a money-bag. Theophilus repentant; Recovery of the bond, etc., while the Virgin and the Holy Child are enthroned in the apex. A mutilated window with scenes from Theophilus is on the south side of Chartres Cathedral, and there is a window at St. Jean de luz (Basses Pyrenees).

<sup>2</sup> Sir Adolphus W. Ward in his

*English Dramatic Literature* (1.180) says: 'Even earlier in origin than the story of Theophilus is, so far as we know, that of Cyprian of Antioch, which afterwards furnished materials for Calderon's *Magico Prodigioso*; and the influence of the Virgin is likewise introduced in an Italian *Miracolo di Nostra Donna*, belonging to the close of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.'

<sup>3</sup> An expression used by Henry of Huntingdon (1155) in reference to the dedication of the first cathedral of Lincoln.

this paper, viz. : Mr. George C. Druce, F.S.A., for his photographs of the Souillac sculpture (Pls. i, ii A). Mr. F. H. Crossley, F.S.A., for his photographs of sculpture in Beverley Minster (Pls. v, vi). To the Rev. Canon C. S. Smith, M.A., for his help in interpreting the sculpture in the Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral.

Our thanks are also due to the Keeper of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Sir Sydney Cockerell, for kind help and advice while undertaking this study, and for Pl. ix, xiii-xvi; and to the Rev. Canon Claude Jenkins, D.D., F.S.A., Librarian, the Lambeth Palace Library, for (Pls. x-xii), and to Miss Irene Churchill (Assistant Librarian) for several helpful suggestions.

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#### APPENDIX No. 1

##### LIST OF MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM CONTAINING THE STORY OF THEOPHILUS, THE PENITENT <sup>1</sup>

###### HARLEY

2277

Large octavo, vellum, initials red and blue. Close of thirteenth century. Collection of Lives of the Saints. *Theophilus* in 198 lines of English verse. See *Early English Text Society*, 1887, p. 288. *Begins* : 'Seint Teofie was a gret man and gret clerk also.'

2316

Duo-decimo, vellum, 2 initials and headings in red. Fourteenth century, *Theophilus* is 5th story out of 14 in Latin. (Compare with Harley 3020.)

<sup>1</sup> See Ward's Catalogue of Romances, ii, 595-600, British Museum.

2385

A fifteenth-century manuscript with 120 tales, of which that of *Theophilus* is no. 45.

3020

Large octavo, vellum, initial Anglo-Saxon design coloured red, blue and green, contains *Theophilus* in Latin, c. 1000. Name of Willyam Fox is inserted as owner in sixteenth century.

4196

Folio, vellum, headings in red, initials gold, red and blue, early fifteenth century, in octosyllabic English verse, no. 1, *Theophilus* in 798 lines following a homily for the 13th Sunday after Trinity.

4401

Folio, vellum, initials red and blue, c. 1250, 53 stories in French, octosyllabic verse, no. 1 is *Theophilus* by Gautier de Coincy (Quensi), in 2081 lines. (Compare with Harley 3020.) Written before 1246, as Gautier died in that year.

4719

Folio, vellum, heading red, and large initial in red, blue and green, *Theophilus* in 50 lines, early twelfth century, Latin. Bought by Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, June 1726, from John Gibson, being MSS. received from Italy.

## COTTON

(CLEOPATRA, C. X)

Small quarto, vellum, initials in red and green, late twelfth century, Latin. This volume contains various collections. *Theophilus* 2 Book, 1 Miracles, f. 104. At Toulouse there exists a more complete copy and very similar copies are found at Oxford and Cambridge. The compiler describes himself as having stayed at Amfreville-sur-Iton in Normandy, and one of the tales was told him by Ædric, Prior of Chertsey.

(CLEOPATRA, D. IX)

Folio, vellum, space left for initials never filled in. English, fourteenth century. Contains six tales of 14 syllabic lines of English verse. No. 1 is *Theophilus* in 191 lines. This composition is 7 lines shorter and has many verbal variations than found in Harley 2277.

*Begins* :—‘(S) eint Theophile was a gret man and a gret clerk also.’ An inscription in a sixteenth-century hand states that the volume belonged to Sir John Price of Brecknockshire, who died in 1573. He wrote *Historia Britannicae Defensio* in 1553, published in 1573 by his son.

(JULIUS D. IX)

Small quarto, vellum, initials in red, fifteenth century. At end of collection of Lives of Saints are 5 tales in English verse. The last is *Theophilus* in 200 lines. Compare with Cotton (Cleopatra D. IX) and Harley 2277.

## (NERO, E. I, PART I)

Large folio, vellum. Latin, eleventh century. *Theophilus* in collection of Lives of Saints, 43 lines, ff. 157-160. Illustrated. Initial red.

## (TIBERIUS, E. VII)

Large folio, vellum, c. 1400. Headings red and initials in red and blue, c. 1400. *Theophilus* in collection of Lives of Saints. English verse in octosyllabic lines. *Theophilus* is last of 21 tales. Volume sadly damaged by fire. Compare with Harley 4196.

The tale is headed 'DE TYOPHILO CLERICO NARRACIO' and begins:

'And no man may right penance do  
Bot if god gif grace ðarto  
And ðai two makes saul full hale,  
Als men may here now bi ðis tale.'

Compare with Additional 38,010.

## (VESPASIAN, D. XIX)

Octavo, vellum, headings and initials in red and in red and blue. Latin, thirteenth century. *Theophilus* is no. 1 out of 17 Tales, 304 lines. Inscribed in thirteenth-century hand: HIC LIBER EST ECCLESIE CHRISTI CANTUARIENSIS and below in large writing the Author signs NIGELLUS DE LONGO CAMPO. Nigel was a monk of Canterbury during the reigns of Henry II and Richard I. (See Cotton, Cleopatra, c. x.)

## EGERTON 612

Small quarto, vellum, a few headings in red and initials in blue and red. French, early thirteenth century, 41 tales in octosyllabic verse and the 17th is *Theophilus*. At foot of page 22 a fifteenth-century hand has written: 'Thys meracylle schalle be radd to collacion at ðe nativite of your lady.'

## EGERTON, 2781

Small quarto vellum. Book of Hours. Early fourteenth century, rough miniatures introducing subjects from the Apocryphal Gospels. In letter O the Virgin forces the Devil to give her the bond and he appears on all fours holding the parchment in his teeth, while in letter P Theophilus prays to the Virgin before her statue holding the Holy Child placed on an altar. Reproduced in Warner's Reproduction (B.M.).

## ROYAL 2 B. VII

Queen Mary's Psalter, the most profusely illustrated English MS. of early fourteenth century now existing. Among the 464 tinted drawings in the lower margin are 39 representing the '*Miracles of the Virgin*' and two of these are from the story *Theophilus* (a) f. 204. Theophilus kneels before an altar on which is placed a statue of the Virgin and Holy Child imploring her to recover the bond. (b) f. 205. The Virgin crowned, a stately figure stands before the Devil, who is nude, head with sharp pointed horns, tufted tail, bird's claws for feet, right hand holding the bond and the left upraised. These splendid drawings are the work of a master hand. App. 8.

