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### Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture (Volume 3, Issue 4)

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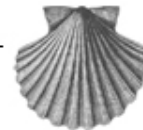
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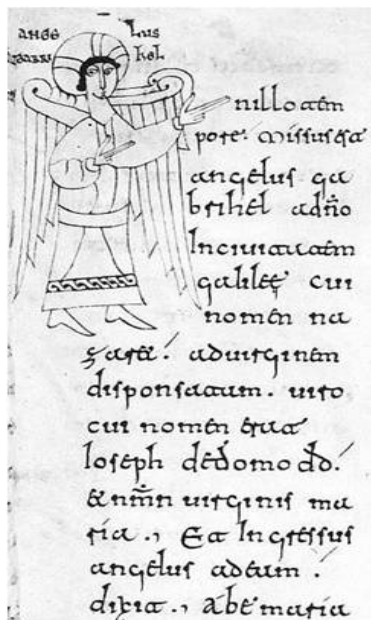

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Welcome to the [tenth](#) anniversary issue of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*! When we started in 2002, there were few online academic journals and even fewer devoted to medieval art and architecture. Since then scores of online academic journals and several terrific internet-based medieval art journals have made the field a lively place of interaction and learning. To honor our first decade, this issue focuses on discovery and re-envisioning. We are delighted to present Roger E. Reynolds' presentation of the recently discovered 11th-century Beneventan illustrated Beatus and how its illustrations and unique use of language opens up questions of scholarly and artistic

interaction. Similarly, Matthew Champion's essay on medieval graffiti and its hitherto unexamined role of votive offering in English parish churches inspires an entirely new discussion on the interaction between parishioner and church fabric. Frances Alvater's re-examination of the iconography found on English 12th-century baptismal fonts, too, prompts a re-evaluation of the reception of complex liturgical notions between different classes. Jennifer Lee's review of Kathryn Rudy's new book is insightful and thought-provoking. We also are introducing a new occasional section highlighting undergraduate research. In this issue, Stephen Mack uses a database to analyze the composition of a collection of Ege manuscripts in the Kenyon College Special Collection.



The Photobank database continues to serve as a resource for scholars and teachers. Recent uploads include sculpture and architecture of the pilgrimage road to Santiago by Professor Francisco Javier Ocaña Eiroa and English parish church art and architecture.



This issue also includes a Discoveries section with information on re-discovered treasures, hidden documents, and heretofore unknown underground chambers and a modern twist on a medieval sculpture. More links have been added to the Links page, and, as usual, list calls for papers, conferences, research announcements, and more.

Please note that our Photobank has undergone considerable renovation and is now part of the Ohio Digital Resource Commons (DRC) at Kenyon College. Search by either typing in a key word or name in the Search DRC box (e.g. Canterbury) or click on the Peregrinations link in the list of Communities in DRC, there you will have access to a full text search. The Photobank continues to grow with copyright-free images all downloadable for use in research and teaching.

For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions as well as calls for papers and conference listings. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing process, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We are also looking for images to add to our photobank, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To



round out the scholarly portion of the journal, we are also seeking short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Again, welcome to *Peregrinations*. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us at: [Sarah Blick \(editor\)](#).

Our grateful appreciation and thanks for partial funding provided by [Kenyon College](#).  
Technical Advisor: [John Pepple](#)

**Current Issue: Vol. 3, Issue 4 (Autumn 2012)**

**Vol. 3, Issue 3 (Summer 2012)**

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FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

-- The motto of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch (Terry Pratchett, *Guards! Guards!*)

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## **Apocalypses New: The Recently Discovered Beneventan Illustrated Beatus in Geneva in its South Italian Context<sup>1</sup>**

**By Roger E. Reynolds, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies**

During the past quarter century very few full or virtually full manuscripts written in the Beneventan script of southern Italy and Dalmatia have been discovered and reported. Most of the manuscripts reported since Lowe's magisterial work<sup>2</sup> on the script have been libelli, stray folios, fragments, and offsets.<sup>3</sup> But two extraordinary full or virtually full manuscripts have recently come to light and have been reported.

The first of these was put on auction a few years back by Sotheby's in London.<sup>4</sup> In their sale catalogue, the manuscript, described as coming from a private collection, was dated to the fifteenth century and the sale price was estimated at about GBP 4,000. On seeing this description the late Professor Virginia Brown suspected that the date was too early, and she and I pooled our resources to bring what she thought was an extraordinary manuscript to Canada as the only full Beneventan item in the country. Early one morning the manuscript was placed at auction. On

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<sup>1</sup> Research for this article has been completed with the support of a grant by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the program *Monumenta liturgica beneventana*. For their assistance with the Beatus fragment in Milan I am grateful to dott.ssa Anna Lucia Brunetti and dott. Emilio Fortunato. Also for their help I am grateful to Professors Richard F. Gyug, Charles Hilken, Aden Kumler, and Rebecca Maloy.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Loew [Lowe], *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1914), reprinted as E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, 2nd revised and enlarged edition, (Rome, 1980) and 'A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts,' in *Collectanea vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita (Studi e Testi 220; Vatican City) 211-244*.

<sup>3</sup> For lists of these see Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries: Collected Manuscript Catalogues, 1978-2008: Preface and comprehensive indexes* by Roger E. Reynolds (*Studies and Texts 179; Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana 6*; Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> See *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures ... Day of Sale Monday, 5th December 1994*, lot 88, pp. 114-17 and facsimile on p. 115 (fol. 1r).

bidding on the telephone, I was quickly told that the item had drawn more than considerable interest, and in twenty-five seconds it was sold for many times what Virginia Brown and I had prepared to spend. On asking who had bought the manuscript, the Sotheby's agent reported that another London firm had purchased the manuscript. This was an indication that the purchaser had been Virginia's good friend, Martin Schøyen of Oslo,<sup>5</sup> who was then amassing a collection of manuscripts written in Beneventan script.<sup>6</sup>

Shortly thereafter Schøyen contacted Virginia, asking for a better description of the manuscript he had purchased. Virginia reported that she would gladly provide this, on the condition that she be allowed to publish a study and description. Schøyen generously agreed and furnished Virginia with a copy of the manuscript. Thereafter on an *Iter Beneventana* to Scandinavia I drove to Schøyen's farm-cum-museum-library in Spikkestad in the countryside outside Oslo, where he graciously allowed me to examine the manuscript. Using this description and her own research on the codex in London Virginia submitted a study of this extraordinary manuscript to the Pontifical Institute's journal, *Mediaeval Studies* to be published in the section *Miscellanea Beneventana*. For reasons of his own the editor of the journal did not publish the article, and hence she published her study in a *Festschrift* in my honor.<sup>7</sup> In this brilliant article, Virginia showed that the manuscript contained prayers in Italian written in Beneventan script – a

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<sup>5</sup> Schøyen had earlier very generously given one of his Beneventan fragments to Virginia, and this remains the only Beneventan item in Canada: Toronto, Virginia Brown Collection 2 (s.XII<sup>ex</sup>, scrap), on which see *Beneventan Discoveries*, III. 339, IV. 387.

<sup>6</sup> See Martin Schøyen 740 Manuscripts Spanning 5000 Years, 22nd internet edition, London, July 2009, <http://www.schoyencollection.com/patristic.html#1981>. On this manuscript, Schøyen Collection MS 1981, see *Beneventan Discoveries*, III.349, IV. 386. For Schøyen's collection of Beneventan-script manuscripts, see *Beneventan Discoveries*, pp. 362-64, and for a recent sale of some of Schøyen's Beneventan manuscripts, see <http://www.sothebys.com/en/catalogues/ecatalogue.html/2012/the-history-of-script-sixty-important-manuscript-leaves-from-the-schoyen-collection#/r=/en/ecat.fhtml.L12242.html+r.m=/en/ecat.grid.L12242.html/1/15/lotnum/asc/>. Sotheby's Sales Catalogue for 10 July 2012, lots. 18-20.

<sup>7</sup> Virginia Brown, "Latin and Italian Prayers in a Sixteenth-Century Beneventan Manuscript from Naples" in *Ritual, Text and Law: Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, eds. K. G. Cushing and R. F. Gyug (Aldershot, 2004), 95-122 + 9 figures.

rare and unexpected occurrence of the use of Beneventan for a vulgar text -- and that the manuscript was copied in the sixteenth century in a convent of conservative nuns in Naples. This was further evidence that conservative sisters in that city used the Beneventan script long after the fourteenth century, which Lowe had argued was the terminus post quem non for the script.<sup>8</sup>

The second virtually complete manuscript written in Beneventan script is fully as sensational as the Schøyen item – even to being called the “the bibliographical find of the twenty-first century,” “after a hiatus in news of any similar discovery in this domain since the nineteenth century.”<sup>9</sup> It was sent for safe keeping in 2007 to the Bibliothèque de Genève (known until 2006 as the *Bibliothèque publique et universitaire*)<sup>10</sup> by the Congrégation des Missionnaires de saint François de Sales who had a school in Geneva, Switzerland (the Institut Florimont).

**(Figure 1)** The manuscript, which was assigned the shelf mark 357, is in two parts, the first

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<sup>8</sup> On this see, especially, Virginia Brown, “The Survival of Beneventan Script: Sixteenth-Century Liturgical Codices from Benedictine Monasteries in Naples” in *Monastica. Scritti raccolti in memoria del IV centenario della nascita di S. Benedetto (480-1980)*, ed. F. Avagliano, vol. 1 (Montecassino, 1981), 237-355 and 9 figures; and “The Montevergine 6 Codex and Sixteenth-Century Beneventan Script in Naples,” in *Per la storia del Mezzogiorno medievale e moderno. Studi in memoria di Jole Mazzoleni*, ed. S. Palmieri, Pubblicazioni degli Archivi di Stato, Saggi 48 (Rome, 1998), 407-18.

<sup>9</sup> See “A Word from the Editors” in *Beatus ‘Emilianense’ from the Spanish National Library in Madrid. Tenth Century. Original held in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Vitr. 14.1; Studies*, (Burgos, 2011), 13; and “De los Editores” in *Beato ‘Emilianense’ de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo X. Original conservado en la Biblioteca Nacional de España Códice Vitr. 14-1. Estudios y traducción* (Burgos, 2011), 13. The importance of this manuscript for Beneventan studies is reflected in the decision of the International Society for Beneventan Studies to devote a complete session of lectures to it at the XLVIII International Congress on Medieval Studies, 2013, at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, including papers by John Williams on the iconography of the manuscript and by Juan José García of Burgos on the crafting of the outstanding new facsimile edition by the firm of Gil de Siloé S.L.

<sup>10</sup> For another highly interesting Beneventan-script MS in this library see Virginia Brown, “A New Beneventan Calendar from Naples: The Lost ‘Kalendarium Tutinianum’ Rediscovered,” *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 385-449 + 14 figures.



**Figure 1** Geneva Apocalypse, covers and spine, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. Parchment, 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian), 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana), 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

containing the *Institutes* of Priscian and the second an illustrated manuscript written in Beneventan and strange Carolingian scripts with the Commentary on the Apocalypse by the eighth-century Asturian monk, Beatus of Liébana.

Of all medieval manuscripts written before the thirteenth century, biblical manuscripts are the most lavishly illustrated. After this come the Beatus manuscripts with their brilliantly colored fantastic illustrations. There exist hundreds of extant illustrated biblical manuscripts, whereas only twenty-seven of the illustrated Beatus manuscripts have been known to scholars until now – so striking in their colors and designs that they are virtually the “signatory”

manuscripts of Spain, even to being pictured on stamps issued by the Spanish postal service.<sup>11</sup>

(Figure 2)



**Figure 2** Spanish stamp with Urgell Beatus image. Photo: author.

After the manuscript was identified as an illustrated Beatus, specialists in Geneva, Paule Hochuli Dubuis and Isabelle Jeger, quickly produced a fine preliminary description of it in the *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana* (Rome, 2009, vol. 17, 11-29; see <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb>) and a digitization of the manuscript on <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/bge/signature/20/0>.<sup>12</sup> As they have done with other Beatus manuscripts, the Spanish firm of Gil de Siloé S.L. in Burgos undertook to produce a facsimile edition of the Genevan Beatus manuscript,<sup>13</sup> and this was published in 2012 with a notarized copy sent to me, No. 102/898. Forthcoming is a companion study to the facsimile including chapters by such noted art historians and palaeographers as John Williams and Barbara Shailor, experts in Visigothic manuscripts, and by such Beatus aficionados as Umberto Eco.<sup>14</sup> But because the manuscript is in large part written in Beneventan script and touches the work of the Monumenta liturgica beneventana project in Toronto's Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, it is

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<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., the Spanish Postage Stamp issued in 1975 with a scene from the Beatus of Seu d'Urgell.

<sup>12</sup> A recent description of the manuscript can be found in <http://www.turismo-prerromanico.es/artesrural/MINIATURA/BGINEBRA/BGINEBRAficha.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> See [http://siloe.es/titulos\\_en\\_preedicion/beato\\_de\\_ginebra.shtml](http://siloe.es/titulos_en_preedicion/beato_de_ginebra.shtml).

<sup>14</sup> See *Beato di Liébana : miniature del Beato de Fernando I y Sancha (codice B.N. Madrid Vit. 14-2) / testo e commenti alle tavole di Umberto Eco*; introduzione e note bibliografiche di Luis Vázquez de Parga Iglesias (Parma, 1973).

appropriate to make some preliminary observations on the manuscript and its place in southern Italy.

But before turning to the Geneva manuscript itself, several comments can be added regarding the text and illustrations of Beatus' Commentary as they relate to the liturgical and canonistic concerns of the *Monumenta liturgica beneventana*. One of the thorniest questions about the Commentary is why Beatus composed it in the first place. One of the answers is that Beatus produced it in three versions from 776 to 786 in expectation of the end of the world close at hand, since the sixth age of the world was supposed to end in A.D. 800. Another answer is that Beatus had witnessed the conquest of the Iberian peninsula by the Muslims and the hardships and martyrdoms of Christians there. He thus saw in the New Testament Apocalyptic "beast" of Rome during the early persecutions a foretelling of the contemporary situation in the Iberian peninsula and would have replaced Rome with the Muslim Caliphate and the city of Babylon with the Spanish Cordoba. Another answer is that the Commentary reflects the Adoptionist controversy, in which Beatus had a major role in defending the orthodoxy of western Christology. Attractive as these answers may be, there really is no specific mention of either the Muslim conquest of Spain or the Adoptionist controversy in the Commentary. Perhaps Beatus foresaw the end of the world in the dire straits facing Christians in the Iberian peninsula in the late eighth century and attempted to bolster their spirits with accounts of the final coming of God's kingdom in the Apocalypse. That was what one of the later versions of the Commentaries briefly notes.

But other reasons entering into the composition of the Commentary might have been theological, liturgical, and canonistic concerns in early medieval Spain. From late patristic times the Apocalypse had played a significant role in the theological thought of the Iberian peninsula.



As early as the sixth century, Aspringius of Beja, whose Commentary on the Apocalypse Beatus used, had quoted the Apocalypse to defend orthodox ideas concerning the full divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit in the Trinity -- this even though the Visigothic ruler at the time was an Arian. Sometime thereafter it appears that in Visigothic Spain there were those who rejected the Apocalypse as part of sacred scriptures and would not, as their orthodox neighbors did, use texts from it in their liturgical practice. Hence, the IV Council of Toledo (633) under Isidore of Seville ruled that the Apocalypse had been accepted by many authorities as a work of John the Evangelist and was to be considered a part of the canon. It is not known who the persons were at IV Toledo who refused to acknowledge the Apocalypse as canonical, but one suspects it could have be the Arian Visigoths, who might have understood the importance of the book for such orthodox figures as Aspringius in their arguments for the full divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit. Unfortunately we have no full manuscripts of the Bibles the Arian Visigoths used, especially in Latin. The famous purple, silver, and gold Ulfilas Codex in Uppsala written in Gothic script in the fifth century has only the Gospels, and the Milan and Wolfenbüttel palimpsest manuscripts only the Pauline letters. Philostorgius, in his *Ecclesiastical History* reports that Ulfilas translated “all the books of Scripture with the exception of the Books of Kings, which he omitted because they are a mere narrative of military exploits, and the Gothic tribes were especially fond of war ....” But we really do not know what Philostorgius meant by “all the books of Scripture,” and surely the Apocalypse is full of wars. And in any event, the Arian Visigoths in Spain might not have included the Apocalypse in their Bibles. Beyond accepting the Apocalypse as part of the canon, the IV Council of Toledo, c. 17, anathematized those who would not read the text in the liturgy and mandated that it be read in the Mass of the

great season from Easter to Pentecost.<sup>15</sup> It is interesting that the word “praedicaverit” used in the canon can mean either “to read” or “to preach.”<sup>16</sup>

The Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy, both in the Mass and Office, is filled with references to texts in the Apocalypse, and these are reflected in Beatus' Commentary. One of the most popular characterizations of Christ as the Alpha and Omega was taken from the Apocalypse. In the Visigothic liturgy the text from Apocalypse 1 was read as the first lesson in the joyful Easter liturgy. Also, after the Post Nomina Christ was called the Alpha and Omega, and the “Isidorian” *Epistula ad Leudefredum* states that it is the duty of the deacon to recite the nomina or names. Of course, the Alpha and Omega are prominently displayed beneath a cross in many Beatus and other Visigothic/Mozarabic manuscripts, (**Figure 3**) and it may be significant that in the time of Beatus at the monastery of St. Martin de Turieno in Liébana (later called San Toribio) it is reported that there was a relic of the True Cross brought there with the relics of St. Toribio of Astorga, who had earlier carried it from Jerusalem, to be hidden thereafter during the Muslim conquest of the peninsula near Liébana.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, in the mysterious text of 845 attributed to a

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<sup>15</sup> c. XVII. *De Apocalypsis libro in omnibus recipiendo*. Apocalypsis librum multorum conciliorum auctoritas et synodica sanctorum praesulum Romanorum decreta Joannis evangelistae esse praescribunt, et inter divinos libros recipiendum constituerunt: et quia plurimi sunt qui ejus auctoritatem non recipiunt atque in Ecclesia Dei praedicare contemnunt, si quis eum deinceps aut non receperit aut a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non praedicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit. PL 84.372.

<sup>16</sup> In the “Isidorian” *Epistula ad Leudefredum* with its extensive treatments of the role of clerics in the Visigothic liturgy it is said for the lector: Ad lectorem pertinet lectiones pronuntiare, et ea que profete vaticinaberunt populis predicare (taken from El Escorial d.I.1, fol. 336r). The *Epistula* says for the deacon: Ad diaconum pertinet adsistere sacerdotibus, et ministrare in omnibus que aguntur in sacramentis Christi, in baptismo scilicet, in chrismate, in patena et calice; oblationes inferre, et disponere in altario, componere mensam Domini, atque vestire, crucem ferre, predicare Evangelium et Apostolum. Nam sicut lectoribus Vetus Testamentum, ita diaconibus Nobum predicare praeceptum est: ad ipsum quoque pertinet officium precum, recitatio nominum; ipse premonet aures ad Dominum, ipse ortatur orare, ipse clamat et pacem ipse adnuntiat. (taken from El Escorial d.I.1, fol. 336r-v) On the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* see my “The ‘Isidorian’ *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: its Origins, Early Medieval Manuscript Tradition, and Editions,” *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. E. James (Oxford, 1980), 251-272 + 2 pls. and “The ‘Isidorian’ *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties,” *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), 252-330.

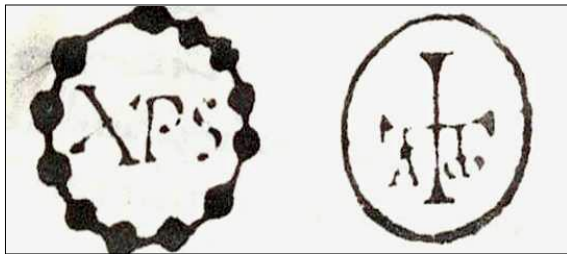
<sup>17</sup> The first written evidence of the relic's presence in the monastery of Liébana is an inventory made in 1316.

bishop Eldefonsus of Spain it is directed that azyme (unleavened) hosts be inscribed with the cross and an Alpha and Omega, and in one manuscript of this text with Visigothic features and



**Figure 3** Facundus Beatus with cross and Alpha and Omega, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, 360 x 268 mm, c. 1047. Photo: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

texts such a host is pictured.<sup>19</sup> **(Figure 4)** It is further interesting that one sees on an eleventh-century host press, now in the Museu Episcopal at Vic, a cross with pendant Alpha and Omega. **(Figure 5)** In his Commentary Beatus frequently mentions the cross and the Alpha and Omega four times,<sup>20</sup> as well as once in his letter with his confrere at Liébana, Bishop Heterius of Osmá, against Elipandus.<sup>21</sup>



**Figure 4** Host diagram, Paris, BNF Lat. 2855 by Bishop Eldefonsus of Spain, 845. Photo: author.

**Figure 5** Host press with cross and Alpha and Omega, 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century, Museu Episcopal de Vic 9722. Photo: Museu Episcopal de Vic.



<sup>19</sup> On this tract and its illustrations, found in PL 106.881-890, see my “God’s Money in the Pseudo-Isidorian *Collectio canonum hispana Augustodunensis*” to be published in the *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Toronto, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> Praef., cap. 2; L.1, cap.3; L.12, ss; L. 12, cap. 2. *Beati in Apocalipsin libri duodecim*, ed. H. A. Sanders (Rome, 1930). My copy of Sanders’ edition of the Beatus came from my good friend and former mentor at Harvard and Lowell House, Dr. Walter Muir Whitehill, who before the Spanish Civil War specialized in the manuscripts of Silos, including the famous Beatus manuscripts there. Walter’s volume was given me by his wife, Jane Revere Coolidge Whitehill, who also generously donated his library of rare medieval Spanish volumes to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

<sup>21</sup> Adv. Elipandum libri duo, L. 1, cap.114; CCCM 59 (1984).

A second dramatic reference to the Apocalypse is made in the Visigothic liturgy during the unusual fraction of the host on Easter Sunday. After the consecration of the Eucharistic elements the priest held (and still does in the Mozarabic liturgy) one of the particles he broke off over the chalice and said three times: *Vicit leo de tribu Juda radix David alleluia* (“The Lion of Judah's tribe, the Scion of David, he has triumphed ... Alleluia”) with the response “*qui sedes super cherubim, radix David, alleluia.*” A copper-alloy Visigothic paten in the British Museum, into which the particles of the host were placed, has these very words inscribed around its rim: +VICIT LEO DE TRIBVS IVDA RADIS [sic] DAVID ALLELVIA. (Figure 6) Again, Beatus cites this text from the Apocalypse no less than five times in his Commentary<sup>22</sup> and once also in his *Adversus Elipandum*.<sup>23</sup>



**Figure 6** *Vicit Leo* text, Visigothic paten, copper alloy, 7th-8th century, found in León, Spain. In rustic Latin around the rim: +VICIT LEO DE TRIBVS IVDA RADIS DAVID ALLELVIA (“The Lion of Judah's tribe, the Scion of David, he has won ..., Alleluia,” Revelation 5:5), diameter 18.3 cm British Museum (M&ME 1900,12-14,1). Photo: British Museum.

<sup>22</sup> L. 2, prolog., cap. 2; L. 3, cap. ss; L.3, cap. 3; L. 3, cap. 4; L. 8, cap. 1

<sup>23</sup> Adv. Elipandum libri duo, L. 1, cap.111.



In the Visigothic/Mozarabic Mass liturgy the unusual fraction is one of its most distinctive features. The consecrated host was and still is divided and the particles laid out in the form of a cross. This practice likely arose out of canon 3 issued at the Synod of Tours in 567, which directed that the particles must be arranged "non in imaginario ordine sed sub-crucis titulo."<sup>24</sup> In some churches this practice must have been followed well into the twelfth century because we find it in three Beneventan-script Missals written at Montecassino: Montecassino MS 127, p. 317 and Vatican BAV lat. 6082, fol. 140r, where it is said, "tunc ordinet oblationes super corporale immodum crucis ( + sign) dicens. In spiritu humilitatis ..., " and in the mutilated Montecassino Compactiones VII and XXII, fol. 99, where it is said, "Et tunc faciat crucem ( + sign) cum obl<ationibus> in altare. et patena;< iusta <... ..> Domine <iesu christe fili dei uiui qui in cruce> passionis ...." In the Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy the particles were not simply laid out in cross form but each was to be designated by the priest as an event in the life of Christ and his reign thereafter. This has lead commentators to find parallels in the works of Aspringius, Ildefonsus, the mysterious Visigothic "Pseudo Alcuinian" *De septem sigillis*, and Beatus,<sup>25</sup> where before citing the Vicit leo text Beatus comments on the seven seals of the Apocalypse as representing events in the life of the divine savior: ipsa septem signa, quae in Christo soluta sunt, id est, per omnem mundum manifestata, haec sunt: primum corporatio, secundum nativitas, tertium passio, quartum mors, quintum resurrectio, sextum gloria, septimum regnum. These commentators have argued these texts reflect the elaborate fraction of the Eucharistic host in the Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy, where the consecrated host is broken not into seven but into nine

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<sup>24</sup> "Ut corpus domini in altari non [in] imaginario ordine, sed [sub] crucis titulo comparatur," *Concilia Galliae A.511-A.695* (ed. C. de Clercq, CCL 148A), 178.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., E. Ann Matter, "The Pseudo-Alcuinian 'De Septem Sigillis': An Early Latin Apocalypse Exegesis," *Traditio* 36 (1980), 111-137.



particles, first into two parts and then five and four to be distributed on the paten (with its *Viciteo* text?) and altar. They have then shown diagrams of these nine fragments as they appear in later medieval and modern Mozarabic liturgical books: in a cross with the vertical shaft as *corporatio*, *nativitas*, *circumcisio*, *apparitio*, *passio*, the arms of the cross as *mors* and *resurrectio*, next to which are *gloria* and *regnum*.<sup>26</sup> **(Figure 7)** But in the thirteenth century Jacques de Vitry, in his description of the Mozarabic rite, noted that the Mozarabs distribute sometimes nine, sometimes seven fragments.<sup>27</sup> And indeed, if one looks to the earliest representation of the distribution in the margin of the tenth-century *Liber ordinum* of Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 56, fol. 139v there are precisely the seven fragments Beatus designated as: I. *Corporatio*, II. *Nativitas*, III. *Passio*, IIII. *Mors*, V. *Resurrectio*, VI. *Gloria*, VII. *Regnum*, and called the *septem signacula*. **(Figure 8)** In later Mozarabic directories it is mandated that the priest, when he consumes the host, does so from the last *Regnum* particle (*Omega*) to the first, *Conceptio* (*Alpha*) thereby consuming Christ from end to beginning as the *Alpha* and *Omega*.

Because the Visigothic rite had three readings, especially in Eastertide, the first or prophetic reading might be from the Old Testament prophets, the prophetic Apocalypse, or even the Saints lives. In the Visigothic Mass the first of these readings from Easter to Pentecost, presumably read by the lector (specified in the “Isidorian” *Epistula ad Leudefredum*) was from

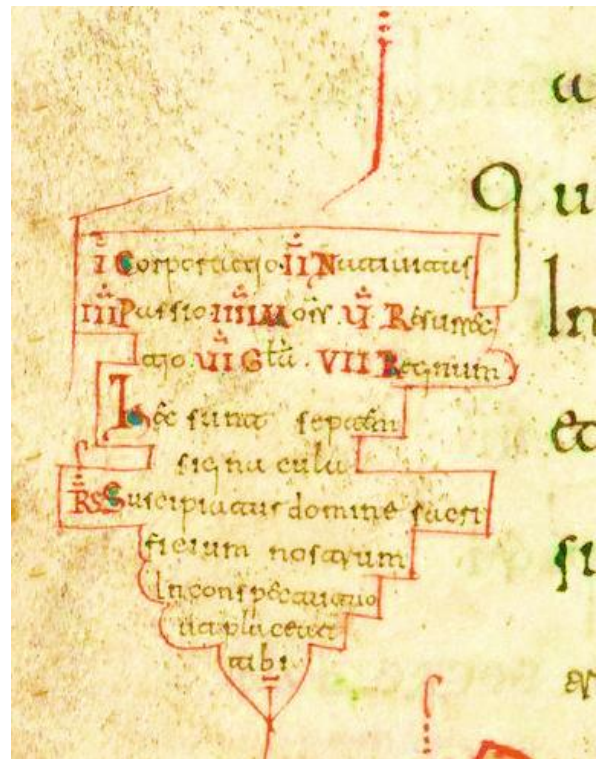
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<sup>26</sup> The diagram often appears in texts of the Mozarabic liturgy, down to the current text in use, inaugurated in 1985 in the Cathedral of Toledo in the presence of the Queen of Spain, Sofia, during the II. Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes. The ancient diagram here comes from the program for a rare concelebrated Mozarabic Mass in the old Cathedral at Salamanca during the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Salamanca, 1976).

<sup>27</sup> Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale/Historia orientalis. Introduction, édition critique et traduction par Jean Donnadieu* (Turnhout, 2008), cap. 81, p. 324. Jacques included the Mozarabs in his enumeration of Christians living under Muslim rule. He says of them, “The Christians who dwell in Africa and Spain among the Saracens of the West are called Mozarabi; they use the Latin alphabet, read the Scripture in the Latin tongue, and like all the other Latins humbly and devotedly obey the Holy Roman Church without deviating in any way from its articles of faith and sacraments. They celebrate the Eucharist with unleavened bread, as do the other Latins. However, some of them divide the Eucharist into seven parts, and some into nine, whereas the Roman Church and its other subjects divide the Eucharist into three parts only. But as this division has nothing to do with the essence of the sacrament, it does not alter it or hinder its value.”



**Figure 7** Distribution of Nine Hosts, Mozarabic. (Program, *Libellus Missae*, V. International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Salamanca, 1976) Photo: author.



**Figure 8** Distribution of Seven Hosts, *Liber ordinum*, 10<sup>th</sup> century, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia 56, fol. 139v. Photo: Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia.

the Apocalypse. Listeners (or private readers) must have been puzzled by the meaning of these mysterious readings, and it was thus appropriate to have explanations of them in a homily.

Although there is no direct evidence for this in the manuscripts, it has been suggested that Aspringius' commentary the Apocalypse, used by Beatus, was originally created from homilies or explanations of readings from the Apocalypse in the Visigothic liturgy.<sup>28</sup> Could it be that the Beatus was intended, originally or later, in part as a homiliarium for the readings from the

<sup>28</sup> See *Latin Commentaries on Revelation By Victorinus of Petovium, Apringius of Beja, Caesarius of Arles, Bede the Venerable, Ancient Christian Texts*, trans. and ed. William C. Weinrich (InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, IL, 2011), xxix.

Apocalypse in the Mass liturgy (or in other forms of private reading – Beatus in his text occasionally refers his readers to the illustrations that scholars think originally accompanied his text)? The illustrations would have been pictorial prompts as to where to find the explanations for the reading of the pericope from the Apocalypse. In northern Europe in Gospel Evangeliaria there were Capitularia at the end of the manuscripts to aid one in finding the appropriate reading for the day, giving an incipit, “usque,” and explicit, and one could then turn to the passage that might be marked in the margin with a + and F. So in the Beatus “homiliarium” one would use the illustrations to find the appropriate passage and explanation. For example, for the reading for the Secunda Feria Pasche ad Missam in the Visigothic Mass, one would look for the illustration of the angel giving John the letter to the Ephesians. In a sense this would not be unlike the northern illustrated Gospel Evangelistaria where the illustrations would act as visual prompts as to which Gospel pericopes were to be read on certain feasts. It is interesting that the modern liturgical historian Giacomo Baroffio described our newly discovered Milanese Beatus fragment in Beneventan script, to be treated later, not as a Beatus Commentary, but as a homiliarium, perhaps because the *Storia* from the Apocalypse contains only an incipit, “usque,” and explicit and not the full text of the pericope from the Apocalypse, implying that one would have to look in another book, such as a *Liber comicus*, for the full text of the pericope. Of course, in southern Italy where there is no firm evidence that the Visigothic liturgy with its readings from the Apocalypse was used in Eastertide and hence no need for a homily on it leads one to wonder if the manuscript from which it was copied was a Visigothic one in which the *Storia* was an abbreviated pericope followed by the *Explanatio* “homily” for liturgical use. In early medieval Spain, then, the Beatus Commentary could have been used practically in the liturgy.

Yet another theological–liturgical concern of the Visigothic church is reflected in Book 2, Prologue, cap. 10. of Beatus, when he presents an abbreviated version of the Nicene Creed with the words, “Credimus et in sanctum spiritum ex patre et filio procedentem” referring to the double procession of the Holy Spirit. This was a Trinitarian concern of the Visigothic church going back to the III Council of Toledo (589) in which Visigothic Spain rejected Arianism for Orthodoxy, and the Creed with the so-called double procession clause was repeatedly cited in numerous Visigothic councils thereafter.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, a form of the Nicene Creed with the double procession was inserted into the Visigothic Mass at the fraction. According to most historians it was from Spain that the Nicene Creed with the *filioque* entered the liturgy of Charlemagne’s court, via Ireland, England, and Alcuin, to be recited after the Gospel, and eventually accepted in Rome in 1014 at the urging of the Emperor Henry II. This Hispanic derivation of the *filioque* in the Mass liturgy is unlikely since the *filioque* is not used in the Visigothic Mass, only “et filio,” and is recited at a different place in the Mass. Rather, the Nicene Creed with the *filioque* appears to have come from Lombard or Beneventan sources<sup>30</sup> through Paulinus of Aquileia and officially accepted at the Council of Aachen (809) at the urging of the Visigoth Theodulf of Orleans.<sup>31</sup> In short, Beatus in his Commentary with its credal statement,

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<sup>29</sup> On the importance of the creeds in the Visigothic councils and the creed commentaries of such Visigothic writers as Leidrad of Lyon and Theodulf of Orleans, see the studies of the late Susan Ann Keefe (my first doctoral student in Toronto), “Creed Commentary Collections in Carolingian Manuscripts” in *Ritual, Text and Law*, 185-204, and her forthcoming *Explanations fidei aevi Carolini*, CCCM 254 (Turnhout, 2012).

<sup>30</sup> We have no Beneventan-script examples from the eighth century with the *filioque* in the Creed said after the Gospel, but it does appear at this point in the Beneventan-script MSS, Montecassino MS 127, and Vatican, BAV lat. 6082, fol. 139v: “et in spiritum sanctum domionum [sic] et uiuificantem qui ex patre filioque procedit....”

<sup>31</sup> On this see my “*The Visigothic Liturgy in the Realm of Charlemagne*” in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationpunkt karolingischer Kultur (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte 80*; Mainz, 1997), 933 f.

“ex patre et filio procedentem,” reflects a theological-liturgical concern not only in Visigothic Spain but in the wider realm of Charlemagne.

The earliest Beatus manuscripts have illustrations in columns (like our Geneva Beatus, which belongs to the earliest branch of the Beatus text). Then with the great painter Magius and his successors the illustrations were expanded to full and double pages and dominated the text of Beatus. Hence, the illustrations became the best known and valued aspect of the manuscripts. It is interesting, too, that as the Roman rite with its two readings, without the Apocalypse, began to penetrate Spain in the eleventh century, eventually supplanting the Visigothic/Mozarabic rite except in Toledo,<sup>32</sup> the Apocalypse and the text of the commentary became less important. Thus, Beatus was copied more as a treasure or prestige item for its brilliant illustrations than for its text, and hence important patrons of the arts such as Ferdinand I commissioned the magnificent Facundus Beatus, or wealthy and important ecclesiastic and monastic patrons commissioned such Beatus manuscripts as the Gerona or Silos examples.<sup>33</sup> A parallel can be found in the rare south Italian Exultet rolls with their brilliant illustrations, which Thomas Forrest Kelly has argued were made not so much for instructing congregations with a visual explanation of the Exultet text, but as prestige, artistic items for important ecclesiastical patrons.<sup>34</sup>

Turning to the Geneva manuscript, if one compares the illustrated Spanish manuscripts of the Beatus with the Geneva codex, it is at first obvious that although heavily illustrated, the

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<sup>32</sup> On this process see my “Baptismal Rite and Paschal Vigil in Transition in Medieval Spain: A New Text in Visigothic Script,” *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993), 262-264; reprinted in my *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal Manuscripts from Spain and Southern Italy* (Aldershot, 2009), III.

<sup>33</sup> On the “decline” of the Beatus text and the “rise” of its artistic value in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Peter Klein, “La fonction et la ‘popularité’ des Beatus ou Umberto Eco et les risques d’un dilettantisme historique,” *Études Roussillonnaises offertes à Pierre Ponsich* (Perpignan, 1987), 321; and his comments in *El Beato de Berlín. Berlín, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Theol. Lat. 561* (Madrid, n.d.), 19, 133.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (New York, 1996).





**Figure 9** Defects in the parchment (left) and (right) Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (right) (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

Geneva manuscript lacks the brilliant colors of the Spanish manuscripts. Like many of the earliest Spanish Beatus manuscripts the Geneva illustrations are largely confined to single columns between the “*Storiae*” (biblical texts of the Apocalypse) and the “*Explanationes*” (commentaries) of Beatus. Moreover, like the earliest Spanish exemplars, such as the Aemilianense in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Vit. 14-1, very few illustrations are placed within frames or borders.

It is notable also that the manuscript has many holes, both substantial and tiny, and partial pages, around which text and illustrations were copied. **(Figure 9)** This probably indicates that



the manuscript was made in a scriptorium with limited stores of parchment for a text as important as an illustrated Beatus commentary. This would not have been the case with such centers as the great abbey of Montecassino where beautiful parchment without holes, patches, and the like was usually abundant and where manuscripts of our age were written on beautiful parchment pages or in Benevento itself, which produced such magnificent illustrated manuscripts as the Exultet rolls.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless the use of gold in the illustrations indicates that the scriptorium was not without resources.

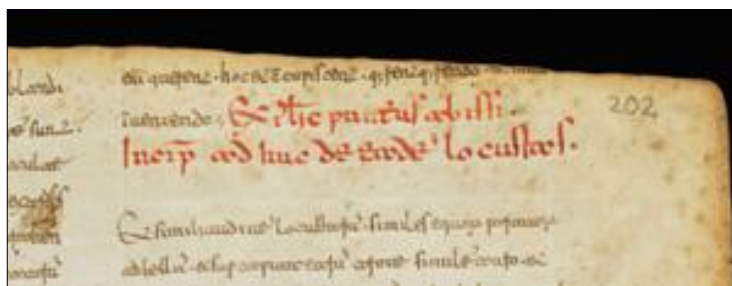
As to the composition of the manuscript, it appears that the scribe or scribes copied the text in darker ink, at times leaving space for the illustrations, which were then sketched in and later colored, perhaps some even by the principal scribe or scribes.<sup>36</sup> At times, the illustrations were entered first, around which the text was written.<sup>37</sup> This means that the scribe was working extremely closely with the illustrator or that the scribe himself was the illustrator. Also, space was left for the rubricator (whether he was the original scribe or another) to add rubrics for the biblical text in bright orange or red. In some instances it seems that the rubricator or textual scribe entered his text after the illustration was entered. Occasionally, the space left for the rubric was too large, resulting in an awkward space (**Figure 10**) or too small, resulting in the squeezing of the rubric. (**Figure 11**) At times the biblical text was not rubricated but entered by the main

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<sup>35</sup> On these see my “Les cérémonies liturgiques de la cathédrale de Bénévent” in *La cathédrale de Bénévent*, ed. T. F. Kelly (Atelier de Recherche et d'Interprétation des Musiques Médiévales, Royaumont, France, Ghent, 1999), 167-205 + 15 pls. and “Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art,” *Gesta* 22 (1983), 27-38 + 17 figures.

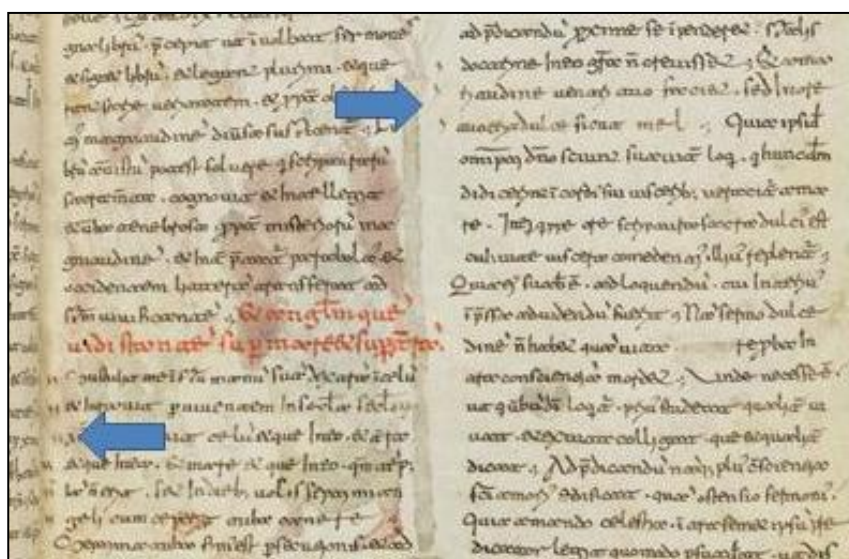
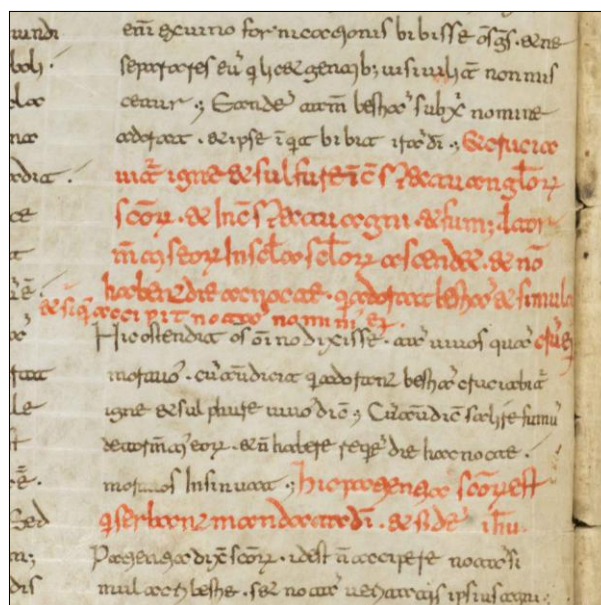
<sup>36</sup> In some cases the color of the illustration overlaps the text: fols. 165v, 172r, 187r, 202v, 204r and 234r (where the text “bleeds” through the color), 205v, 227v.