## ROYAL 20. B.

Folio, vellum, initials in blue and red, French, early fourteenth century. *Theophilus*, Book 1, Min. 2. An inscription on fly leaf at beginning of the volume states that the book in the fifteenth century belonged to Walter, first Baron Hungerford, who died 1449.

## ADDITIONAL

10,050

Quarto, vellum, large initial in red, late twelfth century, Latin. *Theophilus*, ff. 84-90.

10,301

Large octavo, vellum, initials in blue flourished with red, 'Lives of Saints.' English verse of 6 tales of 14 syllable lines, of which *Theophilus* is no. 1, 200 lines, c. 1400. (See Harley 2277.)

18,365

Small quarto, vellum, initials in blue flourished with red. Tale of *Theophilus*, Latin, thirteenth-fourteenth century, ff. 73-81. Heading *De Theophyle*.

19,909

Quarto, paper, initials in red, Latin. 93 tales of which *Theophilus* is no. 42. Compiled by Dominican Joannes Herolt, A.D. 1473. Heading 'Promptuarium de Miraculis B.V.M.' The collection of tales is an appendix to the 'Promptuarium Exemplorum.'

33,956

Large quarto, initials in red. Latin, early fourteenth century, 68 tales of which *Theophilus* is no. 33. This story is repeated, abridged, in no. 44.

38,010

Octavo, paper, c. 1450. Homilies of Gospel lessons in octosyllabic English verse, and the Homily for the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity is *Theophilus*.

*Begins* : 'A bisshope wouned bezonde ðe see.'

Compare with Harley 4196 and Cotton (Tiberius E. vii).

## APPENDIX No. 2

ALTAR SCREEN, BEVERLEY MINSTER, YORKSHIRE, c. 1334<sup>1</sup>

1. *Theophilus gives the bond to Satan*. *Theophilus* kneels in academical gown with arm-slits, tippet and hood (head lost), L. hand laid on stem of a tree-trunk on which Satan is seated, cross-legged. R. hand and part of forearm broken away. However, something above is possibly a part of the bond. Satan (head lost) naked, spotted with tufts of hair, bat-like wings on shoulders (part of L. leg broken away), foot remains.

<sup>1</sup> See 'Beverley Minster—some F.S.A., *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxiv (1927), 225-235.

A small devil (?) stands between Theophilus and Satan and his foot is still visible above the foot of his Master. His upraised arm is broken off.

- II. *Theophilus repentant.* Before a draped altar with the statue of the Virgin and Holy Child (heads of both figures broken), Theophilus (as in no. 1) kneels beseeching her to recover the bond.
- III. *Recovery of the Bond.* The Virgin (much mutilated) has one foot on Satan, who lies at hell-mouth, and her L. arm (damaged) shows that she is snatching the bond from his R. hand. He is represented as in nos. i, ii, the head with hideous face, short horns and large ears remains, but L. arm and hand are broken off. Theophilus (as in nos. i, ii) stands on L., head remains but face is damaged. Between him and the Virgin is the head, arm and hand of a terrified devil with hair standing on end. An angel (head lost) accompanies the Virgin, the R. wing extends horizontally, towards the head of Theophilus, the L. wing downwards. Behind this wing is a small devil (head broken) with hands pressed against the moulding, as if trying to escape from hell-mouth.

The hands of the iconoclast has seriously mutilated this interesting sculpture arranged in three groups about 6½ inches high.

#### APPENDIX No. 3

ELY CATHEDRAL, LADY CHAPEL (1321-1349), SCULPTURE OF THEOPHILUS, THE PENITENT, SADLY MUTILATED 1541<sup>1</sup>

- I. The Devil and Theophilus are standing, the Jew is seated, has a cowl-like head-dress. Theophilus in long blue gown, right hand grasps an object which may be a money bag, the left holds what may be the parchment. The clawed feet of Devil visible and left hand rests apparently on head of Theophilus—one brown curl remains.
- II. Two horsemen. The near one in long gown holds a riding switch, the other holds the reins.
- III. Theophilus kneels before an altar on which is a statue of the Virgin and Holy Child. He entreats her to recover the bond from the Devil.
- IV. A second pair of horsemen and one raises his left hand in surprise. Beneath a tree in front of the horsemen is the Devil. The figure is mutilated, the clawed feet remain and tufts of hair cover the middle of the body.

<sup>1</sup> In 1893 Dr. M. R. James, F.S.A., published his splendid work on *The Sculpture in the Lady Chapel of Ely Cathedral*. See notes on 'Theophilus, the Penitent,' pp. 17-19, with Pl. xviii, A, B, Pl. xix, A, B. In 1907 Sir William Hope added a series of notes on this same sculpture to a

paper Dr. John Bilson, F.S.A., contributed to *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxiv, on 'Beverley Minster—some stray notes,' pp. 225-235. The Rev. Canon C. J. Smith, M.A., The College, Ely, has aided us in the study of this sadly mutilated sculpture.

- v. The Devil sits cross-legged on a stone pedestal. His clawed feet remain and tufts of hair are on his thigh. Theophilus kneels in front of him and behind a tall figure stands which is much damaged. This was evidently the Virgin, and her right hand rests on the shoulder of Theophilus.
- vi. The zeal of the iconoclast has been so drastic that it is difficult to make out this scene. It represents, evidently, the return of the bond to Theophilus which the Virgin has forced the Devil to surrender. She is accompanied by an angel with outspread wings. Theophilus kneels before the Virgin on a stone step and the Devil has sprung on his back in the last attempt to prevent him receiving the bond. Nothing but the outline of the Devil remains and all we can see of Theophilus is the lower portion of his gown from the waist downwards, while only the lower part of the Virgin's kirtle and mantle are visible. The angel is nearly perfect, however, except for a portion of the head and the hands. He is vested in alb and girdle and his beautiful fourteenth-century wings still remain undamaged.

## APPENDIX No. 4

## ENGLISH PAINTED GLASS

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL—EAST WINDOW, NORTH QUIRE AISLE,  
THIRTEENTH CENTURY

- I. Two semicircular panels. (a) The Devil, a greenish-yellow, hairy figure with red-streaked face, beaked and horned head, human hands, claw-feet with white winglets on ankle, holds the bond (parchment roll). Theophilus kneels before him and the Jew, in green and yellow garments and pink conical hat, stands. Beneath *Teofil* %v% s%. (b) Theophilus in pink and white garments is with the Jew. Beneath *Teofilus*%.
- II. Two semi-circular medallions. (a) On the L. The Virgin in a yellow robe receiving the bond from the Devil (in this case the winglets on the ankles are green). (b) Theophilus, in yellow and red robes gives the bond to the bishop, who wears a mitre and holds a red pastoral staff. Near this medallion are the words *S. Maria*<sup>1</sup>.

As well as these two medallions there is an incomplete one which is also about the same style and date, yet in its present condition it does not fit into the *Theophilus* story. The Blessed Virgin stands with a man in the centre, and on her left a man holds a book while on her right a bishop stands who also holds a book. He is vested in a yellow amice, a pink cope and a white mitre.

<sup>1</sup> These medallions are not now in their order in this window and we give them in their correct sequence. See *Ancient Painted Glass in England*,

by Dr. Philip Nelson, 141-142; *Glass in Lincoln Cathedral*, by Christopher Woodforde, B.A. 38-40.

## Appendix No. 4A

## THE ABBEY CHURCH OF S. EDMUND AT BURY

Dr. Montague R. James, F.S.A., in his work on *The Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury*, in 'The Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Octavo Publication,' vol. xxviii, p. 190, gives in Section no. 7, IN FENESTRIS IMAEINIS BEATE MARIE APUD S. EDMUNDUM, the story of *Theophilus* between no. 1, 'The death of Herod,' and no. 6, 'The adoration of the Magi.'

- No. 2. HIC QUO DITETUR SATHANE SERUIRE FATETUR.  
Theophilus sells his soul to Satan.
- No. 3. IMPIA FACTA PIE PANDIT PLANGENDO MARIE.  
He confesses to the Virgin.
- No. 4. CARTAM VIRGO DEDIT QUO LIBER AB HOSTE RECEDIT.  
She returns him the devil's bond.
- No. 5. GRATES ADIUTUS EXSOLUIT AB HOSTE SOLUTUS.  
He thanks her.

## APPENDIX No. 5

## ENGLISH MINIATURES

## THE WHEEL OF FORTUNE (C. 1240), FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

This is the fourth of the six surviving leaves of a splendid thirteenth-century Psalter by W. de Brailes, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> Dame Fortune is seated in the centre and turns eight spokes of the wheel from left to right of the picture. The inner series of the two groups of miniatures in segmental medallions contain the story of *Theophilus*. The outer series illustrate the rise and fall of man from the cradle to the grave.

- I. Having refused the bishopric of Adana Theophilus is seated on the ground with a scroll inscribed—INCIPIT YSTORIA THEOPILI. Behind him sit two men and the one who now holds the rejected bishopric pushes him away and degrades him from the priestly office.
- II. Theophilus sits naked except for his drawers, wringing his hands. On the scroll may be read IN PAVP(ER) TATE DESPERO.
- III. Quite naked Theophilus sells his soul to Satan, who holds the bond signed with his blood and sealed.
- IV. Through Satan's help he is made rich. Arrayed royally Theophilus sits and is worshipped by two small devils with horns, wings and tails.
- V. Repenting, Theophilus kneels and appeals to the Virgin. She appears on the left with a scroll, MARIA AD TEOPHILVM. A scroll encircling the penitent reads, MISERERE MISERI DIABOLO CAR (TAM) FECI.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Sydney C. Cockerell's no. 4, pp. 16-18, *Roxburghe Club*, Monograph in W. de Brailes Work iii, 1930.

- VI. The Virgin holding scroll, SCA MARIA, forces Satan to surrender the bond which he does with reluctance.
- VII. Theophilus clad in shirt and drawers, kneeling receives the bond from the hand of the Virgin.
- VIII. Death of Theophilus. His body is in a winding-sheet and his soul is carried in a napkin to heaven by two angels.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX No. 6

HORAE OF SARUM USE (C. 1240). Mr. Dyson Perrins' MS.<sup>1</sup>

HOURS OF THE VIRGIN, PRIME. The story of Theophilus begins:—

- I. (39) Initial U. . . . *a theofle de estre (eveske) il refusa*. Theophilus stands on left in an attitude of deprecation. On R. a priest points to an episcopal throne, which Theophilus had refused to occupy. Behind the priest, five other men.<sup>2</sup>
- II. (40) Initial B. *theofle enpovri*. The man who accepted the bishopric which Theophilus refused has deposed the latter from his office. He walks out as a beggar, clad only in a shirt and leaning on a staff.
- III. (41) Initial Q. *theofle fet humage au deable e lui escrit chartre de sen propre sanc*. Theophilus kneels on left before the Devil and gives him a bond written with his own blood. It is inscribed CARTA THEOFOLI and a large seal is depend from it.<sup>3</sup>
- IV. (42) Initial U. (Inscription cut away.) Theophilus, reinstated by the aid of the Devil, sits on a cushioned bench with his arms akimbo and his hands resting on his knees, clad richly in tunic and mantle.
- V. (43) Initial I. *theofle se repenti a nr dame cria merci*. The repentant Theophilus kneels at an altar and cries Mercy to Our Lady.
- VI. (47) Initial A. (*nr da*) *me upert a theofle*. Theophilus kneels on L. before the Virgin, who stands on R. with right hand raised.
- VII. (48) Initial L. . . . *tout la chartre*. The Virgin takes the bond from the Devil, striking him on the forehead. As in no. iii the Devil has long horns and a fringed loin-cloth.
- VIII. (49). Initial L. (*nr dame*) *la rent a theofle*. The Virgin standing on L. gives back the bond to Theophilus, who kneels on R.
- IX. (50) Initial A. *theofle la art*. Theophilus burns the bond in a large fire.
- X. (56) Initial A. *nr dame e l'ame theofle*. Theophilus lies dead in a tomb. The Virgin lifts his soul to heaven, whence a hand stretches down to receive it.

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Sydney C. Cockerell's Monograph (*Roxburghe Club*, 1930), pp. 21, 22. A full description is given in Mr. Dyson Perrin's Catalogue (1917).

<sup>2</sup> See Pl. xx b. *Roxburghe Club*, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. xx c. *Roxburghe Club*, 1930.

## APPENDIX No. 7

LAMBELL MS. No. 209. APOCALYPSE, LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY,  
C. 1260.