<sup>37</sup> In the following instances the text or rubrics seem to have been entered after the illustration was made, the text being written around the illustration: fols. 152r, 160r, 162r, 174r, 183v, 198v, 199r, 200r, 200v, 206v, 207r, 207v, 208r, 208v, 211r, 220r, 224r, 225v, 227r, 228r, 231r, 233v, 235r, 235v, 236r, 236v, 237r, 238r, 244r.



**Figure 10** Rubric space is too large. Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève

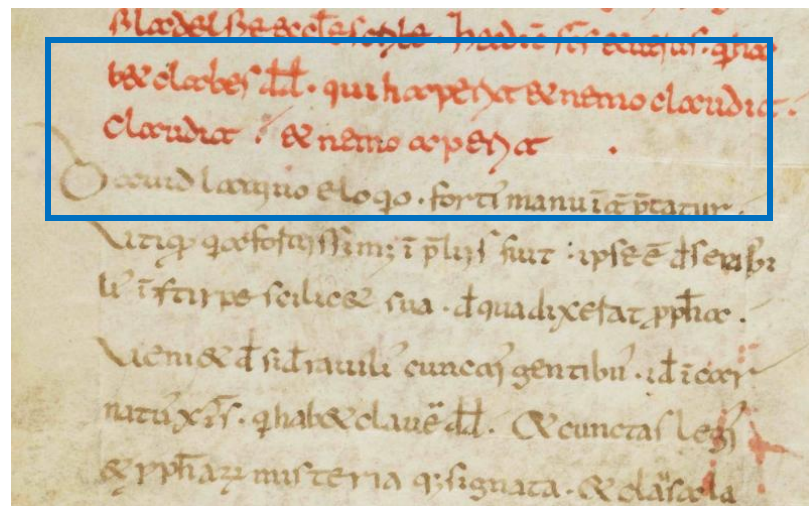
**Figure 11** Rubric space is too small. Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.



**Figure 12** “SS” denoting appropriate biblical passage, Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

scribe/scribes in dark ink, and to note that it was indeed the appropriate biblical text “SS”-shaped squiggles were placed in the margins. **(Figure 12)**

In the beginning of the manuscript, most of the rubrications are in Carolingian script, but then the Beneventan is used. In some cases the rubricator seems to have been the scribe of the dark text. For example, on fol. 165v the text of the *Storia* is in Beneventan, the rubrication is then in Beneventan, and this is followed by the next textual words in Beneventan, only to be followed by text in Carolingian script in the same ink. **(Figure 13)**



**Figure 13** Beneventan and Carolingian scripts, Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

As to the text of the Geneva Beatus, Roger Gryson, in his new edition of the Beatus Commentary, deals briefly with it as MS X and places it in the “gamma” textual tradition, also found in the San Millán Beatus (Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33 [Castile s.X<sup>4/4</sup>]





**Figure 14** Woman and Dragon in the Geneva Beatus (left); Facundus Beatus (right). Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana)

11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, 360 x 268 mm, c. 1047. Photo: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

[Gryson's MS H]) and the Escorial Beatus (El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo & II. 5

[c. 1000] [Gryson's MS E],<sup>39</sup> that is, in the first branch of the Beatus manuscripts.

<sup>39</sup> *Beati Liebanensis Tractatus de Apocalipsin*, ed. Roger Gryson, CCSL CVIIB, (Turnhout, 2012) I. xiv, lviii-lxi.

Professor Williams in his forthcoming study of the illustrations of the manuscript will comment more fully on them, but is clear that they radically differ iconographically from their Spanish counterparts. In some instances the illustrations in the Geneva Beatus more accurately reflect the text of the Apocalypse than other Beatus manuscripts. **(Figure 14)** For example, in the Woman and Dragon illustration one sees on the left the woman and the dragon facing her. The text from the Bible reads:

And a great sign was seen in heaven: a woman arrayed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars; and she was with child; and she crieth out, travailing in birth, and in pain to be delivered. And there was seen another sign in heaven: and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his heads seven diadems. And his tail draweth the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon standeth before the woman that is about to be delivered, that when she is delivered he may devour her child.

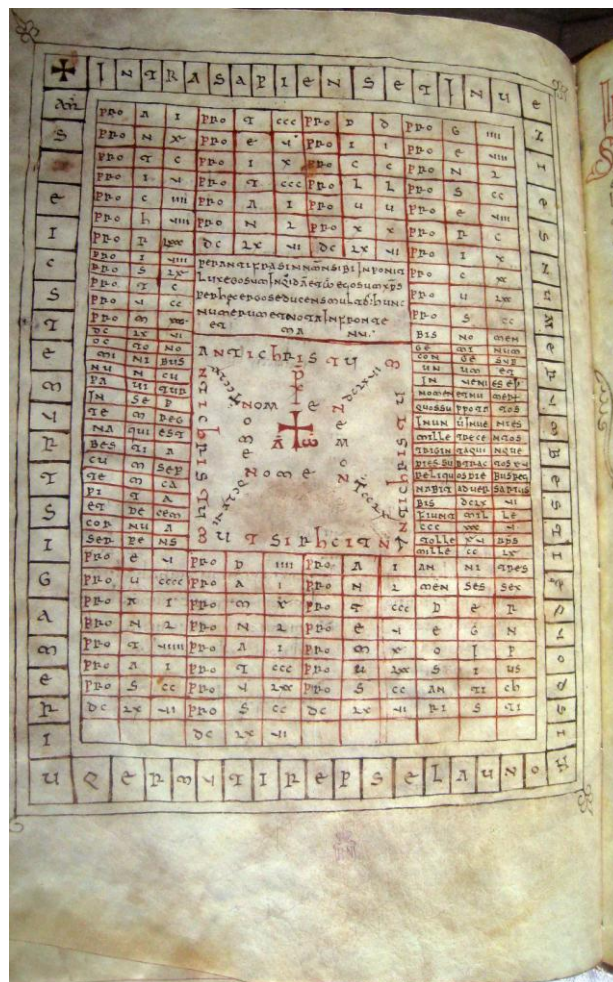
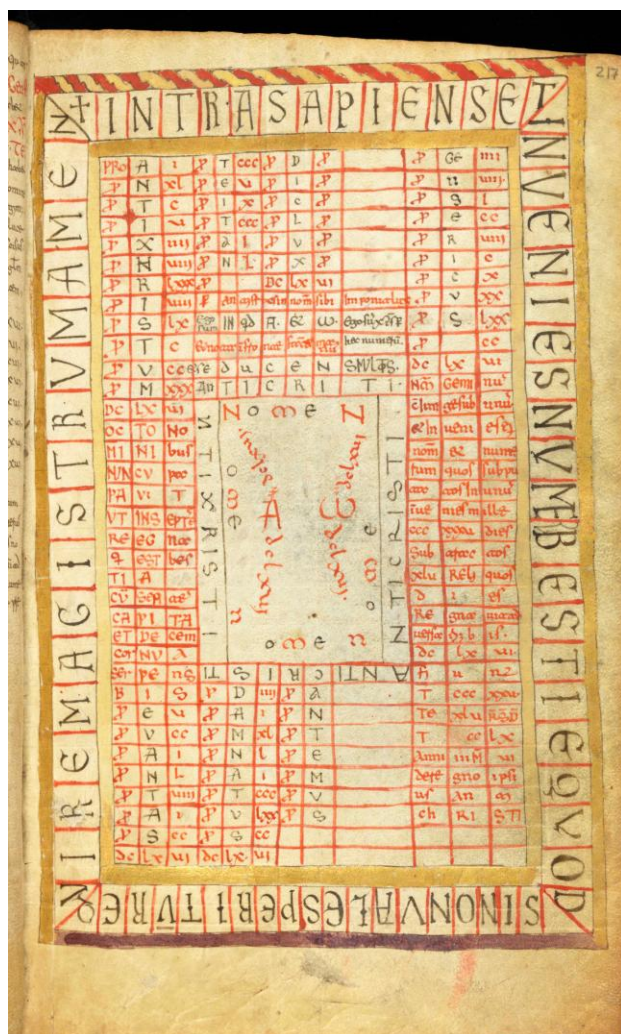
In the Geneva manuscript, the woman is clearly pregnant; she has a crown of twelve stars and the sun and moon below her. The red dragon has seven heads, ten horns, and seven diadems. For comparison, in the Spanish Facundus Beatus the woman is not obviously pregnant and has only eleven stars around her. In other illustrations, such as the table of names of the Antichrist, the Geneva illustration is fully the equal in size and complexity of other Beatus manuscripts. **(Figure 15)** Occasionally the Geneva manuscript reproduces themes found in the Spanish manuscripts, such as found in Spanish manuscripts with the typical Visigothic T-shaped altar with the souls of the martyrs beneath it.<sup>40</sup> **(Figure 16)**

What especially sets the Geneva manuscript apart from its “sisters,” most of which are in Visigothic script, are the scripts in which it is written, Beneventan and Carolingian. The Beneventan script is called not after the southern Italian city of Benevento, but for the large area

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<sup>40</sup> On the stipites of altars see my “Altar and Altar Apparatus,” *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 1, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York, 1982), 221.





**Figure 15** Names of the Anti-Christ in the Geneva Apocalypse (left) and Aemilianense Apocalypse (right): Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, fol. 217r, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) and 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century Italy and Southern Italy, and (right) Aemilianense Apocalypse, 37 x 27 cm. 10<sup>th</sup> century, Spain, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Real Vit. 14-1, fol. 221v Photos: Bibliothèque de Genève and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

of the southern Lombards called the Duchy of Benevento. This hand has been magisterially described in a famous volume published in 1914 entitled *The Beneventan Script* by the great twentieth-century palaeographer, E. A. Lowe. Lowe's palaeographic expertise extended not only to the Beneventan script, but also to the Visigothic script.<sup>42</sup> Both scripts grew out of late classical cursive hands, but many of the letters and ligatures are quite different. The Beneventan

<sup>42</sup> Even before the publication of his *The Beneventan Script* in 1914, Lowe had published a major study of the Visigothic script "*Studia Palaeographica. A Contribution to the History of Early Latin Minuscule and to the Dating*





**Figure 16** The Souls of Martyrs under the Altar in the Geneva Apocalypse (left) and the Facundus Apocalypse (right). Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva, 25 x 16 cm (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève and Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 14-2, 360 x 268 mm, c. 1047. Photo: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

has a regular, even appearance achieved by the perfect alignment and measured spacing of letters and words; the masterful alternation of thick and thin strokes; uniformity of punctuation; the joining of letters by means of the horizontal connecting stroke and the junction of bows. Of course all this joining of letters can also make for illegibility in the eyes of a non-afficionado and doubtless caused Beneventan to be designated in medieval catalogues as “littera langobarda,” i.e., a difficult script used by barbarians. A look at the Beneventan alphabet shows

of Visigothic Manuscripts” in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1910, Abhandlung 12 Munich, 1910), reprinted in E. A. Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers*, 1907-1965, ed. L. Bieler (Oxford, 1972), 1.2-61 + 7 plates.

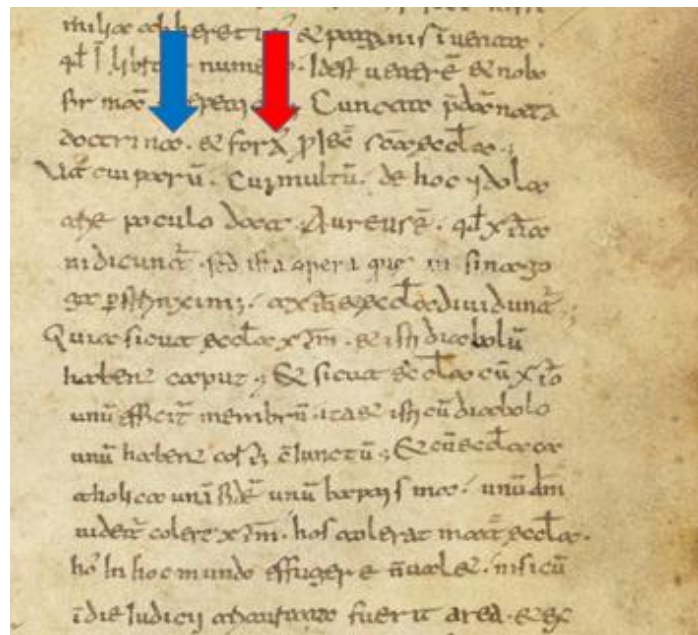
that some of the troublesome letters are: *a* (shaped like *oc* touching), *c* (a single curve) and broken *c* (resembling one *c* surmounted by another), *e* (with high upper loop), and *t* (with curved stroke on the left and a horizontal stroke extending to the right from the vertical stroke). In **Figure 17** one can see some of the differences with the Visigothic script written only in Spain and southern France.



**Figure 17** Comparison of Visigothic (left) and Beneventan (right) Scripts. Photo: author.

Coming back to our Geneva manuscript, not all of the Beatus text is in Beneventan. On fols. 149-166, fol. 196, and fol. 229 the text is in Carolingian hands. One might conclude that two or more scribes were at work, one coming from the north in Italy or Europe where Carolingian was written and the other from the south where Beneventan was written. But this is not the case. In some instances – even in mid-sentence or word -- the scribe will change from Carolingian to Beneventan and vice versa. Several paleographers, including Francis Newton, Caterina Tristano, and myself have shown that this was occasionally the case, especially in

Beneventan and Romanesca manuscripts written in the eleventh century.<sup>44</sup> Further, one of the Carolingian hands has been contaminated by Beneventan features. Hence, it would seem that this scribe normally used Beneventan and had been “retrained” in Carolingian where he continued to use Beneventan traditions. For example, in the first folio of our Beatus, he indiscriminately uses a Beneventan “a” and a Carolingian “a” in the same line. (**Figure 18**)



**Figure 18** Indiscriminate use of Beneventan “a” and Carolingian “a” in the same line, Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, fol. 149r. Bibliothèque de Genève, Geneva. 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy. Photo: Bibliothèque de Genève.

This brings up the interesting question of when and where was the Geneva manuscript written. The hand is a rounder hand more like that written in the middle of the eleventh century

<sup>44</sup> Francis Newton, “One Scriptorium, Two Scripts: Beneventan, Caroline, and the Problem of Marston 112” in *Beinecke Studies in Early Manuscripts*, Yale University Library Gazette, Supplementary 66 (1991), 118-133; Caterina Tristano, “Scrittura beneventana et scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell’Italia meridionale,” *Scrittura e Civiltà* 3 (1979), 89-150; and Roger E. Reynolds, “Odilo and the *Treuga Dei* in Southern Italy: A Beneventan Manuscript Fragment,” *Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1984), 450-462 on Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana Tom. XVIII.



(like Montecassino MS 125). It is clearly not in the developed classic Beneventan hand of the late eleventh century such as was practiced at the abbey of Montecassino under the great abbot Desiderius. Further, the folios do not have the tell-tale rubbing on the flesh side that manuscripts of that abbey had in the eleventh century.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the simplicity of the illustrations would likely not have been characteristic of Montecassino, even in the early and central eleventh century, such as one finds in the great *De universo* text of Montecassino MS 132 or the Theobaldian *Moralia* Montecassino MS 73. With respect to the precise scriptorium in which it was written, one could only wish that Virginia Brown were still with us, because if anyone could identify it, she could. Alas.

There is also another puzzling question. How did manuscripts written in Visigothic script, such as the Beatus, come to southern Italy? In Lowe's study, *The Beneventan Script*, it is noted that there are only three known Visigothic script codices in southern Italy, and only three more in the north of Italy.<sup>46</sup> In the south Lowe pointed to Montecassino MS 4, written in Visigothic script in the eighth or ninth century -- perhaps in Cordoba-- where a Beneventan hand has transcribed Visigothic marginalia in a cursive hand.<sup>47</sup> He also notes another manuscript of approximately the same age in Visigothic script at Montecassino MS 19, but without Beneventan notations.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> It is a characteristic of codices written in Beneventan script at Montecassino in the eleventh century that there is rubbing or flaking of the text on the flesh sides of the folios, on which see Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Montecassino 1058-1105* (Cambridge, 1999) 120 f. and my "Montecassino Cod. 125 and Henry," *Classica et Beneventana: Essays presented to Virginia Brown on the Occasion of her 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, eds. F. T. Coulson and A. A. Grotans (*Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales; Textes et Études du Moyen Âge*, 36) ed. J. Hamesse (Turnhout, 2008), 407-422.

<sup>46</sup> *The Beneventan Script*, p. 107 f.

<sup>47</sup> On this manuscript see Lowe, "Studia Palaeographica," plate 3, and Susan Ann Keefe, "Creed Commentary Collections in Carolingian Manuscripts" in *Ritual, Text and Law*, p. 195.

<sup>48</sup> According to M. C. Díaz y Díaz, "La circulation des manuscrits dans la Péninsule Ibérique du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 12 (1969), 239, these two Cassino manuscripts may perhaps have come to southern Italy via Spanish contacts with Amalfi. On these two manuscripts see Gabriella Braga, Bartolomeo Pirone, Biancamaria Amoretti Scarcia, "Note e osservazioni in margine a due manoscritti Cassinesi (Cass. 4 e 19)" in *Studi*

Finally, Lowe cites the great Visigothic Danila Bible, written likely in the Asturias in Spain in the ninth century, and containing one of the best examples of the Spanish Vulgate Bible intermixed with the Old Latin version of the Bible (Cava dei Tirreni, Archivio della Badia 1). This famous manuscript, with its Beneventan and Arabic marginalia, came to the Benedictine monastery at Cava (founded in 1011), where it was annotated in Beneventan script likely in the last decade of the eleventh century.<sup>49</sup>

But Lowe's numbers have been substantially increased. First, it is well known that manuscripts in Visigothic script did come to Italy as early as the eighth century. Indeed, the oldest liturgical codex in that script, the famous Verona *Orationale* written before 732, came from Spain through Sardinia and perhaps Pisa to Verona in the early eighth century, likely in the luggage of Christians fleeing the onslaught of the Muslim invaders of Spain. Moreover, the remains of what was once a glorious three-column Visigothic pandect Bible of the late eighth century found its way to Lucca, where other Visigothic script codices of the same age are to be found.<sup>50</sup> It is interesting here to note the connections between Montecassino and its dependency

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*sulle società e le culture del medioevo*, eds. Ludovico Gatto and Paola Supino Martini (Florence, 2002), 57-84, connecting the Montecassino MSS and Cava MS 1 with their same Arabic marginalia as having come together to southern Italy together. One wonders if the Arabic marginalia were entered in the Asturias, where the Cava Bible was made, or farther south with its Mozarabic population. That Christian texts written in Latin could be copied in Arabic can be seen in the Arabic MS, El Escorial Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo 1623 (s.XI) on which see my "The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties," p. 278.

<sup>49</sup> On this manuscript and its possible relation to Montecassino MSS 4 and 19, see Paolo Cherubini, "Le Bibbie spagnole in visigotica" in *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, ed. Paolo Cherubini (Vatican, Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2005), 166; and "Note e osservazioni in margine a due manoscritti Cassinesi (Cass. 4 e 19)," 57-84. On the origins of this Bible, see Paolo Cherubini, "La Bibbia di Danila: un monumento 'trionfale' per Alfonso II di Asturie," *Scrittura e civiltà* 23 (1999), 75-131; and on its presence at Cava in the late eleventh century, see Guy Lobrichon, "Riforma ecclesiastica e testo della Bibbia" in *Le Bibbie Atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione (Abbazia di Montecassino, 11 luglio - 11 ottobre 2000 / Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, settembre 2000 - gennaio 2001)*, eds. Marilena Maniaci and Giulia Orofino (Milan, 2000), 19 f.

<sup>50</sup> See my "Visigothic-Script Remains of a Pandect Bible and the *Collectio canonum hispana* in Lucca," *Miscellanea Beneventana: Parerga Beneventana, Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996), 305-31 + 2 figs.; reprinted in my *Studies on Medieval Liturgical and Legal Manuscripts from Spain and Southern Italy* with material on an additional fragment in the collection of Domenico Maffei.

of San Giorgio of Lucca<sup>51</sup> and that Beneventan influence can be found in Luccan manuscripts.<sup>52</sup> Lowe also missed another set of Visigothic fragments of the ninth century in Compactiones XIII at Montecassino.<sup>53</sup> Another Visigothic fragment of a canon law manuscript written in the eleventh century, probably in northern Spain is also in Lucca.<sup>54</sup> Yet a further Visigothic-script liturgical manuscript has now been identified in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, likely again brought to Italy by visiting monks.<sup>55</sup> And finally there are thirty-two fragments of Visigothic-script codices bound into volumes printed in Venice, now in the Rijksmuseum of the Catherijneconvent in Utrecht Holland.<sup>56</sup>

There is also the unusual case of an extremely rare Visigothic text coming to southern Italy in the tenth century and being copied in Beneventan script by monks of Montecassino when in exile in Capua (915-934), now Vatican, BAV lat. 5845. This text, for the holding of a church council, *Ordo de celebrando concilio*, is found elsewhere only in the famous tenth-century illustrated Visigothic canon law Codices Vigilano and Aemilianensis now kept in the library of

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<sup>51</sup> Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 269, n. 2.

<sup>52</sup> See my “The Ritual of Clerical Ordination of the Sacramentarium Gelasianum saec. viii: Early Evidence from Southern Italy,” *Rituels: Mélanges offerts au Père Gy O.P.*, eds. P. De Clerck and E. Palazzo (Paris, 1990), 437-445. The manuscript Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 606 with its Beneventan musical notation clearly has connections with south Italy and the Beneventan-script zone: on which see Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, p. 270, noting Beneventan interrogation signs; and Ernst H. Kantorowicz, “The Baptism of the Apostles,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9-10 (1955-56), 243-45, who dates the manuscript to s.X-XI and notes that it contains Beneventan-rite peculiarities within Roman sets. The specialist in Beneventan musical notation, Professor Thomas Forrest Kelly, has kindly informed me that in the material at the end of the manuscript there are liturgical texts for Good Friday he has found only in Benevento.

<sup>53</sup> On this manuscript fragment containing the *De Trinitate* of Augustine, see Braga et al., “Note e osservazioni in margine a due manoscritti Cassinesi (Cass. 4 e 19),” 58-59, 61, 68, 70, 74, 79.

<sup>54</sup> See n. 50.

<sup>55</sup> See my “Baptismal Rite and Paschal Vigil in Transition in Medieval Spain,” 257-272 + 2 figs.

<sup>56</sup> See my “Utrecht Fragments in Visigothic Script,” *Miscellanea Beneventana: Parerga Beneventana, Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996), 313-320 + 2 figs.



El Escorial (d.I.1 and d.I.2), both postdating the Capuan manuscript.<sup>57</sup> Lowe has suggested that some Beneventan-script codices, such as Vatican BAV lat. 3320 (s.IX), were copied from Visigothic exemplars,<sup>58</sup> and this may be the case here with a Visigothic exemplar older than the Vigilano or Aemilianensis being used.

But how did these Visigothic texts and manuscripts reach southern Italy? It is known that texts written in southern Italy early travelled to Spain,<sup>59</sup> and presumably texts from Spain came to southern Italy. It has been mentioned that some of these might have come with refugees fleeing Muslim domination in Spain. But there is another possibility that they came with monks, clerics, or even laymen who visited or settled in southern Italy. It is known that there were

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<sup>57</sup> See my "The Civitas Regia Toletana before the Reconquista: A Mozarabic Vision in the Codices Vigilanus and Aemilianensis" *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la Reconquista de Toledo: Actas del II. Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes*, 3, ed. R. González-Ruiz (Toledo, Spain, 1989), 153-184 + 14 figs.; and my review of *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, ed. H. Schneider (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Ordines de Celebrando Concilio*) (Hannover, 1996) in *Speculum* 74 (1999), 832. There is a copy of this *Ordo* in Montecassino MS 541 (s.XI).

<sup>58</sup> *The Beneventan Script*, p. 111. Other texts of Visigothic authors such as the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville were early copied in Beneventan script, such as the famous Isidore MS, Cava MS 2 (s.VIII) but texts as well known as this could have come from many areas of Europe and not Spain itself. Bernhard Bischoff also has shown that before 800 many manuscripts have traces showing that they were copied from Visigothic exemplars either in southern Italy or Gaul. See Díaz y Díaz, "La circulation des manuscrits," 234.

<sup>59</sup> See my "South Italian Liturgica and Canonistica in Catalonia (New York, Hispanic Society of America MS. HC 380/819)," *Mediaeval Studies* 49 (1987), 480-495; and "An Early Rule for Canons Regular from Santa Maria de l'Estany (New York, Hispanic Society of America MS HC 380/819)," *Miscel.lànea litúrgica catalana* 10 (2001), 165-191. Beneventan-script manuscripts presently in Spain and Portugal are: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cod. frag. 33, "saec. x," bifol. (Medica), Ripoll 103, saec. xi, palimpsest (Medica): Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade 1063 (formerly S.N.), "saec. xiii," 1 fol. (Missale); El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo L III 19, saec. xii, 4 foll. (Collectio canonum); M II 16, saec. xii, flyleaves (Missale); Rx III 1, "saec. xi," ex-covers (Missale); Z III 19, saec. xi ex. (Collectio canonum); R I 18 (Rx I 18), palimpsest, "saec. X" (Libri Regum): Girona, Arxiu de la Catedral S.N., saec. x<sup>2</sup> (Medica ['Receptarium']): the newly discovered Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional Cod L 1503, Frag. 17 (Gradual) (on which see [http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/group/benevent/forum/topic/show?id=3327296%3ATopic%3A52626&xgs=1&xg\\_source=msg\\_share\\_topic](http://gregorian-chant.ning.com/group/benevent/forum/topic/show?id=3327296%3ATopic%3A52626&xgs=1&xg_source=msg_share_topic)); Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 194 (formerly B 3), saec. x (Homiliarium); 373 (formerly A 151) (i) "saec. xii" (Ps.-Isidorus) (ii) saec. xi/xii *ut vid.* (Fulgentius ep. Ruspensis); 413 (formerly D 117), saec. xi *ut vid.* (Leges Langobardorum); 4585 (formerly O 74), flyleaves, saec. xii, 2 foll. (Poenitentiale); Montserrat, Biblioteca del Monestir 1347, cover, saec. xi<sup>1</sup>, part of fol. (Haymo): Oporto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal Casa Forte - Gaveta de Fragmentos (i) saec. x, 5 bifoll. (Ps.-Oribasius) (ii) saec. x, 2 bifoll. (Ps.-Galenus): Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular Veterum codicum frag. I, 1, 'saec. x,' bifol. (Commentarius in Psalmos): and Tortosa, Biblioteca de la Catedral 122, palimpsest (unidentified text). Of course, not all of these came to the Iberian peninsula in the Middle Ages. Thomas Forrest Kelly is presently preparing a study on the transmission of these manuscripts to the Iberian peninsula.

Spanish clerics and monks in southern Italy as early as the eighth century and certainly by the eleventh. In the *Vita Willibaldi* we read of a Spanish presbyter, Diapertus, living at Montecassino, and of his journeying to Rome in 739 in the company of the English monk Willibald.<sup>60</sup> During the tenth century and early eleventh centuries, there was continuous contact between Catalonia, especially the monastery of Ripoll, with Montecassino and Rome. Oliba Cabreta (c. 920 – Montecassino, 990), count of Cerdanya from 965 and count of Besalú from 984 until his abdication in 988 traveled twice to Rome, first in 968 with the Abbot Garin of Cuixà and second in 988 on his journey to Montecassino, the monastery to which he retired.<sup>61</sup> Arnulf, abbot of Ripoll and bishop of Girona, visited Rome and Venice. Oliba's son, another Oliba, who became abbot of Ripoll and bishop of Vic (1018) also visited Rome and brought back relics from Italy. In 998 Bernard I of Besalú joined Ermengol I of Urgell on a pilgrimage to Rome. There they participated in a synod held under the auspices of the Emperor Otto III. Ermengol returned to Rome in 1001. In 1016–17 Bernard and a large entourage of many dignitaries and prelates went to Rome to celebrate Christmas at Saint Peter's Basilica. There Bernard petitioned Pope Benedict VIII to create a see in Besalú. We also know that two monks of Ripoll were sent to Naples to obtain books for the monastery.<sup>63</sup> Later in the eleventh century we read in the *Dialogues* of Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino of a Spanish “vir venerabilis vitae,” named Gumizo, who was a hermit near the Cassinese dependency of San Nicola di

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<sup>60</sup> MGH, SS. XV, pars i, 102.

<sup>61</sup> On this see Manuel. C. Díaz y Díaz, “La circulation des manuscrits.” 232 f. Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, 312, points out that Oliba may have been accompanied to Montecassino by the confrere and friend of St. Romuald, John Gradenigo, whom he had known during his stay at Sant Miquel de Cuixà. Newton also emphasizes that visitors from all over Europe came to Montecassino, some to study and stay and many bringing gifts and even manuscripts with them, which were copied at the abbey. He notes that the Montecassino manuscripts, MS 4 and 19, written in the eighth century in Visigothic script may have been gifts to the abbot Desiderius.

<sup>63</sup> See C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800-1200* (New Haven, 1993), 252.

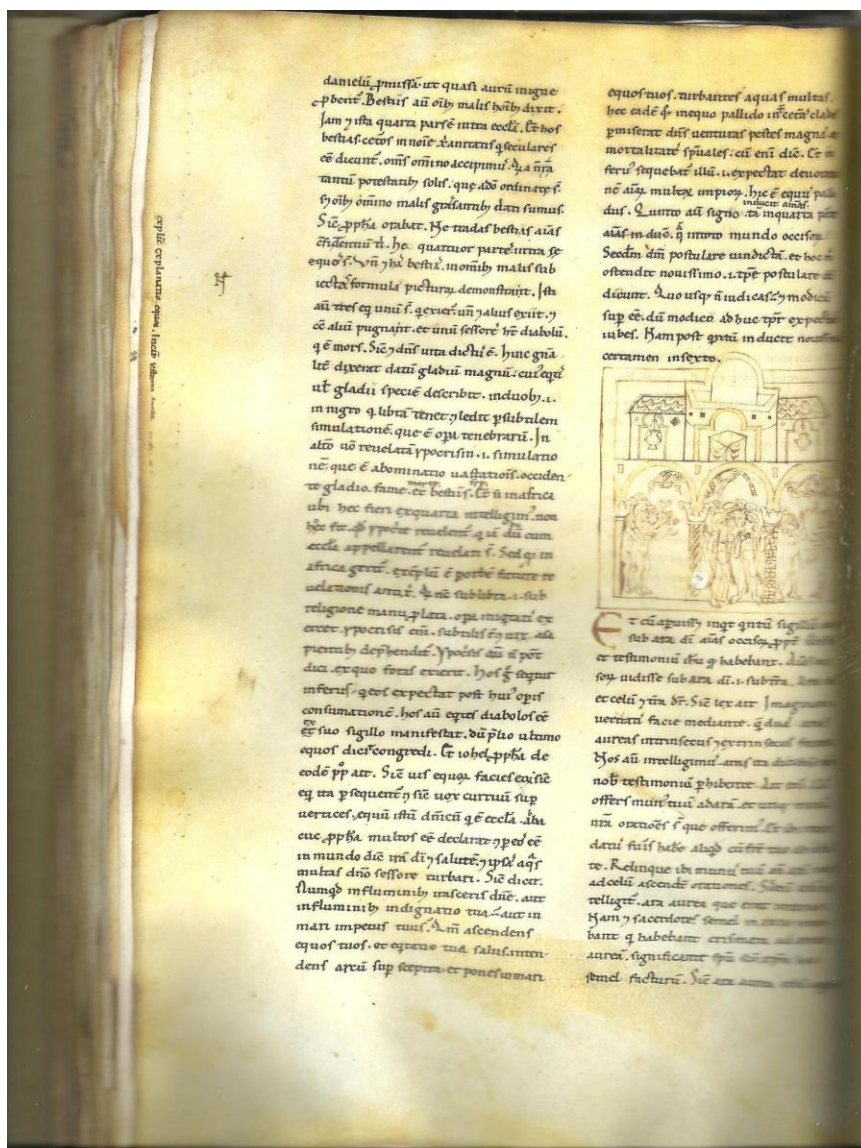
Cicogna. This monk had come from “Hispana Ulterior” or Baetica/Lusitania. Desiderius had heard of him from Abbot John of San Vincenzo al Volturno, who had been very close to Gumizo. His fame was also known as far away as Benevento. Gumizo, according to Peter the Deacon’s *Ortus et vita iustorum Cenobii casinensis*, had come to Montecassino likely in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Also, another Spanish monk, Fortunatus, was the founder of San Matteo de Castello in the mountains near Montecassino, and in the Necrology of San Nicola we find that several of the land tenants of San Nicola hailed from Spain, Iohannes Adenulfus Yspanie and Auerez.<sup>64</sup> While there is no firm evidence that any of these individuals brought manuscripts with them, at least we now are aware of the presence of Spanish clerics or monks and laymen in the Beneventan-script zone at the time our Geneva manuscript was copied. And as we have seen, there were manuscripts written in or annotated in Visigothic script at Montecassino, perhaps brought or copied by men like these.

Is there any evidence that the Beatus Commentary came to southern Italy in the early Middle Ages? Indeed there is. **(Figure 19)** In Berlin there is a copy of the Beatus Commentary written in Carolingian script with Beneventan notations, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Lat. Fol 561. Folios 91-98 of this manuscript with an as yet unidentified text were originally written in double columns in Beneventan script of the tenth century and overwritten in the eleventh or twelfth century. **(Figure 20)** Caterina Tristano has noted the Beneventan-script features in the Carolingian text and has suggested it was copied in

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<sup>64</sup> For these Spanish figures in the Beneventan zone, see Charles Hilken, *The Necrology of San Nicola della Cicogna (Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, cod. 179, ff. 1-64)*, (*Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana II. Studies and Texts*, 135; Toronto, 2000), 12-19, 152.

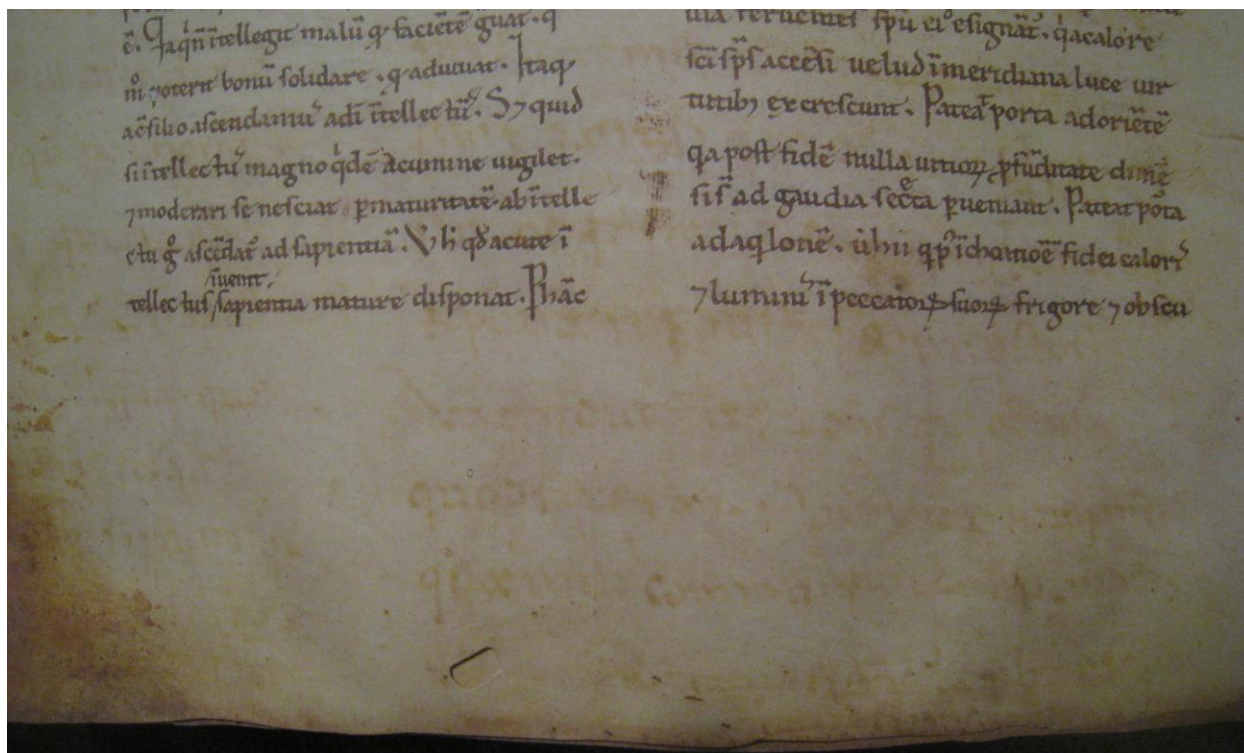
Apulia in the late eleventh century,<sup>65</sup> whereas other scholars have suggested the early twelfth century in Farfa or the vicinity on the northern boundary of the Beneventan zone.<sup>66</sup> In his brief



**Figure 19**  
Commentary  
written in  
Carolingian script  
with Beneventan  
notations, Berlin  
Beatus. Berlin,  
Deutsche  
Staatsbibliothek  
Preussischer  
Kulturbesitz,  
Theol. Lat. Fol  
561, fol. 48v.  
Photo: author.

<sup>65</sup> See Tristano, "Scrittura beneventana et scrittura carolina in manoscritti dell'Italia meridionale," 94. She notes that the shafts of the tall letters often have a fork and a small stroke turned to the left, something that is clearly present on fol. 97v. This, of course, is also true of Visigothic tall letters (see **Figure 17**).

<sup>66</sup> Foremost is Andreas Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften süd-, west- und nordeuropäischer Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz. 4.-12. Jahrhundert. Mit Nachträgen zu Band I. I (Text) - II (Abbildungen), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Kataloge der Handschriftenabteilung. Dritte Reihe. Illuminierte Handschriften*, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1999), 29-35. For the ten Beneventan-script MSS at Farfa see Virginia Brown, *Beneventan Discoveries*, 324.



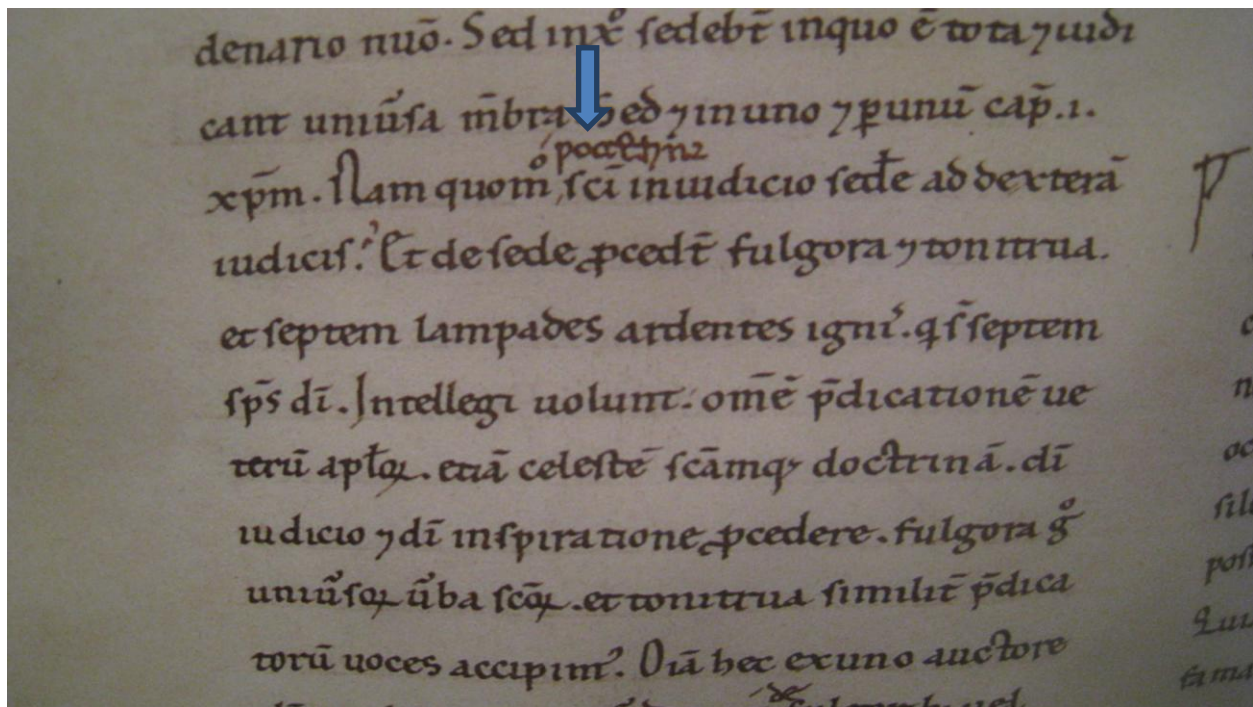
**Figure 20** 10<sup>th</sup>-century Beneventan palimpsest, over-written in 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century, Berlin Beatus. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Lat. Fol 561, Folios 91-98. Photo: author.

description of the manuscript Lowe noted glosses and corrections in Beneventan script.<sup>67</sup>

Virtually all of these are not in Beneventan, but on fol. 37v there is clearly an interlinear addition in Beneventan script, (**Figure 21**) meaning that the manuscript was in the Beneventan zone or that a Beneventan scribe outside the zone had annotated the manuscript. Also, on fol. 66r a scribe has corrected the word “accipe” to “accepi” and has written the “e” in Beneventan style with a high upper loop. Reflecting, perhaps, a Visigothic script model in the past, the scribes at times add an aspirated “h” to words such as “hostende...” on folios 94v or 97r.

<sup>67</sup> On this MS see Loew, *The Beneventan Script*, 24, where the manuscript is described as “Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Theol. Lat. Fol. 561 (formerly in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek). Palimpsest, lower script of foll. 91-98. ‘Saec. x’. Unidentified text. Upper script (Beatus super Apocalypsim) in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii, has glosses and corrections in Beneventan,” with bibliography as P. Lehmann in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jg. 1920, 13. Abh. 26 n. 2; Lowe, *New List* 216





**Figure 21** Beneventan script addition, Berlin Beatus. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Theol. Lat. Fol 561, Folio 37v. Photo: author.