- I. *Three Jews introducing Theophilus to Satan.* Theophilus, tonsure, clean shaven, tunic, green mantle with brown lining to knees, fastened on L. shoulder, pointed-toed boots, long staff with knob held in hand, R. hand under R. cheek with head in attitude of indecision. Three Jews, one behind Theophilus in a green tunic to knees, tippet and hood half drawn over head and conical pointed hat, both hands in gloves and R. on shoulder of Theophilus. The Jew Salatin, on the other side of Theophilus in green tunic, dark coloured gown, tippet, hood, green conical pointed hat, pointed-toed boots, L. hand holds a long purse with seam on one side and fastened with cords, his R. hand is raised and he seems to be clenching his argument. The third Jew is clad similarly, only his gown is green, holds money-bag in R. hand. All three Jews have expressive faces and exaggerated Hebrew noses. Between the last two Jews stands Satan, hairy, three eyes on each side of his back, winglets on knees, claw-feet, a red face with turned-down nose, large mouth, animal ears and spiral horns. His tail protrudes under his loin cloth, tied in a knot in front. He stands between the two Jews and places a hand on each of them.
- II. *Theophilus brings the bond to Satan.* Theophilus in green gown, tippet and hood, holds bond with seal attached in L. hand and is welcomed jovially by Satan, seated on the top of an hexagonal tower, who is warmly shaking hands with him. Satan holds his sceptre in his L. hand. Behind him is a blue-face devil with curled horns and conical hat, who sits complacently with folded hands. In front of the tower is a small blue devil with a tonsure, acting as scribe with parchment and pen. Behind Theophilus stands Saladin, the Jew, in dark gown, tippet and hood, with hands extended and on his face a well satisfied expression. In the background is a green devil, having white horns and tongue protruding from a large mouth. He thrusts a long white staff against the back of Theophilus to prevent him retreating.
- III. *Theophilus repentant.* Before an altar covered with a cloth, powdered with fleur-de-lis and other devices, on which is a seated statue of the Blessed Virgin holding a uterus in her R. hand and the Holy Child on her L. arm, the repentant Theophilus is prostrated in prayer. At the half open door of the Gothic church he had build to the honour of the Holy Mother, stands a draped Saint with a nimbus. Satan, flying with bat-like wings was on the point of clutching Theophilus had not the Saint caught hold of a two-prong fork and thrust it against the R. leg of the Evil One.
- IV. *The Blessed Virgin intercedes for Theophilus.* Christ throned in glory within a *vesica piscia*, seated on a rainbow, R. hand

in act of blessing and L. holding the Book of Life. At the four corners are the emblems of the Evangelists (Rev. vi. 6-7). Clouds opening display the heavenly vision and Theophilus repentant, kneels with clasped hands behind the Virgin, crowned, in kirtle of grey material, fastened at neck with small brooch, mantle of cloth of gold, lined with blue on which are white indented shields. The Virgin kneels, holding a uterus in her hands, emblem of the Incarnation, and intercedes with Christ for the soul of Theophilus, a beautiful angel with upraised wings and clasped hands accompanies her, while a man in the background with short beard, conical head-dress and clasped hands gazes ardently on the face of Christ. Possibly this is intended for St. Peter, who also denied his Lord.

- v. The Blessed Virgin recovers the bond. Hell is represented as the mouth of Leviathan (Isa. xxvii. 1) breathing smoke and flames wherein are seen the lost. Satan, seated at the lower end of Hell-mouth, has a woolly devil behind him whose face, distorted with anger and R. hand extended in fury against the Virgin, who is receiving the bond from Satan. The position of the Prince of Darkness is far from happy, for the nearer of the two angels, who have accompanied the Virgin, has hurled a spear through his mouth, the head of which protrudes at the back of his neck. On the apex of Hell-mouth sits a little green woolly devil blowing a horn out of which fire and sparks issue. In the fore-ground is a monster holding a serpent in its mouth, while a dragon-like reptile with a wolf's head and a snake-like body is ready for the attack. Above Hell-mouth hover several moths and one has settled on the head of Leviathan between the two pairs of eyes.
- vi. *The Bond returned to Theophilus.* The Virgin attended by one angel gives the bond to Theophilus. He kneels to receive it, a sad pathetic figure, unkempt, with face worn and pale and a growth of unshaven hair on his chin. Near him stands a draped altar mounted on two steps; while above flies the little imp, who sat on the top of hell-mouth blowing his horn. Now it is full of ashes and cinders and no fire and sparks come from it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The illustrated *Apocalypse* took root in England during the thirteenth century, and the Lambell MS. is a splendid example of one of those made, probably, at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. On a plate is a large picture of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child and a small kneeling figure of Lady de Quincy, habited in an heraldic mantle bearing the arms of the de Quincy family, viz: *Masculy gules and or.* There seems little doubt that this represents Lady de Quincy, the widow of Sir Roger de Quincy, second Earl of Winchester,

who died in 1264. She married again, Sir Roger de Leybourne and Leeds Castle, in Kent, who died 1271. These facts fix the date of this MS. about the middle of the thirteenth century.

See *English Illustrated Manuscripts from tenth to thirteenth century*, by Dr. Eric G. Millar, F.S.A., and his contribution to the *Societe française de Reproduction de Manuscrits a Peinture*, (1924-5), pp. 38-66.

See *Lambeth Palace Catalogue*, by Dr. M. R. James and Canon C. Jenkins, D.D.

## APPENDIX No. 8

QUEEN MARY'S PSALTER, EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY, BRITISH MUSEUM, 2 B. VII

- I. f. 205. *The Repentance of Theophilus.* Theophilus prays the Virgin to recover the bond from the Devil. He kneels in the church he built to her honour before a draped altar on which stands her statue holding the Holy Child on her knee.
- II. f. 206. *The Recovery of the bond.* The Virgin forcing the Devil to give her the bond. She stands, a graceful and stately figure, nimbed and robed in kirtle, mantle, veil and crown on her head, her R. arm is extended with the forefinger raised in a commanding and threatening attitude. The Devil, nude, hairy, with claw-feet and a short, bushy tail, possesses a cunning fox-like face with large mouth, big ears, sharp pointed horns, short beard and hair on top of head standing erect.

This superb English MS., belonging to a school of Art that produced some excellent work, was in no way associated with the technique of the East Anglian artists who centred round Norwich. The artist who illuminated this Psalter seems to have been connected with the work of other manuscripts of this period which are still existing and it is quite probable he was that highly gifted 'Richard of Canterbury' who, in the abbey of St. Augustine, executed a splendid Psalter now in the possession of Mr. Dyson Perrins. An Apocalypse in the British Museum (19 B. xv) Sir George Warner has suggested may be one of the later works of this same artist, produced when he was head of the school and had the assistance of pupils, for it is in charter hand and later than the Psalter.<sup>1</sup>

This volume is, probably, the most splendid and profusely illustrated English Medieval Manuscript of this date that has come down to us. It has 319 leaves and the size of the book is 10 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. by 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  in., and a remarkable feature of this work is the 464 marginal colour-wash drawings, tinted with red and brown, green and violet. These display great individuality extending from the lives and passions of the Saints to bestiary subjects, contemporary life of that age, humorous episodes, and most vigorous sketches of horses and their riders. No other than a highly gifted, conscientious draftsman could have executed such a wonderful series of drawings as may be seen in this marvellous work of medieval English Art.<sup>2</sup>

This magnificent Psalter was made in the early part of the fourteenth century, and Sir George Warner considered the prominence given in the kalendar to St. Edward the Confessor indicates that the Psalter was produced for some member of the reigning

<sup>1</sup> See *Reproduction and Preface to Queen Mary's Psalter* (British Museum, by Sir George Warner.

<sup>2</sup> *English Illuminated Manuscript, fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries*, Vol. ii, 1928, by Dr. Eric G. Millar, F.S.A.

Plantagenet family and he suggests Edward I or more probably Edward II.

## APPENDIX No. 9

BRITISH MUSEUM, EGERTON, 2781, F. 21 AND F. 22  
SMALL BOOK OF HOURS.<sup>1</sup> EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

- I. *Initial. The recovery of the bond.* The Blessed Virgin forcing the Devil to give up the bond. The Virgin in red kirtle, blue mantle and crown, L. hand extended and R. hand holding a scourge in a threatening attitude. The Devil cringes before her, like an animal on all fours with bushy tail erect, holding the bond between his teeth.
- II. *Initial. The return of the bond to Theophilus.* Theophilus in blue gown asleep before an altar after long vigil. On the altar stands a seated statue of the Virgin and Holy Child in a red tunic. Behind Theophilus stands the Blessed Virgin in red kirtle, blue mantle and crown, holding the bond in her R. hand which she is about to place on the sleeping penitent.

## APPENDIX No. 10

CAREW-POYNTZ, HORAE, 1350-1360, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM,  
CAMBRIDGE

- I. 176a. Theophilus in red gown with white tippet (ermine?) and pointed-toed boots conversing with the Jew in long gown and hood half drawn over head. The scene is a meadow with green sward, a small shrub between them and a large tree on each side with white pigeon on a low branch.
- II. 176b. Theophilus seated on a long wooden bench conversing with Satan, who is also seated with two hideous devils behind him. The Evil One is nude, wings on shoulders, claw-feet, horns, ears and long tail. The scene is in a meadow with one tree near Theophilus.
- III. 177a. All four figures in no. ii are still seated on the bench. The Evil One seems well satisfied and his two servants are engaged in an animated conversation. Theophilus has crossed his R. knee as a rest for the bond he is signing with a quill pen held in R. hand and an ink-horn in his left.
- IV. 177b. The new bishop of Adana lies on a wooden bed with his mitred head resting on a large pillow covered with a red diapered material. A blue counterpane covers the bed and

<sup>1</sup> The miniatures are a little coarse, the colour scheme not altogether satisfactory and the use of vermilion too much in evidence; yet, withal, the imager is very interesting and is

no slavish copyist. This MS. was made before the Black Death (1348-9) swept over our island and English Art disappeared for a time.

only the L. arm and shoulders of the bishop are exposed. Satan stands, having drawn aside the bed-curtain hung on a rod with ten rings, supported on two poles. The cunning face of the Evil One indicates that he has instructed the bishop how he must treat Theophilus.

- v. 178a. The bishop follows Satan's advice, receives Theophilus graciously and offers him coins in a large coffer, his R. hand extended to his visitor and his left pointing to the coins. The coffer stands on a low support and the bishop is vested in rochet, blue cope fastened by a rectangular gold morse with large circular jewel in centre, and red boots.
- vi. 178b. Theophilus stands, gloves in L. hand and R. extended as if giving instructions to three serving-men. The one facing him is in blue hose, red jerkin with dagger and gypeiere suspended from belt, behind him the man is in white jerkin, red hose with red gypeiere and sword hung on belt. Both men are bowed down under weight of heavy sacks of coin. The third man in red jerkin and blue hose is behind Theophilus and is raising his sack. A circular gold cup with cover stands on ground.
- vii. 179a. Theophilus in blue gown and red tippet seated on stone bench with a friend in white gown and blue tippet. A serving man, in jerkin, hose, and sword, kneels on one knee and presented the gold cup with cover to Theophilus.
- viii. 179b. Theophilus, repentant, dismounted from his horse, kneels in prayer to the Blessed Virgin. He is in jerkin, tippet, belt and sword, long riding boots armed with rowel spurs. His horse, fastened to a tree, with a red saddle made like an armchair and triangular stirrups, stands behind.
- ix. 180a. A priest in amice, alb and chasuble with L. hand holding the Host and R. raised in blessing, stands before a draped altar, on which is placed a circular chalice and over it is spread the corporal. Behind the altar is a picture of the Blessed Virgin throned and holding the Holy Child, while above it is a cinquefoil-headed canopy supported on two circular pillars with bell-shape capitals. Before the altar stands five choristers at a lectern and one points with his finger to the words they are singing from the open book.
- x. 180b. After praying to the Blessed Virgin (see Pl. viii) Theophilus falls asleep on a low mound with his left hand under his cheek. The Virgin in white kirtle, blue mantle, veil, and gold crown, appears to him in vision, answering his prayer for help. Two doves are perched in the trees above and a hare looks out of its hole in the mound.
- xi. 181a. The Virgin holding Satan's head downward with her L. hand threatens him with a scourge held in her R. She is attended by a nimbed angel with beautiful, long wings and is vested in an alb. Behind Satan stands one of his devils, erect,

with arms raised, he looks at the heavenly intruders in furious anger.

- XII. 181b. While Theophilus is in the meadow the Blessed Virgin suddenly appears before him with her attendant angel. Theophilus kneels in adoration and the Holy Mother hands him back the bond.<sup>1</sup>

## APPENDIX No. 11

### FRENCH SCULPTURE<sup>2</sup>

#### A. SOUILLAC, LOT (1110-1120), CENTRAL PANEL OF TYMPANUM

- I. *Theophilus signs the bond.* Satan, emaciated, naked except for vandyked loin cloth made of beads, hideous head, low forehead, wide mouth showing teeth, protruding eyes, animal ears, one horn on head and cock's spurs on calves. He holds bond with both hands while Theophilus signs it in his blood.
- II. *The oath of allegiance.* Satan as in no. i; except for added 'frightfulness,' the imager has given him one claw foot and one cloven hoof instead of human feet, and two horns instead of one. Theophilus is taking the oath of fealty and has raised his hands, palm to palm, and Satan has placed his over them.
- III. *The return of the bond to Theophilus.* Theophilus after his long vigil and prayers to the Virgin to recover the bond has fallen asleep before the church he has built to her honour. The Romanesque church leans against the belfry of three stories surmounted by a short spire at an angle approaching ninety degrees, while a circular column beneath assists to secure its preservation. The clouds above are portrayed in sculpture resembling foliage or valences with many folds, the Blessed Virgin in kirtle, mantle and veil has descended and placed the bond she has recovered from the Devil on the sleeping Theophilus. Her face is older than Art usually represents her and an attendant angel, nimbed and with outspread wings, lays one hand on Theophilus and rests the other on the shoulder of the Virgin.