Highly interesting are the illustrations of the text in the Berlin Beatus, which are usually placed within frames and like the earliest Beatus manuscripts are mostly confined to a single column. They bear little or no resemblance to those in the Spanish Visigothic Beatus manuscripts, a phenomenon also of our newly discovered Geneva Beatus. It is instructive to compare the differences in like scenes of the Geneva and Berlin Beatus. For example, the Geneva depiction of the souls under the altar has the typical Visigothic T-shaped altar, (**Figure 16**) whereas the Berlin Beatus on fol. 48v has a block-shaped altar (**Figure 19**) such as one finds in the Warmund Sacramentary.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the illustrations in the Berlin Beatus are only line drawings without color, except for halos and tubas, which are colored in yellow. Line drawings

<sup>68</sup> See my "Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art," figure 4; and Evan A. Gatti, "In a Space Between: Warmund of Ivrea and the Problem of (Italian) Ottonian Art," *Peregrinations* 3.1 (2010), figure 2.



might have been the case in the Geneva Beatus as originally conceived, after which many colors were added (although this is probably not the case).

But most important, there is now hitherto unreported evidence that illustrated manuscripts of the Beatus Commentary written in Beneventan script were copied in southern Italy in the middle of the eleventh century. This evidence comes in a damaged fragment from an illustrated Beatus manuscript used to reinforce the binding of a volume of notarial records for the years 1543–98 of Giuseppe Porro quondam Giovanni Giacomo, who was active at Milan 1543–1600.<sup>69</sup> This fragment in Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823, was first identified by Giacomo Baroffio, as a “frammento di un probabile omeliario del s. XII originario di Bari,”<sup>70</sup> and later as a “frammento di omeliario del s. XI.”<sup>71</sup> He alerted Virginia Brown to the manuscript, and she described it in her “A Second New List of Beneventan Manuscripts IV” simply as a commentary on the Apocalypse with an angel dictating to a scribe, not more specifically as the Commentary of Beatus.<sup>72</sup> She implied that in the item there are two strips, one small and the other a larger leaf. In the notes she left on her death, now deposited in the Archivum Scripturae Beneventanae at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, there is a black and white photocopy of the volume of the notarial record with the Beneventan fragment wrapped around it. **(Figure 22)** On the spine of the volume pasted over the Beneventan text is the identification tag 3823. The tag has now been removed, the fragments opened, and color photos of the recto and

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<sup>69</sup> I intend to do an extensive study of this manuscript, on which see my preface to *Virginia Brown, Beneventan Discoveries*, xiii.

<sup>70</sup> Bonifacio Giacomo Baroffio, *Iter liturgicum Italicum* (Padova, 1999), 127. I have not been able to consult his newly published *Iter Liturgicum Italicum - Editio Maior & Nomina Codicum* ed. Fabrizio Mastroianni (Associazione San Michele Arcangelo, 2012).

<sup>71</sup> Giacomo Baroffio, *Manoscritti liturgici italiani: inventario sommario*, (2005) nr. 10150: <http://musicologia.unipv.it/baroffio/repertori.html>.

<sup>72</sup> See *Beneventan Discoveries*, IV, 357.

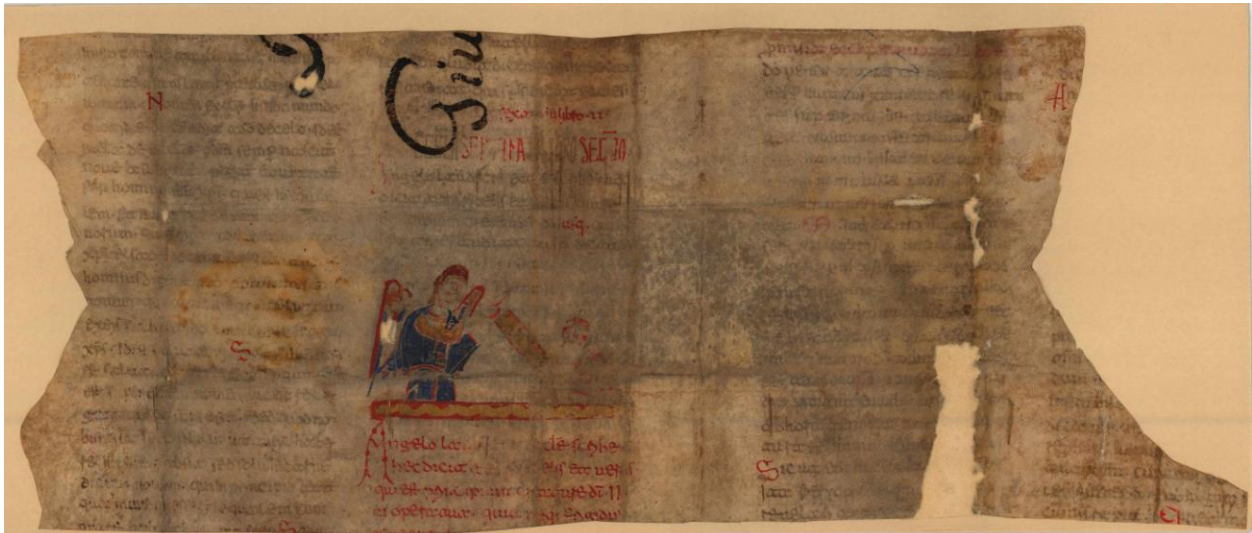
verso sides of the leaf kindly provided me by the staff of the Archivio di Stato. **(Figures 23 and 24)** What appears to be a darkened strip in the center is the discolored spine. In these color photos the angel is clad in blue with golden wings, and hands a golden letter to a kneeling John. The large leaf is a bifolium with two columns per folio, and because the text is consecutive, it appears that the bifolium was the innermost of a quire. The first folio (here called fol. 1r) is



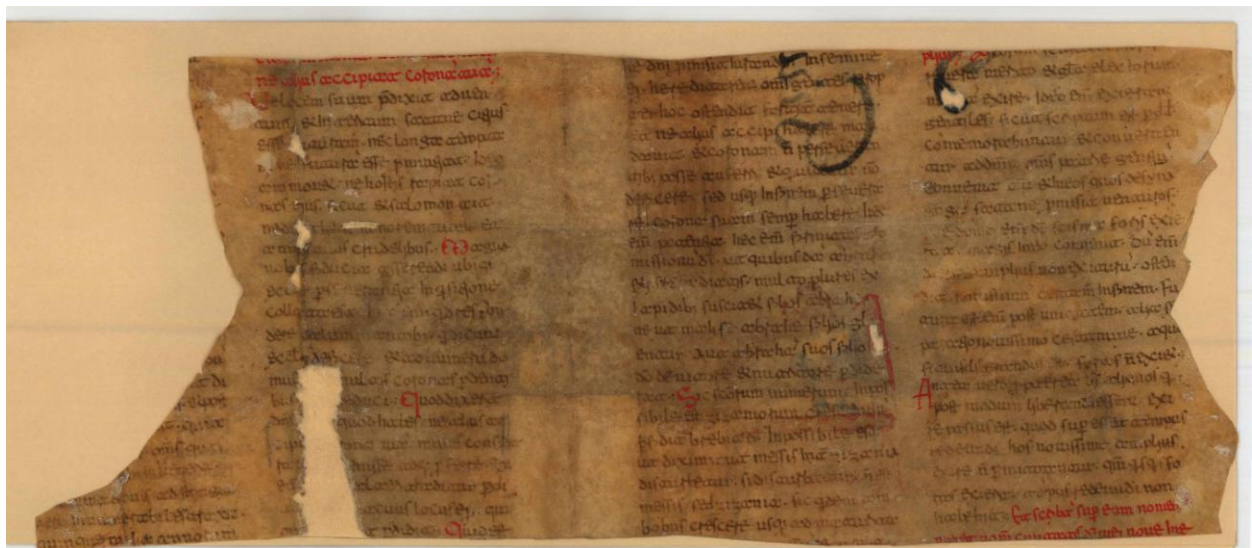
**Figure 22** Virginia Brown’s photocopy of binding of notarial document bound into Beatus fragment, original dates to 11<sup>th</sup> century. Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823. Photo: Archivum Scripturae Beneventanae at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

opposite the folio with the angel illustration. The two folios on the reverse side of the leaf would have been fols. 1v and 2r. The folio with the angel would have been fol. 2v. Strangely, the biblical text of the *Storia* is only partially copied -- the incipit, then a rubricated “usque” followed by the explicit of the *Storia* before the illustration. Why the complete text from the Apocalypse is not written out is a mystery, but it may indicate that the full text would have to have been located in another volume, to be followed as part of a homily by the *Explanatio* of the text, as has been discussed earlier. While the position of the two figures of the angel and St. John is opposite to that appearing in the Geneva Beatus, the two manuscripts have the figures in the same position elsewhere. **(Figure 25)** As for the script of the Milan example, it appears close to the so-called Bari Beneventan script used in Puglia.

Could it be that one or more illustrated Beatus texts in Visigothic script were in southern



**Figure 23** Beneventan Beatus fragment in Milan binding, fol. 2v (left), fol. 1r (right). Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823. Photo: Archivio di Stato.



**Figure 24** Beneventan Beatus fragment in Milan binding, fol. 1v (left), fol. 2r (right). Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823. Photo: Archivio di Stato.

Italy in the eleventh century and were used as models by the scribes and illuminators of our Geneva and Milan manuscripts? It seems almost inconceivable that a copy of the Beatus without illustrations would have come to southern Italy and was copied there with illustrations invented and added by a south Italian illuminator. There must surely have been a model or models. This is particularly the case with the T-shaped altar depiction, so typical in Visigothic Spain.





**Figure 25** Comparison of Angel Messenger in two Benevetan Beatus manuscripts. Beneventan Beatus fragment in Milan binding (left), Milan, Archivio di Stato Rubriche Notarili 3823, fol. 2v and Geneva Apocalypse, MS. Lat. 357, fol. 165v, Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, 25 x 16 cm, (The Institutions of Priscian) 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century and (Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana) 11<sup>th</sup> century, Italy and Southern Italy, Photos: Bibliothèque de Genève and Milan, Archivio di Stato.

Most of the Visigothic manuscripts of the Beatus were much larger than the Geneva Beatus, and one wonders how these could have been “reduced” to make the Geneva Beatus. There could, however, be smaller Beatus manuscripts, such as the tiny jewel, the Corsiniana Beatus of the twelfth century.<sup>73</sup> What of the script however? There were illustrated Beatus manuscripts copied outside of Spain in non-Visigothic scripts, such as the Beatus of San Sever (1060/1070) in Carolingian script, or even the Corsiniana Beatus in Carolingian and Visigothic scripts, and such as these could have been used as models. But there are traces of what may be Visigothic

<sup>73</sup> Rome, Biblioteca del'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana, Segn. 369 (40. E. 6), on which see Lowe, “Studia Palaeographica,” plate 7; and [http://www.siloe.es/otros\\_facsimiles/beato\\_corsini.shtml](http://www.siloe.es/otros_facsimiles/beato_corsini.shtml).

orthography in our Geneva manuscript. On fol. 165v there are written in Beneventan the words, “*clabes dd. haperit*,” which would normally have been written “*claves dd. aperit*.” (**Figure 13**)

Lowe has pointed out that in Visigothic manuscripts the addition before words of an aspirated “h” was common (somewhat rare in Beneventan manuscripts).<sup>74</sup> An example of this can be found in Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit VLF 111, fol. 2v (s.IX<sup>in</sup>, Lyons) with the spelling “*habe*” for “*ave*.”<sup>75</sup> (**Figure 26**) Further, it is well known that in Visigothic manuscripts the letter “b” was frequently interchanged with “v,” such as in “*abe Maria*” (see British Library, Addit. 30844 s.X, Silos) (again this occurs at times in Beneventan-script codices).<sup>76</sup> (**Figure 27**)

In the Aemilianensis Beatus of Madrid, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Cod. 33. fol. 77r, precisely in the same text as the Geneva Beatus there are the words “*clabes dd.*” And in the Aemilianense Beatus of Madrid, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Real Vit. 14-1 (the oldest Beatus from the tenth century) a hand in the twelfth century has frequently changed the “b” to “v.”<sup>77</sup>

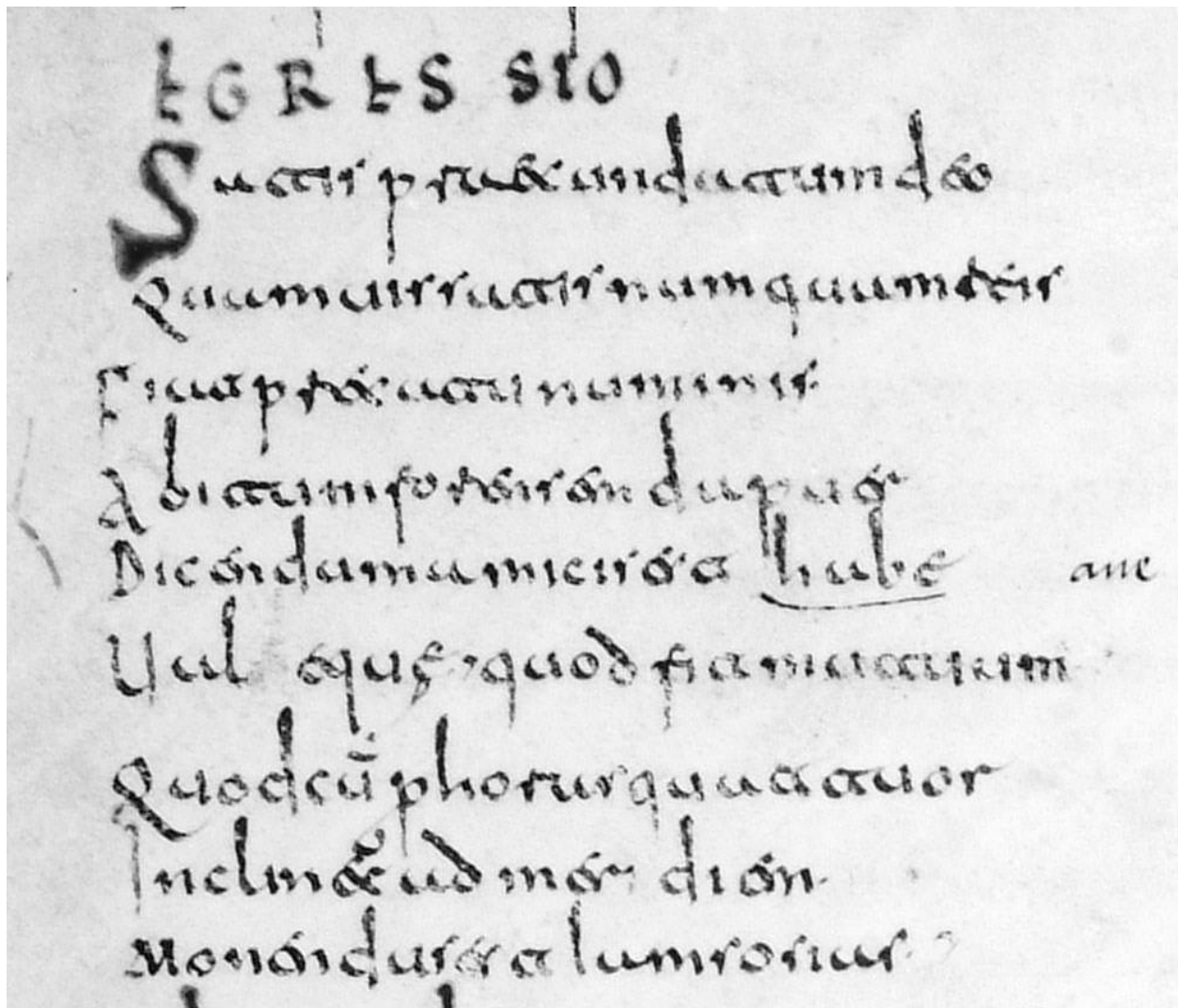
Rather than using a Visigothic model directly, however, could the Geneva Beneventan scribe have been using a Carolingian model of Beatus with these Visigothic orthographical traces and slipped from Carolingian into his natural Beneventan?

<sup>74</sup> *The Beneventan Script*, p. 102. In the Aemilianensis Beatus of Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional Vit. 14-1, fol. 105v there is the word *hoccident*.” See the facsimile edition published by Siloé, ([http://www.siloe.es/otros\\_facsimiles/beato\\_emilianense.shtml](http://www.siloe.es/otros_facsimiles/beato_emilianense.shtml)) and John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus : a Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 2 (New York, 1995) 71 and fig. 128.

<sup>75</sup> See the facsimile of this: *Le manuscrit de l'Ile Barbe (Codex Vossianus latinus 111) et les travaux de la critique sur le texte d'Ausone, l'oeuvre de E. Vinet et l'oeuvre de J. J. Scaliger*, ed. H. de La Ville de Mirmont. (Bordeaux/Paris, 1917-1921).

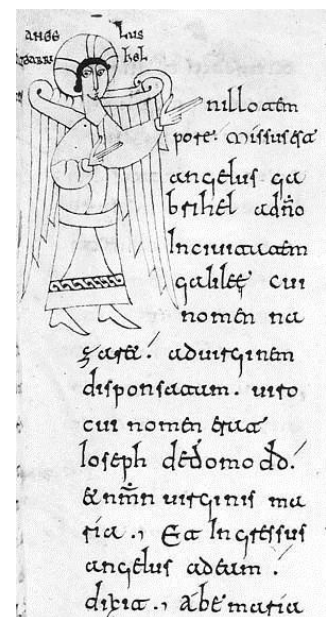
<sup>76</sup> On the alteration of “v” and “b” or their omission from words in the Beatus manuscripts, see Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, 2.68, 72, 75, 92.

<sup>77</sup> See Peter Klein, “Codicological Description” in *Beatus ‘Emilianense’ from the Spanish National Library in Madrid*.42; and his “El Códice Emilianense” in *Beato ‘Emilianense’ de la Biblioteca Nacional, Siglo X*, 39.



**Figure 26** Visigothic aspirated “h.” Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit VLF 111. Photo: author.

**Figure 27** Visigothic interchange of “v” and “b.” British Library, Add. 30844. Photo: author.





Another question is why the Beatus was copied at all in southern Italy? It has been mentioned that there were Spanish clerics, monks, and laity in southern Italy, and that the Beatus could have been used liturgically, as suggested by the Milan fragment. We know that the Byzantine liturgical rite was said in the south for Byzantine-rite Christians by clerics reading Beneventan script,<sup>78</sup> and even after the condemnation in 1058 of the Beneventan chant and presumably the rite, it continued to be used, as Thomas Forrest Kelly has so abundantly demonstrated.<sup>79</sup> Further, after the Roman condemnations of the Mozarabic rite in the late eleventh century, it also continued to be used or even mixed with the Roman.<sup>80</sup> There were, after all, Visigothic rite manuscripts available in Italy, as we know from the Verona *Orationale*. So, could elements of the Visigothic liturgy with its unusual readings from the Apocalypse and *Explanationes* from Beatus have been used by or for the Spanish people in southern Italy, especially on such important feasts as Easter?<sup>81</sup> But perhaps the Beatus was copied in southern Italy simply as a prestige piece, as the illustrated Berlin, Geneva, and Milan manuscripts might suggest or was it for the Beatus text? Clearly the Beatus was considered important enough to have the tenth-century under-leaves of the Berlin codex palimpsested<sup>82</sup> and have the Beatus written over it.

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<sup>78</sup> On the use of Beneventan script for a transliteration of a Greek liturgical text see my "The Greek Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in Beneventan Script: An Early Manuscript Fragment," *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990), 296-302 + 2 pls.

<sup>79</sup> *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989).

<sup>80</sup> On this see my "Sacraments, Liturgy, and 'Institutions,'" *Pensiero e sperimentazioni istituzionali nella 'Societas Christiana' (1046-1250)*, *Atti della sedicesima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola*, 26-31 agosto 2004, ed. G. Andenna (Milan, 2007), 139-165.

<sup>81</sup> The text from Apocalypse 3.14 appearing on our Milan fragment was used in the Visigothic/Mozarabic liturgy for the Mass of Sabbato Pasche.

<sup>82</sup> On this see Virginia Brown, "Palimpsested Texts in Beneventan Script: a Handlist with Some Identifications" in *Early Medieval Palimpsests*, ed. George Declercq (Turnhout, 2007), 102 n. 10, 104 nn. 15-16, 106 n. 21, 108, 112.

The next puzzle surrounding our Geneva Beatus is one that has yet to be answered. How did our Geneva manuscript travel to that Swiss city? We know that it was in the Cistercian Abbey of Sancta Maria de Alpibus in Haute Savoie founded in 1108 and was there until 1792, after which it eventually came to the Congregation of Missionaries in Geneva. But how did it travel from southern Italy to the monastery in Haute Savoie? Here one can only speculate. Did a traveling monk, scholar, or merchant bring it with him to the north? It seems that our Milan Beatus fragment went from southern to northern Italy. Further, we know that the Berlin Beatus with its south Italian Beneventan notations was once a part of the library of the nineteenth-century historian and bibliophile, Carlo Morbio of Milan. Was the Geneva manuscript stolen or otherwise “removed” from its origin, as we know many Beneventan-script items were and still are?<sup>83</sup> After 1792 and the dissolution of Sancta Maria de Alpibus was it purchased by some buyer in the past and sold or donated to the *Congrégation des Missionnaires de saint François de Sales*? And why did the members of that Congregation fail to recognize the unique features of the illustrated Beatus Commentary? Perhaps they valued more the Priscian text now bound with it? Perhaps there was little or no interest in manuscripts in the Institut Florimont? Or perhaps the external rather scruffy features of the manuscript made it unworthy of careful study? All of these questions remain, presenting a challenge to scholars who study this extraordinary manuscript in the future – that is, if the Apocalypse does not soon overtake us all.

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<sup>83</sup> See, e.g., Mario Iadanza, “*Il messale 29 è tornato a Benevento*” in *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana*, *Novità*, <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb/>; or the Beneventan fragment in Montecassino MS 216, recently found missing between pp. 16 and 17, reported in my *The Collectio canonum Casinensis duodecim saeculi (Codex terscriptus) A Derivative of the South-Italian Collection in Five Books: An Incipit-Explicit Edition with an Introductory Study* (*Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana* III, *Studies and Texts*, 127; Toronto, 2001) 14 f.



## **Saintly Bodies, Mortal Bodies: Hagiographic Decoration on English Twelfth Century Baptismal Fonts**

**By Frances Altvater, University of Hartford<sup>1</sup>**

“In faith, fortitude is attributed to the Christian, in the sacraments, arms; in good works, weapons for him who is to fight the devil.”

--Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*, Book I: Part IX, viii.

In the Middle Ages, sacramental journeying and its connection to the cult of saints began at the start of life with baptism. The laity related to the saints in a complicated layering of emulation, supplication, and penitence, with spiritual experiences in the institutional sacraments and in the cultural phenomenon of pilgrimage.<sup>2</sup> Both sacraments and pilgrimage are practices of transition, made up of three phases: separation, limen or margin, and aggregation.<sup>3</sup> In the twelfth century, baptism, as a sacramental requirement, was connected to a much larger ecclesiastically-established and hierarchically-authorized framework of social and physical amelioration through the saints.

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<sup>1</sup> The author would like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of the librarians at the Conway Library at the Courtauld Institute of Art, Dr. Deborah Kahn, Dr. Clark Maines, the readers and editors of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture*, Harriet M. Sonne de Torrens and Miguel A. Torrens, and Melissa Shaner. This work is dedicated to my family, *Tolerabimus quod tolerare debemus*.

<sup>2</sup> See Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (Mahwah, 2003) as a comprehensive introduction; see also source documents in Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Victor Turner and Edith L.B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York, 1978), 2-17. Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages c. 200-c. 1150* (Cambridge, UK, 1993) argues the same idea of saintly spiritual liminality from the perspective of baptism.

The pressure to understand the sacraments and their salvific context in the twelfth century is part of the well-documented systematic interests of Scholastic theology.<sup>4</sup> But our understanding of lay sacramental reception and lay piety comes not just from erudite writings that informed clerical practices directed at the laity, but also, obliquely,<sup>5</sup> through the artworks created for the sacrament itself. In the twelfth century particularly, baptismal fonts should be understood as objects at the nexus of medieval sacramental theology and lay practice.<sup>6</sup> The iconography of these fonts is a visual expression of systematic sacramentology and of the prevalent medieval anxiety about the mortal body. The preoccupation with mortal incarnation can be seen in the narrative iconographies chosen for baptismal fonts: Adam and Eve, Christ's own infancy, and images of saints.

In particular, the communion of saints provided a rich visual model based in their own physical bodies, martyred for their faith and retained as relics. Their spiritual presence transcended the limits of those mortal bodies, making them powerful

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<sup>4</sup> The work on systematic sacramental theology is extensive: N.M. Haring, "Berengar's Definitions of Sacramentum and their Influence on Medieval Sacramentology," *Medieval Studies* 10 (1948), 109-146; Henri Cloes, "La systematization théologique pendant la première moitié du XIIe siècle," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 34 (1952), 277-329; Elizabeth Frances Rogers, *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System* (Merrick, 1976); Marcia Colish, "Systematic theology and theological renewal in the twelfth century," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18/2 (Fall 1988), 135-156; and, perhaps the most useful as a complete contextualization, Marcia Colish, *Peter Lombard* (Brill Studies in Intellectual History Volumes 41 and 42, Leiden, 1994).

<sup>5</sup> Rosalind and Christopher Brooke, *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe 1000-1300* (London, 1984); Andre Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: religious beliefs and devotional practices* (Notre-Dame, 1993); Ann Astell, ed. *Lay Sanctity, medieval and modern* (Notre-Dame, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> The study of fonts has centered around the solely antiquarian: Francis Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 1907/1985; E. Tyrrell-Green, *Baptismal Fonts* (London, 1928) to the more contextual but largely formal analytical: George Zarnecki, entries in *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066-1140* (London, 1951) and *English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210* (London, 1953) to the iconographic studies Folke Nordström, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts* (Umeå, 1984); C.S. Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia* (Woodbridge, 2002); Harriet M. Sonne de Torrens, "De fontibus salvatoris: A Survey of Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Baptismal Fonts Ornamented with Events from the Childhood of Christ," Colum Hourihane ed., *Objects, Images & the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy* (Princeton, 2003), 105-137. New databases (Harriet M. Sonne de Torrens and Miguel Torrens, *Baptisteria Sacra* (<http://www.library.utoronto.ca/bsi/index.html>) and the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland, <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/>) will help font studies tremendously.

intercessors for the fragility of the bodies of the contemporary faithful. Saints' paradigmatic faith and presence as a continuation of Christ's mission are thus visually inextricable from the sacrament of baptism. The presentation of saints on baptismal fonts was a strong expression of their position in an explicitly sacramental context, translating their saintly piety and power into the liturgical process of salvation and conveying the spiritual protection of a figure both holy and human for the fragile child newly baptized.

### **The Theological and Liturgical Contexts of Baptism**

A standardized understanding of baptism was clearly circulated in erudite circles as part of a twelfth-century trend towards creating a unified statement of sacramental constitution and practice.<sup>7</sup> One of the most critical and pressing priorities of orthodox twelfth-century theology was the systematic definition of the sacraments. This effort was born out of Berengar's late-eleventh-century conflicts over Christ's Real Presence in the elements of the Eucharist. Institutional anxiety over Berengar's heresy and fear of further heterodoxy caused systematic sacramental theology to be taken up by a broad range of theologians, from canonists like Ivo of Chartres and Gratian to Peter Abelard, William of Champeaux, and Robert Pullens. The writings of scholars such as Hugh of Saint-Victor and Peter Lombard framed the discussion more rigorously around the sacraments. Peter Lombard's widely disseminated *Sentences* (c. 1150) presented a systematic theology coherently ordered around the Augustinian principles of *res* (element, thing) and *signa*

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<sup>7</sup> The following discussion of sacramental expression in the iconography of baptismal fonts of the period is based on the author's dissertation, *In Fonte Renatus: The Iconography and Context of Twelfth-Century Baptismal Fonts in England* (Ph.D., Boston University, 2003), chapter 2.



(sign) and bolstered by statements from numerous canonical authorities.<sup>8</sup> The theology that takes shape in the twelfth century and solidifies in the thirteenth, is the direct result of a much longer historical discussion and these contemporary heterodox pressures.

In the twelfth century, the connections among all sacraments were a key element of theological reasoning and articulation. All sacraments had a material substance and a divine grace; the experience of the sacraments was a hierarchy of validity based in substance, ritual, performance, and faith. Just as Augustine insisted that the faith of the minister did not stop the faithful from receiving the benefit of baptism, Honorius Augustodunensis, for instance, noted that the faithful could receive both the True Body and Blood of Christ in the elements of the Eucharist and its spiritual grace and that the unworthy might receive the elements, but not the spiritual effect.<sup>9</sup> Numerous theologians, such as Gilbert of La Porrée, Peter of Vienna, and Gerhoh of Reichersberg, emphasized the necessity of physical elements to lead the mortal to spiritual reception in the sacraments and the importance of the unity of the Church—the bond of love and community created through the faithful—that created an active effect from the sacrament.<sup>10</sup> The same Neo-Platonic philosophy that tinges Augustine’s understanding of baptism as a physical bathing that affects a spiritual journey towards God is expressed poetically about the Eucharist by Aelred of Rievaulx: “I long to be dissolved, to be with Christ” and “the sweetness of inward contemplation, so [...] short and rare because of the

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<sup>8</sup> Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford, 2004), especially 144-178. See also G.R. Evans, *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, v. 1 (Leiden, 2002).

<sup>9</sup> Augustine, Sermon 260A (trans. Edmund Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, III/7, 187-90, Migne, *PL*, 38:0120ff), Honorius Augustodunensis, *Eucharisticon* (*PL* 1254A-1255B).

<sup>10</sup> Michal Kobińska, “Corpus Mysticum et Representationem: Hildegard of Bingen’s Scivias and Ordo Virtutum,” *Theatre Survey* 37/1 (1996), 6-7.

heaviness of the spirit, chained still by the bonds of the flesh...”<sup>11</sup> Finally, the comprehension of how sacraments worked was applied to other explanations: “[Revelations are] those which are perceived with the help of the Holy Spirit by the eyes of the heart, whereby the human spirit is led through the likeness of visible things or figures and signs to knowledge of invisible ones.”<sup>12</sup> There was a culture of logical and linguistic connection that first associated sacraments with each other through their composition and second connected those sacraments through the body of the Christian faithful, the body of the saintly exemplar, and the Body/body of Christ.

Some, but not all, aspects of the sacrament of baptism remained largely constant from the time of their elaboration by Augustine to the twelfth-century interpretations. Baptism was seen as necessary, instituted by Christ in the gospels through his assertion to Nicodemus in John 3:5: “...unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God.”<sup>13</sup> Following Paul in Romans 5, Augustine emphasized that the mortal condition -- descent from Adam -- required the remedy of baptism.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the backbone of sacramental theology in the Middle Ages: baptism was necessary for all to cleanse inherited sin. Augustine unequivocally stated that without baptism, there can be no salvation.<sup>15</sup> Where Augustine’s candidates were primarily adult converts, in the twelfth century most candidates were infants. As baptism was understood as unrepeatable and

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<sup>11</sup> Aelfred of Rievaulx, cited in “*Corpus Mysticum*,” 9.

<sup>12</sup> Richard of St. Victor (*Patrologiae Latinae* 196:686) cited in “*Corpus Mysticum*,” 13.

<sup>13</sup> John 3:5, also 1-8 inclusive. (Richard Challoner, *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheims Version*, Rockford, Ill.: 1989) All Biblical quotations come from this edition unless otherwise noted.

<sup>14</sup> Augustine, *De Peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum* I: 21, ed. Migne, *PL* 44, 0125ff. See also *De Civitate Dei*, Book XIII: 4, ed. Migne, *PL* 41 and Sermon 213, ed. Migne, *PL* 38, 0160ff.

<sup>15</sup> See Augustine, *De Peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum*, Book 1: 26, ed. Migne, *PL* 44, 0125ff.

moved from an end of life practice for adults to a beginning of life sacrament for children, penance developed even greater sacramental importance as a remedy for committed sin. Anxiety for the soul of the innocent child in the imagined horrors of Hell, combined with interpretations of God's mercy conveyed for unbaptized people such as the crucified thief, the Holy Innocents, and those converted and martyred at the execution of a saint, lead to the development of Purgatory.<sup>16</sup> The shift from adults to infants forced the sacramental response to change as well.

The centrality of baptism in lay spirituality is revealed in both English liturgical practice and civil laws. In England, as elsewhere in the Christian West, baptism was administered by a priest (presbyter), which focused participation on a parish level, separating it from the episcopal sacrament of confirmation.<sup>17</sup> The widespread retention of twelfth-century fonts in hundreds of individual parishes in England is testimony to their importance to parish life. The English theologian Robert Pullus (c. 1080-1147/50) evidences the ecclesiastical response to baptism's importance for parishioners by listing the order of preference of celebrants: the pontiff/bishops, priests, deacons, laymen, and

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<sup>16</sup> Jacques LeGoff, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris, 1981), especially 177-316. See Anselm of Laon, *Sentences* in Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 534 or Franz P. Bliemetzreider, *Anselmus von Laon Systematische Sentenzen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. 18, pt. 2-3 (Muenster, 1919). This same anxiety is voiced in Peter Lombard's *Summa Sententiarum* IV, iv: "For if anyone having faith and charity wishes to be baptized, and cannot because prevented by necessity, the goodness of the Almighty will supply what has been lacking in the sacrament. For while he can perform it, he is bound, unless he do perform it; but when he is not able, but wishes to do so, God, who has not bound his power to the sacraments, does not impute it to him." (trans. Rogers, *Peter Lombard*, 100). The Holy Innocents, though worshipped as saints, are exclusive to Christ's Infancy cycle; see Nordström, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts*, 117 and Sonne de Torrens, "De fontibus salvatoris," 105-137.

<sup>17</sup> J.D.C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West* (London, 1965) in Britain, see 89-91; for full discussion, see 114-122.

finally the mother herself in absolute extremis.<sup>18</sup> While baptismal liturgies varied considerably by time and place, a normative framework included a verbal renunciation of sin and Satan (either by the candidate or on behalf of the candidate) and the application of consecrated water. In twelfth-century England, as elsewhere, the Trinitarian formula, “I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” plus aspersion, was considered sufficient to secure the soul; ideally, the baptism was then confirmed by a bishop should the child survive.<sup>19</sup> Further, baptism was not performed only in the prescribed seasons of Easter and Pentecost. Although the Church emphasized that exceptions should be made only in cases of danger of death, the English church seems to have practiced baptism throughout the year.

Secular and ecclesiastic laws underscored this stress on baptismal necessity. The late-seventh century *Ecclesiastical Laws of Ine*, king of Wessex, imposed a monetary and penitential fine on parents who failed to baptize their child within thirty days.<sup>20</sup> Similar laws were passed in the eleventh-century *Canons of King Edgar*; the *Laws of the Northumbrian Presbyters*, also an eleventh-century document, levied a fine on parents if a child died before baptism delayed more than nine days after birth.<sup>21</sup> The exigencies of

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<sup>18</sup> Robert Pullus, *De ceremoniis sacramentis officiis et observationibus ecclesiasticis* 1-13, ed. Migne, *PL* 177, 389. Further information on maternal/midwife baptism, see Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990), 49-50.

<sup>19</sup> *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, Vol. 1, 445. See also (though the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries), Kathryn Ann Taglia, “The cultural construction of childhood: baptism, communion, and confirmation”, in ed. Michael M. Sheehan, Constance Rousseau, and Joel Thomas Rosenthal, *Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: essays in memory of Michael M. Sheehan, C.S.B.* (Kalamazoo, 1998), 255-287.

<sup>20</sup> Fisher, *Christian Initiation*, 82, 86. Christopher Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550* (London, 1997), 127-128, offers some interesting burial evidence, much of it from the later Middle Ages, regarding the possibility that a number of children may not have received baptism before the age of two. Material evidence is unfortunately incomplete for the twelfth century.

<sup>21</sup> Fisher, *Christian Initiation*, 82, 86.

salvation were so pressing that they were an active part of civic practice; baptism may have been an ecclesiastical initiation, but it was also a rite of social inclusion.

### **Connections between Baptism and Saints**

There are strong theological parallels between sainthood and baptism, rooted in the medieval religious approaches to the body and its resurrection.

Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life. For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his. We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin. (Romans 6:3-5)

In Saint Paul's writing, we find the early establishment of the metaphor of baptism as a death to sin, a death that the catechumen shares with Christ: by extension, he or she must have a resurrection like Christ's. As Caroline Walker Bynum points out, the process of resurrection thus begins in this life.<sup>22</sup> A neo-Platonic approach, undoubtedly filtered through Augustine, to the soul's journey to God begun at baptism is present in much of the medieval theology of baptism; it is also the philosophical underpinning of Christian ascetism associated with the saints, as the austerity of the body moves the focus from the body to the needs of the soul.<sup>23</sup> The saint who surrendered her body for her faith won a

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<sup>22</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York, 1995), 4.

<sup>23</sup> For a taste of Neo-Platonism as reflected in his baptismal theology, see Augustine, Sermon 216, in *Sermons III/6*, part of the series ed. John E. Rotelle, *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Hyde Park, 1999) and in ed. Migne, *PL* 38, 01076ff. See also Bynum, *Resurrection*, 200.



victory more tangible than the death metaphorically suggested in baptism. The martyrdom of that body achieved an important somatic balance—the body must die in order to attain the life eternal. Baptism also achieves a moment of similar balance: without the sacrament, the body of the catechumen, tainted by the sin of its origin, is vulnerable and doomed. Baptism's washing of that sin fundamentally changes the status of the body (though not its materiality).<sup>24</sup> In both hagiographic and baptismal accounts, the body is no obstacle to salvation if the desire is strong enough: the saint may feel no pain at death; the unbaptized child may overcome illness or even death so that the rite may occur. The rewards of salvation are strong for the individual who dies shortly after baptism and thus cannot contaminate the soul with committed sins.<sup>25</sup> The soul's need for baptismal redemption overcomes the body's weakness and mortality.

While the sacraments were a facet of lay spirituality, its main focus in the twelfth century was the believer's engagement with the saints of the Church.<sup>26</sup> "Saints were those who were recognized as having experienced so much reverence and achieved such a degree of purity that they had transcended the sinfulness of ordinary existence."<sup>27</sup> Saints functioned very specifically as a bridge in medieval Christianity. They shared both the parishioner's mortal experience and Christ's sanctity by lived example and/or

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<sup>24</sup> For an eloquent discussion of the issue of material substance and resurrection, see Bynum, "The Patristic Background", *Resurrection*, 21ff.

<sup>25</sup> Ronald C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York, 2000). Also Bynum, *Resurrection*, 45-46.

<sup>26</sup> In addition to the sources in note 2, see also Richard Kieckhefer, "Imitators of Christ" in Kieckhefer and George Bond, *Sainthood: Its Manifestation in World Religions* (Berkeley, 1988).

<sup>27</sup> Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom 1000-1700* (Chicago, 1982), 5.

martyrdom.<sup>28</sup> Peter Brown notes a propensity in fourth-century piety for a protector, “relations with whom could be conceived of in terms open to the nuances of known human relations between patron and client;”<sup>29</sup> the same might be extended to twelfth-century lay spirituality, remembering that the laity brought a hierarchical understanding to what was by then a regularized system of divine/mortal interaction.<sup>30</sup> This practice of admiration of a figure whose spiritual power has already been made manifest through their rejection of temptations, their positive examples of Christ-like virtues, and their willingness to sacrifice their mortal bodies that leads to the second characteristic of hagiographic worship: the ongoing manifestation of saintly power through miracles in the lives of those fundamentally less powerful.<sup>31</sup>

The scholarly question has been raised whether Peter Brown’s model of the saints as a divine mirror of social interaction is useful, since it does not account for the complexity of audiences/participants within that social system. Indeed, Paul Antony

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<sup>28</sup> Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981) remains the fullest explanation of the function of these figures. See also Paul Antony Hayward, “Demystifying the role of sanctity in Western Christendom”, in ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward, *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), 115-142.

<sup>29</sup> Brown, *The Cult of Saints*, 61.

<sup>30</sup> We might also draw the fourth and the twelfth centuries together through the institutional Church’s sanctification of the laity, a tendency most often associated with early Christianity and which diminished significantly with the cultural emphasis on hermetic sanctity; it reappeared in the later twelfth century, creating saint cults around lay figures. André Vauchez, “Lay People’s Sanctity in Western Europe: Evolution of a Pattern (Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries)” in ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1991), 21-32, André Vauchez, “A Twelfth-Century Novelty: The Lay Saints of Urban Italy” in ed. Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices* (Notre Dame, 1993), 51-72 and the articles collected in ed. Astell, *Lay Sanctity*.

<sup>31</sup> Indeed, André Vauchez argues that the laity were more interested in saints’ miracles and relics, the evidence of their continued existence, than in the vita accounts of their original sanctity, inaccessible written in Latin; see André Vauchez, “Lay Belief around 1200: Religious Mentalities of the Feudal World” in Bornstein, *The Laity*, 88-89.

Hayward suggests that “[t]his aspect of their contents is probably better understood as a projection of how certain sections of the élite felt social life *ought* to be conducted—of the kind of loyalty, obedience, and efficiency they hoped for.”<sup>32</sup> The issue is fundamentally one of the intersections between audience and ideologies, recognizing that there are mutually-reinforcing and mutually-responding perspectives among patrons, artists, and users. The ideological image is always a result of a positional dialogue of assertion, acceptance, and rejection among its users.

English baptismal fonts of the twelfth century illuminate this interaction. The iconography is largely defined by the ecclesiastical institution; it is expressed as a very small range of suitable images of saints. Further, that iconography is seldom the same hagiographic interest expressed in the *Lives*: it is often far more general, expressing saintliness rather than enumerating the qualities of a particular saint. Artistic expression is typically vernacular, not the formal equivalent of the elevated style that characterizes the prose of the *Lives*. Placement on the baptismal font foregrounds the visual depiction of saintliness. The font thus becomes one example of the intersection of official dogma and lay reception.

### **Artistic and Liturgical Context**

While the theological and cultural importance of baptism in the twelfth century is clear, the artistic context of baptismal fonts is less so. Most fonts have been moved from

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<sup>32</sup> Hayward, “Demystifying”, 130. See also Barbara Abou-el-Haj, “The Audiences for the Medieval Cult of Saints,” *Gesta* 30 (1991), 3-15. Brigitte Cazelles, “Introduction” in ed. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Szell, *Images*, 2. This idea that the saint is an example to be admired and not necessarily an example to be emulated has its expression primarily in the saints’ *vitae*; these works provide a topos for seeing virtue, but not instructions for achieving it, given the omissions throughout the texts. “The crises and trials in his or her life demonstrate the presence of holiness rather than the method of its acquisition.” (Hayward, “Demystifying,” 123) See also Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, 2001).

their original sites even when retained in the church for which they were made.

Liturgically there was nothing that required their placement in a specific position; by custom, they frequently balanced the altar in the east by being placed in the west, but they might also be located near a northern or southern door or even on a porch (thus underscoring the spiritual entry into the community).<sup>33</sup> In most cases, fonts give few clues as to whether the iconographic content was deliberately highlighted by the placement within the church.<sup>34</sup> Unlike the connection made between altars and stained glass windows, for example,<sup>35</sup> most baptismal fonts cannot definitively support a reading beyond the generalized connection of the theological and the architectural entryways.

Despite the considerable regional variation in baptismal practice in the Middle Ages there were some important connections between the saints and the practices of baptismal ritual. The Roman rite, as offered in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, was originally oriented to adults, but changes were clearly in effect by the seventh century as infant

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<sup>33</sup> Two works address the siting of baptismal fonts particularly: J. Charles Wall, *Porches and Fonts* (London, 1912) and John Gordon Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London, 1962).

<sup>34</sup> The one clear exception to this is the fonts made in Tournai (Belgium), essentially mass-produced for an export market. Because placement could not be determined at commission or sale, these square fonts feature narrative and figures on two adjacent sides and decorative motifs on the other two consecutive sides.

<sup>35</sup> For example, Wolfgang Kemp, "Medieval Pictorial Systems" in ed. Brendan Cassidy, *Iconography at the Crossroads* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 121-137, *The Narratives of Gothic Stained Glass* (trans. Caroline Dobson Saltzweil, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), Jean Welch Williams, *Bread, Wine, and Money: The Windows of the Trades at Chartres Cathedral* (Chicago, 1993), and Jean-Paul Deremble and Colette Manhès, *Les vitraux légendaires de Chartres: des récits en images* (Paris, 1988). For the roots of this discussion of perception and reading images in an oral culture, see Gregory the Great, Letters to Bishop Serenus of Marseille, "Sancti Gregorii Magni Epistolarum Lib. XI, Epist. 13", ed. Migne, *PL* 77, 1128-1130. Eds. Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Washington: 1985). Michael Camille, "Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History*, 8/1 (1985), 26-49. Lawrence Duggan, "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?" *Word and Image*, 5 (1989), 227-251. Madeline H. Caviness, "Biblical Stories in Windows: Were They Bibles for the Poor?" in Bernard S. Levy, *The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art* (Binghamton, NY, 1992). Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory* (Cambridge: 1990).

baptism became the norm.<sup>36</sup> With liturgical elements such as insufflations, exorcism, anointing, and renunciation, the service reinforced the power of the baptismal ritual to counter Satan and evil.<sup>37</sup> When infants became the primary candidates, the number of scrutinies was reduced and rewritten for proxy statement by godparents.<sup>38</sup> Godparents played an important and visible role in the naming of the child, his or her future spiritual tutelage, and his or her future social relationships.<sup>39</sup> A child's name was often given, at least publicly, at baptism. Saints' names were typically also given to connect the child to the saint in a gesture acknowledging the saint's day, to invoke the saint's protection for the child and to provide the child with a holy exemplar.

While the Trinitarian statement was the only uniformly-necessary formula for baptismal acceptance, the full order for baptism, in its different regional expressions,

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<sup>36</sup> Bryan D. Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals and Theologies of Baptism* (Aldershot, 2006), 110-111.

<sup>37</sup> For details on the Roman rite baptismal service, see Spinks, *Early and Medieval Rituals*, 111; Henry Barclay Sweete, rev. by Arthur John MacLean, *Church Services and Service Books Before the Reformation* (London, 1930), 103-104. Similar discussion, though with few source notes, can also be found in A. Villien, trans. H.W. Edwards, *The History and Liturgy of the Sacraments* (New York: 1932). See also Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office* (Toronto: 1982) and, most recently, see Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, 1999). English regional variations, commonly seen in diocesan centers of York, Lincoln, and Salisbury, reflected the Roman rite in the order and service, with variations inserted by the Gallican and Irish rites. See Sweete, *Church Services*, 5-6; Sweete also mentions that Thomas Cranmer's 1549 Preface to the *Book of Common Prayer* notes other medieval traditions at St. Asaph, Ripon, Lichfield, Exeter, Wells, and Winchester.

<sup>38</sup> The discussion of godparents centers largely on their role in naming and kinship ties; godparents make their appearance as early as the second century as catechumenate sponsors (Erwin Fahlsbusch, *et. al.*, *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, (Grand Rapids: 2001), 442. Early medieval material can be found in Joseph Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship* (Princeton, 1986). The material for the later Middle Ages is considerably more complete, but draws from earlier traditions. See Barbara Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1986), Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 1993), Katherine A. Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities 1200-1800* (Cambridge: 2003).

<sup>39</sup> There are some unusual examples of saints acting as godparents—Saint Amandus, Saint Ursmar of Lobbes, Trudonis, Fridolin, Gamalbert. As Mayke de Jong suggests in *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden: 1996), "Involving a holy man in the baptism of one's children, however, was a particularly effective method of procuring one's share of sacred power" (208). Usually the form in the hagiographies stresses the special connection this creates between the saint and the child, often at the expense of the biological/familial relation.



included references to saints.<sup>40</sup> Given the elaborate emphasis on exorcism and the devil, it is notable that there is not a similarly strong corollary in the liturgical use of the saints as protectors.<sup>41</sup> At the blessing of the font, preceding the *credo* and the anointing, a litany of saints follows the *Kyrie eleyson*.<sup>42</sup> The list proceeds from the Trinity through Mary and the angels to the apostles and evangelists; the saints at the beginning of the litany are the most powerful, the most universal. It then continues with specific lists of martyrs, confessors, hermits, and holy virgins, and concludes with “all saints.” The baptismal litany included the overall holiness of the saints without emphasizing them as particular models.

In the twelfth century, there was clearly flexibility within the liturgical list for changes, as not all lists feature the same saints. The *York Manual* tends to use more common saints while the *Rede Boke of Darbye* includes a number of pre-Conquest, specifically English saints like Dunstan, Sexburga, and Eadgitha, as well as a longer list of other saints.<sup>43</sup> The responses clearly indicate the supplicatory relationship of the worshipper to the saint: after *miserere nobis* (have mercy on us), the response is *ora* (pray

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<sup>40</sup> Strikingly, the baptismal service contains a number of references to Old Testament figures and typological references that have little corresponding expression in the sculptural decoration of baptismal fonts either in England or on the Continent. Exceptionally on the fonts at Hildesheim and at San Frediano in Lucca, two fonts which deliberately and consciously adapt the baptismal liturgy for visual decoration, the parting of the Red Sea appears. This is not a commonly-adopted iconography; it does not appear on any extant English fonts of the period. In England, the Old Testament iconography is almost completely reserved for Adam and Eve, further suggesting the split between the erudition of the liturgical service and the institutional use of images to reinforce baptismal theology for the laity.

<sup>41</sup> See O.B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1965) and Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama* (Ithaca, 1985).

<sup>42</sup> Rev. Dr. Henderson, *Manuale et Processionale ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Publications for the Surtees Society, Vol. LXIII (Durham, 1875); also includes texts of the Sarum manual, and a number of eleventh-century sources, including the Sacramentary of Leofric of Exeter, the Missal of Robert of Jumieges, and the Rede Boke of Darbye.

<sup>43</sup> Henderson, “Rede Boke of Darbye” (Corpus Christi Cambridge, Saec XI. Med), *Manuale*, 138-140.

or entreat) and finally, at the end of the litany, *libera* (deliver or liberate). Saints are thus present in the baptismal service in a specifically intercessory manner, though they are not invoked in the immediate formulas for the actual initiation. Saint imagery on baptismal fonts of the twelfth century is similar: present, but often loosely-defined, drawing on freer associations of divine intercession rather than of specific connection.

Beyond the baptismal role, the connection between saints and children is widespread.<sup>44</sup> The protective role of the saint in miracle stories begins before the birth of the child<sup>45</sup> and certainly, in some Byzantine examples, extended into the birth process itself.<sup>46</sup> Charms written out for pregnancy and childbirth assistance evoke a long litany of saints as well as the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.<sup>47</sup> Saints formed a part of the miraculous remedy for everything from infertility to the expulsion of a stillborn fetus; they are as integral as any medicinal recipe or professional assistance.

All of this—the theological emphasis on baptism for salvation even of infants, the changes in baptismal practice to accommodate the child catechumen, the social network created generally by communion and specifically by baptismal sponsorship—argues for

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<sup>44</sup> R.C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977) and Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event* (London, 1982). Though later in focus, Diana Webb's "Friends of the Family: Some Miracles for Children by Italian Friars" in ed. Diana Wood, *The Church and Childhood: Papers read at the 1993 Summer Meeting and the 1994 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford, 1994), 183-195, provides the example of Louis of Toulouse who intervened specifically so that a child might live long enough to be baptized.

<sup>45</sup> Fiona Harris Stoertz, "Suffering and Survival in Medieval English Childbirth" in *Medieval Family Roles: A Book of Essays*, ed. C. Jorgensen Itnyre, (New York, 1996), 101-20.

<sup>46</sup> The use of images of saints on talismans for childbirth can be seen in Byzantine objects like amulets decorated with the holy rider motif (which was often then hung on a cradle to protect the child); a particularly fine example, the Virgin and Child (Theotokos) faced with the rider saint Sisinnios trampling the child-killing demon Gylou, and discussion of these Byzantine images can be found in Ioli Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women and Their World* (Cambridge, MA, 2003). Hystera amulets were also adorned with saint images.

<sup>47</sup> Stoertz, "Suffering," 105-106.

the consequence of the child in medieval society. Childhood in the Middle Ages has been the focus of considerable recent scholarship, which posits that it was a distinct and highly-valued social construct despite a high rate of infant mortality and the close involvement of children with adult work and adult responsibilities.<sup>48</sup> Baptism was compelling for the protection of these infant souls, judged innocent of any committed sins, but marked by their mortal condition. The saint is a moral exemplar for the candidate undergoing a ritual of cleansing from mortal sin. The saint is a spiritual power for the helpless candidate, interceding on behalf of the suppliant with Christ for the removal of obstacles, healing, and granting of favors. The saint is a penitential model, connecting the baptized to the act of repentance and the rite of penance for redemption. The saint thus receives, materially assists, guides, and corrects the layperson. Therefore portrayal of saints on baptismal fonts establishes that relationship within the sacramental life of the church from the earliest moment of Christian introduction.

### Unidentified Saints: Generalized Sanctity

The decoration of medieval English baptismal fonts includes a large number of figures who cannot be identified reliably as saints. They are often imprecisely represented, simply holding a book or a crosier.<sup>49</sup> The twelfth-century lead font at Childrey (Berkshire) (**Figure 1**) is one such example where the figures are clearly

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<sup>48</sup> On childhood in the Middle Ages:Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick, (New York, 1962), although this work tends to take a very conservative view of medieval childrearing. See the more recent works of Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990), Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Didier Lett, *Children in the Middle Ages, Fifth-Fifteenth Centuries*, trans. Jody Gladding, (Notre-Dame, 1999), and Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, 2001).

<sup>49</sup> A number of English fonts are traditionally identified in the scholarship as having bishop figures, including Dunkeswell (Devonshire), Overbury (Wiltshire), Avington (Berkshire), North Grimston (East



**Figure 1** Baptismal Font, Childrey (Berkshire), twelfth century. Photo: University of Kent.

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Riding, Yorkshire), Cowlam (East Riding, Yorkshire), Cottesmore (Rutland), Kirkby (Lancashire), Childrey (Berkshire), and possibly Belton (Lincolnshire). This identification is a tradition of imprecision in both the carving and the discussion, since the attribution is generally made on the strength of carrying a crosier and not on whether the figures wear miters so as to distinguish them from abbots. At Dunkeswell, for instance, the figure with a crosier is clearly tonsured, indicating monastic identity; at North Grimston, in contrast, where the figure has a halo but no miter, and a prominent and elaborate crosier, the literature consistently identifies the figure as a bishop. On the Kirkby font, the status of clergy was clearly important to the sculptor and two figures are differentiated with miters, three are tonsured, and two are bare-headed (Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts*, 17). Clearly, the antiquarian discussion has emphasized those who bear crosiers as bishops, not abbots, because of the connection between baptism and confirmation performed by a bishop but medieval carving seems less clear and less specific.

depicted in miters, dalmatics, albs and chasubles, holding crosiers and books; they are without halos. Are they saints? The standing bishop, saint or not, creates a linking image to the sacraments of baptism and confirmation. Reinforcing this connection was clearly desirable: confirmation was part of the developing systematic theology but, as it was separated from baptism by ecclesiastical necessities, was less frequently performed and a matter of institutional concern. In the perception of the laity, these two sacraments—cleansing and sealing—were unified in the image of the standing bishop; this association was heightened by the performance of the baptismal ritual. Without more definite attributes—a halo or an inscription—it is difficult to tell whether these figures are meant as saints or ecclesiastics. The visual fusion is important: the saint is inseparable from the Church in the matter of salvation and ritual practice.

The Coleshill (Warwickshire) font (**Figures 2 and 3**) may be considered typical of the pattern, with many figures but insecure attribution. John stands with Mary in the Crucifixion scene; on the other side of the basin are four other figures. The figures are intended to be read as holy because of their prominent haloes, but any other argument for their identity must be taken carefully. Two recent scholarly approaches demonstrate the interpretive difficulties. The *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland* sticks to a neutral description, identifying all four simply as men.<sup>50</sup> Notable elements, like the tonsure of the saint with the abraded face and the long plait of the beardless saint, have been omitted from the description; no explanation is given for the prominent floral-topped staffs that two saints hold. In contrast, C.S. Drake reads these figures as more

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<sup>50</sup> Entry for SS. Peter and Paul, Coleshill, Warwickshire in the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/crsbi/frwasites.html>, April 2, 2007.





**Figures 2, 3** Baptismal Font, Coleshill (Warwickshire), c. 1140-1160. Photo: Baptisteria Sacra.

specific saints, seeing one as Peter holding his key and the woman holding a covered jar as probably the Magdalene. One of the figures with a staff is read as possibly Paul holding a flabellum, but Drake admits that the reading is not secure, nor can he identify the figure dressed as a cleric.<sup>51</sup> Neither reading is wholly satisfying.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts*, 16.

<sup>52</sup> George Zarnecki has argued that the Coleshill font Crucifixion scene is so close to the stained glass window at Châlons-sur-Marne that “the figures on the font were copied from a pattern-book so faithfully that individual pen-strokes were repeated in stone” (*Later English*, 53). By local tradition, the Crucifixion glory was embellished with precious stones (Entry for SS. Peter and Paul, Coleshill, Warwickshire in the

The salient information about the Coleshill figures—that they are saints—remains clear regardless of their original legibility and we must wonder whether their identity as particular saints was as important as their general holy status. If we approach the figures as iconographers, intent on identification, we must be disappointed. For the faithful parishioner, the generic representation might indeed be preferable as a way to project the specifics of each catechumen and his or her own particular saint onto the figure. The



**Figure 4** Baptismal Font, Stoneleigh (Warwickshire), c. 1150-1175. Photo: Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland ([www.crsbi.ac.uk](http://www.crsbi.ac.uk))

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Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland, <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/crsbi/frwasites.html>, April 2, 2007.) suggesting that paint may have solidified identifications for these figures. Flowering staves, as seen here, could also suggest Hebrew Testament figures such as Moses and Aaron or Isaiah, though I hold that saint iconographies are far more common in both English and Continental Romanesque font decorations.

single saint can thus be many saints; the single can represent the whole communion. The idea of generalized approbation in the rite and on the font may have been more powerful than any single saintly representative.

### **The Apostle Type**

A distinct type of iconography within the presentation of saints on baptismal fonts is the apostle font. The apostle type appears more frequently than other saint images in England and is not limited in geographic area. In form, it is generally anonymous, with little identifying dissimilarity between figures. They may be seated or standing, and are often shown with books or scrolls. The definition of these as apostle types comes from examples like Stoneleigh (Warwickshire) (**Figure 4**) where the names of the apostles appear in the arcades above the standing figures holding scrolls or books; Peter holds his key. Most examples labeled as the apostle type do not have the names of the apostles; for example, on the font at Rendcomb (Gloucestershire), the figures appear generic and undifferentiated.<sup>53</sup>

The surviving extant lead fonts from twelfth-century England suggest the prominence of the saint design (16 out of 30); indeed, the lead casting process may have lent itself well to this kind of design.<sup>54</sup> Six of the fonts are from Gloucestershire and are all cast in the same pattern of haloed figures dressed in elaborate robes, their hands

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<sup>53</sup> Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts*, 15 n. 27, adds the note that the Rendcomb font has twelve arcades and eleven figures, though twelve sets of feet on the base, speculating that the empty arcade may have been for Judas. Many other programs of the apostles actually replaced Judas in order to maintain twelve figures.

<sup>54</sup> George Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture* (London, 1957), remains the authority on this material; see 4 for a discussion of casting technique.

holding books and raised in blessing.<sup>55</sup> The Wareham (Dorset) font, unusual for being a hexagonal font cast in one piece, presents an arcade with apostles; the figure of Peter, identifiable because of his key, is repeated but the subsequent casts were altered so the figures hold only a scroll.<sup>56</sup> As with fonts in stone, the figures are generally undifferentiated except for Peter and their number varies considerably, suggesting that the iconography of the apostle was an abstract concept in these contexts.<sup>57</sup>

The appeal of the apostle iconography is in their group identity. The apostles are an easily recognizable form of saints; they form a coherent group without necessarily needing differentiation. Singled out by Christ, they are the first witnesses to his ministry; more importantly, they are the founding link between the historical figure and the emergent cult. As such, they are a powerful statement of the continuing institution of the Church. All (except Judas, obviously) were represented by cults, and were known for having performed miracles and having suffered bodily for their faith/teaching. Their representation on a baptismal font taps into all of these connotations: they become representatives of the Church that offers the saving sacrament of baptism; they become the embracing whole of the holy communion, directly connected with Christ whose function is to intercede for weaker humanity.

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<sup>55</sup> Frampton-on-Severn, Oxenhall, Siston, Tidenham, Sandhurst, and Lancut (now in Gloucester Cathedral).

<sup>56</sup> George Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Lead*, 9.

<sup>57</sup> One of the earliest, Walton-on-the-Hill (Surrey), has twelve figures, but others (Sandhurst and Lancut of the Gloucestershire group) have fewer and the c. 1200 font at Ashover (Derbyshire) has over twenty.

The representation of the apostles in a baptismal context has a long tradition that might further explain the presence of these figures on fonts.<sup>58</sup> Both the Neonian Baptistery and the Arian Baptistery in Ravenna (from the early fifth century) incorporate the apostles around the central motif of Christ's baptism, thus emphasizing Christ's establishment of the rite and the (apostolic) continuation of the rite within the Church. One possibility for their popularity as a form on baptismal fonts of the twelfth century is the Gregorian reforms of the late eleventh century;<sup>59</sup> the push for apostolic renewal, in both the actions of ecclesiastics and in the authority of the pope, might indeed have renewed visual attention to these figures. Apostle fonts may appeal then on a number of different levels: the iconographic tradition established in earlier forms and the artistic practice drawing on artistic authority, the visual and spiritual coherence of this group of saints, and the resonance of these saints as establishing the (sacrament-giving) Church, particularly at a time of reform. The choice of the iconography may rest on a number of ideas circulating at the same time, rather than on a single, exclusive reason.

### **Peter as Ecclesiastic Authority**

Of the apostles, St. Peter is one of the few frequently singled out, shown with his keys.<sup>60</sup> In the instances of Peter's differentiation, it is as "first among equals."<sup>61</sup> Peter has

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<sup>58</sup> I am again grateful to the anonymous reader for *Peregrinations* for this suggestion. Any errors made in the explanation of this evidence are, of course, my own.

<sup>59</sup> See Ute-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 1988), Auguste Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924-37), ed. Schafer Williams, *The Gregorian epoch: reformation, revolution, reaction* (Boston, 1964).

<sup>60</sup> The others may be distinct by label but seldom by attribute. One notable exception is the late twelfth-century font at Coleshill (Zarnecki, *Later English*, 53, pl.6). For a lengthy discussion of the iconography of St. Peter, see Carolyn Kinder Carr, *Aspects of the Iconography of Saint Peter in Medieval Art of Western Europe to the Early Thirteenth Century* (Dissertation, Case Western University, Ohio, 1978).



a specific salvific context: “he held the keys of Heaven and was thus the doorman who admitted the saved and excluded the damned...”<sup>62</sup> Peter’s presence on a font thus underscores the disposition of the soul after death, inextricable from the baptismal rite -- “...unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God.”<sup>63</sup> Peter is situated in the two contexts of lay and ecclesiastic emphasis: his identity as gatekeeper may indeed have been more important to the lay audience, concerned with their own salvation, but it is the authority of his position, directly received from Christ, that spoke to ecclesiastics concerned with the institutional sacraments. Peter’s presence is a reference explicitly to ecclesiastic authority to administer the sacraments; the text of Matthew 16:17-19 establishes the imagery of the scene, its authority from Christ, and its binding and loosing power both here and in heaven.<sup>64</sup> Peter’s keys are also specifically a reference to papal authority, which may in fact relate to other, Gregorian, concerns of the period, making Peter’s appearance simultaneously resonate for different audiences.

While Peter appears with the keys on a number of fonts, the scene of Christ charging Peter with the keys is rare, appearing distinctively on the mid-twelfth century font at Kirkburn (East Riding, Yorkshire).<sup>65</sup> **(Figure 5)** The figures stand, hands extended, on either side of a massive set of keys. The full program on this roughly-

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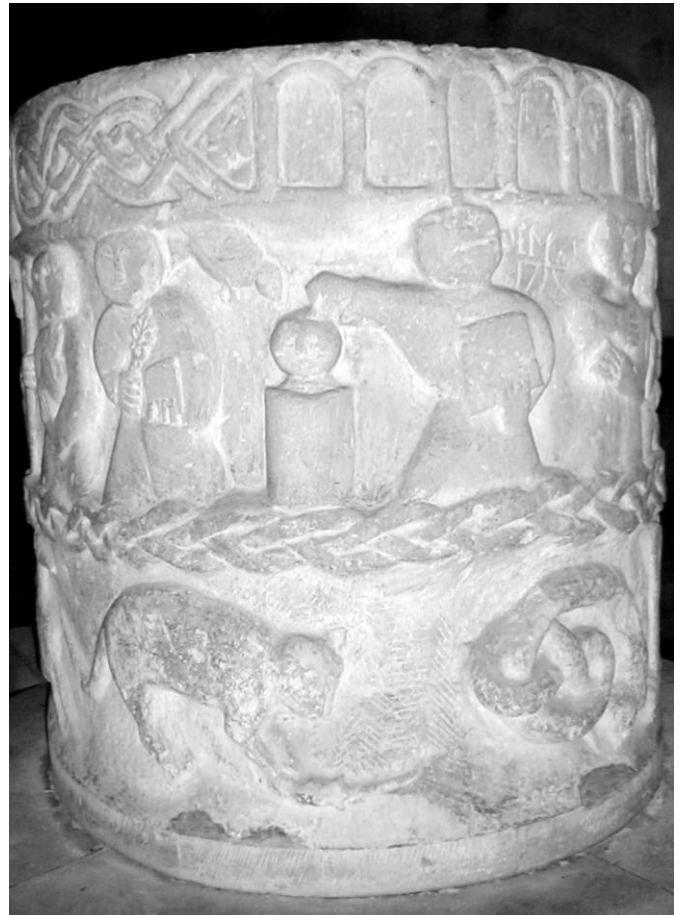
<sup>61</sup> AA SS June V, Dies 29, 0398B. Carr, *Aspects of the Iconography of Saint Peter*, 35-36.

<sup>62</sup> Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts*, 6.

<sup>63</sup> John 3:5, relevant discussion includes John 3: 1-21.

<sup>64</sup> Numerous medieval authors, among them Tertullian, Augustine, Leo I, and Isidore of Seville, take up the key symbolism as a source of the Church’s jurisdictional prerogatives. For a lengthy discussion of the iconography of St. Peter, see Carr, *Aspects*, particularly 54-60, 67-68; her discussion of the amplification of Peter’s authority under Gregory VII and Innocent III seems relevant to the twelfth-century understanding.

<sup>65</sup> The iconography of the charge to Peter also appears on the late twelfth-century Swedish font at Lyngsjö, but it is unusually paired with Christ handing a book to James. See Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts*, 146 and



**Figures 5, 6** Baptismal Font, Kirkburn (East Riding, Yorkshire), c. 1150-1175, (left) detail of the Charge to Peter and (right) detail of the Baptism. Photo: author.

executed font is complicated, entailing a narrative band separate from a band of isolated and non-narrative elements. The upper band might at first glance be read as the baptism of Christ, (**Figure 6**) the charge to Peter, and Christ in Majesty, either as in a resurrection/ascension from Jesus' mortal life or as a Second Coming; all three scenes are interspersed with images of standing figures, many with books, some with crosiers or other ecclesiastical equipment.

The elided elements in the program on the Kirkburn font emphasize key contemporary ideas about the sacraments. If this is the Baptism of Christ, the dove of the Holy Spirit descends as expected from the Gospel texts, but the baptism occurs in a font

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pl. 316. For the discussion of the Kirkburn font, see Rita Wood, "The Augustinians and the Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church," *The East Yorkshire Historian*, 4 (2003), particularly 40-55.

rather than the Jordan. The attendant figure holds an aspergillum and the celebrant has a cross behind his head, a shorthand reference to Christ.<sup>66</sup> If this is a mortal baptism, the dove rests in Augustinian theology about the nature of all sacraments as *res* and *res sacramenti*; the sacrament consists of elements (simple water and chrism) and the word (the Trinitarian formula which transforms them into a sin-dispelling bath).<sup>67</sup> The figure of Christ as celebrant embodies Peter Lombard's exposition of Augustine's Sermon 210: "Christ ... baptizes the Christian, and shows himself to be greater than John as well". Peter Lombard further summarizes Augustine's belief in Christ's presence as a justification for the purity of the baptismal rite despite the impurity of a minister: "the Lord retained for himself the power of baptism, but he gave the ministry to his servants."<sup>68</sup> The image of Christ handing the keys to Peter adds that the Church carries out the sacraments at the direct command of Christ. Finally, the *Maiestas*, with its display of the hands of Christ, underscores the idea that the sacraments, particularly baptism, are an imperative in the salvific hopes of the Christian. These scenes are visually inextricable from the company of other figures who may be saints or ordinary ecclesiastics. The scene

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<sup>66</sup> The use of a font in place of the River Jordan is not particularly unusual and can be seen in the contemporary English fonts at West Haddon and Fincham and in the late-twelfth-century Swedish fonts at Bjäresjö and Gumlösa. This is by no means an exhaustive list of this type of presentation of Christ's baptism. Rita Wood suggests that this shape is a lighted candle, rather than an aspergillum, in "The Augustinians," 42.

<sup>67</sup> The discussion of sacramental components can be found throughout Augustine's work, including *In Joannem*, Tract LXXX, Sermons 229 and 229A, trans. Edmund Hill, *The Complete Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Sermons*, ed. John Rotelle (Hyde Park, 1999), III/6. This discussion is at the heart of the Eucharistic controversies of the tenth century, particularly Berengar of Tours (d. 1088) and his argument against transubstantiation. Discussion of the elements of sacramental theories can be found in Rogers, *Peter Lombard*.

<sup>68</sup> The text here is Peter Lombard's summary of the Augustinian material, largely from the material against the Donatists, especially *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*. See Rogers, *Peter Lombard*, 107. Similarly Hugh of Saint-Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)*, II:6:13, 300.

and the additional figures form a conjoined narrative about Christ's life, the life of the Church, and the life of the faithful.

A font such as Kirkburn may also illustrate the way these objects operated in several religious spheres at once. Its style is decidedly rough -- clearly local production in a familiar formal vocabulary. Its composition speaks to a Romanesque interest in images such as grotesques and knotted designs and to a narrative interest in Christ's life. The layer of erudition in the program may also situate the parish church in the ecclesiastic scene. While absent records obscure the extent of contact, we do know that Kirkburn was part of the original endowment of Robert de Brus to the Augustinian priory at Guisborough in 1119.<sup>69</sup> The present building, like the font, dates to 1150-1175, with later additions and renovations, again suggesting the possibility of contact between the parish church and the priory owner. The connection may have been no stronger than the priory collecting tithes and confirming the vicar to the holding, but could have been as strong as one of their own monks serving at the altar.<sup>70</sup> The possibilities presented in the iconography here suggest at least some involvement between a more educated audience, interested in the issues of sacramental theology, and a lay audience, interested in the practices of sacramental salvation.

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<sup>69</sup> R. Gilyard-Beer, *Guisborough Priory*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Edinburgh, 1980), 1-2.

<sup>70</sup> The range of monastic involvement is at question here in the parish of Kirkburn and, indeed, elsewhere throughout the Middle Ages. Rita Wood, "The Augustinians," 3-59, suggests close involvement and that monks might have stayed in the room in the tower to serve the altar; in contrast, K.A. MacMahon, in *The Church of St. Mary Kirkburn* (Severley, 1953), argues that the twelfth century might have set the precedent for the thirteenth century, for which records exist, where the canon of St. Peter's in York held positions at Kirkburn, Catton, Seamer, Nafferton, Holme, Calverton, Brightwell and Langford and was therefore unlikely to have actually lived at the church in Kirkburn. Two works on the larger issue of monastic involvement with parish churches are Donald Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and the English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), especially 58-65, and the contrary position, Marjorie Chibnall, "Monks and Pastoral Work: A Problem in Anglo-Norman History," *Journal of Ecclesiastic History* xviii (1967), 165-172.

## Michael

Like Peter,<sup>71</sup> Michael is an example of the link between hagiographic imagery and sacramental beliefs about death and resurrection. Michael has a number of different roles and was very popular during this period.<sup>72</sup> While considered a saint, Michael is more properly an archangel, lacking the bodily substance key to a saint's identity. Michael was a psychopomp, a conductor of souls.<sup>73</sup> His presence on a font would resonate with audiences connecting baptism, mortality, and salvation.<sup>74</sup>

Baptism was connected to death both in the Gospels, as in John 3:5, and in Paul's letter to the Romans 6:4-5. *The Shepherd*, written before 200, expresses the interconnection fully:

They had to ascend through the water in order to be made  
alive...For before a man bears the name of the Son of God  
he is dead; but when he receives the seal he lays aside his

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<sup>71</sup> Nordström, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts*, 69.

<sup>72</sup> AA SS, Sept. VIII, Dies 29, 0004B. For a concise introduction to the cult of St. Michael, see Daniel F. Callahan, "The Cult of St. Michael the Archangel and the 'Terrors of the Year 1000'" in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change 950-1050*, eds. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (Oxford, 2003), 181-204. More complete, and more specific only to England is Richard F. Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend* (Woodbridge, 2005). Also useful are H. Roe, "The Cult of St. Michael in Ireland" in *Folk and Farm: Essays in Honor of A.T. Lucas*, ed. C. Ó Danachair (Dublin, 1976) and Barbara Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography and the Art of Monastic Revival* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, v. 1, 1990). St. Michael's importance in the period as a militant figure, a psycho-pomp, and as an eschatological figure can also be traced in the following primary sources: Pseudo-Dionysus, *De caelestia ierarchia* (ed Migne, PL 122, 1035-1070, especially 1057-8) which discusses Michael's position in the ranks of angels, the eleventh-century writing of Ademar of Chabannes, the c. 1014 Sermon of the Wolf to the English by Wolfstan, and the Vercelli and Blickling Homilies, both from the late tenth century.

<sup>73</sup> For St. Michael in the liturgy as a psycho-pomp, see Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Aarhus, 1993). Well known twelfth-century examples that show St. Michael include the tympanum of St. Lazare at Autun with the weighing scales and the separation of the blessed and the damned and the north portal jambs of St. Gilles-du-Gard with the beast trampled underfoot.

<sup>74</sup> In the later account of Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. William Granger Ryan (Princeton, 1993), 201, in addition to St. Michael's well known End Time functions, there is a miracle with clear baptismal overtones, recounting the story of a pregnant woman unable to reach shore as the tide rushed in on her return from the Mont. St. Michel who is delivered of her child and kept safe from the waves. A similar "baptismal" miracle is also associated with various St. Nicholas sources, when a woman leaves her child in hot water to see the archbishop but the child is saved from burns by his intervention.



deadness and obtains life. The seal then is the water; they descended into the water dead, but they rise alive.<sup>75</sup>

Christian writers like Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo the Great all specify that the three-fold immersion is like Christ's three days dead and that baptism is a resurrection, bringing the cleansed soul to God.<sup>76</sup> These sentiments continue in the contemporary twelfth-century sources. Hugh of Saint-Victor, for example, writes of the baptismal service, "After this response of faith, he is washed of the stains of age with a three-fold immersion, and having put on the new man, he is buried with the three-day death of Christ..."<sup>77</sup> In some ways, then, baptismal fonts that draw on saint iconography operate in a circulating current of theology about death: the fear of death without salvation that permeates the culture of baptism in the twelfth century, the theological death of Original Sin with the sacrament, the rhetoric of joining with Christ in both death and resurrection, the saint's death that exemplifies Christian commitment, and the presence of the saint after death as an intercessor and helper. The power of the saints is again most potent in their generality than in specificity.

The connection between Michael and the dead would have resonated with baptismal theology—the font as a tomb for sin, baptismal practice—the necessity of baptism for salvation from Hell, and medieval bodily anxieties over the commonplace death of infants. On twelfth-century baptismal fonts, however, Michael is fundamentally

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<sup>75</sup> The material idea of baptism and death may come most directly from the passage in Romans 6:3: "We are baptized into His death." *The Shepherd* is quoted in Walter Bedard, *The Symbolism of the Baptismal Font in Early Christian Thought* (Washington, D.C., 1951), 4. Bedard's chapter, "The Font as Tomb" addresses this motif particularly.

<sup>76</sup> Bedard, *The Symbolism*, 13-16.

<sup>77</sup> Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De Sacramentis*, II: 6: xi, 299. Hugh follows his references to death with a quotation from Romans 6:4-5.

represented as an eschatological figure. His appearance in the Hebrew Scriptures (Daniel 10:13, 21 and 12:1) and in the Christian Testament (Jude 9, Revelation 12:7) is as a champion. Despite a few accounts of the intercessory power of Michael, images of Michael on twelfth-century baptismal fonts universally reference the Revelation text of Michael and his angels battling the dragon; Michael is a reminder of the need for baptism as a condition of salvation.

Unlike the Scandinavian fonts of the period, which tend to be more specific in their handling of St. Michael, the English fonts tend to avoid clear reference to his



**Figure 7** Baptismal Font, Thorpe Arnold (Leicestershire), c. 1125-1150. Photo: Adrian Fletcher [www.paradoxplace.com](http://www.paradoxplace.com).

identity. On the fonts of Thorpe Arnold (Leicestershire) (**Figure7**), Avebury (Wiltshire), East Haddon (Northamptonshire), and Stone (Buckinghamshire), a figure is shown battling with a dragon. Each is handled very differently. None of the figures is specifically detailed to suggest an angel; they show Michael as a warrior with helmet and shield with a cross (Thorpe Arnold),<sup>78</sup> with a staff stabbing the head of the dragon (Avebury),<sup>79</sup> or as one of two figures fighting a dragon and other quadruped beasts as described in Revelation 12 (Stone). These images are in the same iconographic interest seen on many contemporary English tympana, including St. Michael's church, Ipswich (Suffolk) or Southwell Minster (Nottinghamshire); the tympana tend, however, to identify the figure as Michael by giving him wings.<sup>80</sup>

The baptismal figures are undifferentiated; they might be read as a more generalized battling of evil. They may thus stand as both St. Michael and the mortal individual. They represent the final struggle as envisioned by the Revelation text; their presence on a baptismal font is a suitable reminder of things to come and sacramental necessity. Eschatological imagery—St. Michael battling the dragon, Christ Harrowing Hell, the Raising of the Dead—has a relatively high incidence in medieval baptismal

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<sup>78</sup> The Thorpe Arnold figure has also been read as St. George, although the multiple heads of the dragon are part of the Revelation narrative and the composition lacks other notable elements of the St. George narrative. Finally, the other decoration on this font is an elaborate cross, also suggesting a Christological focus. This iconography is wrongly attributed to the East Haddon (Northamptonshire) font by E. Tyrrell-Green, *Baptismal Fonts*, 58. The St. Michael reading is confirmed in Zarnecki, *English Romanesque*, 33.

<sup>79</sup> Zarnecki, *Later English*, 53, offers a contrary reading suggesting that the font actually illustrates Psalm 90 "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder"; the physical evidence for two separate beasts similar to a lion and an adder is difficult to read. The choice of a Psalm as iconography is also unusual. However, should Zarnecki's identification be correct, it does not necessarily invalidate the eschatological reading offered here because of the Psalm's typological resonance with the Revelation text. The Avebury font is also addressed by A.G. Randle Buck, "Some Wiltshire Fonts," *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* LIII( 1950), 463-64.

<sup>80</sup> For St. Michael's Church, Ipswich (Suffolk), see Zarnecki, *English Romanesque*, 164-165. For Southwell Minster (Nottinghamshire), see Zarnecki, *English Romanesque*, 165.

iconography. Twelfth-century theologians thought of the sacraments in a framework of a Christian history with a definite conclusion. Hugh of Saint-Victor and Peter Lombard, in their popular collections, emphasized the idea of baptismal necessity and further stressed the importance of the sacraments for salvation by adding their own comments on Revelation. In these texts, the sacraments are an integral part of the Christian continuum, beginning with the history of the world, continuing through the contemporary institution of the Church, and culminating in the End Time.

### **“Universal” Saints**

In general, the saints presented on baptismal fonts are what are known as universal saints, venerated throughout Christendom and powerful intercessors wherever invoked.<sup>81</sup> They are not local saints, particular to a geographic area and a small cult. A relatively small number of those saints are depicted on baptismal fonts, however: Nicholas primarily, with a few isolated others such as Andrew, Lawrence, and Margaret. Although John the Baptist is a universal saint, his appearance on fonts is never independent from Christ’s baptism; John the Baptist is present as baptizer, not intercessor.<sup>82</sup> The evangelists also appear, primarily as their symbols; these depictions emphasize not their role as intercessors but their veneration as the Gospel writers. For the

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<sup>81</sup> These saints are also known as “universal” saints, venerated throughout Christendom, in contrast to “local” saints; see Catherine Cubitt, “Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England” in eds. Alan Thacker and Richard Sharpe, *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), 423-453, who notes the importance of this distinction.

<sup>82</sup> Sentence collections emphasize that Christ’s baptism is the establishment of the need for the mortal practice as well so John the Baptist is stronger in this context than in his own right as an ascetic or religious leader.

purposes of this article, I have focused on universal saints whose depictions appear independently of these other narrative contexts.

## Nicholas

St. Nicholas was one of the most widely popular saints in England and on the Continent.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, he is infrequently depicted and is the central focus on only four surviving twelfth-century fonts (Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire; Brighton, Sussex; Zedelgem, Belgium; Lyngsjo, Sweden). These fonts share some of the narrative characteristics of illustrated hagiographic texts, with an emphasis on the miracles of the saint in recognizable format.<sup>84</sup> Their images strive for both hagiographic veracity in their visualization of these well-known scenes from the saint's life and affective piety in which the viewer relates to the mortal situation. St. Nicholas is clearly identifiable on two twelfth-century baptismal fonts made in Tournai (Belgium), one now in Winchester

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<sup>83</sup> For a general account of the popularity of the Nicholas stories, see Charles W. Jones, *Saint Nicolas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan* (Chicago, 1978). Veronica Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford, 1992), 71-73, accounts for it with the active dedications of Empress Theophano and her connections in the Ottonian-Salian Empire, the translation of Nicholas' relics in 1087, and the connections between England and Lotharingia in the eleventh century. To this we should probably add Norman connection to the saint through Italian holdings that would have strengthened an already-present devotion. J. Romilly Allen, cited in Cecil Eden, *Black Tournai Fonts in England* (London, 1909), 10, adds that the mystery play by Hilary and the poems of Wace would have been another exposure to the saint for English audiences; see F.T. Ronse, *Les Fonts Baptismaux de Zedelghem et les Fonts Romains Tournaisiens du XIIe Siècle* (Bruges, 1925) for detailed background on the source material as he discusses the imagery. Finally, see also William Schipper, "The Normans and the Old English Lives of Saint Giles and Saint Nicholas," *International Christian University Language Research Bulletin* 1 (1986), 97-108, who connects the saint to England through the Normans particularly.

<sup>84</sup> The text of the Nicholas stories comes from a variety of sources, both in Greek and Latin. AA SS Feb. 1, Dies 4, 0539F. One of the most popular was the Vita by Symeon the Metaphrast, c. 912; there were a ninth-century Latin translation by John the Deacon and another Vita written in the early twelfth century by Jean of Saint Ouen in Rouen. Hymns such as the eleventh-century Congaudentes 47 (*Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, ed. G.M. Dreves and C. Blume (1886-1922), 95ff, no. 66) also recount tales from the Nicholas story, especially the dowry story. The stories appeared in a number of vernacular sources, most notably the romance poems by Wace in the mid-twelfth-century and in dramas such as those in the twelfth-century Fleury Playbook. On narrative issues in pictorial hagiography, see Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart*.