This panel is flanked on either side by two thrones. On one is seated St. Peter with knees set wide apart and holding two keys in one hand and a book (Gospel?) in the other. He has curly locks, a short beard and a long drooping moustache. Beneath his feet is a footstool carved with beasts. An angel emerges with outspread wings from the clouds above holding an open book. On one page

<sup>1</sup> See *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* by Dr. Montague R. James, no. 48, min. 265-276; in a similar Teymouth Horae (see Catalogue of H. Yates Thompson's MSS., vol. ii, no. 57, min. 328-332), and illustrated in many other books.

<sup>2</sup> See *L'Art religieux du XIIIe Siècle en France*, par Emile Male, figs. 134, 135, pp. 260-262.

*Medieval Sculpture in France*, Arthur Gardner, M.A., F.S.A., fig. 49, pp. 65-69.

incised letters N O N and A D can be seen ; the other page is damaged and only E is visible.

St. Stephen, vested in apparelled amice, alb, stole with fringed ends seen under the dalmatic apparelled above hem and on cuffs. Face clean shaven ; forehead damaged. R. hand holds crook with knop and L. hand a closed book (gospels ?). Footstool carved with a snake-like beast, possessing curled tail, claw feet and human face. Issuing from the clouds is an angel with outspread wings holding a scroll, now plain.

#### APPENDIX No. 12

##### CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS, CENTRE SCULPTURE OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT TYMPANUM, 1250-60<sup>1</sup>

- I. *The oath of allegiance.* Satan, a powerful, heavy figure, human face, tail, spiral horns and claw-feet, stands before Theophilus, who, kneeling, swears allegiance to the Prince of Darkness by placing his folded hands in those of the Evil One. The Jew in long hair, beard and round hat stands behind, R. hand holding the bond to his breast, L. hand on shoulder of Theophilus.
- II. *Satan restores Theophilus to wealth and former dignity.* Theophilus seated in the days of the restoration to power, while behind him a small devil is supplying him with gifts in his L. hand which, after transferring to his right, he bestows on a friend seated in an armchair.
- III. *Repentance.* Theophilus repentant kneels in prayer before an altar on which is a seated statue of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child.
- IV. *Recovery of the bond.* Theophilus kneels before the Virgin, a stately figure in kirtle, mantle, veil and gold crown. She threatens Satan with a cross held in R. hand and he, crouching before her, gives up the bond.

#### APPENDIX No. 13

##### CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, PARIS. A LARGE RELIEF IN EXTERIOR WALL OF A NORTH-EAST APSIDAL CHAPEL.<sup>2</sup> EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- I. *Theophilus gives the bond to Satan.* Theophilus, in gown and hood on neck, stands and gives the bond to Satan, a hairy monster with gaping mouth, deep-set eyes, horns, long tail. The Evil One is seated and he receives the bond with L. hand

<sup>1</sup> Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe, Siecle en France*, fig. 134.

<sup>2</sup> The sculpture is framed with fourteenth-century ornaments, foliage,

etc. See Emile Male, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe Siecle en France*, fig. 135, Arthur Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France*, pl. xcii, p. 364.

while R. is placed on the shoulder of Theophilus. The Jew in conical hat, long hair and beard stands behind.

- II. *Repentance*. Theophilus (head lost) repentant, kneels in prayer to the Virgin (head lost) represented as in the heavens.
- III. *Recovery of the bond*. The Virgin, a stately figure (face mutilated) receives the bond from Satan, who crouches down before her.

#### APPENDIX No. 14

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, LYONS. MEDALLION ON THE EXTERIOR OF THE WEST FRONT. EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Satan seated cross-legged on a low stool, naked, hairy, with a pointed, close-fitting cap, receives bond from the kneeling Theophilus. In the background stands the Jew with pointed beard, in gown and turban, facing a devil with protruding eyes and gaping mouth, while R. hand is laid on the shoulder of Theophilus.

#### APPENDIX No. 15

FRENCH PAINTED GLASS

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. JULIAN, LE MANS. THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In a window containing many medallions of painted glass representing scenes from Holy Writ and the Lives of the Saints we find two devoted to Theophilus.

- (a) No. 18. *Repentance of Theophilus*. In a Romanesque church showing one column with capital and base and sections of two round-headed arches, Theophilus is praying with head bent and hands clasped before an altar on which stands a statue of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Child. Beneath is the word THEOPHILYS.
- (b) No. 25. *Theophilus receiving gifts*. Theophilus is seated in a Romanesque building and a man is presenting him with a large fish on a dish. Monsieur Emile Male considers this episode belongs to some story which we no longer possess. The Abbe Auguste Bouxin, however, in his work on *La Cathedrale Notre-Dame de Laon*, where there is a similar subject says :—' Il reçoit les hommages et les présents (figures par un poisson) des vassaux de l'évêque ' (p. 212).

See ' Les vitraux de la Cathedrale de Laon ' par A. de Florial, et E. Midoux.

It is noticeable that one compartment of a window in the Cathedrals of Beauvais and Troyes portrays people presenting a fish to Theophilus.

## APPENDIX No. 16

PAINTED GLASS (THIRTEENTH CENTURY) IN THIRD WINDOW OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN, CLERMONT FERRAND CATHEDRAL, PUY-DE-DOME, FRANCE <sup>1</sup>

TWELVE OUT OF EIGHTEEN MEDALLIONS ARE THE ORIGINAL GLASS <sup>2</sup>

- I. Modern.
- II. Theophilus with tonsured head, in a green gown and red mantle is seated, while a devil whose body is red, arms thin and enormous hands stands clad in green drawers. Theophilus possessing no money is advised by this devil to visit Salatin, the Jew, who would supply all he wanted on the one condition that he sold himself, body and soul to the Prince of Darkness.
- III. Theophilus, in yellow gown and green mantle, seeks Salatin who, bare-headed with long curls and pointed beard, stands before Theophilus, appearing anxious he leans his head on his left hand, listening to the Jew as he bargains with him.
- IV. Having agreed for a sum of money, the Jew gives Theophilus a bag-shaped purse full of coins and Theophilus raises his hand in an attitude of gratitude. Thus Satan kept his promise and caused the Jew to give Theophilus a fortune.
- V. Theophilus and a Devil are seated facing each other. This devil disguised as a friend, has written out the bond, while Theophilus appears to hesitate as if making some reservation. This Evil Spirit is gentle and insinuating and Theophilus denies Christ, signs and seals the bond.
- VI. This devil, proud over his work, descends into Hell to report to his Master. Here we see Satan in the midst of his court seated on a throne made of two reprobates, a man and a woman, on all fours, one looking to the right and the other to the left. The Prince of Darkness is tall and strong with a yellow hairy breast, head bare with sharp horns and a pointed beard. His hands and feet are bound with a great white cord (see Rev. xx. 1, 2, 3). On one side is the devil who beguiled Theophilus holding in his hand the bond Theophilus signed and sealed, while on the other side is a brown devil dancing for joy.
- VII. All goes well with Theophilus. He has discarded his old faded mantle for one made of rich yellow silk lined with fur. To show his love for the Virgin he builds a church in her honour and this medallion depicts Theophilus consulting his master mason (architect). The attentive attitude of Theophilus is

<sup>1</sup> During the Revolution this Cathedral suffered seriously at the hands of the rioters, yet the splendid painted glass was preserved through the energy of a citizen named Verdier Latour, who represented that the building would serve for public meetings and other civic purposes, and thus it did not share the fate of Arras, Avranches, Cambrai, St.