Cathedral (**Figure 8**) and the other in Zedelgem. The two were both made from Tournai “marble” and are part of the large market production from around 1150.<sup>85</sup> The Tournai fonts are consistent in composition and iconography and the focus on St. Nicholas, a saint who appealed to a large, non-geographically-specific cult, may be a direct function of this wider market production. Both the Winchester font, which devotes two faces to the subject, and the Zedelgem font, which devotes three faces, depict the saint in the context of recognizable stories from the biography; there is no question which bishop saint is intended here. The Winchester font was likely purchased by Bishop of Henry of Blois (1129-1171), who introduced other Tournai fonts into the area.<sup>86</sup>

On Winchester, one side clearly relates the story of St. Nicholas giving dowries from his own money to the daughters of a destitute noble. It is complete with textual details such as the man at the feet of the saint, shown before a magnificently-carved Romanesque-style church that represents the episcopal seat at Myra but must also visually remind the viewer of the Heavenly city.<sup>87</sup> The figures, though handled in the

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<sup>85</sup> On the Tournai fonts, see Eden, *Black Tournai Fonts*; P. Rolland, “L’expansion tournaisienne au 11e et 12e siècles: art et commerce de la Pierre,” *Annales de l’Académie royale d’archéologie de Bruxelles*, LXXII (1924) and LXXIII (1925); Ronse, *Les Fonts Baptismaux*; L. Tollenaere, *La Sculpture sur Pierre de l’ancien diocèse de Liège à l’époque romane* (Gembloux, 1957); C.S. Drake, *Tournai Marble Baptismal Fonts of the Twelfth Century* (M.A. thesis, University of Essex, 1992), as well as *The Romanesque Fonts* which incorporates and updates his earlier research. The Winchester font, linked to the patronage of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester from 1129-1171, established a fashion for the works in England (St. Mary Bourne, East Meon, Southampton, as well as elsewhere). For Henry’s fondness for colored marbles in the antique fashion, see George Zarnecki, “Henry of Blois as a Patron of Sculpture” reprinted in *Further Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1992), 386-398.

<sup>86</sup> “Winchester: The cathedral,” *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 5* (1912), pp. 50-59.

<sup>87</sup> The reference to the church comes most directly from Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, 21-22, but as Charles W. Jones notes in *Saint Nicholas* there was sufficient emphasis on the saint’s episcopal role in the earlier versions of the story to warrant the church’s inclusion here. The medieval imagining of heaven’s architecture as a church can be seen in other art of the period, perhaps most notably on the twelfth-century tympanum of St. Foy at Conques and the mid-tenth-century image from the Morgan Beatus.



**Figures 8, 9** Baptismal Font, Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire, c. 1129-1171. Photo: Baptisteria Sacra.

typical Romanesque abstraction that emphasizes heads and hands over proportion, are depicted with assurance and clarity; St. Nicholas is repeatedly distinguishable by his ecclesiastical garb and his crosier.

On the second narrative face (**Figure 9**) the saint appears twice. He clearly appears on the far left with a short male figure; there is no immediate identification. In the center, two scenes show the murder of three boys by an innkeeper and the saint's

raising them to life.<sup>89</sup> The last scene shows a prostrate figure holding a cup at the base of an elaborate ship with three passengers; the figure of St. Nicholas stands prominently so as to be part of both the scenes of the murdered boys and of the cup-bearer, placed directly at his feet. The image is likely of the son born after prayer to St. Nicholas and the cup pledged to the saint in thanks; after falling overboard, the boy is miraculously preserved by the saint.<sup>90</sup> The story illustrates three key points of lay spirituality regarding saints: the saint grants the prayer for a son (supplication); the boy is miraculously saved (intervention); the father makes and fulfills a thank offering to the saint (adoration). The depictions of St. Nicholas on the Winchester font make clear that the saint is absolutely involved in the lives of his faithful.

The font at Brighton (c. third quarter of the twelfth century) also has the St. Nicholas elements. **(Figure 10)** Unlike the Tournai fonts, the focus of the narratives is not on St. Nicholas. There are three scenes here: the Baptism of Christ, the Last Supper, and the Nicholas scene. As a program, they illustrate the strong connection between the imagery on these baptismal fonts and the ideas of sacramental theology current at the

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<sup>89</sup> Eden, *Black Tournai Fonts*, 12-13.

<sup>90</sup> The eleventh-century version of this story of the substituted cup can be found in a Battle Abbey manuscript (British Library MS Cotton Tiberius V) as well as collected in the later Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, 26. Charles W. Jones notes that the story was not overly popular; “Though doubtless helping to intensify N’s patronage of children, *Substituted Cup* 62 does not appear in children’s exercises—drama or song, for instance. Rather, deceit and fraud apparently were regarded as the point of the story, and it traveled together with *Broken Staff* 61 throughout the West and even to parts of the East where Crusaders penetrated.” (*St. Nicholas*, 230) There is some possibility that the image might be the story of Adeodatus, son of Getron, whose abduction by the Muslim Marmorinus and then return by the intervention of Saint Nicholas was used in portal decoration in Tuscany; see Dorothy Glass, *Portals, Pilgrimage, and Crusade in Western Tuscany* (Princeton, 1997). While the story was better known, possibly through the work of the twelfth-century *Fleury Playbook* or that of the Anglo-Norman poet Wace (c. 1115-c. 1183), the visual representation here is markedly different from the story’s appearance on the facades of San Salvatore in Mustiola (Lucca) and Barga Cathedral, both of which emphasize the narrative details of feasting and of Adeodatus being pulled by the hair back to his family. Further, as Glass elaborates, the anti-Muslim aspect of the story would have resonated for its Italian viewers very differently than for viewers from Northern Europe.

time. The baptismal scene, with an attendant angel and John the Baptist dressed as a contemporary priest holding either a chrismatory or ciborium, links the historical past of Christ's baptism with the liturgical present of the candidate's baptism, all with a recurrent theme of the role of the sacraments within the Church institution.<sup>91</sup> The Last Supper establishes the Eucharist within the Church and must be seen as a reference to it here. These two scenes alone create a visual statement consonant with contemporary sacramental systems.



**Figure 10** Baptismal Font, Brighton (Sussex), c. 1150-1200. Photo: Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland ([www.crsbi.ac.uk](http://www.crsbi.ac.uk))

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<sup>91</sup> This idea is advanced in greater detail in Altwater, *In Fonte*, chapter 4.

The last scene on the Brighton font is traditionally identified as St. Nicholas. On the left stands the saint in full regalia; in the detailed depiction of a boat are two men on either side of a mast. The leftmost man holds up a jar. On the far right stands another male figure. It is difficult to determine which of the saint's stories this might refer to; it could be the story of seamen who are saved from a violent storm because they pray to Nicholas, who appears to them and who is recognized by them when they land safely.<sup>93</sup> The saint's inclusion draws us back to contemporary ideas about supplication and penance, making a third sacramental connection. The three narratives are presented, therefore, as a concise statement of sacraments open to all. The font, as object where the baptism is enacted, becomes the forum for sacramental and salvific education.

### Other Saints<sup>94</sup>

Some saints, despite having a wider cult, are depicted on baptismal fonts only regionally. This is particularly the case with St. Stephen, whose martyrdom appears on fonts at Stenkyrka, Stånga, När, and Vänge (Gotland), Hajom in Västergötland, and

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<sup>93</sup> Drake, in *The Romanesque Fonts*, 21, suggests this might be the scene where jealous Diana seeks revenge on the saint by giving sailors some oil designed to kill them and the saint then rescues them. E. Tyrrell-Green, *Baptismal Fonts*, 61 also offers this identification. The details of the stories are not a matter of sculptural concern, making precise identifications difficult.

<sup>94</sup> Because the focus here is on England, some unique hagiographic programs are not discussed here: St. Olaf of Norway on the font of Löderup in Skåne; see Nordstom, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts*, 122; Tryde (Skåne), dated to around 1185 shows either St. Stanislaus or St. Fridolin (Nordstrom *Medieval Baptismal Fonts*, 69-70). Both interpretations have their adherents, as both legends relate to the ideas of resurrection and baptism. In the case of St. Stanislaus, Johnny Roosval has shown the possible connection between the Polish queen of Sverker the Elder (d. 1156) which might have brought the cult to Sweden. In the case of St. Fridolin, the "apostle of the Upper Rhine" according to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, there is little to connect the cult to areas outside of the main cult locations of Säckingen and Poitiers. Regardless of the saint's identity, the Tryde font is a unique example and bespeaks a particular experience of patronage rather than a wider appeal to lay sanctity.

Simris in Skåne, but not at all on English Romanesque fonts.<sup>95</sup> St. Thomas Becket, despite being an important English saint, appears only on the related Swedish fonts at Lyngsjö in Skåne and Nora in Angermanland.<sup>96</sup> Both of these fonts emphasize the idea of martyrdom as a sanctioned equivalent to baptism, also presenting either the Baptism of Christ (Lyngsjö) or other saints (the Massacre of the Innocents at Nora; Christ “authorizing” Peter with keys, John with a book, and the Virgin with a crown at Lyngsjö). St. Pancratius, though a saint listed in the Roman martyrologies of the fifth century, appears only on the German fonts at Vellern, where he is identified by inscription, and on the Stockum font; in each, he appears in the standing saint model, not as part of a defining vita moment.<sup>97</sup> St. Lawrence appears on a few Scandinavian fonts, but only once on an English font (Cottam). While the function of these saints follows the same theological priorities of other hagiographic images on baptismal fonts, it is difficult to place the reasons why their influence is more limited; undoubtedly, patronage and church dedications played a strong correlative role.

### **The Cottam Font: A Complex Presentation of Piety**

The Cottam font is unique because it presents the martyrdom of three saints in considerable detail as a program of belief about sacramental theology and practice. All three saints—Andrew, Lawrence, and Margaret—were universally popular, but also had

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<sup>95</sup> Nordström, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts*, 117-118.

<sup>96</sup> Nordström, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts*, 120-121 and Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts*, 146. Nordström credits connections between the saint and Swedish recipients of his miracles and relics as reason for the unusual representation. The lack of representations of Becket in England could also be due to their destruction during the Reformation.

<sup>97</sup> For St. Pancratius’s appearance on baptismal fonts, see Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia*, 83-84.



an active presence in English hagiographic sources.<sup>98</sup> Their specificity and the detailed connection between these saints and the theology and practice of baptism are startling. I argue that this is evidence of an undercurrent of theological concerns that takes shape as an iconography of the saints, and of which the Cottam font is the fullest extension. Cottam is a fully-realized example of the role of saints in the expression of lay piety and anxiety around the human body presented in baptism.

The Cottam font is a large cylindrical basin of about three feet in height and diameter. Currently moved to the church of St. Peter's in Langtoft, in its original parish church of Holy Trinity in Cottam, it would likely have been installed near the western entrance. Dating to around 1135-1145, the Cottam font is carved from local limestone in a style linked to other contemporary works in the East Riding.<sup>99</sup> The figures are typical of twelfth-century untutored production: the finish is rough and unpolished; the anatomy is marked by simplification and distortion, particularly of heads and hands.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Lawrence, AA SS Aug. II, Dies 10, 0485B; Andrew, AA SS Feb. II, Dies 10, 0379C; Margaret, AA SS July V, Dies 20, 0024B. All three saints appear in a number of sources, including the mid-to-late ninth-century Old English Martyrology (George Herzfeld, *The Old English Martyrology*, London, 116, 1900) and the South English Legendary (Charlotte d'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, *The South English Legendary*, London, 1956). Lawrence and Andrew appear in Old English homilies in Trinity Cambridge MS B.14.52 (Rev. R. Morris, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century*, London, 1873). On St. Andrew, see *Praxeis*, the Blickling Homily, and *Andreas*. For St. Margaret, see Aelfric's account in Paris BN lat. 5574 and Cambridge Corpus Christi College 303 (these works and others, as well as an excellent discussion of Margaret's cult in Anglo-Saxon England, are discussed in detail in Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge, UK, 1994). Lawrence was well-represented in Latin writings—Ambrose (*De Officiis*, cf PL XVI, 89-92) and Prudentius (*Peristephanon*, Hymnus II); in addition to these well-known accounts, there were also Aelfric's *Catholic Homilies* and the late-twelfth century poems of Nigel of Canterbury (*The Passion of St. Lawrence, Epigrams and Marginal Poems*, ed. and trans. Jan M. Ziolkowski, Leiden, 1994). If indeed the saint represented was St. Vincent instead of Saint Lawrence, his hagiography was equally well-known in the work of Prudentius and in the *South English Legendary*. All four saints appear in the later collected writing of Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan.

<sup>99</sup> Faith Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture: A Study of 12<sup>th</sup> Century Fragments in East Yorkshire* (Beverly, 1985), 28-29, 41.

<sup>100</sup> See for example font decoration in the East Riding at Kirkburn, North Grimston, and especially Cowlam; the portal decoration at Kirkburn, with the exception of the quite fine beakheads, is also part of



**Figure 11** Baptismal Font, Cottam (East Riding, Yorkshire), c. 1135-1145, detail of the Tree. Photo: author.

The distinctive touch of the sculptor, however, is also evident here: the figures all have a firm profile with large triangular noses and jutting chins. Finishing details such as breasts and ribs are included as important, but regularized so that there is little anatomical individualization. A thick Anglo-Norman style cable is carved around the upper rim, a

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the same rural style. It can be seen elsewhere in Northern England, such as at Durham in the castle crypt capitals.

rough ground line is carved along the bottom rim, and there are a few sketchy architectural elements designed to set the scenes apart from one another in the main band of decoration. There are six scenes on the Cottam font.

I read the image of the tree (**Figure 11**) as an aniconic delineation of the larger program of baptismal theology on the Cottam font. Other English baptismal fonts from the period have depictions of an isolated tree.<sup>103</sup> It appears as well in other medieval artistic settings. This tree is frequently read as a representation of the Tree of Life or the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil from the Garden of Eden.<sup>104</sup> Here the reading of the tree as a short-hand reference to Eden is bolstered by its position next to the scene of Adam and Eve. The power of this aniconic image is that it stands out on a circular font as both beginning and end: the need for baptism is because of the Fall that proceeds from Eden, and the baptismal promise suggests the ability to return to a paradisiacal relationship after the Last Judgment.

Typical of Romanesque sculpture, there is a panel with a composite beast, (**Figure 12**) described variously as either a bird or a dragon with a looped tail;<sup>105</sup> careful examination suggests a bird's head with a wattle, a bird's body with looped claws, and a long coiled tail.<sup>106</sup> This panel is positioned between the two martyrdom scenes of the man

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<sup>103</sup> Notably, Hutton Cranswick, Harpole, Oxhill, and Belton, all available in both Bond, *Fonts* and Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts*.

<sup>104</sup> Bond, *Fonts*, 181.

<sup>105</sup> E. Maule Cole, "Ancient Fonts on the Wolds of East Riding," *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* x (1902), 107-117, and as a dragon in a short note in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 38 (1952-55), 6.

<sup>106</sup> I am grateful to Ms. Rita Wood for her clear photographs and assistance in identifying the elements. She suggests the specific reading of the basilisk; see T.H. White, *The Book of Beasts* (translation of Cambridge Ii. 4.26) (New York, 1954), 168 ff. See also: William B. Clark and Meredith T. McMunn, *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: the Bestiary and its Legacy* (Philadelphia, 1989).

on the grill and the crucified figure and is notably smaller than the other sections on the font, suggesting that perhaps the unequal layout of the design was a problem of execution



**Figure 12** Baptismal Font, Cottam (East Riding, Yorkshire), c. 1135-1145, detail of the beast. Photo: author.

and that this element—for all of its sculptural creativity—may not have been planned in this program. Although it stands outside a narrative iconography, the presence of the monster here may be associated first with the broader sculptural traditions of the Romanesque that fill margins and liminal spaces with monstrous ornament, with a general sentiment of pervasive evil characterized by strange un-godly creations,<sup>109</sup> and

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<sup>109</sup> The literature on the grotesque or monstrous is extensive; useful discussions in a variety of disciplines may be found in Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: the margins of medieval art* (Cambridge MA, 1992); Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, *Marginal Sculpture in Medieval France: Towards the Deciphering of an Enigmatic*

ultimately and specifically with the idea of the lurking presence of the demonic countered in the baptismal exorcism. Exorcism of the baptismal candidate was an important part of the early liturgy of baptism and remained part of twelfth-century practices.<sup>110</sup> The presence of the beast here is undoubtedly a visual reminder that within the baptismal liturgy is a renunciation of Satan and his works, either by the candidate or on behalf of the candidate.

To the left is the image of Adam and Eve. **(Figure 13)** Another tree occupies the central position in the composition; a serpent, handled in the best Scandinavian-influenced form,<sup>111</sup> wraps around it. Eve, on the right, reaches her right hand up to take the forbidden apple; simultaneously, her left hand holds an immense leaf to cover her nakedness. Adam stands on the left, apparently having already eaten the apple, his own genitals already covered. This kind of synoptic narrative is very common in medieval art in general and on twelfth-century baptismal fonts in particular.<sup>112</sup> It is a style for those already familiar with the events of the story, able to sort out the sequencing despite the

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*Pictorial Language* (Brookfield VT, 1995), David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature* (Exeter, 1996); Thomas Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa" *The Art Bulletin* 83/ 3 (September 2001), 402-436; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York, 2001); and, most recently, Ruth Mellinkoff, *Averting Demons* (Los Angeles, 2004).

<sup>110</sup> For a discussion of the early roots of exorcism and baptism, see John Bowman, "Exorcism and Baptism" in ed. Robert H. Fischer, *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in Early Christian Literature and Its Environment* (Chicago, 1977), 249-264. For the later medieval discussion, with insightful text analysis, see Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Devil at Baptism: ritual, theology, and drama* (Ithaca, 1985).

<sup>111</sup> For the Scandinavian influence on English art, see Signe Horn Fuglesang, *Some Aspects of the Ringerike Style: A Phase of 11<sup>th</sup> Century Scandinavian Art* (Odense: 1980), especially 77-81.

<sup>112</sup> See, for example, the fonts at Cowlam, Fincham, Kirkby, Walton, and the Tournai font at East Meon.

simultaneous nature of its visual depiction. The scene on the Cottam font participates in a long and stable tradition of applying this iconography to baptismal font decoration.<sup>113</sup>

This image of Adam and Eve effectively summarizes Christian anxiety about the relationship of God's grace to mankind and the ever-present weight of human knowledge of sinfulness. In the twelfth century, orthodox theology adopted the Pauline belief that "as sin came into the world through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned—sin was indeed in the world before the law was given..."<sup>114</sup> and the very complete Augustinian formulation that this sin of origin is unavoidably passed through human procreation.<sup>115</sup> Both of these positions are thoroughly discussed by Hugh of Saint-Victor in the section on the "Fall of the First Man" in *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*, a work composed around 1134 and thus contemporary with the Cottam font.<sup>116</sup> Baptism, therefore, was a necessary sacrament, which with its elements of water and the *res* of the Holy Spirit removed this sin and allowed the mortal soul to begin its journey through Christ to God.

The norm for twelfth-century English font decoration is this focus on the stories

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<sup>113</sup> Indeed, one of the earliest extant contexts for the imagery of Adam and Eve in their Fall is the baptistery at Dura Europas, Syria, before 256. The fresco, which includes the image of Christ as the Good Shepherd directly over the scene of Original Sin, appears in the lunette directly above the font. See Carl H. Kraeling, *The Excavations at Dura Europas Final Report: The Christian Building*, VIII/2 (New Haven: 1967).

<sup>114</sup> Romans 5: 12-13.

<sup>115</sup> Augustine states this position over and over again in his anti-heretical writings, perhaps most clearly in his letters against the Pelagians. In the section where Augustine explains that all men share in Adam's sin by generation, not merely by imitation, he asserts both the principles of sin through procreation and the need for baptism, even in infants who can have committed no sin; see *De Peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo parvulorum*, Book 1, 9-11, ed. Migne, *PL* 44:0123ff.

<sup>116</sup> Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei* 1: 7, ed. Migne, *PL* 176, 322. See also: *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge MA, 1951).





**Figure 13** Baptismal Font, Cottam (East Riding, Yorkshire), c. 1135-1145, detail of the Temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve. Photo: author.

of Adam and Eve or on Christ's life, particularly the incarnation and baptism.<sup>120</sup> Three of the six scenes on the Cottam font depart from this general pattern. One scene (**Figure 14**) shows two figures on either side of the third haloed man, stripped to the waist with clear surface marks of his nipples and ribs, whose arms and legs are stretched and attached to the X-shaped cross behind him. In the neighboring scene (**Figure 15**), a roughly-executed figure, his face prominently featured with a large upturned mouth, lies on a row of horizontal bars; his hands are bound in front of him and he is visibly restrained by the crooked staff of the standing robed figure at the edge of the grill. In the third scene, (**Figure 16**) the artist has depicted a central figure of a dragon, its maw etched with scales and open to show rows of teeth. On the back side of the dragon's head extends the upper torso and head of a clothed figure, a long plait of hair down her back. From the jaws come the dress and feet of the same figure. They are hagiographic images of three popular "universal" saints: St. Andrew (**Figure 14**), St. Lawrence (**Figure 15**), and St. Margaret of Antioch (**Figure 16**).

St. Andrew appears in his martyrdom, his hands and feet tied to the decussate cross so as to prolong his suffering, as in the textual accounts. In the next martyrdom scene, the Cottam sculptor focuses on the details of the torturer, the grill, and the saint's alert face. The scene is an inexact translation of the Prudentius' text: while the torturer holds the hooked pole that might be associated with the flayed body of St. Vincent, the gridiron lacks the flames potently associated with Vincent and reflects the vapors of Lawrence's death. Vincent, though not unknown in England, was not as popular in

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<sup>120</sup> Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts*, 4.



**Figure 14** Baptismal Font, Cottam, detail of St. Andrew. Photo: author.



**Figure 15** Baptismal Font, Cottam, detail of St. Lawrence. Photo: author.

England as Lawrence was.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Both Lawrence and Vincent could be characterized as universal saints and conflation of the two is not undesirable, given baptismal naming and sponsorship connotations. St. Vincent never achieved St. Lawrence's popularity in English art or in the numbers of church dedications. R.L.P. Milburn, *Saints and Their Emblems in English Churches* (London, 1949), 248, and N. D'Anvers and Mrs. Arthur Bell, *Lives and Legends of the Evangelists, Apostles, and Other Early Saints* (London, 1901), 232; see also Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications* (London, 1899) for a general look at England's "patron saints" and church dedications. For an excellent examination of the iconographic development, see Gillian Mackie, "New Light on the So-Called Saint Lawrence Panel at the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna," *Gesta* 29/1, 54-60.



**Figure 16** Baptismal Font, Cottam, detail of St. Margaret. Photo: author.

Finally, in a scene of her imprisonment from her vita preceding her actual martyrdom, Margaret has been swallowed by Satan in a dragon disguise; he is forced to spit her back up because of the cross she carries.<sup>122</sup>

These saint images offer a complex and layered response to medieval concerns about physical embodiment. The depiction of these martyrdoms foregrounds the visceral nature of the destruction of one's mortal body in the service of one's immortal belief. This deliberately draws out the saints' emulation of Christ's suffering on the cross; martyrdom is perhaps the explicit statement of salvation played out on the mortal body. Its presentation on a baptismal font is further reinforcement of the idea that the average mortal body, brought to its necessary baptism, is just as much an arena for salvation; the fragile infant body in times of high illness and mortality has a contested soul as much as the strong, breaking bodies of the most holy.

The textual discussion and the visual representation often concentrate on the saint's physical suffering. Various English vernacular sources from the late ninth and early tenth centuries, including *Praxeis*, the Blickling Homily, and the poem *Andreas*, wherein Christ tells Andrew of the dangers ahead in the cannibal city of Mermedonia: "They will scatter abroad your flesh in the streets and alleys, and your blood will flow upon the ground, but they will not be able to kill you. But endure, since you know they struck, insulted, and crucified me, for there are some who are about to believe in this city."<sup>125</sup> Visually, Andrew reminds the medieval viewer of Christ's incarnation and

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<sup>122</sup> AA SS, July V, Dies 20, 0024B. John J. Delaney, *Dictionary of Saints* (Garden City, 1980), 380-381. This is only one of the scenes of Margaret's torture; she is eventually beheaded.

<sup>125</sup> Robert Boenig, *Saint and Hero: Andreas and Medieval Doctrine* (London, 1991), 36-38.



bodily sacrifice, reenacted in the sacrament of the Eucharist, and of the importance of living in Christ's example. Moreover, St. Lawrence might be said to exemplify the sheer bodily commitment of a saint to his faith; the writing about him tends to focus on the amount of suffering he underwent. Prudentius' hymn makes an extended catalogue of Lawrence's virtues in the face of torture; later, Jacobus de Voragine writes, "It may be noted that the passion of St. Lawrence is seen to stand out above the passions of the other martyrs... The first aspect is the bitterness of his sufferings..."<sup>126</sup> Jacobus continues with a numeric cataloguing of the saint's punishments and virtues. There is ample evidence in medieval sacramental theology that martyrdom might be considered a substitute for actual baptism, as in the case of the Holy Innocents and with a number of examples in saints' vitae of former persecutors who convert and are martyred alongside the saint.<sup>127</sup>

Beyond the simple fact of their identities, these saints also have particular bodily associations that might be tied to sacramental theology and practices. At a time when theologians were trying to develop a comprehensive system of sacraments and to link together the seven sacraments held by the Church, iconographies that could draw on multiple sacramental allusions were valuable.

In addition to the visual connections between Andrew and Christ extending to the Eucharist, Andrew had a close association with the sacrament of penance. Penance was

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<sup>126</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, 70.

<sup>127</sup> For example, see Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Book XIII, c. 7: "Whoever die for the confession of Christ, even though they have not yet received the washing of regeneration, yet it suffices to remit their sins, as much as if they were washed in the sacred font of baptism." See also Peter Lombard, *Summa Sententiarum*, Book IV:iv. For a discussion of baptism as a ritualization of martyrdom, see Peter Cramer's discussion of the third-century *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas*, in *Baptism and Change*, 48, 73-86. On the Holy Innocents, see fifth-century Peter Chrysologus's sermon that connects baptism and martyrdom by referring to the mothers' tears over the martyred sons in A. Olivar, *CCSL* 24B (1979-1982), 947-957. Interestingly, the metaphor does not seem to have worked in reverse: baptism is not a physical danger but a death to sin, emphasizing only the spiritual and not the physical elements.

linked to baptism in its cleansing the penitent from sin, though it was repeatable where baptism was not. The period between the tenth and twelfth centuries saw an increase in the acceptability and codification of private penitential penalties as it moved more clearly into the sacramental institution of the Church. Peter Lombard writes, using Jerome, “The first plank is baptism, where the old man is laid aside and the new put on; the second {plank}, penance, by which after a fall we rise again, while the old state which had returned is distained, and the new one which had been lost is resumed.”<sup>128</sup> The English *Andreas* explicitly associates Andrew with penance: Christ sends him to the cannibals of Mermedonia to free Matthew, not for his sins but for doubting Christ’s power and fearing for the mission; Andrew’s suffering has been described as an example of contemporary ideas of graded penance proper for a priest -- penance as medicine -- and the language of the poet is the sacramental language used by a priest to a penitent.<sup>129</sup> The *Andreas* poem and its hero are part of the contemporary dialogue on sacramental definition and systematic theology. Visually, with the placement on an object of specific liturgical function, Andrew appears as a saint who connects the two Church practices of baptism and penance.

St. Lawrence’s vita mentions specifically the many baptisms he performs while in jail; healing miracles even result directly from Lawrence’s baptism of fellow prisoner Lucillus. As the archdeacon of Rome, even at the risk of his own life, Lawrence emphasizes the Church’s position on the importance of the baptismal sacrament. The narrative also holds sacramental power; with the words, “Confession of faith washes all

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<sup>128</sup> Peter Lombard, *Summa Sententiarum*, Book IV, distinction xiv, 1; trans. Rogers, *Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System*, 151.

<sup>129</sup> Boenig, *Saint and Hero*, 49-54.

clean.” Lawrence’s baptisms offer both cleansing of Original Sin and the promise of future penitential grace. The *vita* can be used to reinforce key points in sacramental theology—the position of the sacrament within the institution of the Church—while simultaneously upholding first the Church’s doctrinal position that baptism is first a cleansing of the soul, second, the connection between baptism and penitential confession, and third, the lay belief in the power of the holy to use the sacraments as an opportunity for truly miraculous cleansing.<sup>130</sup>

Part of the reason Lawrence’s martyrdom was held in such esteem was his position as archdeacon of Rome and head of the church there after the martyrdom of Pope Sixtus II. The combination of his ecclesiastic status and the defining moment of his *vita*—giving away the treasures of the Church to the poor—make him an embodiment of Christ, a point made explicitly by Augustine. Finally, Lawrence’s humor plays on the other critical sacrament, the Eucharist. Various authors give him a sense of baiting humor with his executioners; in one account, when on the grill, Lawrence says, “It is done; eat it up, try whether it is nicer raw or roasted.”<sup>131</sup> The saint, living in the example of Christ with his dedication to the poor and downtrodden, dies for his faith, offering his own body as food, a joke that works because of its direct reference to the Eucharist.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> It could be noted that this cleansing of soul and body is something fostered even in liturgical and theological writing on a most erudite level. The Bath of Naaman was occasionally taken as a baptismal type, where the immersion cures him of leprosy; the baptismal reference to the bath of Naaman, from 2 Kings 5:1-14, comes specifically from Ambrose’s *De Sacramentis*.

<sup>131</sup> Prudentius, “coctum est, deuora/ et experimentum cape,/ sit crudum an assum suauius!” Peristephanon, II lines 406-408, although 401-408 inclusive are relevant; see also Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, 67.

<sup>132</sup> Rachel Fulton, “‘Taste and see that the Lord is sweet’ (Ps. 33:9): The Flavor of God in the Monastic West,” *The Journal of Religion*, 86/ 2 (April 2006), 169-204.

Margaret's social position also makes her resonate with her audience. Noble by birth, she is discovered by Olybrius while tending sheep. Her virgin body upholds the high value the Church placed on purity. As a lay woman about to be martyred, she prays that she be granted the power to intercede for a healthy child on behalf of any woman who invokes her name in a difficult labor. She thus emphatically fuses the Church's lawful positions on female sexuality as virgin herself and maternal protector. Margaret becomes one woman who exists in both Church contexts.<sup>133</sup>

In one Old English account (Cambridge Corpus Christi College 303), Margaret prays that the cauldron of boiling water prepared for her become the bath of baptism; an angel appears and consecrates the water as a font and leads her unharmed out of the boiling water.<sup>134</sup> More significantly, in the twelfth century, St. Margaret was hailed as a patron saint of childbirth both for her "probably apocryphal" bursting forth from a dragon and her martyr's prayer for women in labor.<sup>135</sup> In a culture that understandably feared the harrowing experience of childbirth and the real possibility of a child's early death, Margaret's visual presence on the font is a powerful reminder of the intercessory abilities visibly present for a child offered up for baptism.

That these were three universally-recognized saints, that they were of both genders, that they represented three different backgrounds as apostle, deacon and

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<sup>133</sup> This ambiguity of position may have been part of why Margaret was a saint received with ambivalence; Jacobus de Voragine is anxious about the vita elements that he cannot verify. In 1969, Margaret was removed from the lists of saints by the Vatican.

<sup>134</sup> Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, 167. There is a more elaborate and more explicitly baptismal prayer in the Latin *Passio S. Margaretae*, 213 of the same text.

<sup>135</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, trans. Ryan, 368-70. While Latin versions refer to the story even in the prayers, one vernacular account, the *Old English Martyrology*, is considerably embarrassed by the dragon scene, omitting the popular story and emphasizing the intercessory effects (Clayton and Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*, 4, 11).

laywoman is critical to their ability to speak to mortal existence. Their saintly piety, described by Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell as “active, world-denying, and God-seeking” imbues them with a supernatural power that can directly affect lay piety, which was “passive and favor-seeking, blurring those goals of purification and reverence with those of petition and covenant.”<sup>136</sup> In twelfth-century England, the baptismal rite is a mix of these pieties: theologically the goal is purification and reverence for the Church’s salvific role but within the context of petition for the mortal life of the child. The community of saints intercedes powerfully for those without power—the penitent sinner and the infant—and the portrayal here on the Cottam baptismal font asserts their spiritual presence in the world of sacramental practice.

These are all, on one level, very erudite readings of the relationship of these saints to contemporary sacramental theology. Given how little we know about the actual specifics of the Cottam font and its commissioning, or indeed of the Cottam parish during the twelfth century, we can only speculate at how direct the program was intended to be. On another level, however, the Cottam font images must be seen as participating in a circulating dialogue about sacraments and mortal bodies that was much more culturally-pervasive. We can track easily the Church’s efforts through the twelfth century to create a standardized definition of the sacraments and to limit those sacraments to seven; we can track through secular edicts and church accounts the emphasis that was placed on the priests’ role in performing these sacraments and performing them correctly within their parishes. Both clerical and lay culture used the saints as spiritual touchstones for different contexts. The contemporary lay emphasis on the power of prayer performed at saints’ relics was at a peak in the twelfth century and the visual presence of saint imagery on the

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<sup>136</sup> Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, 8.

baptismal font served to heighten the importance and relevance of the baptismal sacrament. That this contemporary emphasis on relics was also connected to a penitential movement would have added a penitential connection to the presence of the saint imagery on the Cottam font, underlining the theological assertion of a link between these two sacraments. Finally, as seen in other art of the time, particularly tympana, the ideas of Christian salvation in the face of the End Time and the Last Judgment were pervasive enough to resonate in the figural images on this font.

Although seen on no other English fonts, the three saints combined on the Cottam font lie within the larger twelfth-century dialogue on baptism as a sacrament and the role of the saints in the lives of the faithful. The saints are presented in their moments of bodily suffering, which makes a statement not only of sacramental connection to baptism but also of Christian commitment. Their presence in a program that also includes the Fall of Adam and Eve reminds the viewer that these spiritually-pure figures are also mortal, born with the same failings; the candidate in the font belongs to a continuity of humanity from its mortal beginnings to its Christly exemplars. Their martyrdoms heighten the message of baptism itself as a salvific and victorious act. The presence of those saints who are so committed to their faith stands in sharp relief to the infant candidates who are so innocent and helpless -- and yet condemned without baptism.

## **Conclusion**

We can think of the iconography of baptismal fonts in the twelfth century as having been conceived within relatively narrow theological parameters that resulted nevertheless in a dynamic range of images. The institutional concern seems chiefly to



have been to draw attention to the fundamentals of baptism as a sacrament within a sacramental system. The iconography first focuses on the necessity for baptism through the images of Adam and Eve, the baptismal remedy through the images of bodily incarnation of Christ, and the baptismal formula through the images of Christ's own baptism. It then draws on iconographies that connect the important sacrament of baptism to other sacraments within the Church's emerging structured definitions of sacraments. Images are thus chosen that draw particular attention to Christ's bodily sacrifice through their visual connections to the Eucharist and that draw particular attention to saints through their visual connections to the sacraments.

The iconographic power of saints is, however, not merely that they express the sacrament of penance. The imagery of saints is directly connected to a spiritual belief in their real presence in the world and intercessory power. As the candidate is being baptized, the saint serves as an example of behavior, a source of inspiration and assistance, and a means of reception into the Christian community in a way that shows the intimate connection between Christ and his faithful. Peter Lombard followed the Augustinian definition that "...a sacrament not only signifies, but also confers that of which it is the sign or signification."<sup>137</sup> We might also place the hagiographical decoration of baptismal fonts in this context. The saints are not themselves a sacrament, but their function in medieval spirituality is sacramental; their imagery not only tells the story of the power of sanctity and commitment but also conveys the protection, assistance, and guidance so vividly associated with these figures.

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<sup>137</sup> Peter Lombard, *Summa Sententiarum*, trans. Rogers, *Peter Lombard*, 55-56.



## **The Medium is the Message: Votive Devotional Imagery and Gift Giving amongst the Commonality in the Late Medieval Parish**

**By Matthew Champion, Heritage Consultant and Project Manager, MJC Associates**

The study of medieval church graffiti has a long, and not altogether illustrious, history amongst academics. Although first the subject of scholarly attention in the 19<sup>th</sup> century it has largely remained the domain of inquisitive rectors and churchwardens, general antiquarians and students of folklore.<sup>1</sup> While recent site specific studies have taken a more systematic approach the field has, until the last few years, remained understudied and largely neglected. Indeed, in the UK only one full length work has ever been published upon the subject and, after four decades of additional study, it was recently re-issued in its original circa 1967 form.<sup>2</sup>

That medieval church graffiti should remain such an unexplored avenue for scholars is something of a mystery. In the field of medieval studies the potential of medieval graffiti inscriptions to open up new avenues of investigation has actually been recognized for several decades. That few scholars have risen to meet this challenge is perhaps partially the result of the quasi-academic category that most graffiti studies have been confined to in the past, and a recognition that modern attitudes to graffiti have perhaps colored our view of their creation.

However, the study of medieval graffiti does have the potential to throw new light upon certain aspects of the medieval world that have long held a fascination for scholars, namely the relationship between the commonality and the medieval church. This relationship and the wider aspects of “lay piety” still represent a near void in our understanding of the medieval world, most particularly at a parish level. Although it is true that studies of parish level piety and devotion have expanded almost exponentially in the last century, many of the results, whilst fascinating, have been almost as frustrating as they have been unfulfilling.<sup>3</sup> Studies of medieval wills, building accounts and parish books have given us a view of the devotional life of the medieval commonality, it is a view from afar: an outsider’s glimpse of a world from which the human element, the personal voice, has been almost entirely expurgated.

Indeed, at a parish level, the voice of the commonality is rarely other than silent. Whilst any visit to a medieval church will undoubtedly present the scholar with a wealth of

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<sup>1</sup> Most notably the useful and interesting study undertaken by Doris Jones-Baker in *The Folklore of Hertfordshire*, Folklore of the British Isles Series (Batsford, 1977).

<sup>2</sup> Valerie Pritchard, *English Medieval Graffiti* (Cambridge University Press, 1967).

<sup>3</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (Yale University Press, 1992); Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Sutton, 2004).

pre-reformation survivals, it is not the commonality, the lower orders of the parish, to which they relate. Even though the stained glass, alabaster monuments and funerary brasses of the medieval church may represent inspiring and educational survivals, they must also be seen for what, and who, they represent. These monuments are not created by or for the laborers in the field, the humble commoner or the aspiring yeoman. Instead, and nearly without exception, they are the testament of the parish elite. They were commissioned, designed and paid for by the top five or ten percent of society as acts of devotion and attempts at temporal immortality.

Where then is the voice of the rest of the medieval parish? Where can we come close to hearing an echo of the voice of the commonality? Although individual members of the commonality do surface occasionally from the darkness, the instances are rare and largely in very specific circumstances. These instances tend to be at very specific points in their lives, such as the rites of passage events of birth, marriage or death, or when those individuals found themselves coming into contact with authority. Therefore, although individuals may appear in wills, manor court rolls or church accounts, these instances tend to represent the atypical and the unusual. For many individuals, indeed the majority of the lower orders, these passing references in “legitimate” documents of authority may well be their only testament to existence: the only official and tangible mark their lives left upon the world they inhabited.

Defining and understanding the relationship between individuals and the church, more especially their own parish church, is particularly difficult. It is only in a few slight and circumstantial areas of direct physical interaction that we can even begin to approach the subject. In particular, one largely overlooked form of interaction, the medieval graffiti of the parish church, may begin to offer insights into the form and nature of this relationship. By its very nature surviving medieval church graffiti is regarded as being outside of the mainstream of the study of image and devotion within the medieval church. Its creation lacks the legitimacy associated with wall paintings, monuments and stained glass, and all too modern connotations associate it with destruction and defacement. However, it is this patent lack of legitimacy, this distancing from authority that can allow it to be regarded, at least in part, as a reflection of the relationship between commonality and church.

In early 2010 a major study was begun to undertake the very first large-scale and systematic survey of surviving medieval church graffiti inscriptions. The Norfolk Medieval Graffiti Survey aims to survey and record all surviving pre-Reformation graffiti inscriptions in the more than six hundred and fifty medieval churches of the English county of Norfolk.<sup>4</sup> When the survey was envisaged it was widely believed that surviving medieval graffiti inscriptions were a rarity. Earlier studies had identified only a handful of churches as containing such inscriptions. However, the initial results of the survey, carried out entirely by volunteer survey teams, led to a dramatic reassessment of the situation. Of the ninety or so churches already surveyed, over 70% have been discovered to contain significant surviving pre-Reformation inscriptions. Indeed, the rule of thumb adopted by the survey teams is that,

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<sup>4</sup> [www.medieval-graffiti.co.uk](http://www.medieval-graffiti.co.uk)



**Figure 1** Examples of text graffiti discovered during the early stages of the Norfolk Graffiti Survey. The examples shown all date between the early 15<sup>th</sup> and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, noticeable chronological concentrations of textual have been identified in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: author.



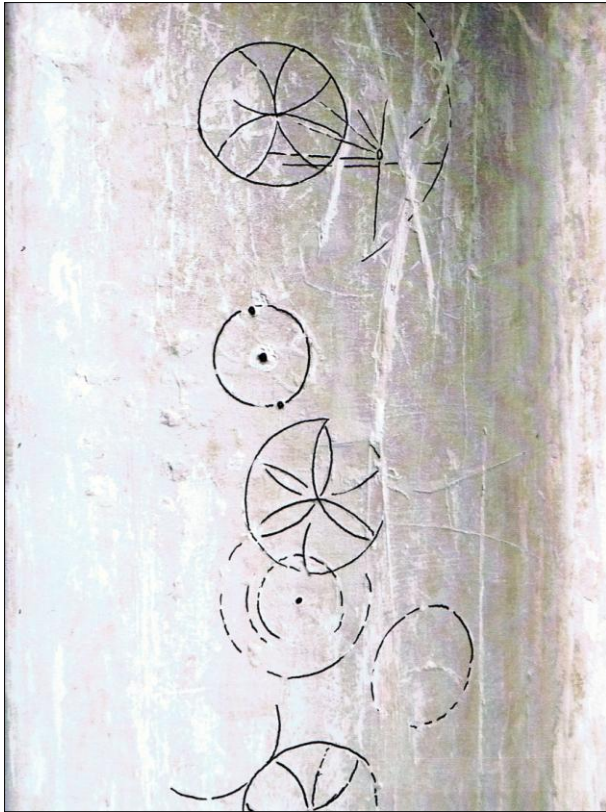


**Figure 2** A small selection of the many hundreds of compass-drawn designs identified and recorded in Norfolk churches by the NMGS. Although all motifs are compass-drawn, they display a wide number of variations in detailed design. Photo: author.

if a church is not still covered in lime-wash, and if the site has not been the subject of too enthusiastic Victorian “restoration,” then significant graffiti inscriptions **will** be discovered. In churches such as All Saints, Litcham, St. Nicholas, Blakeney and All Saints, Marsham several hundred individual inscriptions have been located within the same structure.

The individual inscriptions so far identified and recorded number several thousand and are as diverse as they are numerous. Although text inscriptions are relatively common, including inscribed names that appear as forerunners of the more modern street graffiti, it is in a minority. Indeed, certain sites, such as All Saints, Litcham (Norfolk), or St. Mary’s, Troston (Suffolk), have been identified as unusual simply because of the large quantities of textual graffiti that they contain.<sup>5</sup> (**Figure 1**) Far more common inscriptions are those that display images or symbols that have no associated text. Although beyond the scope of this

<sup>5</sup> Matthew Champion, “Medieval Graffiti Inscriptions found in All Saints Church, Litcham,” *Norfolk Archaeology* XLVI (2011), pp. 199-208.



**Figure 3** East face of the chancel arch, Brisley, Norfolk., showing a small selection of the many compass-drawn designs discovered in the church. Intriguingly virtually no other graffiti was recorded within the church. Photo: author.

short article it must be noted that certain symbols, including the six-pointed compass-drawn flower motif (or the “Daisy wheel” as it is commonly referred to), the swastika pelta and the pentangle have been identified in such numbers, and at such widespread locations, that their use as apotropaic or ritual symbols is now clearly beyond doubt. Indeed, any church that contains surviving graffiti inscriptions will, almost without exception, contain numerous examples of compass drawn motifs. **(Figure 2)** Even

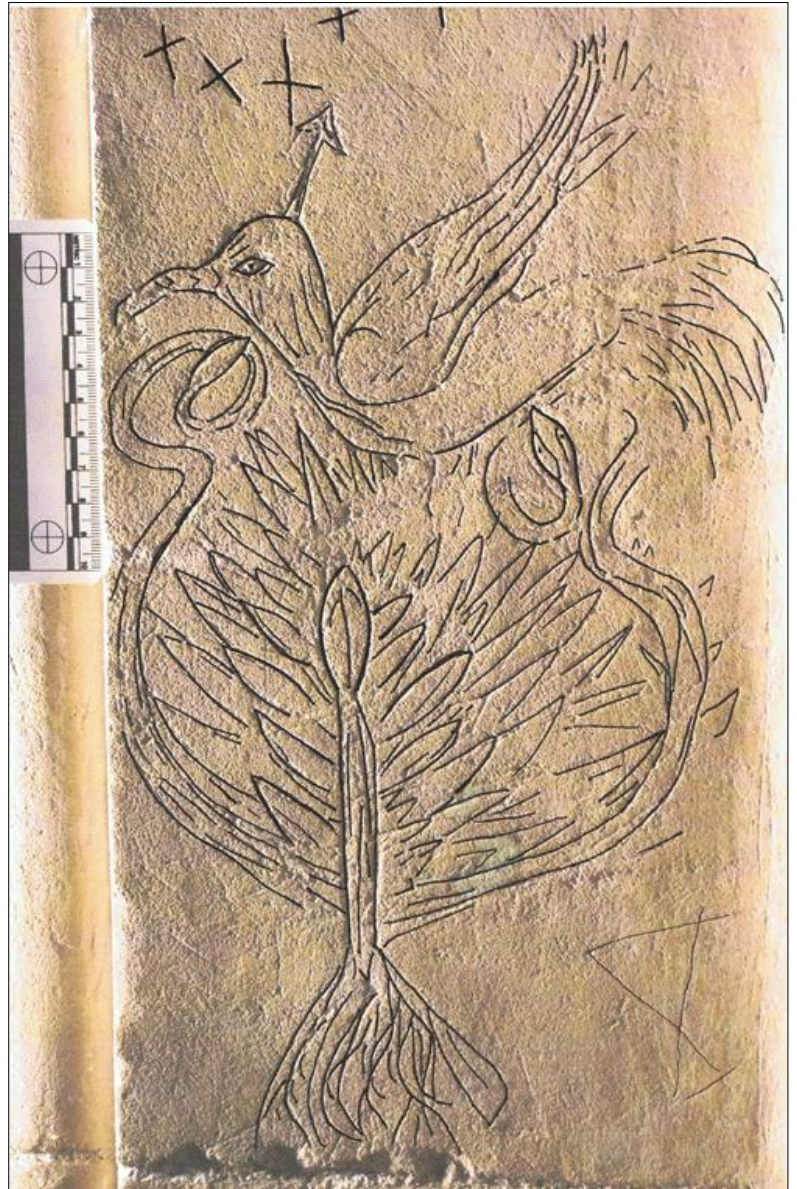
churches such as St. Bartholomew’s, Brisley (Norfolk), which are almost devoid of other graffiti inscriptions, were found to contain over a dozen compass drawn symbols across their wall fabric. **(Figure 3)**

A large number of the individual graffiti inscriptions would appear to be far more than the random doodling of an idle peasantry. Many of the images are clearly designed to have meaning and, if the term is not already over-used in an archaeological context, were of ritual significance. Concentrations of graffiti inscriptions around certain locations within church structures, such as image niches or altars, indicate that their positioning was by no means random. In addition, the choices of subject matter, and the manner of its execution, also strongly suggest a deliberate purpose to their creation. These were images that had, in the eyes of their creators, meaning and function. **(Figure 4)** An elaborately inscribed example of ship graffiti, positioned facing an image of St. Nicholas (patron saint of those in peril upon the sea), and located in a position where the only possible interpretation is that the creator was on their knees, would clearly suggest a purpose and function for its creation.

Despite the wide variety of graffiti imagery so far discovered and recorded it has become clear that certain images and types of motif are to be found at numerous, and often geographically remote, locations around the UK. Indeed, their common appearance has led to them being assigned provisional classifications as distinct sub-corpus of material. Amongst these diverse collections of material several individual groups stand out, due largely to the parallels that have been identified elsewhere within medieval studies. These groups, which include depictions of hands, feet and ships, would appear to be physically similar representations to many of the votive offerings left by pilgrims at the major medieval shrines of the period.



**Figure 4** Elaborate graffiti motif recorded on the easternmost pier of the north arcade, Field Dalling, Norfolk. The image appears to show a Tree of Life or Peredexian Tree. Although little other graffiti was recorded elsewhere in the church, this image became the focus of other ritualistic markings that were recorded around it. Photo: author.



Such votive gifts to medieval shrines are well attested in a variety of forms. Ships in particular are recorded as votive offerings at both shrines and parish churches. These would have taken a variety of forms, from models formed from precious metals to simple images in wax or wood. When William Worcester visited the chapel of St. Anne at Brislington, which was a popular local pilgrimage destination for the residents of the nearby port of Bristol, he left a detailed description of its appearance.<sup>6</sup> The lights upon the altar, he recorded, were paid for by the local trade guilds, including the weavers and cordwainers, and he observed that the chapel contained thirty-two models of ships and boats. These models were used for the reception of offerings made at the shrine and a number of them were also recorded as incense burners. The sixteenth-century fabric rolls of York Minster record that the popular shrine of Richard Scrope was similarly surrounded with a small fleet of votive ships, and the same can be seen in a surviving contemporary propaganda print showing the shrine of Henry VI at Windsor.<sup>7</sup> Such mass collections of ships would not have been wholly unusual a sight within an English parish church and instances of votive ship models, or “church ships” as they have become known, are well attested. Although most of these ship models have been subsequently lost, a few parishes, largely those related to coastal

<sup>6</sup> Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (Hambledon and London, 2000), p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> Duffy, p. 198.



communities or ports, still contain ship models to this day.<sup>8</sup> In England examples can still be seen at All Hallows by the Tower and Glasgow Cathedral, whilst surviving examples in Denmark, where the tradition has never died out, number many hundreds. Even today seafaring members of the Danish church offer up models in thanksgiving and commemorate of a safe voyage or career upon the sea.<sup>9</sup>

Although it is rare for votive ship models to survive from the Middle Ages there are a number of references that record their creation, bequest and subsequent removal. The 1451 will of Thomas Fen of Groton, Suffolk, bequests “to Groton church a silver ship of the value 26s 8d, and to Boxford church a silver ship of the same value.”<sup>10</sup> Likewise, in 1227, Henry III gave instructions for the conveyance to the Cluniac priory of Bromholm, Norfolk, of a silver model of his “great ship.” The model had been paid for by collections made by the *custos* of the ship and presented to the king. He in turn had deemed it a suitable gift for the priory.<sup>11</sup> Similar ships are mentioned in the 15<sup>th</sup>-century inventory account for the church of East Dereham in Norfolk, whilst three are recorded, one of latten and two of silver, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century records relating to the neighbouring market town of Swaffham.<sup>12</sup> Reformation records, particularly the extensive collection of “Inventories of church goods” produced in Norfolk during the Edwardian reforms, highlight just how common these devotional ships may once have been. The inventories, which list the medieval Catholic decorations and church trappings that the parish are being ordered to dispose of make numerous reference to “ships of silver” and “ships of silver gilt.” In one small area of Norfolk, the administrative “hundreds” of Holt and Launditch, silver ships are mentioned as being present in Holt, Sharrington, Beeston, Hoe, Scarning and Swanton Morley.<sup>13</sup> Whilst it is clear that some of these ships were fashioned to act as burners for incense, being invariably listed alongside the censers, it is also worth remembering that it is only the ship models that had intrinsic financial value, being made of precious metals, which are listed at all.

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<sup>8</sup> Basil Harley, *Church Ships: A Handbook of Votives and Commemorative Models* (The Canterbury Press, 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Alastair Roach, “Model Boats in the Context of Maritime History and Archaeology,” *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 37/ 2 (2008), pp. 313–334.

<sup>10</sup> (ed.) Peter Northeast, *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474*, pt. 1 (Suffolk Records Society, 2001), p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 117.

<sup>12</sup> J. Griffiths, “A Mid 15<sup>th</sup>-Century Book List and Inventory from East Dereham, Norfolk,” *Norfolk Archaeology*, XLII/ pt. III (1996), pp. 332-339; Rev. J.F. Williams, “The Black Book of Swaffham,” *Norfolk Archaeology*, XXXIII/ pt. III (1964), pp. 243-253.

<sup>13</sup> H.R. Walters, “Inventories of Norfolk Church Goods, 1552,” *Norfolk Archaeology* XXXI/ pt II (1955), pp. 277-342.



**Figure 5** Late 15<sup>th</sup>- or early 16<sup>th</sup>-century copper alloy pilgrim badge of St. Edmund. Although depicting the martyrdom scene, the badge is clearly fashioned in the shape of an anchor. Photo: Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.

Although Thomas Fen's connection with the sea is unclear, and his will contains no other maritime references, it is clear that many of these votive ships were presented by mariners as thanksgiving for

a safe return from a hazardous voyage, or as fulfilment of a vow made at sea whilst in fear of their lives. Sailors who had survived a life-threatening experience near the Lincolnshire port of Skegness made a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to the relatively minor shrine of St. Edmund located at nearby Wainfleet, where they presented the saint with a ship modeled of wax and a generous offering to provide a candle to burn each day during mass.<sup>14</sup> In similar vein, a group of fishermen from the Suffolk port of Dunwich presented a great anchor made of wax to St. Edmunds shrine at Bury St. Edmunds in thanksgiving for their safe deliverance from a great storm.<sup>15</sup> It is also apparent that certain saints were more likely to be made offerings of ships than others. Saint Nicholas, (as mentioned previously) patron saint of those in peril upon the sea, appears to have been the most obvious recipient of nautically themed offerings. However, even a saint such as Edmund, who have little obvious connection with the sea, appear to have developed a significant maritime cult. In addition to the offerings made by the men of Skegness and Dunwich, late-15<sup>th</sup> and early-16<sup>th</sup> century pilgrim badges depicting the martyrdom of St. Edmund were actually fashioned to represent the shape of an anchor, suggesting that the maritime aspects of the saint's benevolence were well known enough to be physically commemorated. (**Figure 5**)

Although distinct and identifiable ship models, created in either precious metals or wax, formed only a very small percentage of the votive, or ex-voto, offerings made at shrines and parish churches throughout England. By far the most common form of offering, still seen in Catholic countries to this day, were images and models of parts of the body – often of the area that had been cured, or for which a cure was being sought. Duffy, giving numerous accounts and instances of these ex-voto items, describes them as “a standard part of the furniture of a shrine.”<sup>16</sup> As well as acting as offering and prayers of thanksgiving these items

<sup>14</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 81.

<sup>15</sup> Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of medieval religion* (Faber and Faber, 2002), p. 158.

<sup>16</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 197.

acted to advertise the particular saints efficacy and power, and even as a visual reminder as to the specialization that individual saints offered to certain maladies, in the same way that the anchor-shaped pilgrim badges of St. Edmund may perhaps have functioned. As Thomas More recorded in his accounts of the shrine of St. Valery in Picardy, who was regarded as being efficacious in matters relating to the sexual organs, “all theyr offrynges that honged aboute the walles/none other thyng but mennes gere and womens gere made in waxe.”<sup>17</sup>

Contemporary accounts make it clear that the ex-voto offerings at the shrine of St. Valery were unusual only in respect of what they depicted, although other recorded offerings were also perhaps a little out of the ordinary. In 1285 it is recorded that Edward I had made an offering of wax candles at the church of St. Mary, Chatham, of a total length equal to the combined heights of the royal family and the following year sent a wax image of a sick gerfalcon to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury.<sup>18</sup> More common though were the ex-voto offerings recorded as being present at many of the major shrines of Europe. Alongside the numerous chains and shackles of freed prisoners and crutches from healed cripples were many hundreds of wax models of hands, feet, limbs and heads given by those who had received or were seeking a cure for their ailments. The numbers present at some shrines was so great that at least one pilgrim, visiting the popular shrine of Rocamadour, accused the monks of actually making them themselves.<sup>19</sup>

One of the most notable aspects of the recent systematic study of church graffiti inscriptions has been the identification of several groups or types of inscriptions that bear strong similarities to the previously recorded ex-voto offerings found at medieval shrines. Recorded instances and distribution of ship graffiti in particular suggests a strong correlation with the phenomena of votive or church ships, in that very clear patterns of association are present. Although ship graffiti is found at numerous sites, and is almost as common at inland locations as it is upon the coast, the number of examples recorded at the churches of St. Nicholas, Blakeney, and St. Thomas, Winchelsea, have allowed clear patterns of distribution to be identified that suggest strong links with the ex-voto phenomena.

The church of St. Nicholas, Blakeney, contains in excess of forty clearly defined ship graffiti inscriptions. **(Figure 6)** Intriguingly, although examples of pre-Reformation inscriptions are to be found throughout the church, all the examples of ship graffiti so far discovered have been located upon the piers of the south arcade. Indeed, even within the south arcade a clear distribution pattern is evident. The arcade is formed of four large piers of high quality dressed stone. Upon the pier at the western end of the nave only three or four examples have been recorded. The next pier contains five or six examples. The third pier contains at least thirteen examples. The most easterly pier, which is located next to the side altar and opposite a now empty image niche, contains over twenty-five examples of ship graffiti. **(Figure 7)** Furthermore, all of these examples of ship graffiti are distinctly separate

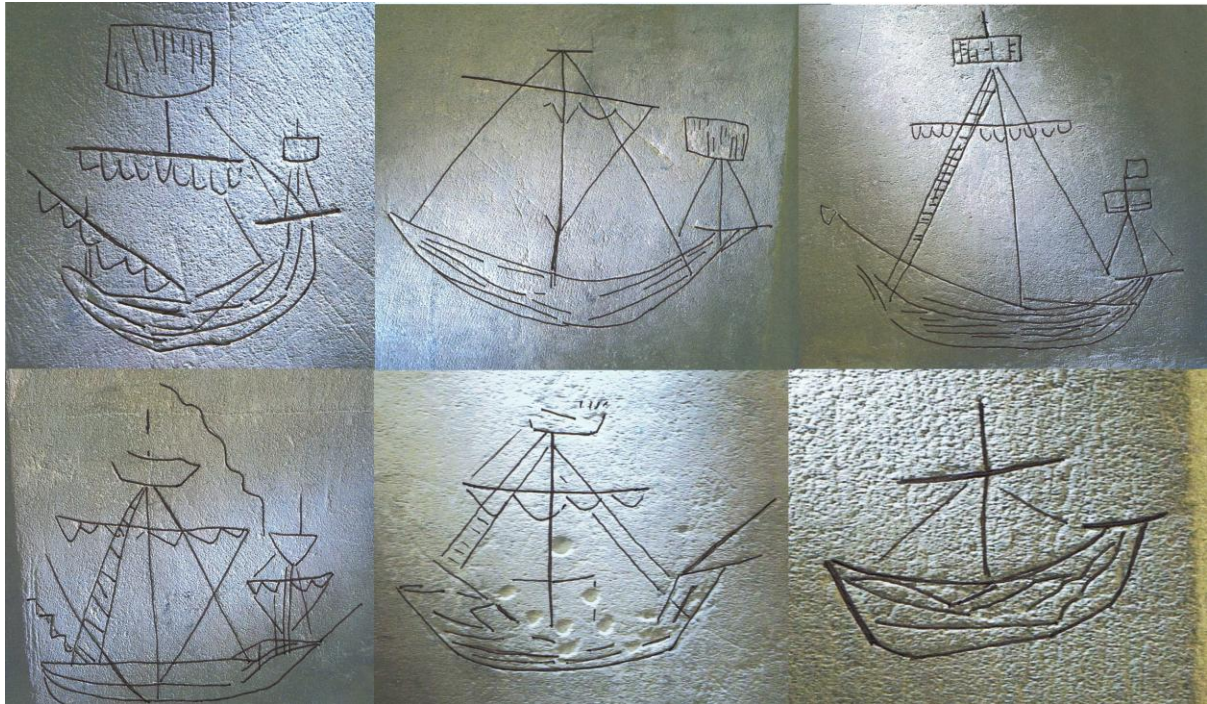
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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 123.

<sup>19</sup> Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, p. 157.

from each other, with each ship inscription respecting the space of those other inscriptions around it. Where little room is available between two larger inscriptions the space has been filled with a much smaller image of ship graffiti. This is even more significant when it is understood that these individual inscriptions were created over a period of at least two centuries.<sup>20</sup>



**Figure 6** A small selection of ship graffiti recorded in St. Nicholas' church, Blakeney, Norfolk. The images vary greatly in detail and quality of execution, with some showing rigging, sails and even streamers flowing from the masthead. Photo: author.

Although relatively little of the church of St. Thomas at Winchelsea survives today, being largely the remains of the chancel from a far grander church originally conceived on the scale of a small cathedral, the remaining fabric tells an almost identical story to that found at Blakeney. **(Figure 8)** Although early graffiti inscriptions are found all over the surviving structure, the instances of ship graffiti are, almost without exception, confined to the north arcade. The piers of what remains of the north arcade contain multiple examples of pre-Reformation ship graffiti, with a marked and distinct concentration occurring on the most easterly pier. These ships, many of which are shown with detailed rigging and anchors, again appear to respect the space of those around them, as at Blakeney, and are largely concentrated on the east and north-east faces of this particular pier. **(Figure 9)** These faces of the pier sit

<sup>20</sup> John Peake, "Graffiti and Devotion in Three Maritime Churches" in (eds.) T.A. Heslop, Elizabeth Mellings, Margit Thofner, *Art, Faith and Place in East Anglia: from Prehistory to the Present* (Boydell, forthcoming 2012).



directly facing the north aisle side altar, an area in which it is recorded a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas once stood.<sup>21</sup>

The Blakeney and Winchelsea ship graffiti strongly suggests a ritual and symbolic element in the creation of ship graffiti and its placement. The distinct concentration of the Blakeney ships around the area of the aisle altar and the empty image niche would suggest that this location or proximity to areas deemed spiritually important within the church building was an important part of its creation. The same is true of the Winchelsea inscriptions, where the main concentrations face in towards the chapel of St. Nicholas. The fact that, despite being created over an extended period of time, each inscription respected previous inscriptions, and was in turn respected, would also suggest that this practice was both accepted and acceptable to priest and congregation. This is further supported by the



**Figure 7** The south aisle of St. Nicholas church, Blakeney, Norfolk. The furthest pier is the focal point for much of the ship graffiti and the image niche is clearly visible on the south wall. Photo: author.

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<sup>21</sup> St Thomas' Church, Winchelsea, was constructed as part of the planned town of Edward I and was designed to reflect the power of both town and monarch. The work was begun in 1288 and the planned church was of lavish proportions. However, a series of French raids, beginning in 1337, led to the decline of the town. Today only the chancel survives, which is used as the parish church, and it is a matter of some debate as to whether the whole church was ever completed. D. Martin & B. Martin, *New Winchelsea, Sussex: A Medieval Port Town*, (English Heritage/HMP, 2004).



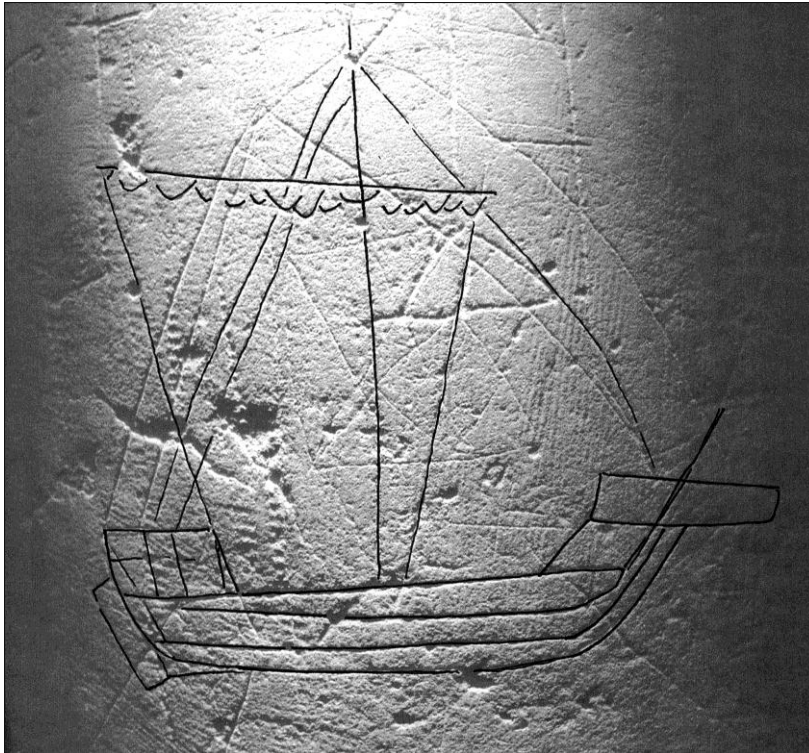


**Figure 8** St. Thomas' church, Winchelsea, East Sussex. The original church was planned on the scale of a small cathedral, although there is some doubt as to whether it was ever actually finished. Today only the chancel area survives, which is used as the parish church, but the scale of the original building is clear. Photo: author.

observation that none of the Blakeney inscriptions have suffered defacement, despite being very obvious to the casual observer, and church authorities, throughout the later Middle Ages and right up until the mid-sixteenth century when the church was lime-washed during the Protestant Reformation.

Similar parallels with ex-voto items and graffiti are to be found in relation to the distribution patterns identified with images of parts of the body, most notably hands, shoes, feet and faces. In like manner to the wax effigies, the instances of similar graffiti inscriptions on the very fabric of churches and cathedrals suggests that the relationship between inscription and votive objective was far closer than that related by Duffy as being the mere “furniture” of the shrines. These inscriptions appear to have become inseparable from the fabric of the very building itself. Images of faces have been discovered at many dozens of churches throughout East Anglia and range from the very simple, such as the priest-like profile discovered at Litcham, to the elaborate and confident execution of a demon's profile at Troston. **(Figures 10 & 11)** However, despite their frequency these images of heads and faces are difficult to strongly link to any particular votive act. Whilst many of them appear ex-voto in nature, and are associated with similar examples of devotional graffiti, many others are much more ambiguous in nature, and may have the roots of their creation as much.

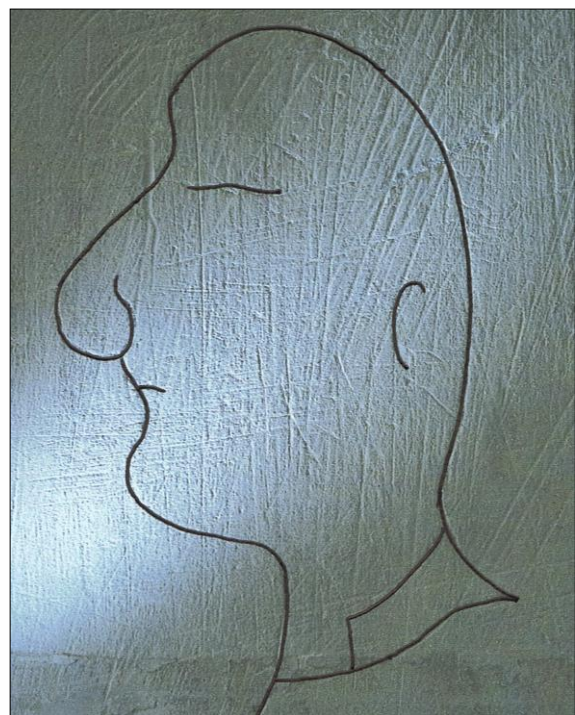




**Figure 9** An example of ship graffiti recorded in St. Thomas' church, Winchelsea. Although not greatly detailed, the image suggests a clear medieval design of a single-masted, sea-going vessel. Photo: author.

in mirth as in devotion. However, the same is simply not the case in relation to inscriptions of hands, shoes and feet. Inscribed examples of hands, shoes and feet have been identified in nearly half of the churches surveyed in Norfolk, and have been commonly recorded across the rest of the country and mainland Europe. In a few cases, such as the shoe inscription at St. Catherine's, Ludham, (**Figure 12**) or the life-sized hand print at All Saints Litcham, (**Figure 13**) only a single example of a particular type may be present. However, it is far more common to come across sites where multiple examples of these inscriptions are all located on the fabric – and often in very close proximity to each other. At Morston on the North Norfolk coast, the majority of the interior is today so covered in lime-wash as to obscure most graffiti inscriptions. However, the base of the font, made up of a number of large flat stone slabs, was found to be covered in several dozen inscribed outlines of shoes. (**Figure 14**) The inscriptions were obviously created over a number of centuries, as identified

**Figure 10** Profile face from All Saints' Church, Litcham, Norfolk. Its location opposite the pulpit has led to suggestions that it may well be a caricature of a former parish priest. Photo: author.



**Figure 11** Elaborate and completely executed depiction of a demon's head recorded on the eastern face of the chancel arch. Troston, St. Mary, Norfolk. Photo: author.



by the changing fashions in the outlines of the impressions, and were never obscured by later lime-wash. Similar concentrations of shoe or feet imagery can also be seen in the cloisters of Canterbury Cathedral, where many dozens of inscriptions are to be found. At Troston, Suffolk, the mass of graffiti recorded contain many examples of hands, feet and shoe inscriptions, all jumbled amongst a wide variety of other inscriptions, many of which are clearly devotional in nature. **(Figure 15)** The chancel arch contains two or three clearly outlined impressions of medieval shoes, one of which is closely associated with a depiction of the head of a demon, **(Figure 16)** whilst the tower arch contains three very clear depictions of hands. **(Figure 17)** Perhaps most interestingly, the porch at Troston still contains a great deal of the original internal medieval plaster surface. Close examination of this surface identified numerous outlines of human hands inscribed into the plaster. Several of the hands depicted are clearly life-sized, and suggest that they were created by inscribing around the outline of a real hand. However, many of the others, like those found on the tower arch, were clearly too small or stylized to have been traced around a real hand. **(Figure 18)**

The examples from Troston porch are particularly intriguing. Their survival may simply be the result of the original medieval plaster still being present in the porch, which is in itself quite unusual. However, Troston is already well known for the survival of a superb series of medieval wall paintings in the nave. These too have so well preserved because the medieval plaster surface has also survived on the nave walls, but close examination shows no signs of any other imagery inscribed into the plaster.<sup>22</sup> The clear suggestion must be that the concentration of graffiti hand imagery was a deliberate act, and that the porch was a location deemed significant.

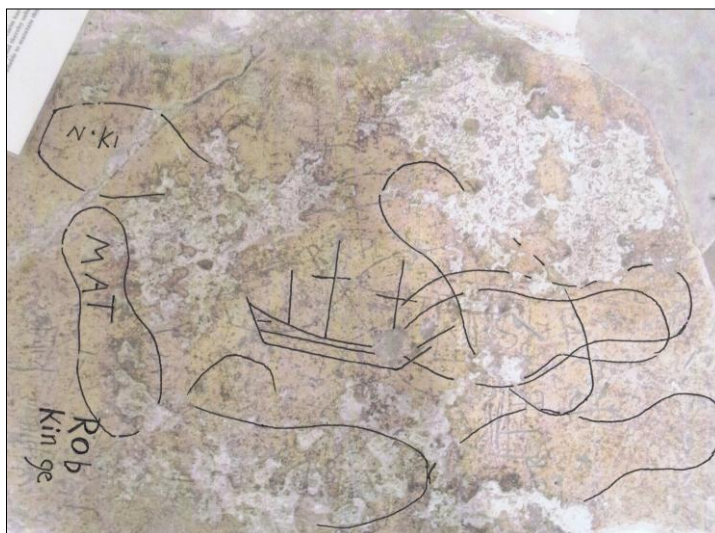
<sup>22</sup> A. Kirkham, C. Paine, A.M. Heywood, "Reports and Notes on some findings, Troston and Bardwell," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, XLII/ pt. 3 (2010), pp. 385-391.





**Figure 12** (left) Outline of shoe, St. Catherine, Ludham, Norfolk. Photo: author. **Figure 13** (right) Life-size impression of hand inscribed into the piers of All Saints, Licham, Norfolk. The design appears to have been created by inscribing around an actual hand, and was drawn by a right-handed individual.

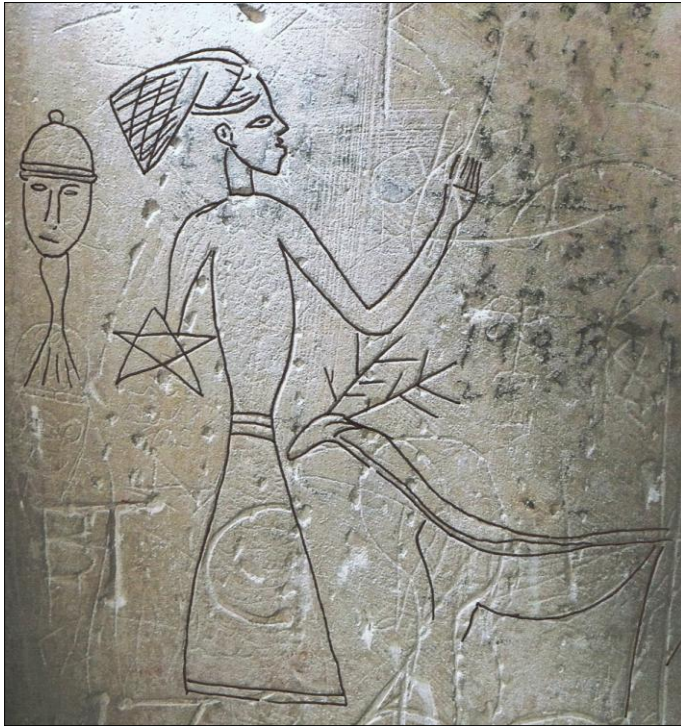
Although today most of these images and inscriptions are difficult to see with the naked eye, requiring specialist lighting to make them visible, this would not have been the case at the time of their creation – or in immediately subsequent years. It has long been recognized that the interior of the medieval parish church, almost without exception, was painted.<sup>23</sup> Although attention has largely focused upon the elaborate and formal devotional paint schemes that would have adorned the upper section of the walls, there is much evidence that even the lower sections, and arcade piers, were also treated with pigment. In the case of a



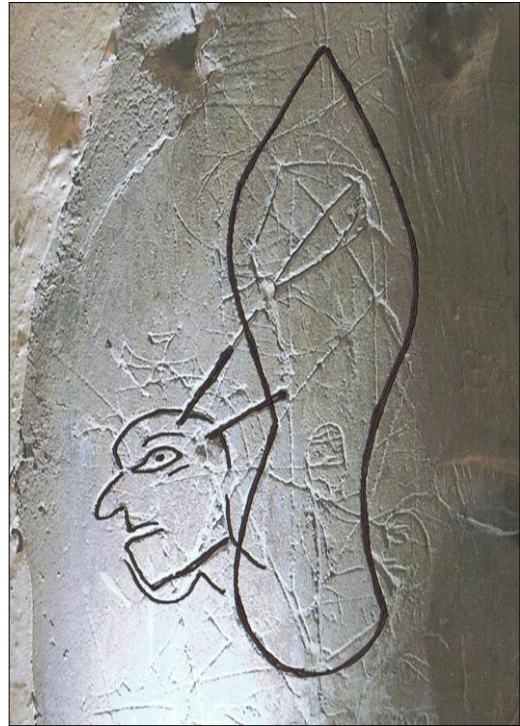
**Figure 14** Small section of the base of the font, Morston, Norfolk. A wide variety of show designs have been identified, covering a period of several hundred years. In the center of the image can be seen an example of relatively late ship graffiti. Photo: author.

<sup>23</sup> Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches* (Boydell, 2008).



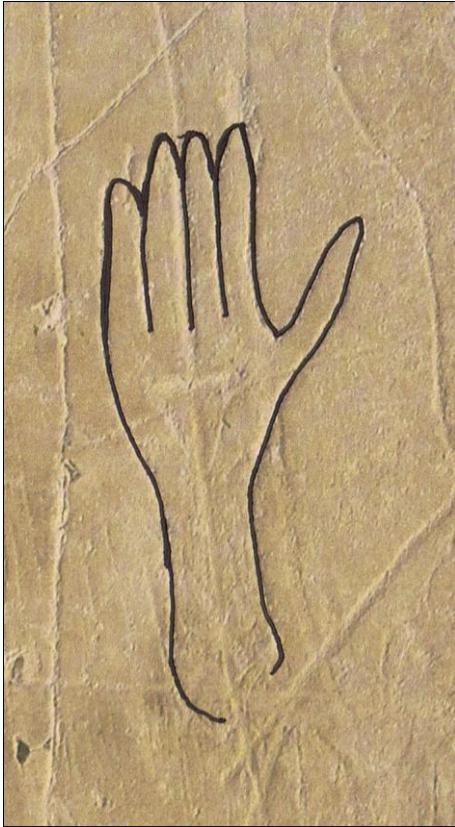


**Figure 15** A small section of the north side tower arch from St. Mary's, Troston, Suffolk. The full-length figure, like others in the church, is shown in profile with her hands raised in prayer. Close examination of the extremely busy surface gives some indication of the mass of graffiti inscriptions recorded at Troston. The pencilled numbers were created by the bell ringers, recording the changes being rung. However, even these now have a certain historical value, as the bells at Troston were removed from the tower several decades ago. Photo: author.



**Figure 16** A clear shoe impression of recorded on the chancel arch at St. Mary's, Troston, Suffolk. Although only about one-quarter life-sized, the image shows the distinctive outline of a late-medieval shoe. The small demon's head is thought to be associated with the shoe. Photo: author.

church such as Blakeney surviving pigment suggests that the lower sections of the piers were painted a deep red ochre. The multiple ship inscriptions discovered by John Peake at Blakeney would originally have been inscribed through the red pigment to reveal the pale stone beneath. The resulting surface would have then appeared as a fleet of small white ships sailing across a deep red sea and, far from being hidden away and difficult to see, would have been one of the most obvious and prominent features for anyone entering the medieval church. **(Figure 19)** In addition, the lack of any obvious defacement of these images, created over a period of several centuries, would suggest that they were both respected and acceptable forms of devotion. Indeed, it is notable that of all the graffiti inscriptions studied to date it is largely only those heraldic inscriptions, which are associated with individuals rather than acts of devotion, that are subject to any systematic or deliberate defacement. Given the prominence of these inscriptions etched through the pigment, and their lack of defacement, it is difficult to argue that they were anything other than an acceptable and accepted form of lay piety.



**Figure 17** (left) Small hand impression recorded on the tower arch at St. Mary's, Troston, Suffolk. Photo: author. **Figure 18** (right) Multiple hand impressions incised into the medieval plaster at St. Mary's, Troston, Suffolk. Photo: author.

These graffiti images, created by individuals at no financial cost to themselves, and of no obvious financial value to the recipients, can be regarded as of lesser value than traditional gifts or votive offerings. However, closer examination of the phenomena would suggest that the converse may actually be the case, and that these images, far from being the lesser valued of votive offerings, may well have been regarded as the more powerful and potent.

The value of the gift or offering was judged in more ways than simply financial. Kings and commoners may have made offerings of gold and silver but, as has been shown, they were also noted for making donations of wax and beehives.<sup>24</sup> The hives in particular appeared to have been valued contributions – producing as they did not only on-going supplies of honey but also, as long as the hive thrived, an endless supply of precious beeswax.

Gold and silver gifts had intrinsic value, and the display of such items at shrines added a prestige that reflected upon both the donor and the recipient. However, it is worth considering that this intrinsic financial value was not, in most cases, something that the administrators of the shrine could immediately access. In the case of gold effigies and jewels, such as Henry III's gift of a crown with four finials to the shrine of St. Edmund at Bury St. Edmunds in November 1252, or his gift of a "fine brooch ornamented with jewels" to the same shrine in 1254, the financial value of such gifts was forever locked away in the artifact

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<sup>24</sup> It is notable that hives of bees were regarded as valuable offerings in numerous recorded wills of the period and are often dedicated to specific altars and lights. Northeast, *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474* (2001).



itself.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, such precious gifts, although obviously welcome, would be of little immediate direct financial aid to any site upon which they were bestowed.

In contrast, gifts of wax, in whatever form, could potentially have an immediate positive effect upon the finances of the site to which they were gifted albeit on a far more modest scale. The gift of wax itself could take many forms. For many of the lower orders a few pence towards a candle, or a candle itself, could be the limit of their available benevolence. The better off might leave a sum of money that would ensure the upkeep of a particular “light” for several years, even decades, whilst those of a more forward-looking disposition might leave a hive of bees, thereby ensuring a long term supply of wax. However, the immediate financial value of the wax offering may be a secondary consideration to both benefactor and recipient. King Edward I’s gift of a bird of prey modeled in wax, can have added little to the shrine’s store of wax. Although it must be admitted that a gift from the king would have had a certain prestige, the fact that the wax was chosen as the medium would have been regarded as symbolic. Blick, writing upon the symbolism of wax as an offering, states that “accounts of gifts offered at the tomb and shrines... are careful to mention the numerous candles and objects composed of wax not only because of their popularity, but because of the intrinsic symbolism of the medium which was associated with the power of God to make and change the world.”<sup>26</sup>

The creation of this permanent graffiti imagery which parallels the devotional gift giving associated with the more major shrines, would suggest that in the minds of the medieval parishioners the potency of the votive image was directly related to the permanence of the act. By directly interacting with the fabric of the church building the petitioner was ensuring, either consciously or unconsciously, that their votive gift or image would endure long after all vestiges of wax had been scrapped from the altar.

These images represent a personal interaction between the individual and the church, as both a building and institution that perhaps, most significantly, did not require the intercession of a priest, bishop or pope. They represent a direct and personal appeal to God. It must, therefore, be concluded that the medieval parishioner did not necessarily regard the involvement of a priest as adding either legitimacy or potency to their prayers. Whilst the presence of a priest was clearly required, and valued, during fundamental ceremonies such as the Mass, marriage, administration of the last rites and burial, it would appear that, upon specific, and arguably less-legitimate, occasions the priest as intercessory was not only deemed as unnecessary, but could also be thought of as an obstacle to direct intercession. Whilst such concepts may well have carried a formal determination as heretical, or heterodox at the very least, certain accepted and recognized lay practises, such as the informal marriage arrangement known as hand-fasting, would appear to suggest that certain church rituals for which a priest was required, such as the solemn act of marriage, could be approached by

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<sup>25</sup> Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp. 119-120.

<sup>26</sup> Sarah Blick, “Votive images, interaction and pilgrimage to the tomb and shrine of St Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral” in (eds.) Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand, *Push Me, Pull You: Art and Devotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2011), p. 32.





**Figure 19** Speculative reconstruction of how the piers at Blakeney church, Norfolk, may have looked during the closing years of the Middle Ages. The multiple ship inscriptions would have been scratched through the pigment to reveal the pale stone beneath, giving the impression of a small fleet of ships sailing on a deep red sea. Photo: author.

individuals on a pragmatic level outside the confines of formal church ceremony. In the case of the hand-fasting ceremony, recorded in a number of variants throughout medieval England, the presence of a priest was not required to produce a union between two individuals that would, in the eyes of the church at least, be marriage in all but name. However, what is clear is that in all recorded variations of the hand-fasting ceremony it was not simply an easy and simplistic way in which to avoid church intervention or local condemnation of an otherwise unauthorised sexual union. Such agreements and understandings carried as much ceremony and ritual, often undertaken in full view of the whole parish, as the marriage ceremony itself. It can be argued that the ritual itself was the important element of the act rather than the person who directed it. If we accept such a concept in regard to many of the graffiti inscriptions found in medieval parish churches then it is possible to suggest that they represent aspects of lay piety at its most basic level – the informal dialogue between an individual and their God.

Perhaps the fundamental question must be, did the medieval parishioner believe that a prayer was more likely to be answered when issued from the lips of a bishop or pope than from those of a poor man? Did the hierarchical authority of the medieval church also represent a clearly defined progression towards enhanced access and benevolence of the

creator? Putting aside the recognised heresies of the Lollards, who eschewed formal church authority and hierarchy, in the minds of the medieval parishioner, was Jack really as good as his master?<sup>27</sup>

It is certainly true that the medieval parishioners placed value in the rites of the Mass and Trental and, in the wills of all those who could afford it, such ceremonies were stipulated to be performed by those of the religious orders. The implication is most certainly that these ceremonies, when performed by certain religious, had “added value.” However, in the later Middle Ages we do begin to glimpse a possible change in emphasis. Analysis of the wills of the archdeaconry of Sudbury in Suffolk, show a marked inclination for testators to stipulate that the masses for their souls, and the Trentals of St Gregory, be carried out by the “poor friars” of the houses of Thetford (babwell) and Barnwell.<sup>28</sup> Whilst this may be no more than a reflection of local tradition it is worthy of note that the larger religious houses with which the area abounded, such as the great abbey of St. Edmund at Bury St. Edmunds, are rarely recorded as receiving such bequests from those of the lower orders. The suggestion is that the testators at least, in some informal and unspecified manner, believed that their bequests would be more potent when undertaken by the “poor friars” than by the inhabitants of the rich and prosperous religious houses of the local vicinity.