Nicaise in Rheims and other great churches.

<sup>2</sup> See *Les Vitraux de la Cathedral de Clermont Ferrand*, par Henry Du Ranquet (1932), where the whole window with both the medieval and modern glass is reproduced in colour; black and white illustrations are also given of Medallions iv, v, vi, vii and viii.

excellent as the master mason explains to his client the plan which is probably the roll of parchment he holds in his hand. In front of him is a mason in a green smock which he has raised in order more easily to use his plumb-line and thereby exposing his white hose. At his feet is a column with its capital already completed.

- VIII. This medallion depicts the church in a later stage towards completion. One mason in a green smock is busy at work on an unfinished tower, using his plumb-line while his assistant stands on a ladder with a hod of mortar on his back.
- IX. Theophilus, in gorgeous apparel, visits the completed church and forgetful of his vows to Satan, he makes the sign of the cross on entering the building. The church shows a nave with two tiers of windows, a porch and a tower.
- X. The artist no longer portrays Theophilus in splendid robes, but to show his repentance he is depicted in a dark red gown and a green mantle. On the altar is the statue of the Virgin with the Holy Child on her right arm and an apple in her left—emblem of the sin of Eve.
- XI. While Theophilus is praying before the altar and falling asleep he hears a voice say, '*Qui est tu, va, qui vas par ici,*' and lo! the Virgin, in a splendid green kirtle, a rich red mantle lined with cloth of gold, a white veil and gold crown studded with precious gems on her head stands before him. He clasps his hands and implores her help. She points to the door, but Theophilus prays fervently to her and at last she promises him to recover his bond from Satan.
- XII. The Virgin, dressed simply in a brown kirtle with a girdle, and green mantle fastened with cords, descends into Satan's kingdom. Advancing without fear or dread she is met by an enormous yellow monster with red arms, green head, red hosen and a great mouth out of which issues tongues of fire. Her only weapon is a slender staff with a small cross at the end (hidden in the edge of the medallion). With this she strikes Satan who falls backward, vanquished and defeated.
- XIII. Having seized the bond from Satan, the Virgin brings it to Theophilus who, kneeling in the church, humbly receives it.
- XIV to XVIII are modern.

#### APPENDIX No. 17

##### CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME, LAON. THIRTEENTH CENTURY <sup>1</sup>

- I. Theophilus, happy in the confidence of his bishop, is seated on his right, and another ecclesiastic is placed on his left.
- II. The Downfall of Theophilus. The bishop from his throne has dismissed him from his office of Vidame and the other man has taken his place on the right.

<sup>1</sup> La Cathédrale Notre Dame de Laon, par l'Abbe Auguste Bouxin (1890), 211-213; *Les Vitraux de la*

*Cathédrale de Laon*, par A. de Florial et E. Midoux.

- III. Theophilus, furious and desperate, leaves the bishop's palace. On the left some devils appear. The leader holds the bond which the renegade will soon have to sign, while at another door Satan is seated. Beneath the medallion is 'Theophilus.'
- IV. Theophilus confers with the Jew who promises him an ample fortune which Satan will give him.
- V. The Jew holds a book on his knee which, probably, contains the *formulae* of sorcery, for a demon suddenly appears to the alarm of Theophilus. This devil promises Theophilus to be fully restored to the favour of the bishop.
- VI. The Jew presents the bond, Theophilus signs it in his blood, renounces Christ and enters the service of Satan.
- VII. Theophilus restored to power and wealth gives gold to a demon near him.
- VIII. Theophilus receives homage and gifts and these are represented by a fish<sup>1</sup> which the vassals of the bishop present to him.
- IX. In nos. vii and viii we saw Theophilus was acting his former part as Vidame to the Bishop, and in this medallion he is building a church and exercising his position as the chief overseer. 'Des ouvriers construisent une église dont l'édification,' dit Monsieur de Florial, 'paraît symboliser l'état de l'âme de Theophile en proie au remords et dont la conversion se prépare.'
- X. Theophilus enters the church he has built and it renews a thousand memories.
- XI. Weeping over his wicked apostasy, he prostrates himself before the statue of the Blessed Virgin and prays for her help.
- XII. The Holy Mother appears to him. She commands him to renounce Satan, which he does.
- XIII. The Virgin, accompanied by an angel strikes Satan with her cross and snatches from the Devil the bond Theophilus had given him.
- XIV. Afterwards the Virgin appeared to Theophilus and gave him the bond as a testimony that she had obtained his pardon.
- XV. Theophilus, full of joy and thankfulness, went to the bishop who reconciled him to the Church after his act of apostasy.
- XVI. The bishop placed his pastoral staff over the penitent as a sign that he was absolved from his sin.
- XVII. The bishop and Theophilus, from a gallery in the church, told the assembled people of the wonderful conversion of Theophilus through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin.
- XVIII. Three days later Theophilus died and was buried.

<sup>1</sup> Here and at St. Julian, Le Mans, and in a compartment of a window at Beauvais and also at

Troyes some people bring a fish to Theophilus.

## APPENDIX No. 18

## PAINTED GLASS WINDOW, MONTANGON, AUBE, FRANCE (1530-1540)

Three lights of nine subjects : 1, 2, 3 bottom, 4, 5, 6 middle, 7, 8, 9 top. All scenes interior of church except no. 4, a meadow with grass and trees.