The graffiti inscriptions that are now being discovered in such quantities in medieval parish churches, as well as at some of the surviving centers of pilgrimage, would appear to reflect one aspect of this emerging or evolving system of belief. Whilst the images may mimic the votive gifts of the better off it would be wrong to assume that their simplicity and lack of financial value would demean their potency as offerings or prayers. As we have seen, a votive gift of gold or silver might have no immediate financial gain for the recipient and, likewise, even the richest benefactor might put aside the obviously valuable precious metals in favour of more humble wax images. We must then begin to accept the idea that the value of a votive gift bears little relation to its value or potency as an act of piety in the eyes of the gift-giver. These simple graffiti images can then be regarded as having a new significance.

For those who created these images they represented a permanent and demonstrable appeal to the almighty. These inscriptions were perhaps envisaged as very direct and personal appeals: appeals that would last well beyond the saying of a Mass or the burning of an entire beehive’s worth of wax. Their very permanence upon the fabric of the church structure was a mark of their potency, for both their creator and those who viewed them afterwards. Indeed, this potency may well account for the respect that these inscriptions demonstrably received from their contemporaries. Despite their prominence within a church building they were not defaced, they were not covered over, they were not destroyed. Indeed, in cases such as Blakeney and Winchelsea it can be shown that there was significance in their placement and that those who applied later inscriptions deliberately and conscientiously avoided defacing

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<sup>27</sup> Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c. 1250-c. 1450* (Manchester University Press, 1967).

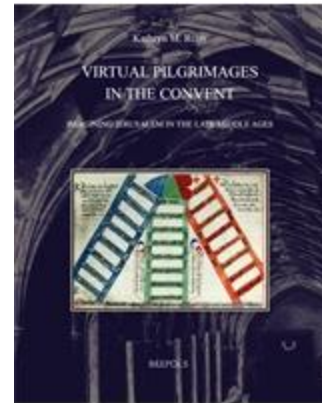
<sup>28</sup> (ed.) Peter Northeast, *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474*, pt. 1 (Suffolk Records Society, 2001).

earlier inscriptions. In the case of these coastal parishes the very act of creation would appear to have become a centuries-long ritual amongst the lay community that can be seen as paralleling the ritual of the established church itself. However, this was a ritual which was a personal interaction between inscriber and the Almighty-- A ritual that put aside the need for the perceived legitimate intercession of the church hierarchy. In cases such as these, the medium really was the message, and the message was being delivered in person.



Kathryn M. Rudy. *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*. Series: *Disciplina Monastica* 8. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2011. Pp. 475. 110 Euros. ISBN 978-2-503-54103-7

Reviewed by Jennifer Lee  
Herron School of Art and Design, IUPUI



Kathryn Rudy's *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* is an important book that covers an essential, but neglected aspect of medieval pilgrimage, pilgrimages as performed by people who could not travel. Readers of *Peregrinations* may find that it also opens the door to many new studies, including reconsiderations of familiar material, in the realm of pilgrimage art. The book is centered on seventeen texts that were copied by religious women in the Low Countries and used for inducing virtual pilgrimage experiences within the confines of the convent. The book analyzes and explains several different modes of virtual pilgrimage and the role it played in the devotions of late medieval nuns and other religious women. The discussion is centered in the Low Countries, but in a section near the end, Rudy presents evidence that related devotions were practiced throughout Europe and also by lay people. The book's appendices include editions and facing-page translations of eleven of the previously unpublished texts, along with codicological notes. The book is appropriate for specialists

in devotional art of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, but also will interest those in adjacent fields such as cultural history, history of religion, and art.

Following an introduction, the discussion portion of the book is divided into four chapters covering souvenirs (texts and relics), interior or stationary pilgrimage devotions, exterior or somatic pilgrimage devotions, and a discussion of the wider context in which the virtual pilgrimage practices of religious women are compared to similar devotions by lay people. The second and third sections, on interior and exterior virtual pilgrimage devotions seem to contain the strongest analysis, though the first chapter answers fundamental questions and links the images and texts discussed in the subsequent sections to the traditions of real, geographic pilgrimage travel. In fact, this section answered a number of questions that have long vexed this reviewer. For instance, why were medieval pilgrims to Jerusalem so insistent upon measuring and recording sizes and distances? Why were personal pilgrimage accounts valued and copied by people other than their authors? And how was the tension between the pilgrimage tradition and clausura negotiated?

Section two, "Interiority: Stationary Pilgrimage Devotions," discusses ways of conducting virtual pilgrimage through prayer and meditation, guided by images and texts. Some of these are prescribed prayers and repetitions and conducted over time, and often rewarded by indulgences. The images used this way are complex, with many different episodes creating multiple foci in the pictures, or single scenes presented in series, typically as woodcuts in books, many of which bear evidence of user interaction, such as blood painted onto the images.



The third section, "Exteriority: Somatic Pilgrimage Devotions" describes texts and their use for physical devotional practices in which the nuns reenacted Christ's movements through the Passion, and in turn, the movements of pilgrims through Jerusalem. It is in this context that the "metric relics," the measurements of monuments and distances between significant places taken by pilgrims in Jerusalem were applied to the space of the convent. For instance, handwritten marginal notes in *Heer Bethlem's guide to spiritual pilgrimage* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 231 G22) indicate that the cloistered woman walked three times around the cloister to replicate the distance Christ walked when being taken to Pilate, then to the fountain in the cloister to signify Christ before Herod, and then three more times around the cloister to reenact the distance of Christ's return to Pilate after meeting Caiaphas and Annas (216). The space of Jerusalem is here superimposed upon the space of the convent, and practitioners can experience co-passion with Christ by replicating his movements through the holy city.

Though the book is built upon seventeen texts, visual images are prominent. Many of the texts are accompanied by images, which, as the author points out, would have taken priority for many late medieval users. As an art historian, Rudy also analyzes



the books as objects, and derives important information from their formats and conditions. She also includes discussions of woodcuts and engravings, painted manuscripts, panel paintings, carved and painted Easter sepulchers, built spaces, and *besloten hofjes*

("enclosed gardens"), in which souvenirs from physical pilgrimages were worked into altarpiece-like diorama collections with silk flowers, bits of colored glass, and sculpted figures.



Rudy's visual analysis of key images is particularly enlightening, for example that of a painting in Museum M in Leuven (162-170). Here, she demonstrates how the painting's episodic composition allows the viewer to move from site to site in the manner of a physical traveler in the Holy Land, stopping at the locations of each event in the Passion for focused contemplation, and again in the manner of a traveler or traveler's tale, to move through areas of anecdotal detail between the major locations, that correspond to the passage of time and space, as one might experience on foot. The painting also includes figures in fifteenth-century dress that reinforce the link between past and present





that both physical and virtual pilgrimage create. This and other major images are reproduced in color plates at the back, while black and white details are placed within the text.

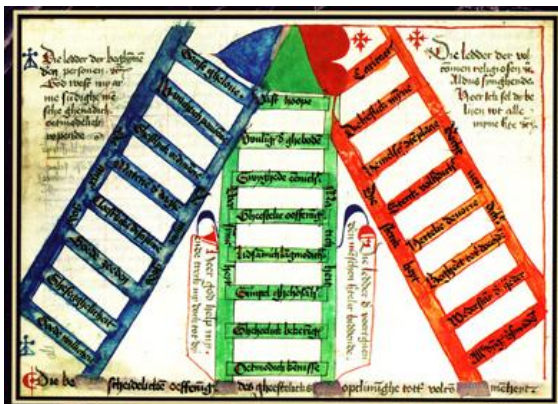
A few points left me with questions, but these were minor and none detracted from the book's overall success. I wonder whether the image on the right of the top register of the painted lid of a reliquary box might be interpreted as the Ascension of Christ, based on comparison with the *Rabbula Gospels*, rather than the Resurrection. Also, the formatting of the volume has some problems for which the author cannot be blamed. For instance, the table of contents claims that chapter IV begins on p. 231, when in fact it begins on p. 233, however, the page header carries the title of chapter III throughout chapter IV.

Affective piety can be grisly stuff; several times I had to take breaks from reading in order to clear my head of the very sentiments that the religious users of Rudy's texts

sought to amplify. Unlike the readers of Rudy's manuscripts, I find no pleasure in contemplating the sufferings of Christ and his mother, yet the book is sufficiently thorough and vivid that after reading it, I have a sense of why it appealed to late medieval religious women and a glimpse of what they may have felt while performing these devotions. This was especially the case while reading the translations of the primary texts provided in the appendices. I am unable to comment on the accuracy of the translations, but I am confident that I join many in feeling gratitude that these texts are now made available to readers of English.

The implications of this book for pilgrimage art research are enormous. Rudy provides evidence for pilgrimage as a mental habit that likely informed viewers' responses to all devotional art, not just those pieces ornamented with scallop shells and thereby immediately associated with pilgrimage, and that may have structured their experiences of a whole range of spaces, not just those within the walls of relic-housing churches. Throughout reading this book, one wonders how many other objects were experienced in this way, and which works could be revisited in this new light.

This book is also significant for pilgrimage studies at large, for it successfully moves beyond any lingering remnants of structuralism. For decades, pilgrimage scholars



have understood that the Turners' model of pilgrimage as a liminal rite was inadequate to explain medieval experience, yet no subsequent theory has offered anything quite so malleable or universal. Rudy's study confronts pilgrimage in an entirely

contextualized way, demonstrating an entirely medieval way of thinking about and performing pilgrimage, free of structuralist reduction, and one which does not even suggest the tropes of separation or liminality. The result is an integrated understanding of medieval pilgrimage that explains it as both the motivation for and reception of an important category of texts and images.





## Do you work in the field of Pilgrimage Studies?

By Dee Dyas, Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture

A new Online Database created at the University of York is designed to bring together information about pilgrimage-related publications, resources and research projects across all periods, cultures and regions. Disciplines represented include Art History, Archaeology, Architecture, History, Geography, Literature, Psychology, Religious Studies, Sociology, Social Anthropology, Tourism and Heritage Studies. The database is intended as a resource for researchers, teachers, students and practitioners.

You will find the database at **<http://www.pilgrimagestudies.org.uk/>**

If you would like to upload information about your own work, or that of others, or help us to test and improve the database, please email **[info@pilgrimagestudies.org.uk](mailto:info@pilgrimagestudies.org.uk)** for a user account.

**Welcome to the Database of Pilgrimage Resources**

The database is designed to collect together resources, publications and general information in the field of Pilgrimage Studies. Resources come from a wide variety of disciplines, including Art History, Archaeology, Architecture, History, Geography, Literature, Psychology and Social Anthropology, and can address pilgrimage from any culture, faith, period or geographical location.

Pilgrimage researchers can obtain database users accounts, which allow them to enter and edit information in the database. Each user account also has an associated 'Research Profile', where researchers can enter their research interests and details to be searched alongside the standard database entries.

**Please note: the Database of Pilgrimage Resources is in development, and is currently in a beta-testing phase. As such, although basic functionality is present, errors or glitches may be encountered. Please notify The Centre for the Study of Christianity and Culture ([candc@york.ac.uk](mailto:candc@york.ac.uk)) of any such issues, with details of any error code and how the error was encountered.**

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***A Survey of Styles in Otto Ege's Fifty Original Leaves from  
Medieval Manuscripts***  
**By Stephen Mack, Kenyon College**

Shortly before Otto F. Ege died in 1951, the famous manuscript and rare book collector cut the pages out from the bindings of fifty of his medieval manuscripts and compiled them into forty portfolios, each portfolio including one leaf from every book. Ege titled this parcel, *Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts*.<sup>1</sup> This collection is significant for two reasons: first, it includes a large variety of leaves from several countries and spanning a long period of time, the 1100s through the 1500s; second, this portfolio has received a fairly large amount of attention from the institutions who own it.<sup>2</sup> During the academic year of 2010-2011, Kenyon College undertook a project to research and digitize their portfolio; as this process continued, it became increasingly evident that four styles appeared in remarkably similar forms in several countries and throughout several centuries. These four styles are defined as such:

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<sup>1</sup> Ege made six other portfolios like *Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts*. These are: *Original Leaves from Famous Books, Eight Centuries, 1240 A.D. – 1923 A.D.*; *Original Leaves from Famous Books, Nine Centuries, 1122 A.D. – 1923 A.D.*; *Original Leaves From Famous Bibles, Nine Centuries, 1121 – 1935 A.D.*; *Fifteen Original Oriental Manuscript Leaves of Six Centuries: Twelve of the Middle East, Two of Russia, and One of Tibet*; *A Group of Eleven Original Leaves Showing the Evolution of Humanistic Book Hands and Roman Types from Jenson to Rogers*; *Original Leaves "Incunabula" XV Century Printed Books*. Kenyon College owns several of these.

<sup>2</sup> Owners of Ege's *Fifty* began digitizing their collections after a 2005 exhibition of the leaves at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. Denison University has compiled all the collections on their website.

**Style One:** Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and blue, with touches of gold leaf in the corners, and thin white filigree on the top layer. (**Figure 1**)



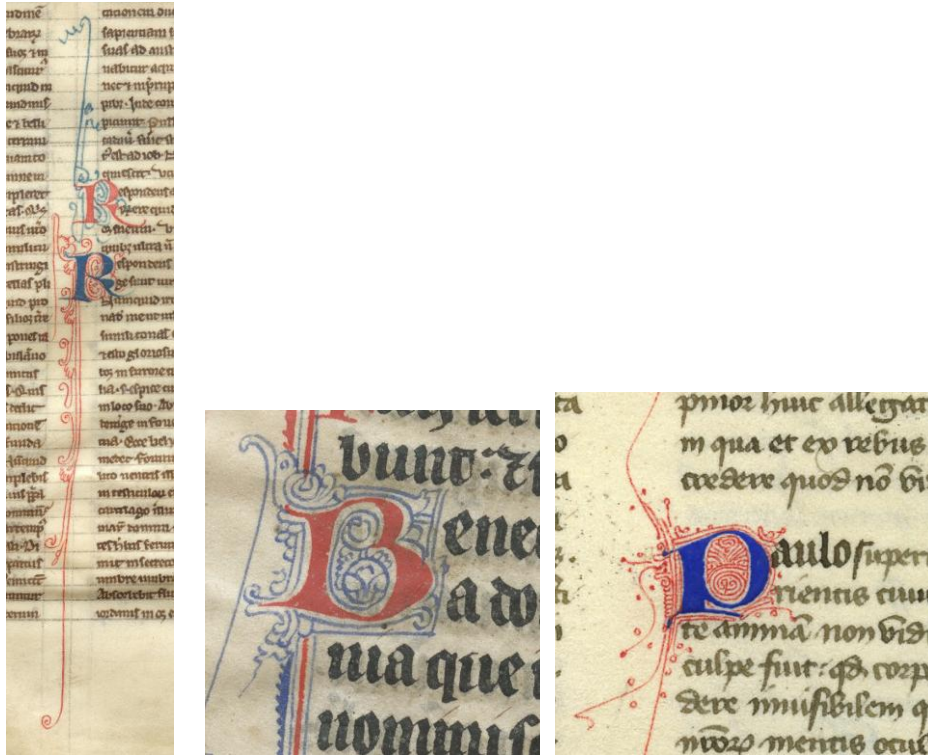
**Figure 1** From left to right: Ege 15 (France, Late 1200s), Ege 21 (France, Early 1300s), Ege 45 (France, Late 1400s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.

**Style Two:** Small blue and red rubricated letters done in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials. (**Figure 2**)



**Figure 2** From left to right: Ege 18 (France, Late 1200s), Ege 33 (Germany, Mid 1400s), Ege 43 (Netherlands, Late 1400s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.

**Style Three:** Decorated initials with thin filigree usually in red and blue. (**Figure 3**)



**Figure 3** From left to right: Ege 6 (England, Early 1200s), Ege 18 (France, Late 1200s), Ege 41 (France, Late 1400s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.

**Style Four:** Page/Verse numbers in red and blue only. (**Figure 4**)



**Figure 4** From left to right: Ege 5 (France, Early 1200s), Ege 11 (Italy, Mid 1200s), Ege 19 (Italy, Early 1300s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.

Because of the wide range of manuscript leaves included in Ege's *Fifty*, the styles can be effectively mapped through time and location on a statistical basis by treating the portfolio as if it were a random sample. This method is not infallible and cannot be applied to make generalizations about a broader history of manuscript illumination;

however, it can provide a very basic outline of illuminating styles in Europe from the 1100s to the 1500s.

Style One appears most frequently of the four styles in the collection, 22 of the 50 leaves use Style One. This is the most intricate of the styles mapped here, each letter required skill to design as well as to decorate the letters. This style usually incorporated gold leaf whose gleam would capture the reader's glance. A top layer of elaborate filigree in white is almost always included. Style One is reminiscent of Gothic stained glass in color and in the thin, swerving, attenuated appearance of the letters. Not surprisingly, this style appears mostly in France. Of the twenty-two leaves that use Style One in the portfolio, sixteen are French.<sup>3</sup> The earliest leaf in the collection to use Style One is German from the mid 1200s, and it continues to be seen in the last leaves of the collection from the 1500s. Style One appears most commonly in the smallest manuscripts of the collection, and very infrequently in the larger manuscripts. This suggests that the style was popular in manuscripts made for personal use, but in manuscripts made for church use, the intricate style was more work than it was worth. The use of this style for personal prayer books becomes even more apparent in later years. From the mid 1400s onward, Style One appears exclusively in Books of Hours.<sup>4</sup> There is a sharp divide in quality between the skilled and unskilled illuminations of Style One. A skilled illuminator could incorporate images into his letters and would make the filigree more elaborate. **(Figure 5)** By contrast, an unskilled illuminator would make the letters blocky and sloppy, including simple filigree or none at all. **(Figure 6)**

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<sup>3</sup> Sixteen of the twenty-three French leaves in the portfolio use this style.

<sup>4</sup> All French Books of Hours in the collection use Style One. Style One appears in ten of the twelve Books of Hours in the portfolio, the two in which it does not are both from the Netherlands.





**Figure 5** From left to right: Ege 18 (France, Late 1200s), Ege 19 (Italy, Early 1300s), Ege 20 (Netherlands, Early 1300s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.



**Figure 6** From left to right: Ege 12 (France, Mid 1200s), Ege 50 (France, 1500s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.

Style Two is a very simple style used mostly on rubricated letters. While it distinguishes some letters from the rest of the text (the first letters of major sentences or sometimes the first letter of each line), the letters are drawn without much articulation and in common colors like red and blue. This style was used on both small letters and large letters. Eleven manuscripts from the collection use Style Two. It appears to have been the most prevalent in Germany, five of the six German manuscripts in our portfolio have letters in Style Two. Furthermore, Style Two is usually found on the largest manuscripts of Ege's *Fifty*. These books are generally books for Church use, major

decorative patterns on these manuscripts may have been seen as distracting, and this simple style was perfect to distinguish important passages while not making the words difficult to read.

In Style Three, the letters themselves are almost as simple as the letters of Style Two, but here they are decorated with elaborate filigree surrounding the letter. Style Three can be split into three categories. The first is the early style, which uses very basic filigree and thicker lines than the later versions. **(Figure 7)** In this collection, the early



**Figure 7** From left to right: Ege 7 (England, Early 1200s), Ege 11 (Italy, Mid 1200s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.

style is only in red and blue. The second category is also simple, but this is because the letters are very small. **(Figure 8)** On these leaves, Style One is used for the historiated



**Figure 8** From left to right: Ege 16 (France, Late 1200s), Ege 20 (Netherlands, Early 1300s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.

initials, and Style Three is relegated to smaller letters. The most common category, however, is used on historiated initials and these are very detailed. (**Figure 9**) There are



**Figure 9** From left to right: Ege 23 (France, Early 1300s), Ege 43 (Netherlands, Late 1400s). Photo: Kenyon College Special Collections.

nineteen examples of Style Three in Ege's *Fifty*. It seems to have been particularly popular in Italy, six of the nine Italian leaves use Style Three – only one of which is seen with Style One. This is logical; Style One never seems to have gained the popularity in Italy as it did in other places perhaps because it so closely resembled stained glass windows, which never caught on as widely in Italy as it did in Northern Europe. For historiated initials, Italian illuminators looked towards the other ways of painting leaves.

Style Four is another simple style in which page numbers and verse numbers are written in alternating blue and red letters, though sometimes just red. This style is seen exclusively on Bibles, in several countries over several centuries. Eight of the nine Bibles in the collection use this type of page numbering, the only Bible that does not use Style Four, is the earliest Bible in the collection from the 1100s.

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date accessed: 4/13/11.

The following institutions have digitized their Ege Collections to some extent:

Case University, Cleveland Museum of Art, Colorado College, Columbia University, Denison University, Franciscan University of Steubenville, Rochester Institute of Technology, Schoyen Collection, University of Colorado at Boulder, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, University of Minnesota, University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon, University of South Carolina.

## Appendix 1

Ege Number	Location	Date	Type of Manuscript	Style 1	Style 2	Style 3	Style 4	Size (cm)	Size in square cm's	% of Page Written on
1	Switzerland	1100s	New Testament	No	No	No	No	22 x 15.5	341	49.27%
2	Spain	Mid 1100s	Missal	No	No	No	No	34 x 23.5	799	54.26%
3	Italy	Mid 1100s	Lectionary	No	No	No	No	33 x 24	792	38.57%
4	France	Late 1100s	Psalter	No	No	No	No	21 x 15	315	46.75%
5	France	Early 1200s	Bible	No	Yes	No	Yes	32.4 x 22.5	729	30.18%
6	England	Early 1200s	Cambridge Bible	No	No	Yes	Yes	27.5 x 20	550	40.77%
7	England	Early 1200s	Aurora	No	No	Yes	No	24 x 11	264	45.55%
8	England	Early 1200s	Gradual	No	No	No	No	18 x 12	216	53.13%
9	France (Paris)	Mid 1200s	Bible	No	No	Yes	Yes	17 x 12.5	212.5	37.88%
10	Germany	Mid 1200s	Psalter	Yes	No	Yes	No	20 x 14	280	41.79%
11	Italy	Mid 1200s	Bible	No	No	Yes	Yes	19.5 x 13	253.5	41.03%
12	France	Mid 1200s	Psalter	Yes	No	No	No	14 x 10	140	46.43%
13	England	Mid 1200s	Oxford Bible	No	No	Yes	Yes	20 x 14	280	45.80%
14	France	Late 1200s	Bible	Yes	No	No	Yes	40.5 x 27	1093.5	45.08%
15	France	Late 1200s	Missal	Yes	No	No	No	29 x 20	580	45.39%
16	France	Late 1200s	Breviary	Yes	No	Yes	No	10.5 x 7.5	78.75	30.48%
17	England	Late 1200s	Psalter	Yes	No	No	No	17 x 11	187	51.34%
18	France	Late 1200s	Breviary	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	15 x 11.5	172.5	51.01%
19	Italy	Early 1300s	Vulgate Bible	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	23.5 x 17	399.5	39.42%
20	Netherlands	Early 1300s	Psalter	Yes	No	Yes	No	13 x 9.5	123.5	28.34%
21	France	Early 1300s	Hymnal	Yes	No	No	No	16.5 x 11	181.5	33.06%
22	Germany	Early 1300s	Missal	No	Yes	No	No	36 x 26	936	58.33%
23	France	Early 1300s	Breviary	No	No	Yes	No	18 x 12	216	51.85%
24	England	Early 1300s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	Yes	No	17.5 x 12.5	218.75	39.43%



25	France	Late 1300s	Psalter	Yes	No	No	No	18 x 12	216	43.40%
26	France	Late 1300s	Missal	Yes	No	No	No	29.5 x 21.5	634.25	43.04%
27	Italy	Early 1400s	Antiphonal	No	No	Yes	No	35.5 x 24.5	869.75	50.30%
28	France (North)	Mid 1400s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	15 x 10.5	157.5	32.38%
29	France	Mid 1400s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	18 x 13.5	243	22.22%
30	France	Mid 1400s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	18 x 13	234	23.08%
31	France	Mid 1400s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	18.5 x 13	240.5	28.38%
32	Italy	Mid 1400s	Gradual	No	No	Yes	No	26.5 x 20	530	41.70%
33	Germany	Mid 1400s	Missal	No	Yes	No	No	36.5 x 27.5	1003.75	46.08%
34	Italy	Mid 1400s	Psalter	No	Yes	Yes	No	38.5 x 28.5	1097.25	47.62%
35	France	Mid 1400s	Writings of St. Jerome	No	Yes	No	No	38.5 x 28	1078	41.40%
36	France	Mid 1400s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	10.5 x 7	73.5	23.81%
37	Italy	Mid 1400s	Epistolary	No	No	Yes	No	29 x 21.5	623.5	45.47%
38	France	Mid 1400s	Missal	No	No	Yes	No	31 x 24	744	45.16%
39	Italy	Mid 1400s	Livy's History of Rome	No	No	No	No	22.5 x 16	360	40.90%
40	Italy	Late 1400s	Thomas Aquinas	No	No	No	No	28.5 x 21.5	612.75	39.66%
41	France	Late 1400s	Dialgues	No	Yes	Yes	No	31 x 22.5	697.5	41.58%
42	Germany	Late 1400s	Psalter	No	Yes	No	No	44 x 30	1320	67.27%
43	Netherlands	Late 1400s	Book of Hours	No	Yes	Yes	No	17.5 x 13	227.5	38.68%
44	Germany	Late 1400s	Bible	No	Yes	No	Yes	41 x 28	1148	54.46%
45	France	Late 1400s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	18.5 x 13	240.5	22.97%
46	France (North)	Late 1400s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	16 x 12	192	34.64%
47	Netherlands	Late 1400s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	18 x 13	234	25.00%
48	Netherlands	Late 1400s	Book of Hours	No	No	No	No	17.5 x 12.5	218.75	30.40%
49	Germany	1500s	Missal	No	Yes	No	No	39 x 29.5	1150.5	52.33%
50	France	1500s	Book of Hours	Yes	No	No	No	16 x 11.5	184	29.35%

## ***Appendix 2: Profiles in Ege's 50***

### **Profile of France**

**Total Number** 23

**Date** 1100s – 1 1200s-7

1300s – 4 1400s - 10 1500s – 1

**Script Type** Caroline Minuscule – 1

Unlabeled – 1 Transitional Gothic – 1

Angular Gothic and slight variations – 15

Lettre Batarde – 1 Gothic – 3

Cursive Gothic – 1

#### ***Types of Books***

Psalters – 3 Bibles – 3

Missals – 3 Breviaries – 3

Books of Hours – 8 Other – 3

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 16

[First appears in the mid 1200s, but is used in all but four manuscripts in the collection after this point, including every French Book of Hours in the Collection]

Style 2 – 4 Style 3 – 6

Style 4 – 3 [Not seen in France after Late 1200s, but this is probably because the collection includes no Bibles after this point from France.]

#### ***Size of Books in square cms***

Less than 100 - 2 100-200 - 6

200 – 300 – 7 300 – 400 – 1

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 1

600 – 700 – 2 700 – 800 – 2

800-900 - 0 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 2 1100 – 1200 – 0

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 0

#### ***Percentage of Page Written on***

20.01 – 25.00 – 4 25.01 – 30.00 – 2

30.01 – 35.00 – 5 35.01 – 40.00 – 1

40.01 – 45.00 – 4 45.01 – 50.00 – 5

50.01 – 55.00 – 2 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

### **Profile of England**

**Total Number** 6

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 5

1300s – 1 1400s – 0 1500s – 0

#### ***Script Type***

Angular Gothic and slight variations – 6

#### ***Types of Books***

Bibles – 2 Gradual – 1 Other - 1

Psalters – 1 Book of Hours – 1

#### ***Styles Used***

Style 1 – 2 [From the two latest manuscripts, dated late 1200s/early 1300s.]

Style 2 – 0

Style 3 – 4 [Spans from first English manuscript in the collection to the last, both from bibles.]

Style 4 – 2

#### ***Size of Books in square cms***

Less than 100 - 0 100-200 - 1

200 – 300 – 4 300 – 400 – 0

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 1

600 – 700 – 0 700 – 800 – 0

800 - 900 - 0 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 2 1100 – 1200 – 0

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 0

#### ***Percentage of Page Written on***

20.01 – 25.00 – 0 25.01 – 30.00 – 20

30.01 – 35.00 – 0 35.01 – 40.00 – 1

40.01 – 45.00 – 1 45.01 – 50.00 – 2

50.01 – 55.00 – 2 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

### **Profile of Italy**

**Total Number** 9

**Date** 1100s – 1 1200s – 1

1300s – 1 1400s – 6 1500s – 0

**Script Type** Carolingian – 1

Rotunda Gothic Script – 6

Humanistic Scripts – 2

#### ***Types of Books***

Lectionary – 1 Bibles – 2 Other - 2

Graduals – 1 Antiphonals – 1

Psalters – 1 Epistolaries – 1

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 1 Style 2 – 1

Style 3 – 6 [On all but one manuscript in this collection dates from the mid 1200s to the mid 1400s.] Style 4 – 2

#### ***Size of Books in square cms***

Less than 100 - 0 100-200 - 0

200 – 300 – 1	300 – 400 – 2
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 1
600 – 700 – 2	700 – 800 – 1
800-900 - 1	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 1	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 0
30.01 – 35.00 – 0	35.01 – 40.00 – 3
40.01 – 45.00 – 3	45.01 – 50.00 – 2
50.01 – 55.00 – 1	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Profile of the Netherlands**

**Total Number** 4

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 0  
1300s – 1 1400s – 3 1500s – 0

**Script Type** Lettre de Forme – 1  
Angular Gothic Script – 3

**Types of Books**

Psalters – 1 Books of Hours – 3

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 2 Style 2 – 1  
Style 3 – 2 Style 4 – 0

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0	100-200 - 1
200 – 300 – 3	300 – 400 – 0
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 0
600 – 700 – 0	700 – 800 – 0
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 0	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 1	25.01 – 30.00 – 1
30.01 – 35.00 – 1	35.01 – 40.00 – 0
40.01 – 45.00 – 0	45.01 – 50.00 – 0
50.01 – 55.00 – 0	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Profile of Germany**

**Total Number** 6

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 1  
1300s – 1 1400s – 3 1500s – 1

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 3  
Transition and Semi-Gothic – 2  
Lettre Batarde – 1

**Types of Books** Bibles – 1

Psalters – 2 Missals – 3

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 1

Style 2 – 5 [Every manuscript in this collection from 1300 on uses this style.]

Style 3 – 1 Style 4 – 1

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0	100-200 - 0
200 – 300 – 1	300 – 400 – 0
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 0
600 – 700 – 0	700 – 800 – 0
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 1
1000 – 1100 – 1	1100 – 1200 – 2
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 1

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 0
30.01 – 35.00 – 0	35.01 – 40.00 – 0
40.01 – 45.00 – 1	45.01 – 50.00 – 1
50.01 – 55.00 – 2	55.01 – 60.00 – 1
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 1

**Profile of the 1100s**

**Total Number** 4

**Countries** Switzerland – 1  
Spain – 1 Italy – 1 France – 1

**Script Type** Carolingian type – 4

**Types of Books** Bible – 1 Missal – 1  
Lectionary – 1 Psalter – 1

**Styles Used** None

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0	100-200 - 2
200 – 300 – 0	300 – 400 – 1
400 – 500 – 1	500 – 600 – 0
600 – 700 – 0	700 – 800 – 0
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 0	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 0
30.01 – 35.00 – 0	35.01 – 40.00 – 1
40.01 – 45.00 – 0	45.01 – 50.00 – 2
50.01 – 55.00 – 1	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Profile of the 1200s**

**Total Number** 14

**Countries** France – 7 England – 5  
Germany – 1 Italy – 1

**Script Type** Angular Gothic and slight variations – 11

Gothic and transitional gothic – 2

Rotunda Gothic – 1

**Types of Books** Bibles – 6

Graduals – 1 Psalter – 3 Missal – 1

Breviary – 2 Other – 1

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 7 Style 2 – 2

Style 3 – 8 Style 4 – 6

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 1 100-200 - 3

200 – 300 – 6 300 – 400 – 0

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 2

600 – 700 – 0 700 – 800 – 1

800 – 900 – 0 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 1 1100 – 1200 – 0

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0 25.01 – 30.00 – 0

30.01 – 35.00 – 2 35.01 – 40.00 – 1

40.01 – 45.00 – 3 45.01 – 50.00 – 5

50.01 – 55.00 – 3 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

## Profile of the 1300s

**Total Number** 8

**Countries** France – 4 Germany – 1

England – 1 Germany – 1 Netherlands – 1

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 5

Transitional and Gothic Scripts – 2

Rotunda Gothic – 1

**Types of Books** Bibles – 1

Psalter – 2 Hymnal – 1 Breviary – 1

Book of Hours – 1 Missal – 2

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 6 Style 2 – 1

Style 3 – 4 Style 4 – 1

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0 100-200 - 2

200 – 300 – 3 300 – 400 – 1

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 0

600 – 700 – 1 700 – 800 – 0

800 – 900 – 0 900 – 1000 – 1

1000 – 1100 – 0 1100 – 1200 – 0

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0 25.01 – 30.00 – 1

30.01 – 35.00 – 1 35.01 – 40.00 – 2

40.01 – 45.00 – 2 45.01 – 50.00 – 0

50.01 – 55.00 – 1 55.01 – 60.00 – 1

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

## Profile of the 1400s

**Total Number** 22

**Countries** France – 10 Italy – 6

Germany – 3 Netherlands – 3

**Script Type** Angular Gothic Scripts – 10

Rotunda Gothic Scripts – 4

Humanistic Scripts – 2 Unlabeled – 1

Gothic and Semi- Gothic Scripts – 3

Lettre de Forme – 1 Lettre Batarde – 1

**Types of Books** Antiphonal – 1 Gradual – 1

Missal – 2 Psalter – 2 Epistolary – 1

Bible – 1 Book of Hours – 10 Other – 4

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 7 Style 2 – 7

Style 3 – 7 Style 4 – 1

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 1 100-200 - 2

200 – 300 – 7 300 – 400 – 1

400 – 500 – 1 500 – 600 – 1

600 – 700 – 3 700 – 800 – 0

800 – 900 – 1 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 3 1100 – 1200 – 1

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 1

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 5 25.01 – 30.00 – 1

30.01 – 35.00 – 3 35.01 – 40.00 – 2

40.01 – 45.00 – 4 45.01 – 50.00 – 4

50.01 – 55.00 – 2 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 1

## Profile of the 1500s

**Total Number** 2

**Countries** Germany – 1 France – 1

**Script Type** Lettre Batarde – 1

Cursive Gothic Script – 1

**Types of Books**

Missal – 1 Book of Hours – 1

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 1 Style 2 – 1

Style 3 – 0 Style 4 – 0

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0 100-200 - 1

200 – 300 – 0	300 – 400 – 0
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 0
600 – 700 – 0	700 – 800 – 0
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 0	1100 – 1200 – 1
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 1
30.01 – 35.00 – 0	35.01 – 40.00 – 0
40.01 – 45.00 – 0	45.01 – 50.00 – 0
50.01 – 55.00 – 1	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Profile of Bibles**

**Total Number 9**

**Countries** France – 3 England – 2  
Italy – 2 Switzerland – 1 Germany – 1

**Script Type** Carolingian – 1

Semi-Gothic – 1 Rotunda Script – 2

Angular Gothic and variations – 5

**Years** 1100s – 1 1200s – 6 1300s – 1  
1400s – 1 1500s – 0

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 2 Style 2 – 2  
Style 3 – 5 Style 4 – 8 [All Bibles in this  
collection after the 1100s use this style.]

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 1	100 - 200 - 1
200 – 300 – 1	300 – 400 – 2
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 1
600 – 700 – 0	700 – 800 – 1
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 1	1100 – 1200 – 1
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 0
30.01 – 35.00 – 1	35.01 – 40.00 – 1
40.01 – 45.00 – 3	45.01 – 50.00 – 3
50.01 – 55.00 – 1	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Profile of Missals**

**Total Number 7**

**Countries** France – 3

Germany – 3 Spain – 1

**Script Type** Carolingian – 1

Angular Gothic – 3 Lettre Batarde – 1

Transitional Gothic Scripts – 2

**Years** 1100s – 1 1200s – 1

1300s – 2 1400s – 2 1500s – 1

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 2 Style 2 – 3

Style 3 – 1 Style 4 – 0

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0	100-200 - 0
200 – 300 – 0	300 – 400 – 0
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 1
600 – 700 – 1	700 – 800 – 2
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 1
1000 – 1100 – 1	1100 – 1200 – 1
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 0
30.01 – 35.00 – 0	35.01 – 40.00 – 0
40.01 – 45.00 – 1	45.01 – 50.00 – 3
50.01 – 55.00 – 2	55.01 – 60.00 – 1
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Profile of Psalters**

**Total Number 8**

**Countries** France – 3 Germany – 2

England – 1 Netherlands – 1 Italy – 1

**Script Type** Carolingian – 1

Angular Gothic Script – 5 Gothic Script – 1

Rotunda Book Hand – 1

**Years** 1100s – 1 1200s – 3 1300s – 2  
1400s – 2 1500s – 0

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 5 Style 2 – 2

Style 3 – 3 Style 4 – 0

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0	100-200 - 3
200 – 300 – 2	300 – 400 – 1
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 0
600 – 700 – 0	700 – 800 – 0
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 1	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 1

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 1
30.01 – 35.00 – 0	35.01 – 40.00 – 0
40.01 – 45.00 – 2	45.01 – 50.00 – 3
50.01 – 55.00 – 1	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 1

**Profile of Books of Hours**



**Total Number** 12**Countries** England – 1

France – 8 Netherlands – 3

**Script Type** Gothic Script – 2

Angular Gothic Script – 8

Lettre de Forme – 1

Cursive Gothic Script – 1

**Years** 1100s – 0 1200s – 0

1300s – 1 1400s – 10 1500s – 1

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 10 Style 2 – 1

Style 3 – 2 Style 4 – 0

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 01 100-200 - 3

200 – 300 – 8 300 – 400 – 0

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 0

600 – 700 – 0 700 – 800 – 0

800 – 900 – 0 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 0 1100 – 1200 – 0

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 5 25.01 – 30.00 – 2

30.01 – 35.00 – 3 35.01 – 40.00 – 2

40.01 – 45.00 – 0 45.01 – 50.00 – 0

50.01 – 55.00 – 0 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Page Size Less than 200 square cms****Total Number** 10**Countries** France – 8 Netherlands – 1

England – 2

**Types of Books** Psalter 3 Hymnal – 1

Book of Hours – 4 Breviary – 2

**Script Type** Angular Gothic Script – 10**Years** 1100s – 0 1200s – 4 1300s – 2

1400s – 3 1500s – 1

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 10 Style 2 – 1

Style 3 – 3 Style 4 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 1 25.01 – 30.00 – 2

30.01 – 35.00 – 4 35.01 – 40.00 – 0

40.01 – 45.00 – 0 45.01 – 50.00 – 1

50.01 – 55.00 – 2 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Page Size 200 – 500 square cms****Total Number** 20**Countries** France – 8 England – 4

Netherlands – 3 Italy – 3 Germany – 1

Switzerland – 1

**Types of Books**

Book of Hours – 8 Bible – 5 Gradual – 1

Psalter – 3 Breviary – 1 Other – 2

**Script Type** Gothic Script – 3

Angular Gothic Scripts – 11 Carolingian – 2

Rotunda Gothic – 2 Lettre de Forme – 1

Humanistic Script – 1

**Years** 1100s – 2 1200s – 6 1300s – 4

1400s – 8 1500s – 0

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 9 Style 2 – 1

Style 3 – 9 Style 4 – 4

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 4 25.01 – 30.00 – 1

30.01 – 35.00 – 1 35.01 – 40.00 – 4

40.01 – 45.00 – 4 45.01 – 50.00 – 4

50.01 – 55.00 – 2 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Size of Page 500 - 1000 square cms****Total Number** 13**Countries** Italy – 5 England – 1 France – 5

Spain – 1 Germany – 1

**Types of Books** Gradual – 1 Bible – 2

Missal – 5 Epistolary – 1 Lectionary – 1

Antiphonal – 1 Other – 2

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 4

Transitional Gothic – 2 Rotunda Gothic – 3

Carolingian – 2 Lettre Batarde – 1

**Date** 1100s – 2 1200s – 3 1300s – 2

1400s – 6 1500s – 0

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 2 Style 2 – 3

Style 3 – 6 Style 4 – 2

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0 25.01 – 30.00 – 0

30.01 – 35.00 – 1 35.01 – 40.00 – 2

40.01 – 45.00 – 4 45.01 – 50.00 – 3

50.01 – 55.00 – 2 55.01 – 60.00 – 1

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Size of Page Above 1000 square cms****Total Number** 7

**Countries** Germany – 4 France – 2 Italy – 1

**Types of Books** Missal – 2 Bible – 2  
Psalter – 2 Other – 1

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 3  
Rotunda Book Hand – 1 Semi Gothic – 1  
Lettre Batarde – 1 Unlabeled – 1

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 1 1300s – 0  
1400s – 5 1500s – 1

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 1 Style 2 – 6  
Style 3 – 1 Style 4 – 1

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 0
30.01 – 35.00 – 0	35.01 – 40.00 – 0
40.01 – 45.00 – 1	45.01 – 50.00 – 3
50.01 – 55.00 – 2	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 1

**Profile of Manuscripts with the 20 – 30 Percent of Page written on**

**Total Number** 8

**Countries** France – 6 Netherlands – 2

**Types of Books** Psalter – 1  
Book of Hours – 7

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 7 Gothic – 1

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 0 1300s – 1  
1400s – 6 1500s – 1

**Styles Used** Styles 1 – 8 Style 2 – 0  
Style 3 – 1 Style 4 – 0

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 01	100-200 - 2
200 – 300 – 5	300 – 400 – 0
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 0
600 – 700 – 0	700 – 800 – 0
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 0	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Profile of Manuscripts with the 30 – 40 Percent of Page written on**

**Total Number** 12

**Countries** France – 6 Netherlands – 2  
Italy – 3 England – 1

**Types of Books** Book of Hours – 5  
Bible – 3 Breviary – 1 Hymnal – 1  
Lectionary – 1 Other – 1

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 7 Gothic – 1

Rotunda Script – 1 Carolingian – 1  
Humanistic – 1 Lettre de Forme – 1

**Date** 1100s – 1 1200s – 3 1300s – 3  
1400s – 5 1500s – 0

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 7 Style 2 – 2  
Style 3 – 5 Style 4 – 3

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 1	100 - 200 - 3
200 – 300 – 4	300 – 400 – 1
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 0
600 – 700 – 1	700 – 800 – 2
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 0	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Profile of Manuscripts with the 40 - 50 Percent of Page written on**

**Total Number** 20

**Countries** France – 9 Italy – 5 England – 3  
Germany – 2 Switzerland – 1

**Types of Books** Bible – 5 Missal – 4  
Psalter – 5 Gradual – 1 Epistolary – 1  
Other – 4

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 8  
Rotunda Gothic – 3 Rotunda Book Hand - 1  
Gothic Script – 3 Humanistic Script 1  
Lettre Batarde – 1 Carolingian – 2  
Unlabeled – 1

**Date** 1100s – 2 1200s – 8 1300s – 2  
1400s – 8 1500s – 0

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 6 Style 2 – 4  
Style 3 – 10 Style 4 – 4

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0	100 - 200 - 1
200 – 300 – 5	300 – 400 – 3
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 3
600 – 700 – 3	700 – 800 – 1
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 4	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Profile of Manuscripts with Above 50 Percent of Page written on**

**Total Number** 10**Countries** Germany – 4 France – 2

England – 2 Italy – 1 Spain – 1

**Types of Books** Psalter – 2 Missal – 3

Breviary – 2 Gradual – 1

Antiphonal – 1 Bible – 1

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 5

Transitional and Semi Gothic – 2

Rotunda Gothic – 1 Carolingian – 1

Lettre Batarde – 1

**Date** 1100s – 1 1200s – 3 1300s – 2

1400s – 3 1500s – 1

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 2 Style 2 – 5

Style 3 – 3 Style 4 – 1

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0 100 - 200 - 2

200 – 300 – 2 300 – 400 – 0

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 0

600 – 700 – 0 700 – 800 – 1

800 – 900 – 1 900 – 1000 – 1

1000 – 1100 – 0 1100 – 1200 – 2

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 1

**Profile of Angular Gothic Script****Total Number** 26**Countries** France – 15 England – 5

Germany – 3 Netherlands – 3

**Types of Books** Book of Hours – 8

Bible – 5 Gradual – 1 Psalter – 5

Breviary – 3 Missal – 3 Hymnal – 1

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 11 1300s – 5

1400s – 10 1500s – 0

**Styles Used** Style 1 – 16 Style 2 – 5

Style 3 – 11 Style 4 – 5

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 2 100 - 200 - 6

200 – 300 – 11 300 – 400 – 0

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 1

600 – 700 – 1 700 – 800 – 2

800 – 900 – 0 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 2 1100 – 1200 – 2

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 1

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 4 25.01 – 30.00 – 2

30.01 – 35.00 – 4 35.01 – 40.00 – 3

40.01 – 45.00 – 3 45.01 – 50.00 – 5

50.01 – 55.00 – 4

55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0

65.01 – 70.00 – 1

**Profile of Rotunda Gothic Script****Total Number** 2**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 2 100 - 200 - 6

200 – 300 – 7 300 – 400 – 1

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 1

600 – 700 – 2 700 – 800 – 2

800 – 900 – 0 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 2 1100 – 1200 – 0

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 4 25.01 – 30.00 – 2

30.01 – 35.00 – 5 35.01 – 40.00 – 1

40.01 – 45.00 – 4 45.01 – 50.00 – 5

50.01 – 55.00 – 2 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Profile of Carolingian Scripts****Total Number** 4**Countries** Spain – 1 Switzerland – 1

Italy – 1 France – 1

**Types of Books** Bible – 1 Missal – 1

Lectionary – 1 Psalter – 1

**Date** 1100s – 4 **Styles Used** None**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0 100 - 200 - 0

200 – 300 – 0 300 – 400 – 2

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 0

600 – 700 – 0 700 – 800 – 2

800 – 900 – 0 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 0 1100 – 1200 – 0

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0 25.01 – 30.00 – 0

30.01 – 35.00 – 0 35.01 – 40.00 – 1

40.01 – 45.00 – 0 45.01 – 50.00 – 2

50.01 – 55.00 – 1 55.01 – 60.00 – 0

60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0

**Profile of Style 1****Total Number** 22**Countries** France – 16 Germany – 1

England – 2 Italy – 1 Netherlands – 2

**Types of Books** Psalter – 5 Bible – 2  
Missal – 2 Breviary – 2 Hymnal – 1  
Book of Hours – 10 [From mid 1400s  
onward, in the Kenyon collection, this style  
appears only in Book of Hours.]

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 16 Gothic  
Script – 3 Transitional and Cursive Gothic  
Scripts – 2 Transitional Rotunda Script – 1

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 7 1300s – 6  
1400s – 8 1500s – 1

**Other Styles Used** Style 2 – 1  
Style 3 – 6 Style 4 – 2

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 2	100 - 200 - 8
200 – 300 – 7	300 – 400 – 1
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 1
600 – 700 – 1	700 – 800 – 0
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 2	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 5	25.01 – 30.00 – 3
30.01 – 35.00 – 4	35.01 – 40.00 – 2
40.01 – 45.00 – 3	45.01 – 50.00 – 3
50.01 – 55.00 – 2	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 0

## Profile of Style 2

**Total Number** 11

**Countries** France – 4 Germany – 5  
Italy – 1 Netherlands – 1

**Types of Books** Bible – 2 Breviary – 1  
Missal – 3 Psalter – 2 Book of Hours – 1  
Other – 2

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 5  
Early, Transitional and Semi-Gothic Scripts  
– 2 Rotunda Book Hand – 1  
Lettre Batarde – 2 Unlabeled – 1

**Years** 1100s – 0 1200s – 2 1300s – 1  
1400s – 7 1500s – 1

**Other Styles Used** Style 1 – 1  
Style 3 – 4 Style 4 – 2

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0	100 - 200 - 1
200 – 300 – 1	300 – 400 – 0
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 0

600 – 700 – 1	700 – 800 – 1
800 – 900 – 0	900 – 1000 – 1
1000 – 1100 – 3	1100 – 1200 – 2
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 1

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 0
30.01 – 35.00 – 1	35.01 – 40.00 – 1
40.01 – 45.00 – 2	45.01 – 50.00 – 2
50.01 – 55.00 – 3	55.01 – 60.00 – 1
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 1

## Profile of Style 3

**Total Number** 19

**Countries** England – 4 France – 6  
Italy – 6 Netherlands – 2 Germany – 1

**Types of Books** Bible – 5 Psalter – 3  
Breviary-3 Book of Hours- 2 Epistolary – 1  
Antiphonal – 1 Gradual – 1 Other – 3

**Script Type** Early Gothic – 1  
Angular Gothic and variations – 11  
Rotunda Gothic Script – 4  
Other Rotunda Scripts and Book Hands – 2  
Lettre Batarde – 1

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 8  
1300s – 4 1400s – 7

**Other Styles Used** Style 1 – 6  
Style 2 – 4 Style 4 – 5

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 1	100 - 200 - 2
200 – 300 – 8	300 – 400 – 1
400 – 500 – 0	500 – 600 – 2
600 – 700 – 2	700 – 800 – 1
800 – 900 – 1	900 – 1000 – 0
1000 – 1100 – 1	1100 – 1200 – 0
1200 – 1300 – 0	1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0	25.01 – 30.00 – 1
30.01 – 35.00 – 1	35.01 – 40.00 – 4
40.01 – 45.00 – 5	45.01 – 50.00 – 5
50.01 – 55.00 – 3	55.01 – 60.00 – 0
60.01 – 65.00 – 0	65.01 – 70.00 – 0

## Profile of Style 4

**Total Number** 8

**Countries** France – 3 England – 2 Italy – 2  
Germany – 1

**Types of Books** Bible – 8

**Script Type** Angular Gothic – 5

Rotunda and Transitional Rotunda – 2

Semi-Gothic – 1

**Date** 1100s – 0 1200s – 6

1300s – 1 1400s – 1

**Other Styles Used** Style 1 – 2

Style 2 – 2 Style 3 – 5

**Size of Books in square cms**

Less than 100 - 0 100 - 200 - 0

200 – 300 – 3 300 – 400 – 1

400 – 500 – 0 500 – 600 – 1

600 – 700 – 0 700 – 800 – 1

800 – 900 – 0 900 – 1000 – 0

1000 – 1100 – 1 1100 – 1200 – 1

1200 – 1300 – 0 1300 – 1400 – 0

**Percentage of Page Written on**

20.01 – 25.00 – 0 25.01 – 30.00 – 0



30.01 – 35.00 – 1 35.01 – 40.00 – 2

40.01 – 45.00 – 2 45.01 – 50.00 – 2

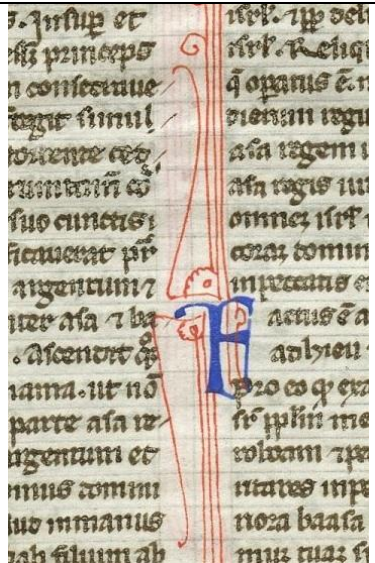





50.01 – 55.00 – 1 55.01 – 60.00 – 0


60.01 – 65.00 – 0 65.01 – 70.00 – 0



Ege No.	Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and blue, touches of gold leaf in the corners, thin white filigree on the top layer	Small blue and red rubricated letters done in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials	Decorated initials with thin filigree in red and blue only	Page numbers in red and blue only
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				



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8				

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11				



12				
13				





14				
15				
16				
17				



18				
19				

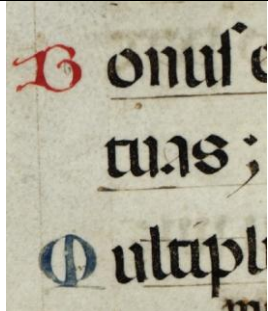

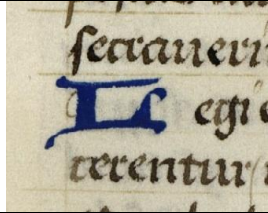



20				
21				
22				


23				
24				
25				


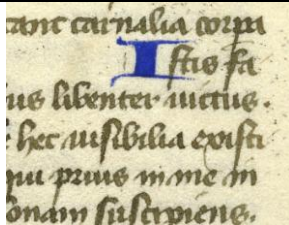
26				
27				
28				
29				

30				
31				
32				
33				

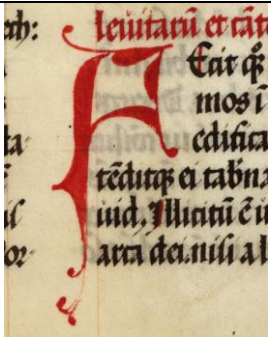



34				
35				
36				


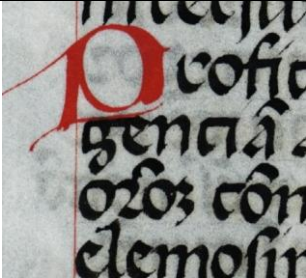



37				
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38				
39				
40				
41				

42				
43				

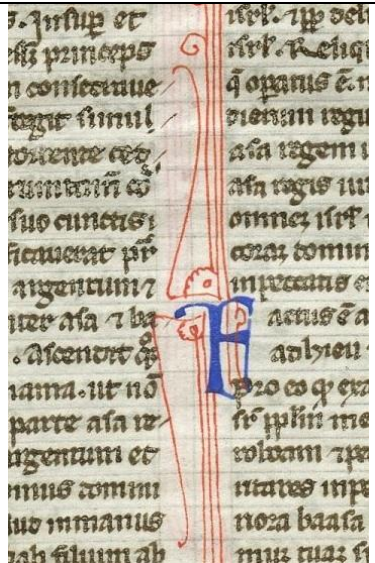





44				
45				
46				


47				
48				
49				
50				



Ege No.	Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and blue, touches of gold leaf in the corners, thin white filigree on the top layer	Small blue and red rubricated letters done in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials	Decorated initials with thin filigree in red and blue only	Page numbers in red and blue only
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				



6				
7				
8				

9				
10				
11				





12				
13				

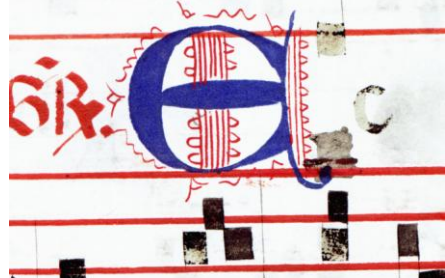
14				
15				
16				
17				



18				
19				

20				
21				
22				

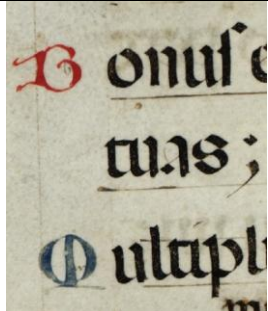

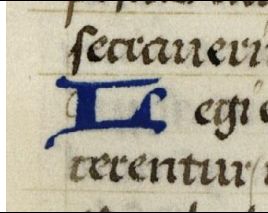

23				
24				
25				


26				
27				
28				
29				


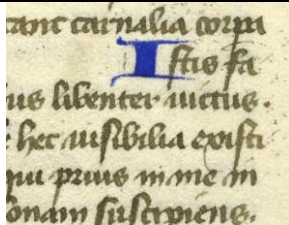
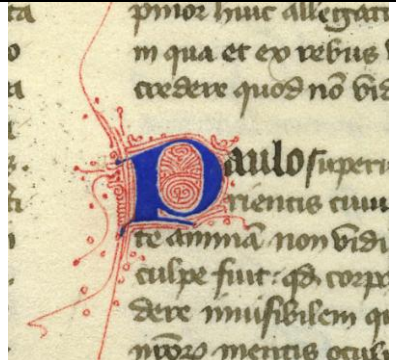


30				
31				
32				
33				

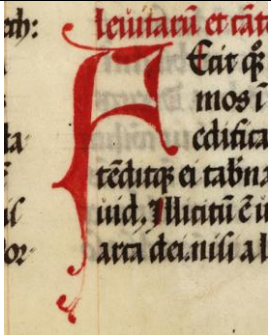





34				
35				
36				


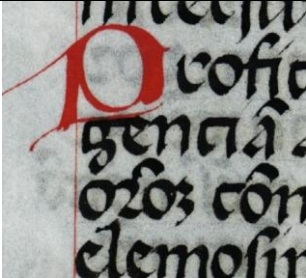

37				
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38				
39				
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41				

42				
43				



44				
45				
46				






47				
48				
49				
50				




## Appendix 5 Pictures Organized by Size of Image, Ege Manuscripts, Kenyon College

### Style One

Ege Number	Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and blue, touches of gold leaf in the corners, thin white filigree on the top layer	Approximate Size (cm) from Left to Right of Letter
24		1
31		1




29		1.1
16		1.2
25		1.3



47		1.3
12		1.5
17		1.5



20		1.5
36		1.5
50		1.5



26			1.6
28			1.6
46			1.6
30			1.7

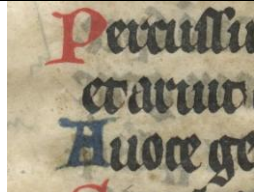
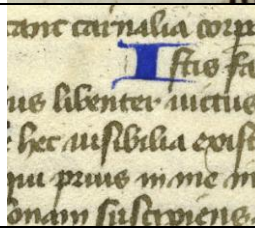
14		1.8
21		1.8
15		2

10		2.2
45		2.2 (Larger Letter)

18		2.6
19		2.7

## Style 2

Ege Number	Small blue and red rubricated letters done in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials	Size of letter in longest dimension (cm)
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18		0.4
5		0.5
34		0.8
41		0.9



35			1.2
43			1.3
49			1.4
22			1.6

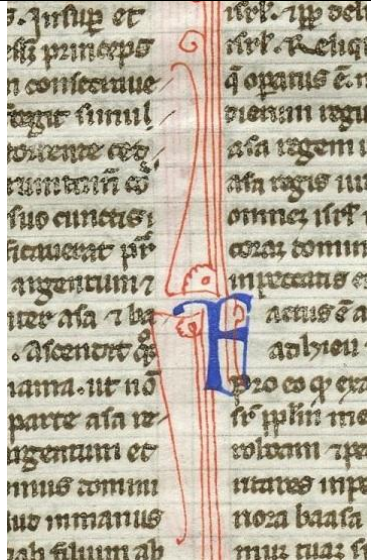

33		2.3
42		3.3
44		5.8

Style 3



Ege Number	Decorated initials with thin filigree in red and blue only	Top to Bottom of Photographed Section (cm)
16		0.4
20		0.6
24		0.6

23		1.1
32		1.2
34		1.3
11		1.7


7		2
18		2
10		2.5
27		2.5


9	 <p>7. Insup et      n principo      n consecue      tate simul      tate reg      tate reg      tate reg      suo cunctis      tate pr      argentum      ter asa 7 ba      . Ascendit q      iama. ut no      parte asa re      argentum et      minus comi      ius immanus      ab filium ab</p> <p>ist. 7p del      ist. Reliq      q opans e      tianan regu      asa regem      asa regis ut      omnes ist      corat domi      impetans e      actus e a      ad hieu      Pro eo q ex      si pphie me      colam 7pe      nates imp      noza baata      mu quaz si</p>	3.5
13	 <p>nares      lla p      n au      uesp      uimul      naie      iteg      fre      mi      e de      bella      tpe      tpe      uftia</p> <p>cula 7 iudones      auu odore feto      che caluicia 7      chemu q u      i plio 7 uie b u      solata in terr      F hendent      tate parte r      tate opient. ta      ter obp bium r      i magnificet      7 exultat hui      onul qui relut      let uocabit. o</p>	4




43		4.7
41		4.8


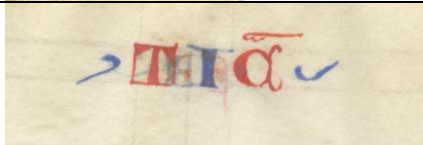



38	 <p>             tp̄ahite              dñs con  <b>D</b>              tuam.              m̄tessic              patroc              ut mag         </p>	6
19	 <p>             as gn              diadu              ratione              gnata              in sapie              na stul              ili m̄d              me dio              ut adu              riques              acume              p̄scasa              u. ifidi              doamu              rustra              femus              si desan              n p̄cōs              iplebi              as. fōcē         </p> <p>             anquidm              se correptōm              me hie. fūsq              usio panuile              stulcor p̄cō              ne absq̄ f̄v              p̄fuerit: ma  <b>F</b>li m̄si fūf              data m̄a al              oiat sapiam              um ad agnō              sapiam m̄u              prudentie f̄              sic thelaunx              ges amore d              q̄ dñs sapie              tia. Custodi              dientes sup̄              ne. 7 mas f̄              iustitiā me         </p>	6.2



37		11
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6		13
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Style 4

Ege Number	Page numbers in red and blue only	Left to Right of Page Number (cm)
9		1






13		1.5
11		2.2
6		2.7
5		3
14		3.5

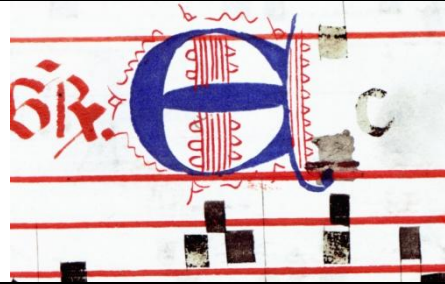

19		4
44		8.7




## Appendix 6, Pictorial Appendices Categorized by Country, Ege Collection, Kenyon College




## Italy

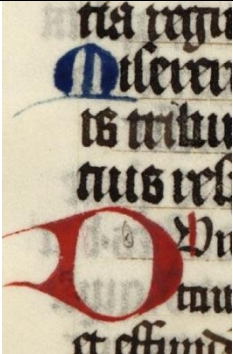

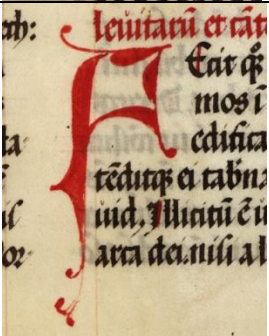

Ege Number	Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and blue, touches of gold leaf in the corners, thin white filigree on the top layer	Small blue and red rubricated letters done in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials	Decorated initials with thin filigree in red and blue only	Page numbers in red and blue only
3				
11				
19				


27				
32				

37				
39				
40				



## Germany

Ege Number	Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and blue, touches of gold leaf in the corners, thin white filigree on the top layer	Small blue and red rubricated letters done in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials	Decorated initials with thin filigree in red and blue only	Page numbers in red and blue only
10				
22				

33				
42				
44				

49				
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### Netherlands

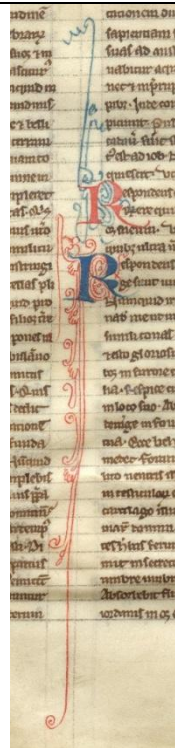

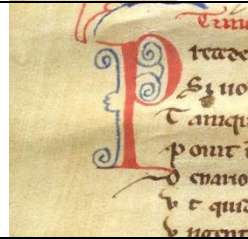
Ege Number	Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and blue, touches of gold leaf in the corners, thin white filigree on the top layer	Small blue and red rubricated letters done in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials	Decorated initials with thin filigree in red and blue only	Page numbers in red and blue only
20				








43				
47				
48				

### England



Ege Number	Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and	Small blue and red rubricated letters done	Decorated initials with thin filigree in red and blue only	Page numbers in red and blue only
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	blue, touches of gold leaf in the corners, thin white filigree on the top layer	in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials		
6				
7				

8				
13				
17				





24				
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### France


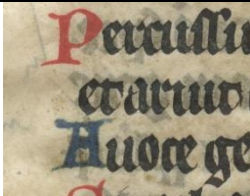
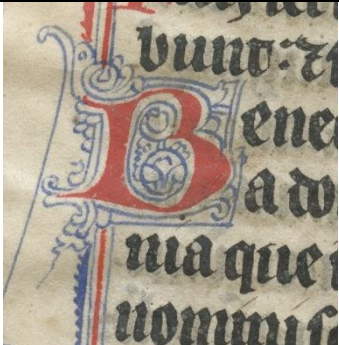


Ege Number	Large decorated initials or staffs or images in red and blue, touches of gold leaf in the corners, thin white filigree on the top layer	Small blue and red rubricated letters done in a simple style, occasionally larger historiated initials	Decorated initials with thin filigree in red and blue only	Page numbers in red and blue only
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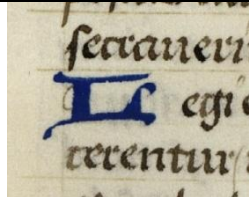




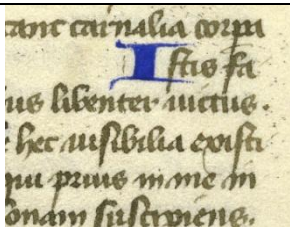

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**PEREGRINATIONS**  
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



**Featured website: Norfolk Churches/Suffolk Churches**

Simon Knott runs the excellent Suffolk and Norfolk Churches sites. With the persistence of a true church crawler, he has visited, photographed, and researched 1,564 churches (at last count) in both counties as well as taking photographs of hundreds of churches in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Kent, and Lincolnshire. Here is what he says about the Suffolk site:

Welcome to the Suffolk churches website. This site is an independent guide to the Anglican, Catholic and non-conformist churches of the county of Suffolk, England. Actually, there's a bit more to it than that. This site is a journey, a travelogue. It is an act of art terrorism. This is churchcrawling as guerilla warfare. Or so they tell me. Between January 1998 and November 2003 I gradually made my way around this county, visiting all its Anglican and Catholic churches. Mostly, I cycled. Sometimes I walked, and I even went to some of them by car. It began as a kind of pilgrimage. On the way, the website took over, being featured on television and in the national press, and even becoming a BBC local radio series. In 2009 I started visiting them all again, this time taking in the non-conformist churches as well.

So, what will you find if you explore the site? Well, I've tried to describe each visit, partly as a way of keeping a record, partly as a way of documenting the county, and partly to enable you to experience something of the same thing yourself. I rarely phoned ahead, rarely said who I was, rarely made my intentions clear. The visit you will read about is pretty much the one you would make yourself. I took hundreds of thousands of photos, and many of them are here on the site. If you go to the main index, you'll find links to the individual churches. Read them in whatever order you like.

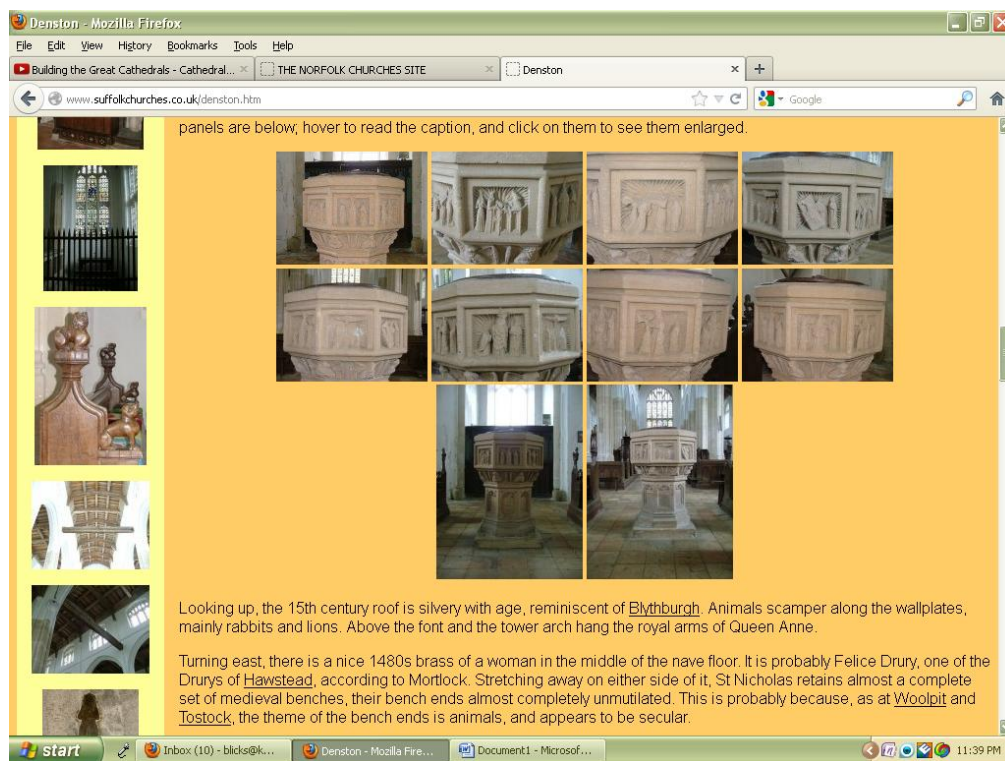
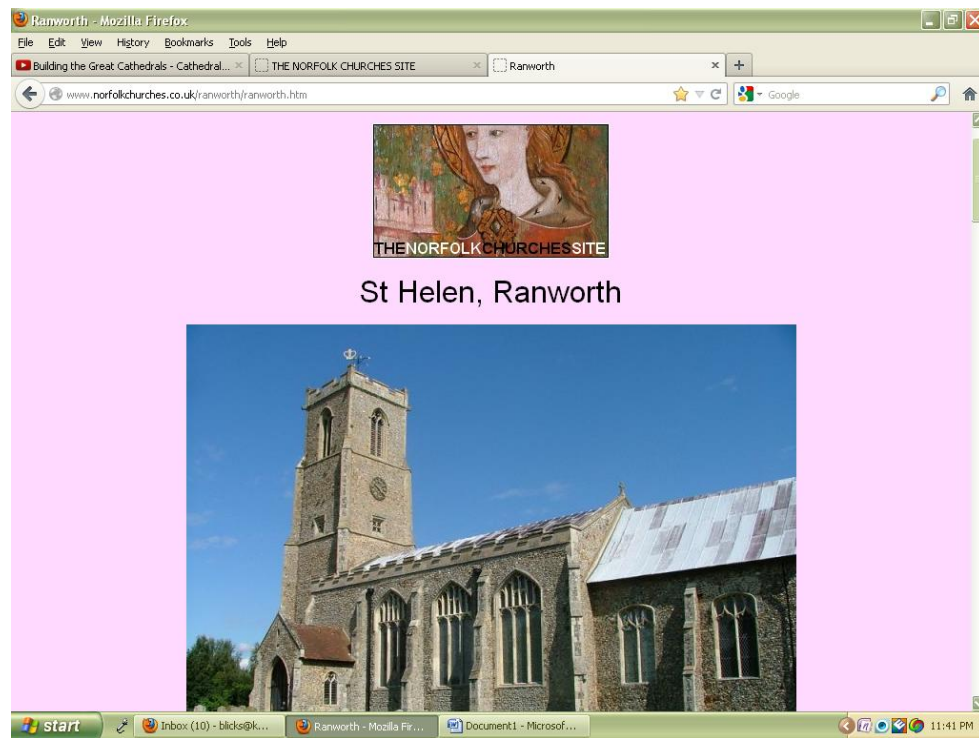
He has been in the vanguard of the movement to keep English parish churches unlocked and accessible. There is no question that his site has encouraged ever-larger numbers of travelers to visit these often remote sites of great beauty. His pithy descriptions and sensitive understanding of the art and architecture from the Middle Ages through the modern era is inspiring. Sites and references are interlinked and there are useful, illustrated essays on screens, wood carving, and more. Click on one of the churches listed in the index—it's likely that you'll linger on the site much longer than you intended to.

<http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/churchlists.htm>

<http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk/mainpage.htm>

↓See screen shots below↓







## USEFUL VIDEOS ON MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE

The internet can be a treasure trove of great videos on medieval art. Here are a few on medieval architecture that *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* readers might find useful:

### LINKS TO PARTS OF LONGER DOCUMENTARIES

Medieval Architecture: Castle (a fun video with good history and dramatic music)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UnMkvwmgfE8>

Medieval Architecture: Ely Cathedral (same as above video—impressive)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=njxZr6wGnCA&feature=relmfu>

The Medieval Mind: How To Build A Cathedral - ©BBC

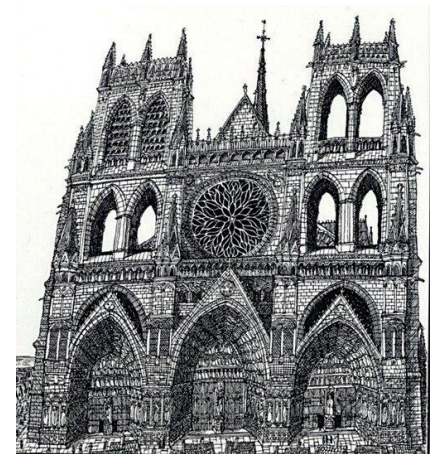
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5u9rjssGJrc>

### DAVID MACAULAY VIDEOS →

David Macaulay - Gothic cathedrals

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MZpOd2pHiI0&feature=related>

PBS - Castle - David Macaulay <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JGbPShUpjg>



### TEACHING VIDEOS →

#### 3D and Laser Technology

A Full-Scale 3D Computer Reconstruction of the Medieval Cathedral and Town of Santiago de Compostela

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmVJSmLA7BU&playnext=1&list=PL0E00B27B31BA4864&feature=results\\_main](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmVJSmLA7BU&playnext=1&list=PL0E00B27B31BA4864&feature=results_main)

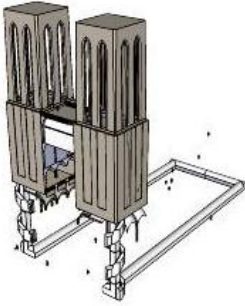
Bamberg Cathedral, Germany | Vizerra 3D

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bYM30bqmnnA&feature=related>

Cathédrales gothiques et laser 3D

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=koOS8kXgS5w&feature=related>





Amiens Cathedral: Beauvais Cathedral - Architecture of Transcendence

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kj5bUbq1mII&feature=related>

### Quick Fillers

Building the Great Cathedrals - The Squirrel Cage

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OnfD3gIJ0as&feature=related>

Building the Great Cathedrals - Cathedrals in Color

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EGAumT8aNkk&feature=relmfu>

Building the Great Cathedrals – Gothic's Missing Link

<http://www.providencepictures.com/news/2010/10/building-the-great-cathedrals-bonus-scene-2--gothics-missing-link.html>

Building the Great Cathedrals – Science + Religion

<http://www.providencepictures.com/news/2010/09/building-the-great-cathedrals-bonus-scene-1--science-religion-1.html>

## ***Archaeologists reveal 6<sup>th</sup>-century baptistry in Kosovo***

At an excavation site in Kosovo's ancient city of Ulpiana, a team of Turkish archaeologists have discovered a baptistry dating from the Byzantine period. The archaeological team, consisting of archaeology students from Istanbul's Mimar Sinan University and headed by Professor Haluk Çetinkaya, excavated in a 250 square-meter area, unearthing an important part of the sixth-century city. Çetinkaya said, "Baptisteries are rarely found in this region... we worked 10 hours a day to unearth the remains of the structure."

Re-written from

<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-archaeologists-reveal-6th-century-baptistry-abroad.aspx?pageID=238&nID=29535&NewsCatID=375>



## ***Underground chamber discovered in St. Winwaloe's Church, East Portlemouth, Devon***

A mysterious chamber buried beneath the central part of St Winwaloe's Church at East



Portlemouth in southwest England will be examined by archaeologists thanks to a grant of from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). Built around 1200 and enlarged in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, ground-penetrating radar has shown a burial chamber beneath the nave that was probably once part of an earlier church on the site. The floor of the chamber is about 8 feet below the present floor with walls rising from it along both its sides and its centre. Re-written from

<http://www.hlf.org.uk/news/Pages/WasthereanearlierchurchinEastPortlemouth.aspx>; See also

<http://www.eastportlemouth.org.uk/church/history.php>



## ***Furness Abbey grave yields treasures of a prosperous medieval abbot***

When stabilizing the wooden foundations of the abbey, archaeologists discovered the undisturbed tomb of a well-fed, little-exercised abbot in his 40s, who suffered from arthritis. Furness Abbey, on the outskirts of Barrow in Cumbria, was one of the most powerful and richest Cistercian abbeys in the country. The man was buried with a silver-gilt crosier and a jeweled ring in remarkable condition. The crosier features a central gilded silver plaque depicting the archangel Michael slaying a dragon. The large ring, likely to have been given to the abbot on his consecration, "...is an unusual ring. The bezel is a pyramid shape and is pointed – it would stick in to your finger. You would have felt it when you wore it and it might have been a reminder of the piety of the office," noted English Heritage curator Susan Harrison. It is also possible that the ring might have held a relic in place on the abbot's finger.



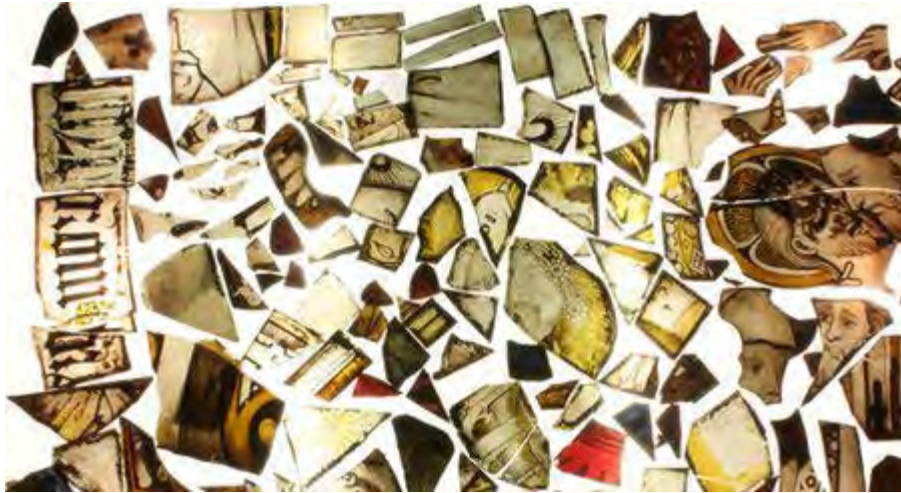
Re-written from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/2012/apr/19/furness-abbey-grave-medieval->



abbot?newsfeed=true



## ***Coventry Cathedral amnesty for missing stained glass***



Experts working to restore the ruins of Coventry's old cathedral have begun an amnesty for the return of pieces of its medieval stained glass windows. The World Monuments Fund, which is overseeing the work, said that while cleaning and cataloging the glass it was noticed some was missing. The windows were removed from the cathedral before World War II (sadly the cathedral was almost completely destroyed in the Coventry Blitz in November 1940), but it is believed some glass was given away. Those behind the project said the glass pieces could be "anywhere in the UK." "We can't be certain what happened to all the pieces - some might've been lent, some might've been given as gifts. The windows were stored in the cathedral's crypt during World War II. "But we're not here to point fingers - we're here to try to get it back, or at least have a record of what was there."

Re-written from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-19486475?goback=.gde\\_4008284\\_member\\_161745450](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-19486475?goback=.gde_4008284_member_161745450)

## ***Fifteenth-Century Woodcarvings of angels and demons rediscovered at St. Clement's, Outwell, Norfolk***

Twelve strange and wonderful carved demons were re-discovered near the roof of the nave at St. Clement's Church, Outwell, Norfolk by Dr. Claire Daunton, a historian at Trinity Hall, Cambridge while studying equally unique stained glass in the church. Because of the poor light entering the roof area of the nave and the centuries of grime covering them, the carvings are





almost impossible to see clearly, but she suspected they were quite extraordinary. Dr Daunton and representatives of English Heritage using a cherry-picker and scaffolding confirmed their significance-- they appeared to have been carved the wrong way round with the evil demons apparently overcoming each of the smaller apostles. Various interpretations have been suggested as to their meaning: one observer suggested the demons were being forced to hold the church up, although conceded they did not appear to be suffering much as a result.

Re-written from

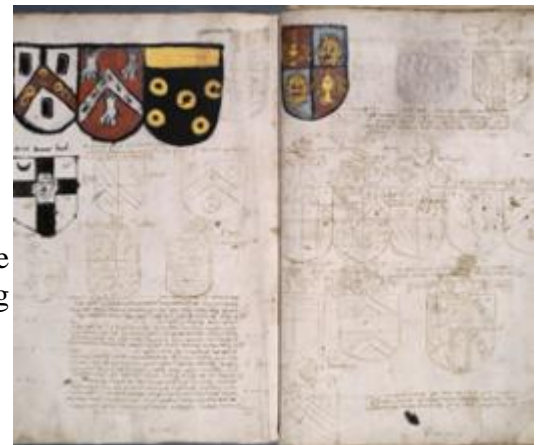
[http://www.edp24.co.uk/news/photo\\_gallery\\_medieval\\_demons\\_found\\_at\\_norfolk\\_church\\_1\\_1454279](http://www.edp24.co.uk/news/photo_gallery_medieval_demons_found_at_norfolk_church_1_1454279)

See also <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=azi7tSbG38c>



## ***Historians discover Medieval Banking Records Hidden under Coats of Arms***

Among the pages of a bound collection of traditional English crests held at the London College of Arms are several papers belonging to a book of debtors and creditors for Florentine merchant-banking company, Domenico Villani & Partners. The coats of arms are estimated to have been painted in 1480, during a time when good quality paper was scarce and anything that was available was re-used. The banking records, only half-covered by the design, date from 1422-24 and hint at the extensive trade in wool and other commodities produced in Britain during the era. Dr. Francesco Guidi-Bruscoli, based at the University of Florence and also a Research Fellow at Queen Mary, and Professor Jim Bolton of Queen Mary's School of History have spent more than a decade documenting the activity of Italian merchant bankers operating from London in the late medieval period. Dr. Guidi, who was alerted to the Villani ledger's location by Queen Mary historian, Professor Kate Lowe, comments: "What makes the discovery of these pages so surprising is that, usually, the foreign offices of the Florentine



companies periodically sent the books back home so they could be checked. In this case, the books remained in London, where they gradually lost their documentary value and some 55 years later were considered scraps of good quality paper to be re-used for the drawing of coats of arms.” “It is not possible to reconstruct, from such a limited number of transactions, the full activities of the company to which the ledger belongs, but we can get an idea of the goods being traded in the London marketplace,” Dr. Guidi says. “Raw wool, woolen cloth and tin were popular exports, while we imported spices, dyes and other luxury goods.” England’s trade in commodities led to the nation becoming the financial hub of the West, overtaking Italy in status.

Re-written from <http://phys.org/news/2012-07-qm-historians-medieval-banking-hidden.html>

### ***A Dutch Angel’s Cellphone Number is in Demand***

’S HERTOGENBOSCH, the [Netherlands](#) — High on the cathedral in this Dutch town, amid stone statues of local noblemen, crusaders, saints and angels, one figure stands out. Smiling faintly, with lowered eyelids, one of the angels wears jeans, has a laptop bag slung over one shoulder and is chatting on a cellphone. The angel gets about 30 calls a day on the phone. Shortly after the statue was unveiled last April, a local couple set up a number so people could call the angel. They placed business cards that pictured the angel and the number in restaurants and hotels. What began as a joke continues because the number has become something of a hot line, dialed by people of all ages in need of help or because they are lonely.

Dutch sculptor Ton Mooy created it among 40 statues to replace those on the cathedral that time and pollution had ruined. The Little Angel was the only unconventional one. “I tell kids, ‘There’s one button on that cellphone,’ ” he said with a chuckle — a direct line to heaven. “So she doesn’t get naughty, calling other angels.”



Re-written from [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/06/world/europe/a-dutch-churchs-angel-is-in-demand.html?\\_r=2&goback=.gde\\_4008284\\_member\\_173709067&](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/06/world/europe/a-dutch-churchs-angel-is-in-demand.html?_r=2&goback=.gde_4008284_member_173709067&)