- I. Bishop of Adana, vested in rochet, cope and mitre, holds pastoral staff in L. hand. Theophilus, vested in cassock, surplice, with embroidered maniple on L. arm, kneels before bishop holding an open book (Gospels ?) on which is laid the document instituting Theophilus to the office of 'Vidame.' The bishop is sealing the parchment with his seal, pressing it down with his R. hand. Two figures stand in background.
- II. Theophilus, vested as in no. i, stands before the Archbishop, vested in amice, alb, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble and mitre. The primatial cross rests against his R. shoulder, while he holds a mitre in R. hand and a pastoral staff in his L. Thus he offers to Theophilus the bishopric of Adana. Theophilus says his *Nolo Episcopari* emphatically with outstretched arms. One ecclesiastic stands behind the Bishop and two others converse in the background.
- III. The new bishop of Adana vested in full pontificals, amice, tunicle, dalmatic, chasuble and mitre, stands with his pastoral staff resting on R. shoulder. He holds the ritual in L. hand and rings a circular hand-bell in his R. as he pronounces the words of excommunication on Theophilus, vested as in nos. i and ii, who has turned his back on the bishop and is fleeing from the church. Behind the bishop stand two ecclesiastics.
- IV. Theophilus, in a fit of despair, throws himself down on the ground outside the church door. Above him stands Satan and Salatin, the necromancer. The Devil is disguised as a venerable man with a white beard, long gown, ermine tippet and velvet cap, through which the tips of his two horns appear. Salatin in a handsome riding costume, boots armed with spurs, and splendid turban on his head, points to the bond the Devil displays above the prostrate Theophilus.
- V. Salatin, the Jewish sorcerer, induces the new bishop of Adana to reinstate Theophilus as his Vidame, and the earlier scene of no. i is reproduced in this picture when Theophilus in cassock and surplice, kneels before the bishop, who seals the deed held by Theophilus on the open book (Gospels ?). The various figures in the background of no. i scene are replaced by those of the disguised Satan and Salatin, who alone stand as witnesses.
- VI. Theophilus, naked except for a tunic with long sleeves, prays before a draped altar on which stands a statue of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child, that she will recover him the bond. The devil, a huge, naked monster with snout, horns on head and claw-feet, holds Theophilus with a stout rope fastened round his waist. The prayer of Theophilus is depicted, as in

a vision, wherein the Virgin appears, with the Christ-Child in her arms, holding the bond.

- VII. Theophilus, as in no. vi, kneeling, still bound with the heavy rope to the Devil, receives the bond from the hand of the Blessed Virgin holding the Holy Child.
- VIII. The bishop, vested in rochet, cope and mitre, and Theophilus as in nos. vi and vii, stand in the church on either side of a small blazing fire which is consuming the bond. Behind the bishop is an ecclesiastic.
- IX. Theophilus having confessed his sin is reconciled to the Church and here he is depicted, as in nos. vi, vii and viii, kneeling on the pavement and the bishop is communicating him with the Blessed Sacrament. Several persons standing in the background.

*Note.*—The architecture of the church is Romanesque, but in nos. vii and ix lights, lancet windows are depicted.

#### APPENDIX No. 19

LES GRAND ANDELYS, PARISH CHURCH, EURE, 1540.<sup>1</sup>

South aisle of chapel window dedicated to the Blessed Virgin has two lights containing the 'Theophilus' story. Satan is depicted as a hideous, woolly monster with snout-like nose, round blazing eyes, big ears, horns like a bull, holding bond in R. hand and the cord that binds Theophilus to him in his L. hand. Theophilus in attitude of kneeling on one knee, in tunic, hose and boots, hair long, face unshaven, hands clasped and wrists bound by cord held by Satan. He prays to the Blessed Virgin, who appears before him holding the Holy Child and to whom Satan is giving up the bond. In the background is an architectural design of round-headed arches, with an entablature supported on circular columns, on the frieze of which is the date 1540.

#### APPENDIX No. 20

##### FRENCH MINIATURES

PSALTER OF QUEEN INGEBURGE OF DENMARK, CHANTILLY, FRANCE,  
C. 1200

- 1. 26 (a). *Theophilus swearing fealty to Satan.* Beneath the shadow of a tree (blue trunk and green leaves) Theophilus in gown cut square at neck with edging and close-fitting linen cap,<sup>2</sup> kneels before the Prince of Darkness who holds his folded hands in his left hand while the right displays a scroll with the words 'Ego sum homo tu.' Satan, coloured grey, is covered with parallel rows of small lines to represent hairs, animal ears, tail and feet, not claws.

<sup>1</sup> *La Fin du Moyen Age*, par Emile Mâle, 209.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, Nero C.M.S., see *Medieval Costume* by Lonsdale and Tarver, Pl. vi, 48, 62.

- II. 26 (b). *The Repentance of Theophilus*. Theophilus prays to the Virgin before an altar on which stands a chalice. Behind the altar the Virgin appears to him. A lamp, raised by a cord and pulley burns before the altar.
- III. 27 (a). *Recovery of the bond*. The Virgin in the attitude of pressing forward receives the bond from Satan, who is about to depart.
- IV. 27 (b). *The Return of the bond*. Over the altar is a suspended canopy under which is the hanging pyx. A lamp, as in no. ii, burns before it. Theophilus has fallen asleep after his long vigil and the Virgin is placing the bond on his breast.

This truly magnificent manuscript<sup>1</sup> was made for Ingeburge, daughter of the King of Denmark and wife of Philippe Auguste (d. 1223), and she who owned this splendid '*livre de priere*' wrote at the head of the volume those three names :—(a) Sophie wife of Waldemar le Grand, (b) Waldemar roi de Danmark (d. 1182), (c) Eleanor, comtesse de Vermondois (d. 1213). The owner of the Psalter died in 1236 and this precious book remained in the possession of the royal family and became the property of St. Louis, grandson of Philippe Auguste and was preserved at the Chateau de Vincennes. It is mentioned in the inventory of Charles V in 1380 and in another inventory of 1418. There is no other trace of this precious MS. for 200 years, when it is found in England in the first half of the seventeenth century. It is believed that Philippe II of Spain carried the Psalter to England as a gift to his wife, Queen Mary. The volume remained in the Royal Library of St. James' until 1649, when the French Ambassador in London secured the Psalter and presented it to Henri de Mesmes. It then passed into the hands of the Counte de Lignae and finally in 1892 it was bought for the library at Chantilly. Such is a brief history of this wonderful manuscript which contains the earliest miniatures of the story of *Theophilus*.

#### APPENDIX No. 21

FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE, LIEGE HORAE, C. 1280

*Initial*. Interior of a Gothic church. Theophilus prostrate, prays before an altar. The Virgin, in kirtle, mantle and crown, brings him the bond. The Devil crouches in the background, dejected and clasping his hands in rage and vexation while the Virgin looks down on him in sadness. The head of a horned demon protrudes from out of the curtain above the altar.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Notice Douze livres royaux*, par Leopold Delisle, 1-17 (Paris, 1902); *Les Manuscrites et peintures du Musee Conde a Chantilly*, par Jusque Mangey, 15-18 (Paris, 1930); *Le Psautier de la Reine Ingeburge . . . et les vitreaux de Chartres*, par J. Dupartal, *Revue de l'Art* (Nov. 1927), 193-208.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Sydney C. Cockerell remarks in his Monograph, no. 4, *Horae of Sarum use*, Mr. Dysons Perrin, M.S., p. 18 (Roxburghe Club, 1930): 'An initial containing a representation of Theophilus is a regular feature before the *Aves* in Liege *Horae* of the second half of the thirteenth century.'